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*¡Aquí somos familia!*

**The weaving of tradition and heritage  
on Newmexican ‘Hispanos’ identity**

Luis Lorenzo Córdoba

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UNIVERSITAT DE  
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Facultad de Geografía e Historia

Programa de Doctorat *Societat i Cultura*

¡Aquí somos familia!

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on Newmexican ‘Hispanos’ identity

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Director y Tutor: *Dr. Oriol Beltran*

**Dedicated to all my relations**

Pugah Phadeh

## Abstract

There is a vast body of literature and knowledge on and about articulating tradition and heritage as a resource to construct identity. It is that so to the point that both concepts would speak as symbolic and tangible arguments in the identity build-up. I bring with this thesis the case of 'Hispano' Newmexicans, the Spanish lineage-related community in the southwestern American state of New Mexico. The case's singularity comes from the circumstances in which that community's identity articulation gets produced. 'Hispano' proclivity to engage in tradition and heritage discourse delivers the fascination for the past, the memories, and customs these people feel so bonded to. Such an emphasis somehow means not just an act of agency, showing value and the community's character. Stressing the accent on heritage and tradition are often ways to obscure and overshadow inter-ethnic social tensions on that territory. That specific condition, a society functioning on a multi-ethnic pattern, provides the necessary tools for contention. New Mexico had been conceptualized as a tri-cultural state, made of Native Americans, 'Hispanos,' and Anglos, regardless of much social and academic complaint, and posed a problematic situation. That kind of reductionist assignment subsumed into a solid three-grouping a wide variety of ethnic groups.

Moreover, it blocked each group's tradition and heritage-specific production for a more standard and carefully customized version by local cultural institutions -SAR and SCAS-. All that build-up was an instrumental device meant to eventually deliver a commodified version of the state and its people's cultures for outer exposure. Those conditions only came to entangle social perception of the 'other.' The two case studies, brought here for analysis, look to shed light on the current conditions of societal power relations by displaying and analyzing the usage and channeling of identity and heritage discourses. Those two case studies – the Santa Fe Fiesta and the Museum of Spanish Colonial Art- depart from the same historical inception point, regardless of their functional path, and take a suitable place as self-representational 'loci' for the New Mexican 'Hispano' narratives. Unveiling as many identity manifestations has the intention to provide the clues to the connect/disconnect relationship of the 'Hispano'

community to and with the other communities, as well the terms of entitlement that they would aim at through identity production.

Keywords: *'Hispanos', Newmexicans, identity, heritage, tradition*

## Resumen

Hay una amplia literatura y conocimiento acerca de la articulación de la tradición y el patrimonio como recursos en la construcción de la identidad. Es así hasta el punto de que ambos conceptos son instrumentales como argumentos simbólicos y tangibles en la construcción de esa categoría. Traigo a colación, con esta tesis, el caso de los "Hispanos" Nuevomexicanos, la comunidad relacionada con el linaje español que se localiza en el estado del suroeste americano de Nuevo México. La singularidad del caso proviene de las circunstancias en las que se produce la articulación identitaria de esa comunidad. La propensión de los "Hispanos" a proponer con el discurso de la tradición y el patrimonio su fascinación por su pasado, sus recuerdos y sus costumbres viene a constatar, de alguna manera, no sólo un acto de agencia, sino que quiere mostrar el valor y el carácter de la comunidad. Hacer hincapié en el patrimonio y la tradición suele ser una forma de ocultar las tensiones sociales interétnicas en ese territorio. Esa condición específica, una sociedad que funciona con un patrón multiétnico, proporciona las herramientas necesarias para la conflictividad. Nuevo México había sido conceptualizado como un estado tri-cultural, formado por nativos americanos, "hispanos" y anglos, a pesar de la disconformidad social y académica, y planteaba una situación problemática. Ese tipo de asignación reduccionista subsumía en un único concepto de grupo a una gran variedad de grupos étnicos.

Adicionalmente, bloqueaba la producción específica de cada grupo en favor de una versión más estándar, que había sido cuidadosamente por las élites sociales del estado a principios del siglo XX. Toda esa elaboración a la que nos referimos terminó convirtiéndose en un dispositivo instrumental destinado a mostrar hacia el exterior una versión mercantilizada del Estado y de las culturas de sus pueblos. Esa situación sólo sirvió para hacer más compleja y problemática la percepción social del "otro". Los dos estudios de caso que aquí se analizan pretenden arrojar luz sobre las condiciones actuales de las relaciones de poder de aquella sociedad, mostrando y analizando el uso y la canalización de los discursos sobre la identidad y el patrimonio. Estos dos estudios de caso -la Fiesta de Santa Fe y el Museo de Arte Colonial Español- parten del mismo punto de inicio histórico, independientemente de su trayectoria funcional, y ocupan un lugar adecuado como "loci" de autorepresentación de las narrativas "hispanas" de

Nuevo México. Maximizar la exposición del mayor número de manifestaciones de identidad tiene como fin proporcionar pistas sobre la relación de conexión/desconexión de la comunidad "hispana" con las otras comunidades, así como los privilegios a los que los 'hispanos' aspirarían a través de la producción de identidad.

Palabras clave: *'Hispanos', Newmexicans, identity, heritage, tradition*

## Resum

Hi ha una àmplia literatura i coneixement sobre l'articulació de la tradició i el patrimoni com a recursos a la construcció de la identitat. És així fins al punt que tots dos conceptes són instrumentals com a arguments simbòlics i tangibles en la construcció d'aquesta categoria. Porto a col·lació, amb aquesta tesi, el cas dels "Hispanos" Nuevomexicanos, la comunitat relacionada amb el llinatge espanyol que es localitza a l'estat de Nou Mèxic, en el sud-oest dels Estats Units. La singularitat del cas prové de les circumstàncies en què es produeix l'articulació identitaria d'aquesta comunitat. La propensió dels "Hispanos" a proposar amb el discurs de la tradició i el patrimoni la seva fascinació pel seu passat, els seus records i els seus costums fa present no només un acte d'agència, sinó que vol mostrar el valor i el caràcter de la comunitat. Posar èmfasi en el patrimoni i la tradició sol ser una manera d'amagar les tensions socials inter ètniques en aquest territori. Aquesta condició específica, una societat que funciona amb un patró multi ètnic, proporciona les eines necessàries per a la conflictivitat. Nou Mèxic havia estat conceptualitzat com un estat tri cultural, format per nadius americans, "hispanos" i angles, malgrat la disconformitat social i acadèmica, i plantejava una situació problemàtica. Aquest tipus d'assignació reduccionista subsumia en un únic concepte de grup una gran varietat de grups ètnics.

Adicionalment, bloquejava la producció específica de cada grup a favor d'una versió més estàndard, que havia estat elaborada amb molta cura per les elits socials, cultural i econòmiques als inicis del segle XX. Tota aquesta elaboració a què ens referim va acabar esdevenint un dispositiu instrumental destinat a mostrar cap a l'exterior una versió mercantilitzada de l'Estat i de les cultures dels seus pobles. Aquesta situació només va servir per fer més complexa i problemàtica la percepció social de "l'altre". Els dos estudis de cas que s'analitzen aquí pretenen donar llum sobre les condicions actuals de les relacions de poder d'aquella societat, mostrant i analitzant l'ús i la canalització dels discursos sobre la identitat i el patrimoni. Aquests dos estudis de cas -la Festa de Santa Fe i el Museu d'Art Colonial Espanyol- parteixen del mateix punt d'inici històric, independentment de la seva trajectòria funcional, i ocupen un lloc adequat com a "loci" d'autorepresentació de les narratives "hispanes" de Nou Mèxic. Maximitzar l'exposició



del major nombre de manifestacions d'identitat té com a finalitat proporcionar pistes sobre la relació de connexió/desconnexió de la comunitat "hispana" amb les altres comunitats, així com els privilegis a què els 'hispanos' aspirarien a través de la producció d'identitat.

Paraules clau: *'Hispanos', Newmexicans, identity, heritage, tradition*

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# 1 CHAPTER 1: PRESENTATION, INTRODUCTION, AND OBJECTIVES

## 1.1 Introduction

“Aquí somos familia!” This standing assessment gets brought to the title of this thesis as an invocation to the root of what Newmexican ‘Hispanos’ call ‘Hispano’ identity. The assessment encapsulates the need of the Spanish-speaking peoples in New Mexico to relate to the principal value of their presence, their existence, and their endurance as a community, although a minority, included within the American culture. The family as a consistent indivisible unit representative of the core values of the community in perseverance, resistance, and resilience for centuries in the territory. Alongside, we also bring the powerful symbolic image of weaving as a reinforcement. Weaving has got a substantial image value not only because it has become one of the most cherished craft traditions for the Newmexican 'Hispanos'. It has the reminiscing side of a craft brought over to the Americas from Spain, in a part of the country where sheep became a staple resource to sustain life. The craft is reminiscent of the ancestries and heritage. It provides a solid connection to symbols that sustain the community’s imagery. The woven material provides the strength, warmth, and resistance that family building looks to reflect into. The tight threading of the yarn in the weaving supply with the unbreakable symbolic unit desired for the family unit. The strength to endure in the worst conditions. The resistance that would call for success in prevailing despite historical drawbacks. The warmth of the community sense of togetherness. Altogether, the build-up of an allegory that would bring to the forefront a set of values echoing the community bonding. Altogether, the bundling of a significant cultural reference for the ‘Hispano’ community. Perseverance, resistance, and resilience work as the warp in the loom. Those values hold up the back and forth the weft woven from memories, stories, customs, relations, traditions, and constructions that upheld the community as if they were threads layered to conform to the community’s intricate pattern. Tradition, heritage, and identity appear as tangible resources that follow the same process weaving does. The selection of fabric and yarns that will provide the woven texture.

The process in building up the actual material, either by pulling or loosening the tension of the weft to get the desired result. Finally, the instrumentality of the loom in framing and controlling the blanket's shape and tightness. The family invocation runs as the paradigm of a permanent requirement that either provides a substantial meaning or mediates in explaining the facts of everyday life.

During the celebration of 'La Matanza,' held and sponsored by artist 'santero' Felipe Rivera on the Guadalupe Parish, in Peralta, south of Albuquerque, on February 23, artists gathered to honor the invitation and to set their booths to sell their wares to the visiting public. I engaged in group and individual conversations with almost most of them. There was an unmistakable sense of familiarity among them, as they shared art shows and art interests. However, master artist Nick Otero from Belen actually uttered the reference that provides the headlining to this paper. Late in that afternoon, while seating at the 'resolana,' the relaxed space under the 'ramada' to leisurely talk sheltered from the blazing sun of that winter day, I had a situation with one of the members of the group. Floyd, Vicky Otero's brother (no relation to Nick), collapsed from a stroke in front of our very eyes. After the first moments of bewilderment, some people managed to call an ambulance and get the situation sorted. All of us were in fear, and people kept hugging each other to release the stress. That was when everybody, more or less on purpose, started to acknowledge the 'familiar' quality of the response to that scary issue. ¡Aquí somos familia! had Nick said earlier in some interaction we were having on the purpose of artists' attendance at the event. It was in close reference to the knitted relationship between them and the assorted character in the relationship like families do have. Everybody seemed to bring that utterance to the actual situation for comfort and relief.

Concurrent with and departing from that initial layout, the general thesis objective would analyze and address the shaping factors and dynamics that pitch into the need for specific 'Hispano' identity discourse in New Mexico, US. It is a task that will explore and expose the balance of societal power relations, and those paradoxical issues coming from social practices disclosed by the ethnographic research, that got carried out on two singular case studies since 2017 up to January 2020. During that span of time, I carried on three different research installments that altogether added



up to twelve-month fieldwork, solid. That fieldwork was performed, as mentioned, around two case studies: a commemorative community celebration, the Santa Fe Fiesta, and the Museum of Spanish Colonial Art (MoSCA), in Santa Fe, NM.

The articulation of identity within the recourse to tradition and heritage reveals the many social tensions in New Mexico. The multi-ethnic social fabric conveniently provides the necessary elements for such a contentious issue. The research seeks to shed light on the current conditions of societal power relations by displaying and analyzing the usage and channeling of identity and heritage discourses. In that direction, because of the importance of that kind of self-representational device in the New Mexican 'Hispano' narratives, it will address the scrutiny of identity as a conceptual and valid perspective. It will seek to disclose the clues of the construction and promotion of a distinctive 'Hispano' identity in New Mexico. The self-referenced 'Hispano' community in New Mexico will be the research analysis unit and the object of my investigation. Consistent with that, it will pursue to unveil how identity's articulation would serve community interests and improve social positioning relative to or against other ethnic groups, as inferred from the entangled and concurring self-representational value of identity and heritage.

Aiming at supporting the analysis for all that, provided the complexity introduced by the analysis concepts – tradition, heritage, identity-, we have upheld the following objectives:

- To comprehensibly scan, examine, and evaluate the expressions and articulation of identification within New Mexico's social life upon the concepts of tradition, ethnicity, identity, and heritage. To achieve all that, we have singled out a couple of case studies -'La Fiesta' de Santa Fe and the Museum of Spanish Colonial Art (MoSCA)- that we found instrumental and valuable to inform the historical construction of these categories by the Newmexican society. They both will provide a qualitative descriptive layout, that will eventually turn into a comparative device.
- To understand and analyze the parameters involved in the whole construction process that set and determine the limits and form of narratives around 'Hispano' identity.

- Accordingly, to the previous, to dig into the New Mexico historical formation for institutional policies or the lack of, that would help us to identify the trajectory and perspectives adopted throughout the history of the State. My interest in framing the processes toward identity and heritage cannot count on the realization of a solid and uniform state project for New Mexico. Most of the legislation and policies that would infer New Mexico's institutional status had to do with land management and the contention for economic power. That situation became confrontational as it conflicted with previous status and land ownership. Heritage and identity came as a part of that vying issue between former settlers and the Anglo newcomers.
- To analyze and contextualize the production of identity upon the basis of the relationship between identity, tradition, and heritage.
- To lay out the challenges that identification may address in the complex social inter-ethnic environment in New Mexico.
- Finally, to eventually prepare a draft after the conclusions reached on this thesis that would help educate future generations of New Mexicans to better comprehend the terms and intricacies surrounding the process towards heritage and identity's buildup.

In the breaking down of the objectives, the purposed description seeks to expose and analyze the New Mexican 'Hispano' identity issue from a non-American perspective, on the one hand. On the other, pinpointing the details of discourse cohesiveness or fragmentation coming from community narratives. The main research question implies deciphering how 'Hispano' identity articulation would surmise underlying social issues. We hypothesize that the uttering of cultural traits through articulating specific social values -tradition, identity, and heritage- actively asserts intrinsic social issues that have been simmering since New Mexico's institutional inception as the current political unit.

The work will take the open question of the role institutional policies have had and presently have in the state's inter-ethnic relations. The hypothesis argues that existing social practices depict the strain shoved into social relations by institutional and social decision-makers since the early days, as far back in time as the Spanish

colonial times. It would all hint at the dichotomy in the approach since we will lay out the conversation split from the social and the institutional as differentiated local bodies of production. It is not entirely clear whether institutional social policies or their lack thereof have yielded present social tensions. Have those tensions become an issue due to unresolved historical misconceptions on social relations? Can the identity and heritage discourses be considered proxies in the channeling of social relations' issues? Could it be the identity and heritage discourses reduced to mere symptoms in portraying the social distress in New Mexico?

It is already overtly apparent from this thesis's same title ("¡Aquí somos familia! The weaving of tradition and heritage on Newmexican 'Hispanos' identity") that we boldly invoke a thorough, straight assumption. As such, it has no other meaningful purpose than conceding the premise of ethnic status to the 'Hispano' community. As a concept presently upheld in New Mexico, the New Mexican 'Hispano' identity becomes a transactional token in social relations. In that capacity, it performs as the seamless meshing of culturally articulated distinctiveness claims calling for Spanish ancestry and history. The departing point for this research comes from invoking that assertion through means of discourse. By the re-interpretation or re-enactment of either their Spanish past cultural features or lineage, some New Mexicans would find adequate social shelter and emotional solace underneath a comprehensive, uniform, cohesively shaped, and arbitrarily defined taxonomy: the 'Hispano' identity tag. As it will become manifest from the ethnographic description, that that staging sets the departing point for the process of discourse articulation. Additionally, it will also become patent that individual and social performativity have a strong presence along that process.

'Hispanos', a subsidiary ethnic group within New Mexico's the social scale, play a substantive role within the state's exotism and charm, leveraged on a lengthy history and a very solid set of cultural traditions. One of the main factors connected to that topic line would be the in-depth importance of the Spanish Colonial past. The reasoning line stemmed towards a precise and objectified presentation of the state and people's past. On their counterbalancing part, the self-referred Newmexican 'Hispano' communities navigate pulling common social strategies both leveraging upon the institutional proposal and calling for a general subjective lineage descent. It appears

that the deeper in time, the better and more reliable the reasoning. Various ways of dealing with the past get played in whatever the strategy, only to show an ineffective internal polarization at first glance.

While identity happens to be called in a uniform and homogeneous way by most members of the 'Hispano' community, the discursive approach fails to provide that level of consistency.

*"[I] always say is probably ten to one, you know, I do Spanish colonial art because I am passionate about my family history; it does not pay the bills, but yet this one image is really sparking something in people..."*

Sean Wells' statement<sup>1</sup> gets proof of the mixing in the logic. On the one hand, the romantic approach gets rooted in her heritage as a member of a multi-generational family working in the tradition of Spanish Colonial art. On the other, the more pragmatic response to the benefit of her craft would help in tackling financial distress. However, that would provide tools and strategies to protect her identity stance upon the general public. Regardless of all the contradictory elements, Sean uttered the unremitting persistence of 'Hispano' vitality she conveyed through her art as a feature and continuity of her identity and heritage.

One of the thesis targets goes after identifying and making explicit a broad vision of the ways in addressing identity in New Mexico. Hence the objective will need to tackle two specifics: what identity means for New Mexico's social groups and how they manage in that articulation, and the shape and length of underlying processes towards identity building. How identity was brought as a necessity in the first instances of the American institutionalization of New Mexico, later to become a segregation topic between communities. In that quest, a first step will portray the current state of affairs in 'Hispano's' self-representation in northern New Mexico. The representational description needs to confront both institutional and vernacular perspectives. That description will blend what is currently ongoing within that society with their history. It will also be relevant to expose the processes at work, up to this day, for the sake of richness and deeper comprehension. History narratives rule how social processes have

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<sup>1</sup> Interview December 21<sup>st</sup>, 2018

settled after one hundred and seventy years in New Mexico's institutional life. That lengthy timespan will hence require a thorough diachrony approach, a methodology device to track facts' representations through specific times to provide a fuller perspective. In that sense diachrony would inform cultural buildup through informed continuity, as opposite to synchronic specific approach.

In mind, identity's conceptualization, like a taxonomy, arose and was elaborated from complex progressions. It was undoubtedly conceptualized as part of the normative knowledge, building up since the mid-eighteen hundreds. One of those processes pulled from the overlapping of the constructions of both 'race' and 'ethnicity'. The racial construction and its historical contingency have meant the most potent and persistent group of boundaries in American social legacy (Cornell and Hartman, 1998), somehow superseding the complex behavioral organization within ethnic boundaries (Barth, 1969). The seeds of the Newmexican society were ones of the hybrid and 'mestizo' quality. The strict 'casta' system of the Spanish colonial times graded the social structure around the racial phenotype. After the American annexation, the need for imposed cultural segregation took the shape of ethnic division according to cultural features. It reached the point that racial categorizations would set social boundaries along with the distinction in ethnicity. Although phenotype similarities, mainly due to the centuries-long blood pool exchange, 'Hispanos' and Puebloans, the original people in the Southwest area, got socially and institutionally segregated by their cultural traits and ethnic framing. According to Ruth Benedict (2005, [1934]: 57), "the Pueblo Indians of the Southwest are one of the most widely known primitive peoples in Western civilization...living after the old native fashion. Their culture has not disintegrated like that of all the Indian communities outside New Mexico and Arizona". Just hinting at the taxonomies' construction's logic -race and ethnicity- would be partial to the theoretical field. In their magnitude, they both become a limited description of relevant social interaction. For that reason, there is a need for further perspective informing about social tensions and relationships. Those features are what we will signify of most relevance for my task, and we will focus on what social practices mirror into, what inherently is socially meaningful to them in order

to draft how they get translated as power relations (Foucault, 1971 and 1991; Smith 2006).

The 'race' taxonomy became conceptualized as a construction assigned from otherness, predominantly from dominant groups within already established social hierarchies, as we have hinted it was during the Spanish empire in the Americas; 'ethnicity' was so as a build-on paradigm from the assertive chosen integration and membership into an (ethnic) group. While the former would fit in the social power relations, the latter would inform the cultural realm. In that reasoning line, Barth (1969) highlights that we have to consider ethnic groups as categories of ascription and identification that the actors decisively set themselves up in. These two methodical approaches set the grounds for underlining paradoxical and conflicting perspectives: one springing from the external assignment, all that is social and institutional, versus that of the internal affiliation, that eventually calls for individual selection and personal identification. That is an ongoing conflicting issue in New Mexico. For that matter, the existence of Spanish rooted Newmexicans, both collectively and individually, has been historically shaped by the dominant society. As Gómez (2007: 2) sharply states, the ideological mechanism works conveying that "[I]n fact, race as it operates in the United States generally subsumes ethnicity". It is also conflicting because "[b]elonging to an ethnic category implies being a certain kind of person, having that basic identity, it also implies a claim to be judged, and to judge oneself" (Barth, 1969). Who is to decide the itemized descriptive list of cultural features or cultural differences fixed as a relevant standard for identity?

Every actor in that New Mexican society seemed to come assigned with a specific, bluntly given role. That inferred a specific kind of static ethnic character or, better, the lack of agency, when it only portrayed the consistent deficiencies involved in framing, defining, and cataloging people. Identity has no real existence as a descriptive virtual background related to social group identification (Lévi-Strauss, 1981). There was a national debate on race, citizenship, and belonging after the war with Mexico, that also involved the concerns of cultural difference. There was a controversy on what to do with the 'Mexicans' who lived on the conquered lands (Gómez, 2007), trespassed by the new borders; and we would stress here how the term

'Mexicans' raised to prominence as a specific negative taxonomy construction, and how relevant would become into explaining the depth of the term 'Hispano', in the transition from foes to assimilation, and the tackling of inter-communal relationships.

Identity construction requires boundaries, rules, and performativity while defining social groups' continuities and discontinuities; that is needed both inwardly and outwardly. That device thrusts a couple of paths for a fixed continuous arbitration within both the socio-cultural and the symbolic baggage (Pujadas, 1993). The first one is on the negotiation in the interpretation and symbolic handling of the social personality; the second is about the meaning of the intangible relationship between past and present (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2002; Macdonald, 2013). Alongside comes the negotiation of the back-and-forth relationship between past and present to validate what becomes genuine as a structure supporting the group reproduction (Pujadas, 1993; Friedman, 1994; Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2002; Smith, 2006). With all this broad theoretical score in mind, we plan to show that discourses' layout relays diverse identity experiences through time. The subtleties in the approach will be met by the way identity's construction process is informed by the historical contextualization. While we define history as the frame for context -in that sense, we above already mentioned how this research requires a comprehensive diachrony in the historical approach- it also unlocks the background for the analytical units.

As for all the above, the research in New Mexico could also be defined as the digging into the effects of race relations dynamics, grading from subordination up to exclusion, searching for varied cultural symbolism and the evidence of long span ethnocultural 'mestizaje.' Here it is, in a display, the social blending of ethnicity and race as it is working in New Mexico. An approach meant to be far fuller and complex than the linguistic exercise that replaces the rhetoric of race with that of ethnicity, as adopted by the 1978 UNESCO's General Conference after the guidelines stemmed from Claude Lévi-Strauss' 'Race and Culture' (1952). Accordingly, race and ethnicity become rhetorical tools of language articulation -the language of discourse- to pinpoint the differences that would generate a diverse conception of group identity (Appadurai, 1996). Those considerations point at the interest in placing both the social construction and the discourse construction in parallel to understand the complex and related

mechanics of the relationship between both processes. We will get to those specific processes and how they fit in for New Mexico, addressing building identity and heritage discourses as they get produced today. The whole timespan for this research was not short of precise, relevant points of interest in terms of identity and heritage production. We earlier mentioned the concepts of discourse articulation through staging or performance. My sites' choice was intended to pull from that suggestion. The selection comes after a thorough inspection and familiarity with the 'Hispano' Newmexican sociocultural environment. To that extent, we fixed two of them that perfectly worked as catalysts around both identity and heritage; first, as vivid displays in the social scene, and second as consequential samples of dialectical exposure and confrontation; as earlier introduced, those were 'La Fiesta' de Santa Fe and the Museum of Spanish Colonial Art. Art -MoSCA-.

The Santa Fe Fiesta, considered and promoted as the oldest continuous community celebration in the United States (Pierce, 1985; Wilson, 1997), began with the original September 16th, 1712, proclamation. It was formerly meant as a festivity in remembrance of the 1692's Spanish recolonization act of the 'Villa' de Santa Fe, after the 1680 Pueblo Revolt that had pushed the Spanish way south to current day El Paso, TX. 'La Fiesta' has been yearly, ever since, hosted during the first weekend in September, and it has gone through different formats during the three hundred years plus of existence. One of those changes in format concerning the Entrada pageant was discontinued just in 2019's 'Fiesta'; it was an event that, conveniently and timely, pitched during research time, and that proved that a popular Fiesta feature was concealing what Puebloan communities and Native American activist groups had been perceiving as disparaging narratives conveyed in the pageant. Up until 2018, the 'Fiesta' promoters -the Fiesta Council, the Fiesta Council, the local Catholic Church authority, and Los Caballeros De Vargas<sup>2</sup>- referred to the Santa Fe 'Entrada' as the accurate reenactment of the peaceful reconquest of the capital by General Don Diego de Vargas in 1692. For decades, conflict, social tension, and uneasiness underlined social

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<sup>2</sup> Author's note: 'Los Caballeros De Vargas' is a 'Hispano' based, lodge-like organization performing the official duty to guard and protect the image of the 'Nuestra Señora de la Asunción, 'La Conquistadora', residing in her chapel inside the Saint Francis Cathedral, and in charge of the leading role in the Santa Fe Fiesta festivities and parades.



relationships, mostly muzzled by the power relationships within the New Mexico's communities. In spite of centuries-long history of social mixing, Pueblo-Hispano animosity, as Montgomery reports (2002: 140), comes only from modern-day concerns. While initially, those concerns were mainly related to settling functional rights, basically around water and land rights, and interference with rights to live on land plots contended by the rights of land grants, these days, conflict comes from cultural and representation rights. The proof is the indifference and even hostility shown towards the staging and native participation in the 'Hispano' staged shows during 'Fiesta' days. However, unrest mounting up for the last decade, eventually got channeled through protests that soared on the 2018 Fiesta, with the 2019 Entrada eventual cancellation. 'La Fiesta' celebrations, called off by the 2020 Covid-19 pandemic and the social restrictions implemented because of that, have put on hold the conflicting positions and the rekindling debate over how to portray New Mexico's complex ethnic history and the place of inter-ethnic coexistence within it. However, 'La Fiesta' still retains a solid social backing in terms of institutional presence and marketing, and popular significance despite existing issues and contentions.

Our second ethnographic center takes us to the Museum of Spanish Colonial Art -MoSCA-. The museum opened to the public in July 2002 at the Camino Lejo's Museum Hill complex in Santa Fe, which meant accomplishing a lengthy cultural endeavor. It was an eventual feat after the five decades the Spanish Colonial Art Society had struggled to obtain land and proper financing for the site's construction.

*"The Museum of Spanish Colonial Art is housed in a building that is part of the legacy of the acclaimed late architect John Gaw Meem. The building is a classic example of the "Spanish-Pueblo Revival" architectural style that Meem pioneered in New Mexico in the early-twentieth century. It also reflects Meem's personal interest in the region's Hispano culture and his longtime involvement with the Spanish Colonial Arts Society."*<sup>3</sup>

The existing residing art collections formerly came from two different sources; one from collections that were already sitting in the vaults of the Spanish Colonial Arts Department of the Museum of International Folk Art; the other came from private collections and assets resulting from the protection and preservation efforts carried

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<sup>3</sup> <https://www.spanishcolonial.org/about.html> <accessed, August 21<sup>st</sup>, 2020, 18:47>

out, since 1928, by the Spanish Colonial Art Society and its predecessors -1913-, the Society for the Revival of Spanish Arts and the Society for the Restoration and Preservation of Spanish Mission Churches of New Mexico. In all, “[t]he collections are the most comprehensive compilation of Spanish Colonial art of their kind”.<sup>4</sup> The Museum was the material realization of the Society Board’s desire for permanent housing and exhibition of their always growing art collection; their vision and mission values focused on protecting, preserving, and showcasing Spanish Colonial Art’s folklife expressions. Being “the only museum in the world dedicated to Spanish Colonial Art, with a special focus on the unique art styles developed in New Mexico”<sup>5</sup>, it gave rise to a state of discord. While the museum’s statement prompted the recovering, preservation, and informed education on the New Mexican vernacular and traditional art forms, that was only achieved through the Board’s expert watch and ruling with no actual inclusion of the Hispano connected communities in the state. The Museum is a privately owned and funded institution that gets its financial resources from funds granted from donations, volunteering, and the marketing and promotion of the Spanish Market, the summer market promoting the show and sale of ‘Hispano’ traditional arts and crafts.

In their own distinct features, ‘La Fiesta’ and MoSCA, they are contextual spaces of cultural performativity and discursive production. Henceforth we value their suitability as patrimonialization spaces where identity relationships are construed, exposed, or performed. In line with Gallegos (2017) and Smith (2006), who consider that certain spaces become effective in enabling identity relationships to get shaped and displayed, both units work as a stage to perform identity social cohesion that would help the structure of social relationships (Hobsbawn, 2002; 273). In those public spaces ‘Hispanos’ get to validate their performed identity through the validation and continuity of their traditions. ‘La Fiesta’ would do it by exposing to public display the rituals that portray the endurance and permanence of the festive tradition. The MoSCA by conveying the message of traditional devotional art, that gets deeply embedded in the social ‘Hispano’ fabric. As symbolic and representational catalysts, they both mean

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid. <accessed, August 27<sup>th</sup>, 2020, 10:27>

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. <accessed, August 27<sup>th</sup>, 2020, 10:49>

construed realities (Escobar, 2001) perceived as the attainment and the mooring for what New Mexico 'is' for the 'Hispanos'. They both offer an act of possession that justifies and gets justified by the proclaimed ownership of the self-declared 'Hispano' community (Delgado, 2004). Both 'La Fiesta' and MoSCA become contextually inhabited, requesting, or furnishing at the same time for imagined or symbolic communities (Anderson, 1983; Cohen, 1985 y Appadurai, 1996; Swentzell, 1997).

Characterizing and defining social processes leading towards identity construction has not been less problematic in New Mexico than elsewhere. The New Mexican 'Hispano' identity discourse entangled in history, culture, tradition, and heritage is as persistent as paradigmatic. With that in mind, we have considered the effectiveness of bridging the social agents' experience with the conditions defined by the pattern set by historical processes. Since territorial times, the state's institutional task was narrowed to sorting the population out by the ethnic record. Territorial Governor, William Gillette Ritch, provided a gist of an ideal cultural setting back in 1875, asserting that "New Mexico was the meeting ground for the modern Americans, the descendants of 'the Old Latin civilization' and the 'native [Pueblo Indian] races". (Nieto-Phillips, 2004; Weigle, 2010)-.

During the last decades of the eighteen hundreds and up to the first third of the nineteen hundreds, there had been a sustained interest in researching the formation, further elaboration, and diverse strategies behind the concept 'Hispano' identity in Northern New Mexico. Since the impact the Chicano movement had on Mexican American communities in the American Southwest, after their success as part of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement, there has been a huge knowledge production on identifying the peoples of Spanish-Mexican ancestry and lineage, living in the US. Newmexicans tended to brand themselves as Spanish-Americans back in territorial days, out of the inclusion desire to be part of the Union. Gonzalez (1993; 2001), Nieto-Phillips, (2004), use the terms Spanish-Americans and Hispano-Americans in that inclusive purpose, while Weigle (1975) goes indirectly into description of Spanish-American dwellings. Gómez (2007) out of objection to use the term Spanish would refer to the Mexican-Americans, most in line with the political stance of the Chicano movement. However, there has been a majority of scholars that would adhere to the

label that is both more common in the state and similar to the common Hispanic term. Larson (1968), Meinig (1971), Rodriguez (1987; 1996), Hall (1989), Gonzales-Berry and Maciel, eds. (2000), Jiménez (2006), Trujillo (2009), or DeBuys (2015) would go for the use of *Hispano*. It was a part of a combined effort, equally social, academic, and institutional, to understand and conceptualize the perception of a cultural exceptionalism. It was exceptional in the challenge that the US territorial annexation meant after the 1848 US-Mexican war, but not less exceptionally challenging should we consider the political moves in the short lapse since the early eighteenth century. First, it was Mexico's Independence from Spain in 1821, moving from the Antiquarian Regime colonial times into modernity and enlightenment, inspired and led by revolutions in the American colonies and France. Then it was the administration and cultural changes brought by the outcome of the aforementioned US-Mexican war. Finally, as it was a part of a stretching expansionist movement to the West, the annexation was not fitted to deal with the prospect of social conflict. The model to follow was simply one of Manifest Destiny designed, as O'Sullivan (1845) put it, to swell the momentum of the nation's progress in the interest of the westward expansion.

Manifest Destiny, a widely held cultural belief, exerting the special virtues of the American people and their institutions, in fulfilling the essential duty of accomplishing the remaking of the west in the image of the agrarian East, regardless of the peoples and cultures that would happen to be in that path to the west coast. It was also exceptional that there were no policies attached to the annexation, and when the lack of policies certainly applied for all, it did not necessarily work likewise ethnically. The acute cultural and political tensions, as Larson (1968: 77) reveals, showed the resistance played by the 'Hispano' majority towards the changes brought into New Mexico by the American control to the point that then Governor Lane -1852- cautioned Newmexicans to "obey the obvious dictate of common sense, and not resist the Manifest Destiny of the United States". Amidst the different ethnic groups in that path to West, New Mexico's Pueblo native peoples, the Native American minority in the Territory, were granted to retain their sovereign status at the end of the war. In that sense, sovereignty later posed as nation-to-nation treaties disguised the factual Native invisibility through assimilation. The U.S. recognizes tribal nations as "domestic

dependent nations" following up the March 3rd, 1871, Indian Appropriation Act<sup>6</sup>, and "[a]llowed to become US citizens" in the February 8th, 1887, Dawes General Allotment Act<sup>7</sup>. However, that institutional setting entitled Pueblos, and tribally affiliated individuals, to negotiate with the Federal government and enact those capacities to enable their dealings on their own terms. At least they could deal with their own cultural/ethnic ways. Besides, we had a pocket of communities of Spanish and Mexican descent, a demographic majority in those days in the seized area. The new jurisdiction raised cultural and ethnic nature issues in dealing with integrating Spanish-rooted traditions into Anglo-Saxon America. Newmexicans were caught by the new social dynamics, disenfranchised from the logic of their former political status as Territorial inhabitants. The new political power scale threw them into disparity and cultural exclusion, mainly because of the national concerns on how to deal with cultural difference. As soon as 1852, governor W.C. Lane had bluntly criticized the prevailing use of Spanish as an official one, stating that English, being the language of all Departments of the US Government, should be the same in New Mexico (Larson, 1968: 77). The debate on race, citizenship, and belonging brought controversy on labeling New Mexico citizens. The negative construction of the term 'Mexican' stuck to this day. As artist 'santera', Marie Romero-Cash, expressed "'Mi padre decía: yo no tengo nada contra los mexicanos, pero yo no soy mexicano. Yo soy hispano.'" (Field Diary 30.10.2014).

The drive spurring this thesis's reasoning is the above-cited persistence and vitality of 'Hispano' identity. Discourse funnels for the pinning of my two analytical concepts: Identity and heritage. My epistemological effort will try to elucidate what is in no way a casual choice. There are four routinely used words that show whenever Newmexicans produce themselves in social interaction; they are tradition, community, identity, and heritage. It is up to every individual or group to provide a specific perspective, context, and meaning. 'Hispanos' would not place themselves differently

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<sup>6</sup> <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/41st-congress/session-3/c41s3ch120.pdf> <accessed, September 19th., 2020, 22:43>

<sup>7</sup> (<https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/dawes-act.htm> <accessed, September 22nd., 2020, 10:03>)

in that issue. I pressed on that throughout my research to get the actual values in their daily usage, and it will eventually be arranged for analysis later on.

*“[I] miss talking Spanish and there's a couple of friends that I've reached out to just so I can talk my native tongue. I go through the casino in Espanola just so I can hear the viejitos the way they talk and there's a big difference with the Mexicans.” (Yolanda Cruz interview January 30<sup>th</sup>, 2019)*

*“[s]he also loved our Lady the Conquistadora... remember she was brought in later by the Spaniards and a father Angélico Chavez, which was my cousin did research on our Lady la Conquistadora... and you know, I know most of the old time Spanish people here were very devoted” (Mónica Sosaya-Salford interview February 1<sup>st</sup>, 2019)*

Those two fragments highlight personal 'Hispano' related values. One refers to the 'old ways', embodied by 'los viejitos', while the other echoes the Spanish past's devotional bond. They both set in play a selection of cultural connections and specific remembrance. There is a selection in access and choice to either memory or amnesia, willful remembering or forgetting, history and tradition's evocation, through discourses' articulation. It is precisely through playfully using memory, history, and tradition that we can introduce value and perspective in the relationship between past and present (Briggs, 1996; Halbwachs, 1992; Hobsbawm and Ranger 2002; Macdonald 2013; Lowenthal 2015). Introducing those values and perspectives into the dialogue to produce identity as a lived culture, somehow holding on to the bearings of experience, is also fundamental in the scaffolding that sustains heritage construction. (Terradas, 2004; Lowenthal, 2015), in the constant mirroring of the present into the past and vice-versa. That reflection provides an additional analytical layer to the reasoning of identity and heritage constructions. The past, its interpretation through memories, individual yet collective and plural, specific yet diffuse, is essential of identity formation discourses. As it happened with my two informants, memory selectively delves into the past for spaces, gestures, images, or objects, making them real, present, and absolute (Nora, 1989; Smith, 2006); they are brought from the past to embody reality. We are talking about recollections and the past's framing into what might become affective and symbolic. The past's meaning being conveyed into present experience in a continuous back and forth interplay of 'past presencing' (Macdonald, 2013).

As we dig further into diachrony for perspective, we consider repurposing that methodology to evaluate the current conditions for both categories of analysis -identity and heritage-. We need to picture out the way we have gotten this far to add depth to the perspective. Glancing at the multiple layers of meaning and elaboration will guide us to get to today's characterization. It is relevant to mention that both taxonomies attain their current shape as part of modernity's reflexivity process and dynamics. That process implies segregation or identification of the 'other', as well as the definition of 'otherness' itself (Bourdieu, 1977; Farrell, 2010) as part of social interaction practices. The identified 'other' would play the inclusion-exclusion game and that of belonging, although we need not lose track of a whole variety of places for multi-ethnic articulation and separation. By belonging, we understand the communication and interaction arena, contingent with a series of assumed, shared, consolidated, and unitary cultural and social values (Barth, 1969). However, the multi-ethnic peculiarities of my actors seem to call for conditions that inform some sort of contrasting angle to identification through 'otherness' segregation. Here, Viveiros de Castro's (2009) and Sahlins' (2011) approach around relationality and mutuality in social relations bring a suitable complementary version closer to the behavioral reality in my research. Far too long sharing blood, land, and ancestors, the different ethnic communities living together in Northern New Mexico are likely to conceptualize their existence in terms of mutuality, as Smith (1981) would put it, as 'mutual people.' Values reflect the perception of integration, feeling rooted, attached, and the person's cohesively felt unity as a part of the group. Likewise, identity caters to social identification's needs underlying individuals' labeling as a specific part within a shared group (Ashford and Mael, 1989; Roitman, 2009); moreover, it justifies social cohesion and group membership in either tangible or imagined communities (Anderson, 1983 y Hobsbawm y Ranger, 2012). The complex web of values associated with the identity's definition can only be fully understood, throwing light on individuals' context as part of society. Accordingly, as Friedman proposed (1994), identity could be shaped by the cultural baggage and social customs. That would justify a specific stance in terms of social participation. A stance pulled from the tangible realities of social life, the internal social complementarity between identities, or the combination of subjectivity and sociability.

As social construction and participation go, the complexity in that combination makes the approach to identity more problematic.

And complexity is solidly underlying within my ethnography's methodological perspective. To engage in that, a couple of decisive considerations will pinpoint the analytical focus. One would be the always tricky interaction between 'the individual' and 'the social' within social practices; another would be the simultaneous interpretations flowing from those practices when they are meant as conveyors from time past or past practices. Both perspectives could be landed according to the proposal raised by Terradas (2004) on the conflicting rationale to build identification. That scenario would be explaining how the discourse gains shape from the intricate interplay within the social structure. Terradas proposition sheds some light about the affairs of the process for identity's construction, a process that holds two ways of discourse pitching, in his view: one that portrays cultural identity as the sediment of day-to-day identity, as lived identity. The other render identity viewed as a formal jurisdictional taxonomy, coming from the political, economic, and institutional grounds. Both, two conflicting occurrences. Both, two separate and confrontational ways in shaping discourse about the memories and the past. Both provide sharp, specific views on how each society defines direction, understands, handles, and relates to the/its past. On the whole, they supply the keys to understand the dynamics in social interaction. We believe that by reviewing the impact of discourses, we will be able to discern how the objectification of the lived identity, as the memory of life-building culture, gets compromised by the dynamics of what is arbitrary and artificial. Furthermore, how it gets compromised by people's legal and political identifications, again mentioning Terradas (2004), how normative criteria for legal/political identification would collide with cultural identity. Those two identity characterizations would work well upon my ethnographic flooring in either measuring social agency, exposing social powers counterbalance, and the 'uses of the past' handling. Altogether, the gate opener analysis units to disclose the social conflicts within the identity structure. Should we pull ourselves aside, we would be able to draft this identity concept path's components. In its inception, conceptualization, construction, and progress, a path echoes how social structures gained shape in the age of revolutions



(Hobsbawm, 1996). Since its establishment as a political unit, New Mexico has been promoted as a cultural and racial melting pot. It has been so to promote New Mexico as a tourist attraction, as a commodified product, articulated around the discourse of social harmony and inter-ethnic cooperation. Despite making apparent the contradiction with a racially framed and divided society, we will make evident the need to value both the combined actions of ethnic segregation and correspondence that arguably would deconstruct the official melting pot fantasy. Some would complain that New Mexico has been marketed as a commodified ethnic property (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009). On their part, Nieto-Phillips (2004) and Weigle (2010) condense the whole underlying idea: “New Mexico was the meeting ground for the modern Americans, the descendants of ‘the Old Latin civilization’ and the ‘native [Pueblo Indian] races’”.

I hold that heritage is another byproduct of modernity’s reflexivity (Hafstein, 2018), enunciated from modernity’s grand narratives (Santamarina, Del Mármol, Beltran, 2014), hence endowed by both sociocultural and conceptual dynamics. Accordingly, we deem heritage just as a cultural device, with no inherently valuable traits. Whenever those traits become apparent, they seem to have more to do with the economic and aesthetic realms than anthropological epistemology. A device in the sense that it emerged as a reference to material objects that, following the preservation logic, trigger memories or unlock the ability to evoke the past (Kirchenblatt-Gimblett, 1995). This kind of framing leaves a couple of reasoning lines opened for my interest. One, around memories' channeling and the evocation through language; the way discourse pulls through the past's perception into a reality. In such a way, discourse outlines a particular experience of the past. The second talks about the concerns of the handling and custody of heritage, as objects that may become qualified to be suited as a treasured possession themselves. Heritage becomes a display of the bidirectional subject-object connection. That mere act of possession becomes both a modernization tool and a sign of modernity (Kirchenblatt-Gimblett, 2006). Heritage as an object pre-existed the concept itself, therefore we could declare that the subject-object connection becomes the provider of a meaningful quality formerly lacking. Through that whole process of separation, conceptualization, and

repossession, the connections and transformations that determine and affect societies get exposed. As a follow-up, we can infer that societies' actions in the procedure of selecting, describing, and adding meaning for the safeguarding of goods and objects supply a powerful representation of those societies. To the extent we award objects with meaning, and we set the caveats for their custody, tracking history may be paramount in displaying the conditions those actions work out and take place. In its framing way, heritage discourse tends to correlate cultures to identity. Heritage, as an artifact, becomes a value-added cultural provider and an enhancer of present time cultural production (Guthrie, 2010 and 2013; Kirchenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; Sánchez-Carretero, 2013). However, how do we get to define heritage with such a socially centered assigned value as we face it in New Mexico? While we above talked about object connection, selection and description that turn into heritage through some sort of representational device, we fall under the need to define what it is actually going on with that concept we call heritage. Two particulars become apparent when we dive into its examination. One that the concept does not just refer to or necessarily have to do with a physical object anymore. It rather encompasses a broad scope of elaborated aspects departing from mere 'physicality'. In that direction, Smith (2006) reflects on the "[a]ct of passing on and receiving memories and knowledge", while Sánchez-Carretero (2013) and Kirchenblatt-Gimblett, (1995) elaborate on whatever tangible or intangible becomes attached to heritage's construction. Instead of paying specific attention to the contours of heritage we move into the second particular, which we understand stems from the former's logic. What should be considered relevant instead here is what happens through time with those objects becoming heritage (Smith, 2006; Sánchez-Carretero, 2013). While far too often, the heritage object itself outshines the whole process of patrimonialization to the point of concealing, what Lukàcs (1972) calls its fundamental nature, the relations between people, we will focus on the complexity of that process. We will do so in reporting the research results that will examine the practices and, most importantly discursive practices deployed in identity's legitimization.

Calling it a process, we point out the multiple implicit contexts' heritage characterization may attain in a timespan. In terms of representational worth, heritage

stresses the need for people to value, preserve, catalog, restore, or exhibit in a shared acceptance for belonging and an inclusion/exclusion role (Novelo, 2005); that merges with the construction of identity processes and the politics of identity (Sánchez-Carretero, 2013; Terradas, 2004). That value of construction impels the consideration that heritage would reassess the eventual outcome of a process. So, heritage becomes arguably informed by the process's course, which eventually informs ulterior outcoming results. In this case, we will refer to that process here as patrimonialization. This wording choice for this analytical device -patrimonialization- responds to my decided motivation to either use this tagging, already working, and make present Spanish references in line with the 'Hispano' approach, instead of the English term of heritagization. In both cases, in line with Sánchez-Carretero (2013) specific nuances in the use of the English term, we would be referring to the processes by which heritage gets eventually construed. With this analytical tool, we would enter on a terrain that directs us into a one-direction two-lane path. One that addresses both the cultural production processes and the act of creating meaning, communication, and engagement in and for the present with recourse to the past (Kirchenblatt-Gimblett, 1995; Smith, 2006). In that same tone, Macdonald lays out (2013), in the caveats to her 'past presencing', that "[w]ithin this sensibility *patrimonialization*<sup>8</sup>– the conscious making-valuable of the past through embodied actions – can be understood as a heightened affective process, or an 'act' of heritage", or the footprint of memory and oblivion (Criado-Boado, 2001). While looking for its roots, heritage can be considered a social, cultural practice breeding culture; so, culture turns into an artifact reflecting its own production (Kirchenblatt-Gimblett, 2004; Smith, 2006; Sánchez-Carretero, 2013). Lane number two also behaves in that production scheme and addresses discourse as the means to channel and magnify certain aspects of the past references. There, the symbolic power that representational accounts of the past play a powerful and fundamental role in identity construction processes, turning them from shared markers of identity connection into all the rhetorical areas of social interactions (Smith, 2006; Del Mármol, 2007).

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<sup>8</sup> Author's note: I removed here the original heritagization to keep the consistency with patrimonialization as the wording choice.

In that rhetorical interplay that we are laying out to track and explain heritage and identity production, one last 'player' will be brought into my elaboration: the territory. We will not take the territory just like a blank representational canvas for the reason to merely stage social practices. As a dialectic tool, we need to deploy how the territory becomes a created or imagined contextual space of cultural performativity and discursive production, working as a catalyst for the symbolic and representational level (Gallegos, 2017; Smith, 2006). My ethnographic choice, New Mexico as the land-base for both the institutional New Mexico and the Newmexicans, would play that role. The territory would be here a place for connection, a lived space that demands and provides symbolic or imagined formulas of a community (Anderson, 1983; Cohen, 1985; Appadurai, 1996; Swentzell, 1997). The territory and its handling become a location and the basis of a complex of social norms and relations, both ambiguous and ambivalent, both a representational device and a stage for representation (Keating, 1999). As a place, it is hybrid, porous, and open to the co-existence or contention of different narratives, a constructed reality to anchor a sense of belonging (Massey, 1999; Escobar 2002; Smith, 2006). "Heritage is about a sense of place", asserts Smith (2006), and while heritage is upscaled as a locus for meaning, the territory is warped holding identification strategies (Escobar, 2002), both combined becoming contingent with each other.

The territory works as the setup scenario providing the fabric for collective belonging and otherness confronted to other ethnic groups (Harrison in Fairclough, Harrison, Jameson y Schofield, 2008). Moreover, the territory as 'the land' is the arena for simultaneous play and production for identity and alterity's inclusion and exclusion (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992). Those Newmexicans who call themselves 'Hispanos' link and validate their identification with the land as a continuum of that call. The land attributes, homeland as a sentiment (Rios-Bustamante and Blaut, 1984; Rodrigues, 1986; Nostrand, 1992), its possession, and timeless connection always show up in identity's discursive articulation and production. In my case, the land as a paradigm to leverage the cultural entity upon acknowledging the rejection suffered, and the land as a representational carpet for the layout of the cultural and social connections built through 'mestizaje' (Anzaldúa, 1987; Fonseca-Chávez, Romero, & Herrera, eds., 2020).

Those ideas look forward to conveying an established community's archetype with the territory - 'Gemeinschaft' - (Tönnies, 2002) combined with shared interests, values, rituals and goods (Bauman 1992; Geertz 1973; Ortner 1978; Williams, 1976), and a necessity to draw analogies between the different worlds' domains (Strathern, 1992: 47). The ethnographic venues that we have engaged in – 'La Fiesta' and MoSCA - gain their relevance here in the capacity that turns them into a geographical and temporal occurrence. In their existence, they generate and establish borders and a specific territory and define a time and space which ownership becomes called by the self-defined community (Delgado, 2004). Newmexican 'Hispanos' voice their belonging to the territory as their heritage, sometimes to the point of wielding entitlement. In all, they would relay that notion of a homeland (Bustamante, 1982; Nostrand, 1992; Horton, 2010; Grimes, 2013) working as a handy effective reminiscing construction for them. A symbolic transferring from former times and ideas set by the late eighteenth hundreds, the conflicting times when the US and New Mexico started to set in motion.

In New Mexico, community representation became a conflicting issue mostly ducted through a dispute between institutional and vernacular identity representations; again, we can see how valid, and sound is the echoing of previous Terradas (2004) elaboration here. In the cultural environment of the factual and symbolic representation of identity politics, 'Hispanos' have portrayed themselves as an ethnic group coming from an outright different, non-American experience. Beyond that social exercise, 'Hispanos' did not have had historically felt the pressure to produce themselves within the realm of such a taxonomy. Identification was taken for granted in the previous colonial system, only to show out of necessity after annexation. In a way, they conveyed the jurisdictional frame setting of 'Hispanos' as a conveniently compact racial, ethnic group, alienated from the American being because of their Spanish heritage -an alienated one-. Instead of integration and assimilation, a sense of cultural and racially tainted social segregation underpins the regular 'Hispano' life. Newmexican 'Hispanos' feel themselves disparaged by the folk-like vision of the institutional narratives about them. It all was part of the developing social dynamics. While 'Hispanos' currently struggle with their perception of symbolism cancellation, the state has proved outwardly efficient and productive in the state's marketing

discourse, all the way since the beginning of the 20th century. Through time and even more recently, the newly minted ethnic social-politics conversation raised to political discourse prominence since the Civil Rights' movement, back in the late 1960s, and academy ideological production, coming from the Chicano<sup>9</sup> and Native American studies<sup>10</sup> departments and faculties, has deflected the study on 'Hispano' Newmexican identity production. That new direction shifted the tone away from further research on principles and motivations of the ongoing discourse of the 'Hispano' taxonomy.

It is not out of focus that the condition of a racially biased class hierarchy in the US has nurtured individual and collective positioning and discourse. The cohesion and social identity to structure social relationships within the formation of the American society, as Hobsbawm articulates (2002; 273), owed to what nations would establish as their regulatory, social norms in their inception. That commonly accepted frame shaped the American society around the ideas of racial and ethnic origins meshed with class systems and hierarchies (Anderson, 1983; Hobsbawm y Ranger, 2002). The consolidation of that kind of social structure in the American society has left the 'Hispanos' to their own devices, having to appeal to the constant negotiation of strategies around their 'repertoires of the past.' (Macdonald, 2013). Those repertoires borrowed from the ideological mechanism that conveys the operational message of race subsumed under the ethnicity taxonomy (Gomez, 2007). 'Hispanos' would not be able to dodge away from itemized ethnic composed self-ascription whenever they have to confront the census filling, as they have to confront the unavoidable racial assignment. Accepting that social paradigm implies that agreeing on "[b]elonging to an ethnic category implies being a certain kind of person, having that basic identity, it also

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<sup>9</sup> Chicana/o studies originate from the Chicano Movement of the late 1960s and 1970s to study the Chicana/o and Latina/o experience from various fields, including history, sociology, the arts, and literature. In Albuquerque, NM, the Chicana/o Studies Department earned its graduate level at the University of New Mexico, in 2017, as an interdisciplinary program. The purpose of the department is to promote a critical understanding of Chicano/Hispano/Mexicano communities through teaching, research, and advocacy. (<https://chicanos.unm.edu/> <accessed, November 30th., 2021, 12:08>)

<sup>10</sup> Native American studies (NAS) is an interdisciplinary academic field that examines the history, culture, politics, issues, spiritual, sociology, and contemporary experience of Native peoples in North America, focusing on the differences rather than the similarities between other Ethnic studies disciplines. The UNM's NASA department is an interdisciplinary one committed to Indigenous academic scholarship and research excellence at the undergraduate level. (<https://nas.unm.edu/> <accessed, November 30th., 2021, 12:05>)

implies a claim to be judged, and to judge oneself" (Barth, 1969). Following that rationale, Newmexican 'Hispanos' exert themselves in expressing what they perceive as a social bond or a cultural tie, either linguistic, religious, territorial, historical, or traditional. The resonance of the invocation they deliver leads to a sense of obligation and commitment to their history. To do that, they mutually aim at restoring and paying honor to both their ancestors and their descendants, to a continuous mode to articulate their identity.

## **1.2 The motivational outline**

When trying to figure out the motivation drive behind this thesis project, it unflinchingly brings a question chasing me for the last seventeen years since my first visit to the American Southwest. It was a personal request that echoed so many times the one that many of the interlocutors I had interacted with had been hurling at me. Why New Mexico? That question keeps drumming still today, maybe as proof that I have not managed to progress in the trailing of what has turned into such an elusive topic. Moreover, the question comes to mind because I am trying to frame the reasons underpinning this long and arduous five-year project, I undertook a year after finishing my master's paper. New Mexico had been behind both my TFG and my TFM. They both were meant to display the academic knowledge earned after my coming back to structured learning. Somehow this doctoral project would not admittedly move far from that intent. It has been a five-year project where the primary motivation was learning, exposing myself to others, another country, other cultures, another way of life, and another approach to handle life, different from my own. That would unquestionably be the leading and bold motivation behind this workpiece and solid support for the research undertaking. Initial curiosity had lightened up a penchant towards an alibi after the first 2004 trip. It was the Spanish-related cultural and historical link and perceiving how that link turned into bonding when I got exposed to person-to-person interaction. Swerving my full attention to the profuse ways of hurling Spanish-related cultural traditions in identification shape set the warning lights that

further the research. Figuring out the conditions that spurred such behaviour came after, to eventually understand that the society I was researching had a complex history and had adaptational issues in confronting the current state of events to become part of a more inclusive American culture.

So, when looking for motivations, we understand they are of the assorted and varied character. The keywords shown in the abstract would throw some light on the lead: 'Hispanos,' Newmexicans, identity, heritage, tradition. They would reflect my field of interest, moving from earlier interests on the same topic area. I meant to test myself forward in producing knowledge based on the training I had been having during my master's years. While I had been approaching the identity issues 'Hispanos' had from an aesthetic and symbolic perspective, I pressed myself to follow a more practical approach, introducing the studies on heritage. I understood that heritage, a recurrent topic line my informants resorted so frequently, and part of the Newmexican social and institutional discourse, could help me to clarify the terms in which it is used, also as another discourse supporting ingredient. In that sense, I was curious how 'Hispano' discourse meshed tradition, heritage, and identity together, seemingly random, to the point that all three concepts looked as if they were interchangeable. I learned through literature that all three concepts got woven together in their production, as they conceptually evolved from the articulation of references that played a great deal in the structure of modern mentality. Tradition, heritage, and identity came together from a non-existing articulation based on modernity's needs to conceptualize social life. The outing of the Ancient Regime abruptly forced a new perspective to social life, and the national structures coming out from that out fashioned political structure got compelled to find the loopholes that self-reflexivity brought to the equation of making sense of the ways of the Western civilization.

That is why all this makes sense in the outcome because reflexivity introduced a sense of duality that makes the research the most interesting. To conceptualize identity, tradition, and heritage, we must look backward in time. That will be the point of using so many historical references and resources. The first, because it provides a lengthy context. Second because it opens the possibility of comparing at different stages. In that sense, the recourse to diachrony in analysis has enhanced the quality



standards in the comparative approach. As we will talk about identity, tradition, and heritage, we cannot skip the notion that my object of study is not an isolated laboratory item. 'Hispanos' share a cultural and geographical environment with other ethnic groups, and they have been sharing that for quite a lengthy time. That unavoidably brings the issues of perception in the approach to one's past when conceptualizing one's identity, tradition, and heritage. Different ethnic groups, sharing the same territorial space for centuries, must necessarily have different perceptions on the same issue. This is one of the prerequisites of an ethnic group relative to another. As Loeffler (2016) asserts, both would provide different cultural solutions to the same generic problem. One other item in ethnic differentiation gets obtained through confrontational 'otherness' (Harrison, 2008). A group gets its own value from facing itself in front of the 'other.' The group 'self' becomes a reference point in an inclusion/exclusion game (Hall, 1996: 25). We have, then, a confrontational battleground where the concepts, apparently solid and cohesive in their description, get shattered by perception, depending on the viewpoint. In that sense I understood that the theoretical choice had been a great option in devising a cohesive explanation to the apparent conflicting social environment the 'Hispanos' utterance of identity, heritage, and tradition suggested. Much of the literature that I reviewed goes after specific topics that address individual features of the 'Hispano' culture. I somehow went too far in the ambition to bring together the many issues I saw open but unquestionably connected. I cannot avoid the feel that the whole task of production for this thesis, meaning to display the knowledge obtained during the long years of study and research has implied quite an encyclopaedic work that remains open for further investigation and analysis.

### **1.3 Thesis structure and methodology**

The methodology put in place for this research revolves around what it is the central hub for Cultural and Social Anthropology: the fieldwork. The thesis objectives have been following classical anthropology protocols, mostly related to the qualitative comparative methodology –comprehensive bibliographic and documental revision,

field research, and interviews). The research orientation was focused on a range of strategies. The first one could be considered of the 'extractivist' condition digging to maximize the broader scope of discourses within the 'Hispano' entourage. It called for comprehensive observation and interaction with informants, the general public, and 'Hispano' community gatekeepers. The final objective in that sense was getting as many views as possible informing the articulation of identity discourse. We were looking for context to the discursive process that would inform the final identity production. The synchrony in that part of the research was matched by a diachrony in information treatment, with comprehensive input from documental resources. That diachrony also fit the need to inform the context and the process that our analysis taxonomies had been following. That mechanic would let us play to ascertain categories' temporary manipulations to benefit or promote specific interests or entitlements.

This thesis is organized around three different frame sets encompassing six chapters. To begin with, Chapter 1 will get framed as a general introductory topic, compiling a general summary of the report, methodology description, geographical and social contextualization, and specific terminology used through the whole work. The Introduction will summarize the whole paper's overview, condensing whatever is descriptive, contextual, and analytic for both a panoramic and insight projection in guiding the reader. It will break down the thesis objectives to understand how calling for tradition, history, culture, and heritage would condition the process towards the 'Hispano' identity construction. The research analysis would follow the construction process of tradition and heritage in the confrontation of diverse viewpoints and strategies towards identity articulation. The approach will bring the comparative diachrony to establish the parallel between two timely processes. The first one would underline the process of the analysis units -identity and heritage- we have been using for my ethnography towards being conceptualized as theoretical concepts. The second would hint at the inception and process of articulating identification as a distinct product of the New Mexico historical process.

The second set will bundle Chapters 2 and 3 up to get at the complex contexts surrounding my object of study. Chapter 2 will address the conceptual frame we have devised to approach and dissect the ethnography work. We start by anticipating the

specifics of anthropology analysis on the case at hand, with a small detail of historical contextualization leading to the deployment of the three analysis concepts discussed throughout the thesis tradition, identity, and heritage-. Thus, the emphasis is brought here to expose the complex relation between those concepts and delivered while weighing one against the other based on previous referenced works and authors.

Chapter 3 will come along with the previous one to outline a descriptive, background check out, contextual record. That chapter will focus on the presentation and detailed references that have historically molded the political and social entity New Mexico became into, in 1912, as a member of the Union. That will enable locating and fixing the historical context agents behind New Mexico's political and power structures, both social and institutional. That we split and signal the difference between the two bodies enlightens the disconnect we have acknowledged through the research work between both of them. We find that relevant as an assessment for policies and regulations that eventually affected identity construction and patrimonialization processes. Many of those policies got obscured by the continuous futile attempts to set provisions that would end up in a constitutional document -1850, 1872, 1889, and 1910-. Federal resistance from Washington and local Anglos lobbied against New Mexico's draft of the constitution because they believed Newmexicans were not 'American' enough and were incompetent to govern themselves (Montgomery, 2002: 69). Most of the policies were addressed to prevent New Mexico from going too Spanish, to the point that Governor Prince -1889- complained to then-President Benjamin Harrison about the lack of Hispano appointments to fill civil office posts (Montgomery, 2002: 253).

The source for the complex construction process of New Mexico as a political entity comes out from shackled historical stages. Even more so, considering the social, cultural, and political cataclysm that chain entailed in that process; that is, New Spain's Viceroyalty up until 1821, Mexico's independence, and the eventual integration as a Territory, under the control of the American administration, at the end of the war between Mexico and the United States, in 1848. The second step in that direction will veer towards a particular topic as a mere historical exercise in contextualization. For the reason to align my argumentation, we need to set a historical parallel. In one track

goes the inception of New Mexico as a political unit. On the other, we have the bursting momentum of Social and Behavioral Sciences as regulated knowledge, most notably in the hands of cultural anthropology. The first one is political, while the second is conceptual. The first follows a historical pace that would take New Mexico from Spanish Colonial province to Mexican state, up to American territory, and eventually a state. The second relies on the anthropology capacity to gather and analyze empirical data to better understand human communities. Furthermore, both tracks fuse into one because they become a self-reflection of the modernity development in their own processes. The historical track of New Mexico is contemporary with the separation of analytical domains, refinement in epistemological scope, and classification of knowledge conditions (Foucault 1970; Latour 1993; Haraway 1995; Mignolo 2013), prompted by modernity. We understand both of them together would score the necessary context to follow and explain the different steps identity and heritage conceptualization have taken to reach the point they are at today, in New Mexico. We do all this from the historical context because we see modernity's reflexivity (Hafstein, 2018) could be considered the shared layer to all the progress effective since the mid-eighteen hundreds. Modernity is behind the expanded definitions to analytical concepts we will henceforward use, culture, community, ethnicity, race, discourse, identity, and heritage amongst them. The specifics in how we ended up using them today pull from those pivotal times. In my mind, we see as informative and relevant the bi-directional connection between cultural history and political projects. That was when anthropology shaped analysis's concepts while confronting modern to premodern conditions. In parallel to that development took place a double construction: the expansion of the US national task and the institutional embodiment of New Mexico as a modern world political unit yielded from the crumbling antique regime Spanish empire.

I intend all that to be just a layout, merely in the inventory and descriptive tone, beyond what we have considered contextual and framing, for later analytical development. As a contextual summary, we will consider the processes associated with the sociopolitical construction of New Mexico and the implosion of conceptual and knowledge apparatus. At this point, we walk into the third thematic package, with

Chapters 4 and 5, handling the case studies outlining the analysis for this thesis. The Santa Fe Fiesta and the MoSCA, as ethnography sites, should be considered socialization spaces around particular cultural elements related to Spanish-rooted traditions. Although the whole ethnographic fieldwork's process has been centered in these two factual tangible venues, it also became the pretext to further engage in further collateral interviews and interactions. The former around traditional cultural customs and diverse specific festive ritualizations. 'La Fiesta' is the most paradigmatically popular, performative, and non-Native American related, continuously celebrated tradition in the state. For both the state institutions and the organizers - the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, Los Caballeros de Vargas – a nonprofit Catholic ministry in charge of staging the Entrada for decades – the All-Pueblo Council of Governors, and the city of Santa Fe – 'La Fiesta' is defined as 'the oldest community celebration in the US'. 'La Fiesta' became staged, as Hobsbawm (2002) would say, through public ritualized traditions. In the course of time, it turned from a domestic cultural, once a year, commemoration, virtually on the Catholic religious ritual, into a weekend-long mass popular celebration reified and commodified for local and foreigners' general consumption. Although the Fiesta program's core content seems to revolve around religious ritualization of the Catholic faith - thanksgivings, processions, and masses -, the truth is that the whole city gets shaped into a venue for public socializing and celebration. A summertime season rite of passage farewell on shared spaces for popular art markets, street food, musical events, and several pageants.

The MoSCA is the current site of the Spanish Colonial Arts Society -SCAS-, founded in Santa Fe in 1925 by writer Mary Austin and artist/writer Frank G. Applegate. As a museum venue is more in the itemized inventory for preservation purposes of the traditional heritage concept, around what is referred as traditional religious art. Since it has been mentioned, it mainly holds exhibitions and culturally related activities and programs on the ornamental art of religious nature of the Spanish Colonial tradition. However, we can find seasonal exhibits of local, more contemporary style unrelated to the devotional, that could be referred as innovation folk art. In the aesthetic sense, the museum embodies the representational corpus of local traditional Spanish devotion and the catholic aesthetic-religious traditions of the colonial and territorial past. Its

collections in the Spanish representation dimension exemplify the substantial symbolism coalescing specific socializing ways and memories re-rooting (Macdonald, 2013) either for Newmexican 'Hispanos' and New Mexico's vernacular culture. It is in those grounds of the representational that the MoSCA becomes the arena to push 'Hispano' identity discourses, and not only on or around the aesthetic or devotional grounds.

To set the finishing task for the paper, Chapter 6 will deliver a recap and a summary of closing thoughts, conclusions, and eventual recommendations coming out from the thesis, that would be inclusively educational for future generations of Newmexicans.

### **1.3.1 Notes on methodology**

The first bulk of the methodology work was engaged in thorough bibliographic research and survey of primary and secondary resources. The object of study, the very same ethnographic conditions, required a deep contextualization. In this way, we tried to fix a setting point we could tie to the conflictive features within the current social practices. After fixing that first period, at the time of the end of the US-Mexico war, in 1850, the historical and conceptual contextualization allowed us to track down and follow-up the discursive construction processes related to and consistent with my analytical concepts: identity and heritage. On the whole, it has required a study and research based on a lengthy diachrony span, as far back as the mid-eighteen hundreds. For that purpose, we followed the bibliographic survey focusing on the core of the state's resource centers, concerned and relevant to my topic: The University of New Mexico's Center for Southwest Research and Special Collections (Albuquerque, NM); The New Mexico State Records Center & Archives, Fray Angélico Chávez History Library, The Laboratory of Anthropology Library, The New Mexico Museum of Art Library, Museum of International Folk Art Library (MoIFA), Museum of Spanish Colonial Art (MoSCA), The School for Advanced Research (SAR), all in Santa Fe, NM. As it is pertinent in that field, we checked primary and secondary sources related to legislation, policies, and storytelling that conveyed relevant ethnic, racial, cultural, and heritage discourses.

It was a way to record historical events to figure out the processes towards specific discourses of identity and heritage in the build-up for identity.

On some other tone, we have stretched my bibliography research to the contextualization of my analytical concepts, as well. Instead of taking identity and heritage as cohesive paradigms for the analytical task, we have considered the historical evolution of the values they have been given through time. That evaluation would transmit a fairer picture of their use as discursive tools through time that has ended up falling into the current use. The idea behind this combined methodology is to obtain an information set that would render a more accurate picture of what is currently happening at the site level -Fiesta and MoSCA-, enabling a certain degree of comparison or categorization in the exercise.

The methodology implemented for the location has been the fieldwork-based upon participant observation. The lengthy fieldwork stays (July - October 2017 / October 2018 – March 2019 / August – December 2019) have been documented in several journals, in that endeavor. Even the already apparent familiarity we already had, due to previous master's fieldwork, the purpose of the field trips was to deepen the connection to the social fabric and strengthen the bonds already at work. Those journals portray the interactions with informants, festive and parochial social practices alike, and a heavily pixeled picture of the researcher's daily life. As a crucial part of the fieldwork, we have sustained a routine of individual interviews with informants, some of them considered 'Hispano' community's social gatekeepers by this researcher. Understanding local construction of identity, as an elaboration of heritage discourse requires an appropriate identification, and description of the stakeholders. As we point out to that social figure, we mean to make explicit those decision-makers, players, and agency holders, both individual or organizational, that portray or feel a sense of belonging and a need for participation, who would get involved in the whole identification process. From the field diaries (28.07.2017), I recall Michael Leon Trujillo referring to the figure some of them embodied as 'cultural brokers'. The way they articulate their discourse in relation to past, present, and future, have proved a key methodology element.

I have identified key participant and informers:

- Traditional religious artists –‘santeros’- that were already in my contact list as previous informants to my Master’s paper, as Spanish Market artists.
- Professors, faculty members (UNM), curators, and museum personnel.
- Local officials related to the policy decision making.
- Officials related with the organizations involved in the sites of study.
- Individuals who self-ascribed themselves a belonging to the community object of study.
- Local business owners, assistants, and volunteers
- College students and vocational classes participants.
- General public, local visitors, and tourists attending the events observed.

As a complementary work, we have entertained casual interviews and conversations in random unplanned encounters in social gatherings, venues, and events, that have also been filed in the journal. Some of the informants contacted, not everyone, consented to be recorded while being interviewed. The resulting audio files had been eventually transcribed in the process to build up the ethnography's narrative and may be used for future reference. Those that went unrecorded were duly transcribed instead as a part of the journals. In all, they provided a valuable source and a broad scope of information and wisdom. In addition to those ways of collecting information, we have applied the methodology that considers the ‘online’ fieldwork and data gathered on social media and from the digital environment as useful in ethnography research. This methodology has been particularly useful in retaining fluent communication threads while away from the field. It has also helped bridge the distance gap between the informants and the researcher; to make proximity more apparent. In the same way, it has proved beneficial in complementing insights from the interviews’ transcriptions. Furthermore, it has been positively instrumental in planning, scheduling, and managing engagement for meetings and interviews. Media and ‘online’ fieldwork were not initially part of the fieldwork inquiry. However, for the sake of accessibility, we have sustained consistent conversations and thorough information exchanges through the new social media platforms, most frequently on Facebook. We



had done that for convenience due to the need to fill in gaps when the researcher was not on the field. Sometimes, whenever it had been the case while on the field, the social media communications conveniently fitted for scheduling and continuous information. In addition, distance and agenda matching made conversations much easier to arrange through computer means. We will not go in-depth on that theoretical framing work, regardless of whether we value that conceptual task is worth engaging in the future. We acknowledge that methodology would provide specific context and value to the strategies to approach the research process. Those digital tools, altogether with the vast amount of information available, have smoothed addressing the current social events set in a multilayered fashion, providing quite a thorough insight and approach into the actual discursive roots, with no reduced content.

### 1.3.2 Notes on fieldwork

The matching site section of this methodology got engaged with the two main selected settings we considered relevant for my analytical unit. We valued 'La Santa Fe Fiesta' and the Museum of Spanish Colonial Art -MoSCA- as significant venues where practices, social interaction, and performativity were exposed in great detail and extent.

The 'Fiesta' is the state's capital's official festivity. As such, the whole city becomes the open-air venue for the annual social celebration, held during the first weekend in September. Actually, the festivities run through the week leading up to that weekend, closing the summer cycle. The activities proposed by different promoters consistently coalesce into intense social participation with locals and visitors alike. The Museum of Spanish Colonial Art -MoSCA-, at the Museum Hill complex in Camino Lejo, Santa Fe, has been the holder of the most representative and dense exhibition of local New Mexican Spanish rooted art, past and new, since July 2002; it mainly is about ornamental art of religious nature, "becoming the only museum in the world dedicated to Spanish colonial art, with a special focus on the unique art styles developed in New Mexico"<sup>11</sup>. In that sense, it embodies the representational corpus of local traditional

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<sup>11</sup> <https://www.spanishcolonial.org/our-history.html> <accessed, November 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2020, 11:25>

Spanish devotion and the catholic aesthetic-religious traditions of the colonial and territorial past. It happens to be a particular hub for cultural transmission and social relations, on the events and exhibitions held throughout the year. Both the collections, mostly coming from private donations, and the museum building -a paradigmatic representation of the old Spanish and Pueblo local architecture, euphemistically called Santa Fe Style-, convey an unambiguous discourse and narratives construed around and sensible to the Spanish colonial tradition, with a folk-like approach in the art choice selection and display. Both venues have been a productive ground for active participation and observation. We emphatically engaged in quite a wide range of activities; pageants, masses and processions, institutional events, street art markets, and popular entertainment shows, during 2019 'Fiesta' time; art training programs, curatorial art practice, exhibition openings, specific educational programs held by the Spanish Colonial Art Society, within the MoSCA premises, and most prominently the 2018 and 2019 'Santero' Market -Albuquerque Old Town Plaza-, 2018 Winter Spanish Market -National Hispanic Cultural Center, Albuquerque-, and the 2017 Spanish Market -Santa Fe Plaza-.

Both the research methodology and the ethnographic fieldwork brought the local terminology issue to the forefront. To correctly enter in the descriptive grounds of the place and the people in the research, we understood that some vernacular terms should get discerned. First, the terminology was specific both to the area and the events. Terminology had to do with common local knowledge and the use of geographical names. Then, the researcher needed to detail the use of choices in defining his options for specific terms. Local and vernacular categories might get produced in both languages -Spanish and English-. While they can get translated, their uttering often gets charged with intention and meaning. We have taken that stance myself, so we meant to expose the logic behind specific choices, however slanted they might look.

So far identity's linked terminology gets concerned, it gets convenient to lay out it has taken multiple shapes and directions in the many historical episodes New Mexico has gone through for a hundred and seventy years up to the present day. The curse of relationships within the Newmexican cultural environment is rather complex and proof

of the delicate balance in interethnic relationships, and social hierarchies, that the ethnography would try to discern. However, we find it relevant to stress that identity, as a category, had eventually gained entire conceptualization in that same span as a confirmation of the need to express cohesion within the structure of social relationships. In New Mexico, social interaction and implemented policies have been furthering specific terms concerning ethnic, cultural, and racial identification, conveying Federal ruling and prevailing social ideologies. Those terms have been temporarily explicit in a specific value that might have got modified and fitted through time or even discarded as part of individual and community strategies. We aim at exposing and illustrating identity terminology showing up throughout this thesis and specific regional terms for the sake of clarification.

### 1.3.3 Terminology

The analysis choice for this thesis initially raises a fundamental basic issue. It is the one that calls for a comprehensive description of the place. A place that is such a long way apart but also provides similar cultural references -language and specific customs- to those of the researcher, on the same token. In this context, the writing task has raised the need to use specific terminology to tackle that problem. The glossary has gained a relevant purpose by its everyday use, assuming that usage brings meaning. For the sake of precision and to place the reader, this section is committed to exposing and defining the use and the purpose of using them in this document. To begin with, we start by elaborating why the use of the term New Mexico.

What initially was the New Mexico territory, as a northern province of 'la Nueva España,' was renamed New Mexico territory after the US annexation at the end of the 1848 US-Mexico war. Settlers had occupied from 1598 and established on the banks of the northern part of Rio Grande (Annex Image – 4), in today's New Mexico; the region that stretches from the current day town of Taos south to the city of Albuquerque. There were smaller settlements all the way up north, at the San Luis Valley and current day Pueblo, Co. All that narrow land-strip was engulfed by the territory of Pueblo tribes,

Hopi, Zuni, and the lands used by nomadic peoples and bands -Navajo, Ute, Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache (Jicarilla and Mescalero)- in the Southwest. The geographical conditions were ones of high desert, with an averaged elevation of 2.200m.

In cultural terms, the English language that was dominant after the annexation paved the way for the New Mexico term general use, even though the majority, initially, had Spanish as a shared language. Today, and through the research lapse, New Mexico was used in both languages -English and Spanish- interactions, without further implications. We get stuck to that denomination for uniformity throughout the text. Sometimes the translation 'Nuevo' would intentionally show in writing to match a specific timespan, defining the pre-existence of the New Mexico.

Pertinent to that, we introduce 'Newmexican' as the term choice to address the naming of New Mexico citizens. While the most commonly used term would be 'New Mexican,' we made the other choice to actually convey and reproduce what the mechanics of language transmit during conversations. When in a Spanish-led interaction, the identification would show as 'Nuevomexicano.' Professor Enrique Lamadrid introduced the term 'nuevomexicano' in his UNM SWRC/Zimmerman Library presentation on January 24, 2019, that he titled: "Sueños de coyote: the emergence of genízaros in the nuevomexicano literary imagination". That is, people would not split the use of both words, uttering them out in just one go, in either language. We adhere to that routine, also as a willful differentiation to honor the people in the state. Again, the term would show up in the translated version -Nuevomexicano- throughout the text, mainly as other writers' reference.

The third term refers to a place: the Southwest. In common popular knowledge, the Southwest, as a regional term, includes the states of New Mexico and Arizona and adjacent areas of neighboring states -Utah, Colorado, Nevada, Oklahoma, Texas, and California-. However, the Southwest is a topographic place and a place in the American imaginary. Geographical conditions have determined the slow pace in social changes that make still present social considerations that have been wiped out elsewhere due to the modernization stride. Because of that, the Southwest and its peoples still have to bear the burden of being considered set back in time. That is the condition of being

considered a frontier land, always a step too far to be conquered, and always a place in the imaginary where anything can happen. Because of all that, the Southwest has become more of a locus in the mindset of the American culture. From Lummis' 'The Land of Poco Tiempo' (1969, [1897]), to Steinbeck's 'Grapes of Wrath' (1939), to Jack Kerouac's 'On the Road' (1957), the Southwest has meant a continuous cultural thread linking both coasts in the country. There is a whole imaginary set apart to cater to what the Southwest means for modern culture. Stocking (1989), as reported by Horton (2010: 199), goes as far as pointing at the Southwest as the embers of the concept of culture that was fashioned as the antithesis of the alienating capitalism and industrialization. In that sense retains the exotic flavor of a foreign land within the continental US. When we talk about the Southwest throughout the paper, maybe because our informants had referred to it in an interaction, we do it not just pointing out a place but calling the meaning of the geography, the demographics, and the culture of the place in, all bundled up together in a single parcel.

#### **1.4 Objectives and hypothesis**

The first steps into the initial project were hesitant regarding objectives' definition. During the whole research process, and while triaging and confronting for analysis, it became clear to this researcher that 'Hispano' identity discourse in New Mexico displayed some problematic issues from the very beginning. The proposed mapping of the cultural and social characteristics of the Newmexican ethnic communities, while they confronted the very well-fitted and consistent institutional discourse of a tri-cultural, tri-ethnic state, would prove not to be informative or clarifying enough. We understand such a rhetoric artifact fails to acknowledge internal diversity in communities, as well as intermixing within groups. The tri-cultural assignment conveniently comes as a management device to help to deal with cultural and ethnic diversity in the state. It would follow what Harrison (2013: 142) lays out on the popularity of the use of the term 'multiculturalism' as a device to politically deal with "the 'problem' of the existence of different ethnic groups within a single nation (Ang, 2005).

The central thesis objective is to analyze and address the shaping factors and dynamics that pitch into the need for precise 'Hispano' identity discourse in New Mexico, US. That general view would lead to a cause/reaction mixed principle: the analysis of how 'Hispano' identity articulation either furnishes or gets furnished by underlying social issues. Throughout the ethnography task, we got aware that 'ethno-racial' markers brand the social structure in the state. Because of that, we soon inferred that social tensions and assorted access, somehow randomly at first sight, to cultural issues might be underpinning unresolved or not even talked issues. We hypothesize that the uttering of cultural traits through articulating specific social values -tradition, identity, and heritage- actively asserts the presence of intrinsic social issues. That might be the case simmering since New Mexico's institutional inception as the current political unit. While we keep the speculation open throughout the paper on the alternative of an inclusive, multi-ethnic, and partaking approach as a favorable healing social work, we also try to address how an eventual discourse cohesiveness might help precipitate future, better-informed community narratives.

The complexity introduced by both the analysis unit -the 'Hispano' community- and the concepts – tradition, heritage, identity-, have proved even more so because it soon became clear that the need for context would throw extra challenges into the analysis. By context, we meant tracking the whole series of processes that would inform the inception, growth, evolution, and consolidation of the analysis unit and conceptual topics earlier mentioned. In order to provide backup and some order to the complexity provided by the topic, we have upheld the following objectives:

- To comprehensibly scan, examine, and evaluate the expressions and articulation of identification within New Mexico's social life upon the concepts of tradition, ethnicity, identity, and heritage. That general view will provide a perspective on the set of values the Newmexican society would deploy to express self-identification. We will do that to examine my analysis unit -the Newmexican 'Hispanos'- both ways, as a separate isolated unit and as a part of the ethnic conglomerate the community had been operating for the last two centuries.

- The second step forward, departing from that previous, aims at exposing and analyzing the set of parameters involved in the whole construction process that would behave and determine the limits and arrangement of narratives around 'Hispano' identity. This objective directly calls out for the contextual information that would give a sharper picture of concepts. In that order, we could pay attention to the process construction, tracking temporary manipulations of category concepts that would eventually define the definitions that got used and prevailed. Furthermore, the device of comparative history diachrony in the exposition will be instrumental in bringing out the most detailed specificity possible in the task to understand the analysis unit.
- To analyze and contextualize, pulling from a non-exclusive American point of view, the workout of identity production upon the basis of the relationship between identity, tradition, and heritage. New Mexico's social complexity, a topic based on the multi-ethnic fabric of the communities in the territory, has followed a bumpy road marked out the dramatic events history has been putting on the way. The trajectory context will shed light upon the many angling features that identity, tradition, and heritage bring into the Newmexican 'Hispano' identification build-up.
- To layout the challenges that identification may address in the complex social inter-ethnic environment in New Mexico. This objective will address the impact that could have caused the confrontation of jurisdictional assets loaded upon the need to define identity at the institutional level and the sediment of the day-to-day lived cultural identity. Altogether, we will need to expose the complex landscape delivered by the process of identity construction. It could be considered even more problematic because construction appeals to the social relationship with both tradition and heritage. Tradition as the symbolic material that rules the transmission of social values and customs. Heritage defined as the cultural device that would help frame-working all the symbolic materials, either tangible or intangible, to nourish and support the representational image of the community.
- Once we identified the challenges and hazards posed by identity build-up, the final objective would speculate upon a possible draft of directives that would be inclusive and educational for future generations of Newmexicans. That draft's

intention would go toward rebalancing the inter-ethnic social relations based on shared dialogue and mutual understanding, as already laid out in the intentional address of Santa Fe's 'Fiesta' 'Celebración de la Comunidad Fe.'

- To understand the role that actors would play in the articulation and voicing of the patrimonialization process, out of two case studies -'La Fiesta' de Santa Fe and the Museum of Spanish Colonial Art (MoSCA)- that we have singled out for ethnographic study. We deem both instrumental and valuable to inform the historical construction of these categories by the New Mexican society. They both will provide a qualitative descriptive layout, that will eventually turn into a comparative device.
- Accordingly, to fulfill the context information the challenges that identification may have pulled from the entangled and complex social inter-ethnic environment in New Mexico, we will dig into the New Mexico historical formation for institutional policies or their lack. That would help us to identify the trajectory and perspectives adopted throughout the history of the State, making explicit the complex landscape delivered by the process of identity construction.

This set of objectives has the combined final purpose of bringing an analysis perspective of the Newmexican 'Hispano' identity issue from a non-American perspective. We understand that much of the literature and research done on the topic of this thesis comes from American researchers and scholars. Indeed, the most relevant body of literature delivered on New Mexico, and more generally on the Southwest topic, comes from the US. Jiménez Núñez (1974 and 2006), and the 1930s seminal work by Aurelio and Manuel Espinosa (1985) on Spanish folklore in the American Southwest, are samples of personal efforts to bring some light on the specifics of non-Anglo culture in that region. These authors cannot escape the historical revision as well as the connection to the Spanish past with a sense of contribution to the cultural difference. However, beyond all that, we have the comprehensive and extensive body of work María Jesús Buxó (1990; 2003; 2004) delivered on a great deal of the specific cultural and social issues of New Mexico. Her work stands out as a trailblazing non-Anglo approach for this researcher, both emotional and epistemological, and we feel my work aims at following that path.



While most of the reviewed literature brought various perspectives in trying to decipher specific issues underpinning social relations, my ulterior objective looks for the eventual discourse cohesiveness that might be helpful to draft future community narratives, fully inclusive in terms of social cohesiveness, but still meaningfully relevant. To achieve that, we hypothesize that the chances are that the articulation of 'Hispano-construed' social values -tradition, identity, and heritage- might be the outcome of intrinsic social issues that have been simmering since New Mexico's institutional inception as the current political unit. One central question spurring throughout the fieldwork was about the influential role of the policies array carried out through the many institutional stages New Mexico has gone through. We will dig into whether they do exert influence on the state's inter-ethnic relations. My hypothesis argues that existing social practices may be the current ultimate link in the chain of institutional policies and ruling since the Spanish colonial times. To arrange that, we will address the dichotomy brought by the dialogue between the institutional and the social, between what we introduce as the external and the vernacular, both as differentiated local bodies of production. It is not entirely clear whether institutional social policies or their lack thereof, as we now know them, would have worked to worsen, or alleviate social tensions. As we already stated in the introduction, questions get raised because of underlying cultural and social tensions. Arguably, continuous enforcement of non-settled changes, and the more than apparent resistance to accepting them from the 'Hispano community, would be at the root for that questioning. Have those tensions become an issue due to unresolved historical misconceptions on social relations? Can the identity and heritage discourses be considered proxies in channeling social relations' issues? Could the identity and heritage discourses be reduced to mere symptoms in portraying the social distress in New Mexico?

## 2 CHAPTER 2: NEW MEXICO AND NEW MEXICANS: A THEORY OF AFFAIRS

### 2.1 Introductory frame

From its inception as an in-depth methodology, anthropology, theoretically dealing with large social issues, has aimed at exploring smaller places to build broader scientific generalizations. Accordingly, communities considered as social units have become objects of study that inform the context of the local that can be translated into more general views. The case we introduce in this paper follows that pre-requisite, sustaining the logic that theoretical ideas and concerns tell us about the particular ethnographic context we will lay out. We are here about to bring the case of the Newmexican 'Hispano' collective asserting self-discrimination within the multi-rooted cultural formulations weaving New Mexico's social fabric. The specifics of the place, the place being not just a locus but also a social system, make relevant exposing that cultural differentiation as the voicing expression of a major minority in that state. We mean to dissect the vehement summoning 'Hispano' group identification with theoretical arguments that would help us disclose and expose the specifics of local conditions related to individual and community identity. That is what the self-branded 'Hispano' community, a somewhat consistent and cohesive group within the Newmexican society, does. That socio-cultural stance conjures up both symbolic and tangible devices that will get exposed and sliced for analysis. In terms of community organization, 'Hispanos' are not so much of the institutionally gregarious kind. We will more comprehensibly articulate what is behind the actual taxonomy –'Hispano'–, as a concept and as a cultural backdrop, in chapter 3. 'Hispanos' have not historically been gregarious for reasons related to New Mexico's high desert's harsh environment and geographical and historic conditions. They were too sparse in numbers and too scattered in settling within the immensity of the northern territory. That situation brought the tendency, that is functional up until current times, to informally coalesce in grass-rooted social groups with a strong presence within the communities. They did that, appealing to traditions, customs, and cultural values that they cherish as common.

That very same isolation history in the northern boundaries of the 'Nueva España' pushed them to excel in the tools and strategies to sustain resistance, perseverance, and resilience in hollow times. In their own ways, recurring to commonly shared values, replicating, and perpetuating ancestral traditions brought over in the times the territory got settled, back in the very late fifteen hundreds, got embedded in their efforts to support themselves and reinforce their community strength symbolically. Those were traditions that forcibly had to get handed over orally and articulated upon whatever was symbolic, and valuable to keep the fight against the elements and enemies around. All that got consistent with the need to produce bonding and community in that environment. Somehow it all posed the contradiction of not being gregarious, retaining individuality to some extent, but pushed to behave otherwise to find community solace from living in an isolated environment. Along that, they would also get inclined to reproduce hierarchical arrangements they would define as traditional in their social structure. Hierarchy was behind the sense of endurance, as only getting tightly knitted would enable survival. In that sense, they have proved through time that they are competent to push and enhance their abilities to engage in cohesive community strategies. 'Hispano' would easily swarm around to lobby to exert agency whenever the facing of social challenges would call. That is an inclination that gets directly connected to one of the traits they verbalize to reinforce their identification discourse: their community's continuous permanence in the New Mexico territory. In its ample terms, both a cause and a justification. Historically, since the US administration overcame the Southwest territories, merely after the 1848 Guadalupe-Hidalgo treaty between the US-Mexico, Newmexicans started the political struggle for institutional representation within the American federal system. The terms of that treaty fixed that all former Mexican citizens could become American citizens should they choose to remain in the land. However, that would not apply to Native Pueblo peoples, that were allowed to self-rule themselves operating within the civil government of the territory. As 'wards' of the United States (Nieto-Phillips, 2004: 47), they got granted, and confirmed by the Congress, the land grants that had been originally gifted by the Spanish Crown; a different proceeding for those of non-Indian affiliation. Soon after, many Anglo-Americans were demanding the Federal government clarification on actions and status to be taken on the new lands related to

the new institutional order. Popular enthusiasm soon raised amongst Newmexican ranks on the prospect of self-government. Ensuing attempts to gain a statehood resolution met along with the report of Secretary of War, George Crawford, calling for the vital need of some sort of organization for the territory. His arguments spun around the Newmexicans dissimilar habits and language. Another concern was that the mushrooming population was regarded as an irregular issue and far too dangerous to public peace and interests. By 1850 the first constitution of New Mexico was drafted, although it never went into effect because New Mexico was not yet organized as a political US unit. The reason was that the whole territory was under the direction of a military governor at that time. The document went through the voting process and approved -8,371 to 39- and passed in September<sup>12</sup> (Larson, 1968; Hall, 1989; Gómez, 2007). Cultural identification turned into a multi-faceted issue that would become a significant reasoning line within the social effort and shaping to push the political interest. The introduction of a new political administration unleashed changes that eventually disrupted social relations, as they were settled and understood until then and gave rise to new manifestations of cultural differentiation. Those were perhaps much more apparent due to needs that were not so present before, during colonial and Mexican times.

As a general setting, after the initial few decades under the US administration, the vast New Mexico's cultural cauldron attracted a whole scope of intellectuals, artists, scholars, and researchers. They were somehow part of the national conscience spiking after the Manifest Destiny westward wiping, a political program branding the former US East-West move, that We will describe and deliver in chapter 3:

1. Those intellectuals, artists, scholars, and researchers were, first, aimed at studying the cultures of the different indigenous peoples in the area. We will later check how prevalent was the action of ethnographers, in particular. That step meant a government protection policy project in the vein the painter George Catlin (1841) anticipated when he said that "[N]ative Americans in the United States might be

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<sup>12</sup> <https://newmexicohistory.org/2015/07/22/new-mexicos-first-constitution-1850/> <accessed, October 13<sup>th</sup>, 2021, 19:07>

preserved...in a magnificent park...a nation's Park, containing man and beast, in all the wild and freshness of their nature's beauty".

2. Aligned with that protection project, private enterprises first and then government intervention pushed to enact legislation to protect land tracts that would eventually turn into National Parks<sup>13</sup>. It all developed into a policy program to preserve vast landscapes, seashores, mountains, rivers, deserts, and hundreds of historical and cultural sites. Those policies were meant to reserve or withdraw land from settlement, set specific legislation to prevent land occupancy or sale, and be dedicated to the benefit and people's leisure. The intellectual elites, on their part, looked forward to saving, restoring, and preserving menaced or disappearing cultures and ethnic communities that were already apparent were being shoved away by the workout of the Manifest Destiny<sup>14</sup> push. At the turn of the century, that expansive frontier move towards the Pacific had proved overwhelmingly destructive for original Native American peoples, despite the many treaties signed as early as the mid-eighteen hundreds. The evidence of peoples and cultures wiped out by the westward American civilization stride set on the country's alarms for some cultural elites.
3. One step further on that response urged also to integrate those peoples related to the Spanish and Mexican past within the Southwest.
4. On the whole, it operated as a multifaceted, almost privately, funded program<sup>15</sup>. It was an initiative attuned as a reaction aimed at framing, understanding, and

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<sup>13</sup> By the Act of Dedication -March 1, 1872- enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, a certain tract of land lying near the headwaters of the Yellowstone River were set apart as a public park. Yellowstone became so the first park, the first step leading the policies that developed into the National Park Program.  
<http://www.yellowstone-online.com/history/yhfour.html> <accessed, November 2<sup>nd</sup>., 2021, 12:04>

<sup>14</sup> Author's note: as exposed in Chapter 3 "Manifest Destiny's ideology exemplifies the assumption and contract with a system of norms by which the societies in the 13 states and those territories getting assimilated agreed and came to operate on the basis of a national ideology".

<sup>15</sup> Author's note: as it will be comprehensively deployed in Chapter 5 , the seminal safeguarding work, that by the turn of the century, private institutions as the School of Archeology Research (SAR) -later on, the School of Advanced Research-, and the Society for the Revival of Spanish Arts, and the Society for the Restoration and Preservation of Spanish Mission Churches of New Mexico that gave way to the Spanish Colonial Art Society (SCAS), carried out in New Mexico, from their headquarters in Santa Fe, provided the backing and the sufficient know-how to proceed with the task of traditional revitalization and preservation.

assimilating vernacular cultures and folklife. Because of the timing, it was a well-aligned task with the rescue, protection, and preservation projects decisively addressed to endow the nation with solid and consistent imagery to support the national identity that the former thirteen colonies needed in their westward expansion.

5. Also, in the timing, it was coherent with the developing progress of the behavioral sciences and the inception buildup of narratives and legitimizing structures that might be useful in modern preservation policies.

In retrospect, the US foundational undertaking, which had got symbolically nailed by John Winthrop's puritan view of a city upon the hill's 'godly enterprise,' pervaded the build-up of the national conscience and relayed a complex message. It was a visionary quality, matching with the biblical puritan project, where natural environments were first portrayed as the incipient conception of the interaction between humankind and its natural environment (Harrison, 2013: 125). That vision eventually transpired into the UNESCO ruling and definition of landscape's taxonomies, later to be adapted into various categories of heritage. Beyond that, 'savage' peoples, after some intellectual association in 'natural' continuity, according to western mentality and mindset, were re-constructed as an integral part of nature within the new nation's cultural expression. The underlying idea was that the Europeans had figured out themselves as free and modern individuals (Eriksen and Nielsen, 2001) after self-examination in the mirror held up by Native Americans. However, as Todorov (2010) reminisced, those same Native Americans had initially struck the European core idea on the meaning of the nature of the human being. The issue could just get reduced into just one outcome: conforming or disappear. By 1850 the initial thirteen colonies had started to gear up for expansion, and Native land loss was steadily gaining speed. The expansion combined with a fast-moving industrialization advance had caused a dystopian perception within the American society; the set of events talked about the concurrent paradox of progress and annihilation, of opportunities and destruction. Consistent with the construction of that new national mentality, the Southwest and New Mexico became destinations for cultural researchers and producers of all stripes.

Topping that cultural endeavor were Prominent ethnographers like Franz Boas, Ruth Benedict, and Elsie Clews Parsons deployed ethnographies on Pueblo (Cochiti, Laguna), Zuni and Hopi peoples; preservationist archeologist and ethnographer Charles F. Lummis dealt with Tiwa Pueblo (Isleta) traditions, played a relevant role in New Mexico's cultural traditions safeguarding and was a self-declared 'hispanophile'; linguists Benjamin Lee Whorf and Edward Sapir developed the study that described the Hopi language's linguistic structure as well as other Uto-Aztec languages in the region; cultural theorist and historian Aby Warburg carried on cultural studies on many Pueblos (Cochiti, Acoma, Laguna, San Ildefonso), Hopi, and Zuni; writers Mary Austin, Frank Applegate, and D.H. Lawrence, and plastic artists Ernest L. Blumenschein, Gerald Cassidy, and Georgia O'Keeffe, were amongst the elite that brought New Mexico and Newmexicans into national visibility.

Amongst the incipient and fast-developing mid-eighteen hundreds sciences and methodologies, anthropology started to get traction in supplying to the enterprise of understanding cultural wholes. It did so through analytical dissection and thorough comparison as part spurred by the Enlightenment enterprise. Anthropology, regardless of implicit challenging issues, as an instrumental tool of European colonial imperialism, away from my scope now, helped boost the massive construction of cultural classifications and taxonomies' conceptualization, started by that same Enlightenment. Its works delivered the conceptual structure and the reasoning that bolstered the conceptual apparatus helping to ground the massive enterprise of the US nation's substantiation. What we are here to witness is the very first instance of a novel cultural confrontation. A confrontation that might be conceptually tracked in its shaping by how the new analytical methodologies were developing. While Americans had already confronted Native peoples' cultures, they did that in the pre-supposition of favorable unbalanced power and privilege on their side. They got into the first balanced cultural clashing when they get to New Mexico, where they bump into a historically and consistently shored up Spanish culture. The cultural confrontation would be the springboard where categories' conceptualization starts to get unfolded. The cultural confrontation showed up when the Americans most needed to fortify the symbolic corpus for the rooting of the will of the new nation. Confrontation with the past would

be the keyword when Americans got into New Mexico, as 'Hispano' Newmexicans started to challenge the imposed culture with a look into their own. Americans were still at the workout of their own meaningful connections when 'Hispanos' got pushed to look backward into that same category of connection. To retain theirs after the annexation, they got to grab whatever valuable reference was available from their past and pushed it into communal preferences.

## 2.2 On tradition

While tradition appears as an obsessively pervasive discursive element in New Mexico's social life, we feel its detrimental volatility because it seems like a legitimacy device. Most of the time, it looks like a sheltering place to go in for the lack of better understanding. When recurring to tradition, we call for a tacitly accepted agreement on rules that inform the transmission of values and customs. Those rules move around the symbolic realm and look intrinsically for time continuity. Traditions look to convey symbolic past into present agency, in prevision for the future. The call for tradition in societies turns from the symbolic into the material, and because of that conveys a certain sense of meaning for the conceptualization of heritage. That tradition needs to be kept alive, curated, and relayed supports the idea that memory, symbols, and values necessarily represent the core value for societies to exist and persist, regardless of how the choice of some memories, symbols, and values of the past get privileged over others. What we deliver here for New Mexico would dig into the realization, calling, and construction of a concept -tradition-, that becomes edgy because of the historical timing of the whole building process.

In the social entanglement that got into motion after the American annexation, the search for collective and individual meaning got spurred by confrontation in the case of the Spanish-related peoples in New Mexico. After the 1850's Americans overcoming 'Hispanos' had no other option than digging for collective inward meaning and emotional connection into the set of values, customs, and social conventions, they had been nurturing for a long time, to confront the new cultural and social necessities. They appealed then to a whole set of cultural packages that had been handed over



through generations, bundled up by emphasizing the sense of continuity. Thus, 'Hispanos' clutched to all the cultural weaponry they would have available, and though it initially got enacted in a very static fashion soon that grab got loose to gain dynamics, upon implemented adaptation skills and strategies that would match those novel issues that would appear through time and social interaction. The canonical description of tradition related to the transmission process entailed social commitment, responsibility, and duty (Williams, 1976: 254). That conceptual instance of tradition formation as a cultural recourse pulls into the social reality an abstraction of values. In those inception days, a tradition was a tangible socio-cultural symbolic recourse that matched the path with the descriptive cataloging of grandiose landscapes, monuments, and memorials, that ended up getting engulfed in heritage's initial concept. Both tradition and heritage shared the transmission competence as meaning conveyors, initially as intangible and tangible allotted possessions. The tradition verification compels for the existence of shared beliefs that citizens would hold as a symbolic reference to a superior instance. That follows that tradition would end up serving the purpose, being an argument to validate superior instances. As Harrison (2013: 142) elaborates, the reasoning goes that there is a direct line between the existence of shared cultural beliefs and the actual creation and existence of modern nation-states. In that sense, heritage provides the solid foundations for those beliefs to root in. In their formation days, it was commonly accepted that nations would establish their regulatory, social norms and shape socially balanced power hierarchies around the ideas close and related to racial and ethnic origins or systems of class and gender (Anderson, 1983; Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2002; Harrison; 2013). That would somehow set a new standard confronting what it was scripted on the Ancient Regime. Thus, tradition got advanced into a conceptual artifact, into a conveyor belt backing the need to express cohesion and social identity to structure social relationships (Hobsbawm, 2002; 273) for various purposes. One example was the creation of a cohesive environment that would be otherwise absent, by colonial authorities or social elites (Eriksen and Nielsen, 2001: 191). In that realm, the enthusiastic boost tradition creation got in the eighteen hundreds owes to the foundational nation-state movements that used it to promote, enhance and support their internal cohesiveness. All those actions were meant to consolidate the social structure, whatever its political form might be.

Thus, the tradition legitimizing task started to deliberately get its rooting in a distant, maybe even more consistent idealized past. So, we can consider while opening the conceptual scope that three essential mechanisms operate in the production and reproduction of traditions: selection, process, and instrumentality. Furthermore, they are tools that get proved equally relevant and productive in the operation of concepts central to this ethnography: identity and heritage.

In that direction, one first step to inform tradition production would depart from the communal or individual engagements' selection related to or with the past, no matter how distant, in an exercise of cultural continuity. In that sense, Macdonald (2013:15) identified tradition as a reference to those past's representation accounts that would get the claim of being shared rather than assumed as held by all within the social collectivity. Tradition would be the manifestation of a timeless fixed production. Following Hobsbawm's (2002) examination, tradition production gets actively implemented or tacitly accepted as a device that bundles up a set of practices, values, and behavioral norms; that packaging automatically implies meaningful continuity with the past. In his views, Hobsbawm (2002) funnels that specific political instances make that 'past-to-present' connection to exert and define the control over subaltern populations openly. Although an effective and consistent generalization in itself, it should not cast upon other perspectives, just as a commanding force to justify mere invention. That would just reflect exclusive dependence on the political perspective, precluding further valuable viewpoints. That would not fully consider integrated ways in conceptualizing communities' social practices, alien to the great nation-estate political project and away from the western epistemological vision. Altogether we believe there is not an essential way to measure tradition. Tradition bounds together with the interpretation of the past and the interpretation in the present. On the whole, a conspicuous two-direction lane. Tradition may refer to the past, creating that false dichotomy with modernity (Handler and Linnekin, 1984). There is a continuous conflicting tension in the Spanish Market juried artist on the paradox confronting traditional and contemporary art as if they were self-exclusive. Tradition may be about the past, but that reference construes a symbolic relationship characterized by an unbreakable continuity and discontinuity process (Handler, 1984).

Away from the construction vision, we may consider the form taken by shared life conditions, the ones pulling from fluid individual and communal relationality and mutuality (Viveiros de Castro, 2009; Sahlins, 2011), offer quite a complementary approach. Mutuality considered, as articulated by Sahlins (2011), as the intersubjective relationship that gets established, and is intrinsic to one another's existence. Ties of mutuality, usually conceptualized around kinship, get commonly established through concepts of shared blood, shared land, shared exchange and/or shared ancestors who once behaved as 'mutual people' (Smith, 1981: 226). We will take that approach into account for the indisputable long inter-ethnic social mingling and meshing that have been defining the social structure in effect in Northern New Mexico. The manifest presence of tradition as a cultural device brought in to inform some of the profound social and political shifts in place during the nineteenth century, even though the implied generalization adequately informs the moment of administrative genesis that we deploy for our object of study within Chapter 3. The theorization that Hobsbawm's (2002) invention of tradition puts forward stems from the generation of relatively recent academic debates.

They sought to put in order the logic of the construction of nation-states and inform about the reinforcement of the sense of national identity that they engaged in that process. The differentiation spirit, underlying the project of the nation making, requires defining the contrast between the internal and the external. It calls for 'otherness,' for the discrimination of the populace from those of other nations. We essentially consider that the connections and flow between social interaction and behavior to social practices and objects is a methodological analysis mechanism. Furthermore, it is relevant insofar tradition would also work along as the conceptual support for the construction and argumentation for identity and heritage. In fact, most versions share the concept of nation as an entity, and a set of devices whose distinctiveness express social cohesion and identity and depend on culture tradition and heritage (Handler and Linnekin, 1984: 277; Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2002). In addition, however, the features exposed by the development of my ethnography also pulled from other cultural threads when it came to a traditional setting. From ideas we later will expose, the Newmexican 'Hispano' community retains cultural specificities

diverse enough not to match the invention archetype proposed by Hobsbawm that we have been discussing. The apparent 'Hispano' stubborn willingness to connect to the long distant Spanish past refers to the pool of social interests and individual values that, as theorized by Geertz (1973), Williams (1976), Ortner (1978), Bauman (1992), provide shape and context to the construction of communities. They leverage more generally upon Spanish traits and values coming from colonial times to idealize their presence. One another conclusive trait in forwarding the community connection has to do with the anchoring to the territory. The attributes of the land and its possession, as Tönnies articulated around his 'Gemeinschaft' concept (2002), work as a powerful bonding for the gluing of the community and as an enabler of production identity within the inclusion-exclusion alterity game (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992). However, in fairness to historical narratives, despite 'Hispanos' exclusive fixation for their Spanish bonding<sup>16</sup>, we need to bring the unavoidable entanglement of world views and shared customs between them and the Pueblos. After four centuries of social entanglement, crossbreeding, and 'mestizaje,' we should echo Strathern (1992: 47), stressing the necessity to draw analogies between different worlds' domains to produce a fairer approach to the identity topic. We need to bring in the inclusive cultural approach that would follow and display concepts of the interwoven web of life energies (Ortiz, 1969; Swentzell, 2012) as topics also providing direction and community continuity. Following the Pueblo cosmology logic, on the realization of space, time being, and time becoming (Ortiz, 1969), would provide field depth to the system of meanings conforming, reinforcing, and perpetuating the social orders (Ortiz, 1969: 4) of my interest. 'The 'Geertzian' (1965; 1973) cultural approach asserting the intimate interweaving between the historically derived system of meanings and conventional understandings, together with social values, will help disclose inclusive meaning-seeking tasks. When valuing that conceptual knitting in full, we ought to understand how the system of meanings conforms, reinforces, and perpetuates social orders (Ortiz, 1969: 4). We proceed to do so by introducing dimensionality perception, one that is away from Western thinking in the way the connection between beliefs and symbolic statements is represented (Ortiz, 1969; Swentzell, 2012). A vision that requires an inclusive

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<sup>16</sup> "Mexico is my mother and Spain is my grandmother." Charlie Carrillo, Field Diary, October 6th. 2014

approach of ideas, principles, and values, and far too often derided just as mythological reflections. The old ways based on the strength of remembering and the practice's power (Swentzell, 2012: 42) exceed the boundaries of tradition's construction. So, altogether with unobserved conceptions such as life's cyclical concept of life, central and present in inter-community relations in New Mexico, reflect long-standing cultural traits in the struggle to retain deeply embedded specific social practices. Later articulations, stemming from Cultural and Gender studies, have already approached the concept of culture away from culture/nature static dichotomy. That is particularly useful for my object of study because there is more within the culture-nature relationship; there is more than the notion of nature and culture as dichotomy halves of a whole, and they can get imagined as a continuum (Strathern, 1980: 180). The non-dichotomy approach would fit with the Pueblo cosmology and worldview, where the community as a culture generator becomes a synonym of nature, a cyclic continuum expressed on the watershed's interwoven web of energies (Swentzell, 2012: 29), that replicate in social interaction, "relationships, assumed equalness and the cycles of life" (Swentzell in Guthrie, 2013: 227). The three centuries of full inter-ethnic collaboration, cultural exchange, and genetic pool sharing between Pueblo natives and 'Hispano' people certainly must have filtered into the habits, customs, social values, and imaginary. Therefore, we render it necessary to bring upfront the perspectives native Pueblo peoples might throw into the cultural cocktail while depicting tradition for context and influence capacity on 'Hispano' standpoint. The reasoning for that stance would work in the direction of expanding context for the analysis. While we interject Western concept patterns, like the ones we have been tracking down, into the ethnography's analysis, we consider on-topic not to omit the action and the incidence that a diverse worldview, in this case, the external Pueblo cosmology, might have filtered into the 'Hispano' way of dealing with social interests and individual values. We describe elsewhere, within the 'History Background' chapter, how critical the relaying of knowledge, values, and beliefs that go through the storytelling and oral transmission is. 'Hispanos' by asserting their identification difference would go both ways. One, in the realization of their Spanish-Western cultural bond, they would fervently retort to documents and written records, as coming from a documental based culture.

*“Rio Rancho school district bus driver ... asks me where I am from, as it is the custom here. I tell him Spanish. He is from New Jersey with German ancestry. He replies that he knows Spanish people...that some of his friends are Hispanic ... that they are very proud of their origins, even though they don't speak Spanish ... and that they all have documents from their ancestors. He says that these friends have told him about documents dated 1620 and the beginning of the 18th century, in a very general way”.*

Field Diary, October 11th. 2014

The other holds on to the conveyor power of storytelling. The oral recounting of stories helped the 'Hispano' families fight back isolation times in the high desert. Oral narrative, fiction, and, even, ritual still today convey the centuries long history of warfare and kinship 'Hispanos' have had with the region's Native people (Trujillo, 2009). It was a continuous tradition brought over in settling times that got culturally enhanced by the interaction with the traditional ways of the Native peoples. Not only the oral transmission was a functional device to make the long winter times less harsh and daunting, but they were an educational tool in perpetuating the cultural and religious legacy as an instrument to consolidate the family and community's group.

*“Mother recalled they sometimes ate just one meal a day -a tortilla with a thin gravy made from meat stock, flour, and water ...My mother and her sister Sally were sent out in the blistering summer sun to search for cactus and other plants to feed the remaining two cows and goats. They hurried along to avoid snakes, but more so to avoid La Llorona...who is said to haunt arroyos searching for unruly kids to terrorize”.*

Marie Romero Cash, 'Tortilla Chronicles: Growing up in Santa Fe', 2007 page 12.

The social and community fabric relied on storytelling as a consistent workout to maintain internal cohesiveness, convey patterned values and regulations, and establish internal hierarchical structures. All that on the purpose of safeguarding and protection within the harsh environment of New Spain, first, and Mexico, then, Northern borderland. Altogether a move to reinforce the concept of traditional values that still would surface as a reinforcing issue in the event identification.

### 2.2.1 Tradition and process

While my selection would focus on the distinct choice of practices, stories, memories, and other cultural devices at work to set the underlying principles that would provide a hint in supporting traditional narratives, we cannot take selection as a single, one-off shot. In that sense, we need to stipulate that this, my one-time choice, plays along with the selection game that became a selective mechanism that has been working through time. Newmexican individuals and communities have been aligning themselves according to the social pressure exerted on them. The strategies' tracking for that alignment will disclose the shape of features getting integrated, absorbed, or even dropped in the conforming process. Tradition becomes the rooting of social customs that provide meaning and mediate understanding the 'facts' of everyday life. It is like a mediation lens between the objective and the symbolic, that becomes a shared idiom only conditioned by the fact of genealogy transmission, from ancestors to descendants (Montgomery, 2002; Nieto-Phillips, 2004). Process, then, would be a necessary action to get observed in tradition's definition. The path we have taken in contextualizing and inspecting the tradition, identity and heritage construction process would expose the comparative study that the diachrony handling would reveal. The passage of time and the impact that time-passing exerts on the consolidation of the different forms the concept of tradition might shape into, speaks about the complexity in delimiting social life and cultural productions within society and the relationships between communities. Through time, universal models have been designed around perspectives that track down, define, explain, or interpret the processual journey. Even though we obviously will take a glance at several of those models, we will stick to the narrative that the historical process would yield for the specifics of practices and social relations, paying attention to critical moments of that process.

By introducing the mechanics of the process in tradition evaluation, we infer the sediment and transformational operation that confronts the actual existence of what is contemporary with the ways for its construction. It displays the struggle between the past and what is happening now, oblivious of the course of time. What is conformed as contemporary gets relevance by the instrumentalization of tradition, and cultural customs related. In my intent, aiming for a diachrony scope provides the

chance to inspect and provide sense to the narratives' articulation and how that articulation merges within social practices in the conforming process. It will hint at the process of incorporation of actuality into the past that tradition embodies. One of the lines we have available to read into the shape tradition gets conformed up would be by how it gets articulated. The context of how tradition gets swiftly brought into social 'realities' provides information on the complex production of my ultimate targets: identity and heritage. One of the threads to unveil the meaning of tradition through time comes from articulating discourse as validation for a social experience in reflecting past cultural features. We do mean not to stress further, in analytical terms, into how the social balance of power gets characterized by discourse in the Foucaultian way. Somehow, following the trend set by Smith (2006) within her argumentation on the discourse of heritage, the position we take dodges away from the many debates on discourse's relevance. While we can arguably state that language mediates between human beings and the structures that orient them, we skip the notion that "discourse is all that matters" (Smith, 2006: 13). Language and discourse, as an extension, portray the interrelationships between what is seen, what is said about what is seen, and what is done about what is seen. My epistemological position aims at making apparent specific orientation at structures related to sacredness (Swentzell, 1985) that would provide shape and content to the discursive outcome within the narratives provided by my subject of study. There have been comprehensive 'architectural' research and analytical elaboration on the imbalance between global and local discourses (Appadurai, 1996). However, if we go further into considering how the context of tradition gets shaped by the cultural experience, we cannot otherwise but take and include all models of social life. Being comprehensive in that field calls for not avoiding how local interactions intertwine within the social experience. That would include precise local social interactions, in my research between the local Pueblos and 'Hispanos,' as part of the cultural experience, no matter how fictionalized, idealized, or exaggerated they would turn for social consumption (MacCannell, 2013).

However, perspectives on power relations and dominion hierarchies prevailed due to the powerful stance of the post-modern approach. As a strategy, postmodernism, that entered the philosophical lexicon as late as 1979, might be still



considered a short-lived perspective nowadays. It did it by the hand and thought of Lyotard's 'The Postmodern Condition' (1979)<sup>17</sup> also emphasized on the historical continuity, narrative, and most importantly on difference within continuity. While Lyotard, Foucault, and Baudrillard, all of them as promoters of a post-modern review, sharply scrutinized the uncertainty that the perception of place, self and history posed in the construction of modernity, they did it contesting 'official' conceptions of the world (Gramsci, 1971). We understand that in the process we might have indulged in circumventing more precise local social interactions. In doing so, leaving aside the great deal of influence symbols have over behavior, and in the eventual realization of space, time being and time becoming (Ortiz, 1969), in piecing together the picture the people build about themselves and about society. Instead of focusing on how power relations get socially performed through the governmental management (Foucault, 1972; 1991), always present and always delusional, or as winning strategies to legitimize political domination (Santamarina and Beltran, 2016), we will expose hierarchical natural structures away from the sole presence of power and dominion (Appadurai, 1996; Peterson, 1999), where observation and narratives get blended, as they happen in collaborative interaction. It will not so much be exposing the departure from modernity thinking but, just on the contrary, in confirmation and exhibition of differences exposed from the research. In that line, not intending for extra digging, and beyond the mere unidirectionally fixed 'invention' of tradition, the invention that takes tradition as a recourse, essentially a fabrication, we will shift into taking it as an expression that would reflect the unrelenting dripping of innovation coming from the evolution of social experience. We would consider tradition as a deposit of innovation. One of the fabrication fields of tradition has been instrumental in sustaining policies intended for fixing concepts of cultural and material recovery and preservation as articulated in the works of Kirchenblatt-Gimblett (1998), Hobsbawm and Ranger (2002), and Sánchez-Carretero (2013) mainly furthered to support the concept of heritage. The experience of the resource to the past, in terms of preservation, wouldn't get along with Latour's (1993) assertion that we cannot return to the past, to tradition, because of the mere act of repetition gets in conflict with the promises of the contemporaneous: progress,

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<sup>17</sup> <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/postmodernism/> <accessed, August 1<sup>st</sup>, 2021, 16:42>

forwardness, permanent revolution, and modernization. However, we can and will pay attention to the relevant meanings pulled from the past and how instrumental that device may become in that portrayal and performance of social interaction, and ritual incorporation. By those dynamics of pulling meaning from the past we are reflecting how tradition would burst from practices exposing diverse ways of dealing with them. Amongst them are the strategies of possession and appropriation of the past (Breglia, 2006; Franquesa, 2013) or, as Breglia (2006) also states, the managerial use of the past confronting artifacts to practices, so valuable for the eventual critical erection of heritage.

### 2.2.2 Wrapping-up on tradition

The existence of tradition exceeds mere articulation and discourse. We depart from tradition that stems from collective meaning and emotional connections. Those connections relate to recollections that underscore a particular set of communal values. In that action, the community provides continuity to itself. It is part of a process that solidifies within the social norm, producing along with a new social norm itself.

It follows that tradition enters the social field as a display of cultural weaponry wielded to make available and expose shared beliefs that citizens hold dear as a part of a superior instance to them. Tradition becomes particularly interesting as a device to construe a shared space, a space of rituals that, by providing a structure for social identification, became a scheme to provide consistency to larger structures of social relationship, like Anderson (1983) and Hobsbawm and Ranger (2002) would argue when they talk about the modern nation-states.

I have exposed that when a community talks or performs traditions, the framework they would fit in does not work just by randomly putting all their fundamental values at play. Instead, a selection process of practices, values, and behavioral norms enter the production game enhanced in anticipation of social self-validation and legitimacy. That selection action has the sense of asses community/group identification.

The analysis of the ethnographic research will navigate in the wealth of manifestations surrounding the topic of both community customs and cultural sediment. Individuals would resent the 'Fiesta' performance as a dramatization construct that had nothing to do with 'Hispano' tradition. They would point at Anglo leadership and the institutions in charge of the staging. Some others would play the cynical contradicting way. While rituals and sacredness, in the form of specific devotional services related to the Catholic faith, get brought into the 'Fiesta' picture as a created space that would preserve the original essence of 'Hispano' privacy, that of tradition reproduction, most of the staging and dramatization aims at the more public reception, making apparent how tradition may become adaptable. However, that contradictory way in uttering 'Hispano' tradition and legitimacy will be delivered through this thesis in a more performative tone than that merely discursive. We understand we do not have the space to introduce relevant literature of debates on discourse. We move away from part of the articulation Smith (2006) does on heritage, when she states that "discourse is all that matters" (ibid: 13), for the lack of more profound knowledge.

### **2.3 The whereabouts of heritage**

Part of the confrontational ethnic issues we were earlier mentioning gave way to a dichotomy in the way heritage turned to be a relevant issue and an occurrence. The tensions triggered by the 1850's cultural clash reshaped the ways New Mexico's inter-ethnic social relations, by the introduction of a new ethnic majority: the Anglo-Americans. One of the ways the fumes of those tensions found a way to get funneled, in the same way they do these days, is through the wielding of heritage. It meant a cultural clash that worked as the breeding grounds for the new structure of social and ethnic relations in New Mexico. In a way, local communities, amongst them the 'Hispanos', that had entered a process of assimilation into the new administration, needed to overrule the lack of presence in the decision making, and the new legal system operational. In order to do that they retorted to what it was more symbolically

common and dear to their social cohesion: their customs, their language, their traditions, and their past; altogether bundled up to call for heritage. Those initial days shaped narratives and took continuity up to current times.

On the other hand, and before that time, there was no factual assignment for the heritage concept. Not only was there no conceptual elaboration, but it was to be defined as a notion itself. Thus, Newmexicans had had no actual need to define their cultural assets, material and otherwise, as heritage goods, before those times. In that sense, the mid-eighteen hundreds meant a cultural turning point in terms of self-defense for Newmexicans, as it was for the 'creation' of the heritage concept, in ways that ended up evolving into the current 'turbo patrimonialization.' This new conceptual, quantitative leap has much to do with the fact that new management and interpretation contexts have reshaped heritage construction practices. The production of heritage has been affected by the introduction of discourse as a new generator. In large part, this generation has been pushed by the industrialization of heritage derived from activities related to the industrialization of leisure and tourism, the generalized anxiety for authenticity, and the consumer's power to create heritage and museums (Smith, 2006; Harrison, 2013; MacCanell, 2013). Before that time, there was no factual assignment for the heritage concept. Not only was there no conceptual elaboration, as it was to be defined as a notion itself. Therefore, there was no actual need for Newmexicans to define their cultural assets, material and otherwise, as heritage goods. In that sense, the mid-eighteen hundreds meant a cultural turning point in terms of self-defense for Newmexicans. That is why we stress and pinpoint the factual relevance of the discursive argument. Heritage became to get defended through discourse. Moreover, it was so because of the confrontational level of the cultural clash after the war's administrative assimilation. Objects, goods, cultural forms of the Newmexican condition got exposed to otherness and 'American-ness' of the trading order. One of those ways to funnel aspirations, values, and vindication comes by the wielding of heritage. That mid-eighteen hundreds were the times when methods, conceptualizations, and research agendas catalyzed in the grand taxonomy process that the Enlightenment had pushed through. Modernity as a conceptualization move within the European project addressed to understand cultural wholes, as in

anthropology, through dissection, comparison, and empirical analysis started to consolidate conceptual units that would measure ideas around individuals and societies. Heritage entered the conceptual realm to address and counteract the threats of development and profound changes that rendered both the tangible -buildings, monuments, physical goods- and the intangible practices vulnerable to the advance of progress and technology. The proliferation of modern technologies spurred a reflexive environment. Hafstein (2018) sets a parallel between modernization reflexivity and the project of safeguarding. Out of the pushing effect of technology, the safeguarding project turns into a technology itself dealing with the hazards and insecurities introduced by modernization in the cultural domain (Beck, Giddens, and Lash, 1994; Hafstein, 2018). The safeguarding task was also a response backing grand political projects, the surging of new nation states (Santamarina et al, 2014) and a consistent foundation in making a cultural setting that would support them, ultimately providing the bonding that would justify social cohesion and group membership in either tangible or imagined communities (Anderson, 1983; Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2012). The prevalence of preservation exposed a set of issues that made apparent the threat and vulnerability sense hanging on the way classifying culture, tradition, and objects would take in the everyday world (Harrison, 2013: 7).

### **2.3.1 Conforming strategies to heritage**

Although heritage formerly 'talked' about things and physical, tangible stuff, it is not a 'thing' in itself but, as we inferred, a conceptual byproduct of modernity's reflexivity (Hafstein, 2018), used and abused to enunciate some modernity's grand narratives (Santamarina et al, 2014). Accordingly, we deem heritage just as a cultural device, with no inherently valuable traits, although authors (Davallon., 2010) contest that positioning by observing the intrinsic quality and value of heritage. One of those intrinsic values would be that of a 'cultural property' with the implicit problems that this treatment may raise, in terms of ownership (Schofield, 2008). Moreover, whenever those traits become apparent, they seemed to have had more to do with the economic

and aesthetic realms than anthropological epistemology. Smith (2015: 134) addresses that heritage is something that is 'found', it has an innate value reinforcing the common shared sense of human identity, but essentially privileging aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places, or landscapes. A device in the sense that emerged as a reference to material objects that, following the preservation logic, triggered memories, or unlocked the ability to evoke the past, reflecting inherited social concerns about it (Kirchenblatt-Gimblett, 1995; Novelo, 2005; Smith, 2006; Harrison, 2013). In that direction, heritage conforms to a framework where people snap back to produce, consolidate, and discern their relationship with the past. However, as Byrne (1991) and Dicks (2000) articulate, people do actually need to do the 'job,' be actors and agents themselves, in conforming and producing that relationship with the past (Macdonald, 2013); that relationship task can get either shaped by geographical -place, environment, building, monument- or chronological -historical, practices- connections (Byrne, 1991). That is why peoples shed into their articulation and the reasoning for their heritage the long look into the past and figure out ways to articulate their connection with the territory, that eventually becomes so relevant in the outcome. For my object of study, the territory works as the setup scenario providing the canvas for the layout of collective belonging and otherness confronted to other ethnic groups (Harrison, 2008). Moreover, the territory as 'the Hispanos (home)land', as described by Bustamante (1982), Nostrand (1992), Horton (2010), and Grimes (2013), is the battleground for simultaneous play and production for identity, and alterity's inclusion and exclusion (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992). This backdrop endowed both sociocultural and conceptual dynamics, sending the concept into a troubling sphere in the elaboration process, where heritage becomes an alchemy tool owned to produce cultural supporting guidelines and policies. The vast range of objects, places, and practices that went to integrate the concept of heritage gave way, through assorted standards and strategies, to an opened split in the taxonomy.

One direction would go into the conventional, based on the "[o]perational series of mechanisms by which objects, buildings, and landscapes are set apart from the 'everyday' and conserved for their aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or recreational values" (Harrison, 2013: 14), what he actually refers to as the 'official

heritage'. That is the shape heritage got conformed broadly in and by most Western civilization countries, and contexts, taking off from their interests in studying their pasts; somehow an official way (Harrison, 2013) that quickly expanded worldwide to the colonies of those countries, in the need to notarize inventories, and goods of the colonial enterprise. That issue brought in the value of knowledgeable expertise to measure and manage the 'essence' of ready-to 'patrimonialise' objects, since they became essentially defined as legacy transmission goods. In that sense, heritage, as a concept, became a problematic one because of the multiple implicit contexts' its characterization may attain in a long-time span. Moreover, different institutions had been prevailing in forwarding their particular interests and had an entirely different relationship with the formation of tradition, hence multiplying the confusion in the definition of the concept. A huge step was taken on that line of processing by bringing forward heritage's worldwide conceptual shaping and definition. That move boosted that institutionalized definitions gained prominence, more authoritative stance in front of others. Relevant to that were the actions taken by UNESCO as the leading global cultural governing body. The international cooperation in the safety and protection of major cultural-related programs took a conclusive effect in the definition and direction heritage swerved. However, as we hinted elsewhere, and in the same direction Smith (2006: 29) relates, UNESCO's catalyst actions reinforced the idea that heritage is innately valuable. Accordingly, that propelled the idea that only experts and those with valuable abilities, knowledge, and wisdom in identifying the contextual values of the past could become the enablers for transmission, either material or immaterial, into the present. That mission eventually involved bundling a conglomerate of approaches to cultural forms that ended up framing conventions and charters in the definition of heritage, thus conforming to a specific discourse shape (Smith, 2006; Harrison, 2013). However, that would be a fast-forward move, as we refer to the very inception days of heritage. We only bring here the UNESCO issue to point out at its safeguarding resolutions, which started to consolidate well after the 1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage<sup>18</sup>, as disenfranchisement devices that concealed another representational form of heritage. By deploying all

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<sup>18</sup> <https://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/> <accessed, December 17th, 2019, 09:07>

those ideas, we intend to depict the heritage conforming trail and the multiple layovers in its construction from early days up until today. In pulling ethnographic information, we are to correlate the meaning of heritage at a specific time and how that meaning was socially articulated and later on scripted as an argument line. We intend to tie in the evolution of the heritage concept with the actual evolution of 'Hispanos' as the object of study. Suppose practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills, techniques, as well as instruments, objects, artifacts, and cultural spaces, as proposed in the above-mentioned UNESCO Convention, can get associated with groups, communities, or, in some instances, individuals, as part of their cultural heritage. In that case, we have the purpose of introducing the occurrence of representational values that have not merely reference to institutional global standardized values, but to the ways 'our' actors engage in the presentation and active usage of their heritage.

In terms of representational worth, heritage becomes arguably characterized by the multilayered process' course of its construction. That process informs both the nexus in its structure and the ulterior outcoming results and values of the interaction of the structure with the new additions, or as Roigé and Frigolé (2010: 12) put it “[t]he cultural production by which cultural or natural elements are selected and reworked for new social uses”. In my case, we will refer to that process of construction here as 'patrimonialization'. This wording choice in the branding for this analytical device - patrimonialization- responds to my determined motivation to use this tagging, well established and already working (Prats, 2005; Roigé & Frigolé, 2011). We also willingly mean to make apparent Spanish references underscoring the more general 'Hispano' approach of this work. We deliberately do that, instead of the English term of heritagization. In both cases, in line with Sánchez-Carretero's (2013) and Sánchez-Carretero & Ortiz (2008; 2011) and the specific nuances in the use of the English term, we will so be referring to the processes at work in the eventual production of heritage, as 'patrimonialization'. Another direction in the taxonomy split, again following Harrison (2013: 15), is that of the 'unofficial heritage.' He uses, and we will refer to, those forms, social practices, and manifestations that would not be recognized as conventional forms of heritage, hence missing statutory protection. All this somehow reproduced the dichotomy Evans-Pritchard (1989) establishes in the contrast between



fake 'etic' tradition -the product of 'external' intervention on tradition-, and real 'emic' tradition -the result of 'internal' community processes-.

For the Newmexican peoples not falling under the Federal regulatory heritage system, or the lack of as it will become apparent in Chapter 3, compels to the more pervasive use of heritage language as a vernacular protection self-protection mechanism. As informed elsewhere, New Mexico struggled to enter the official jurisdictional state status for well over six decades, an add-on to further specific problematics we are studying. On that focus, and collateral to further critical analysis, heritage stresses what Novelo (2005: 86) defines as "[h]eritage is something that somebody or some people consider to be worthy of being valued, preserved, cataloged, exhibited, restored, admired, and others share that election (freely of the various mechanisms of imposition) so that an identification process takes place that something is considered ours." That logic exerted upon the invoked social practices' connection towards the past, as a reflection of a specific cultural form, and its powerful symbolic strength can get easily linked to the identity process, and it has got a fundamental role in the identity politics of belonging, and the compromise in the cultural identity construction (Sánchez-Carretero, 2013; Terradas, 2004).

### **2.3.2 Heritage process and patrimonialization**

I refer here to process as a sequence of steps we have to track down in the conceptual ripening of heritage. This process is meant an analytical device, that delivers a one-direction two-lane path. One of those pathways addresses both the cultural production processes and the act of creating meaning, communication, and engagement in and for the present with recourse to the past (Kirchenblatt-Gimblett, 1995; Smith, 2006). By doing so we intentionally neglect the mere abstraction of the past when heritage is at play. Hence turns into a material reality that has material consequences for community identity and belonging (Smith, 2006: 29). In that same tone, Macdonald lays out (2013), in the caveats to her 'past presencing', that "[w]ithin this 'patrimonialization' sensibility, the conscious making-valuable of the past through embodied actions – can be understood as a heightened affective process, or an 'act' of

heritage”, or the footprint of memory and oblivion (Criado-Boado, 2001). While looking for its roots, heritage can be considered a social, cultural practice breeding culture; so, culture turns into an artifact reflecting its own production (Kirchenblatt-Gimblett, 2004; Smith, 2006; Sánchez-Carretero, 2013). All these previous assets considered, we believe we can disclose how 'Hispano' heritage defense articulation, within the narratives provided by my ethnography, would show how the past gets situationally used both as an abstraction and a non-abstraction. Lane number two also behaves in that production scheme and addresses discourse as the means to channel and magnify certain aspects of the past references. There, the symbolic power that representational accounts of the past play a powerful and fundamental role in identity construction processes, turning them from shared markers of identity connection into all the rhetorical areas of social interactions (Smith, 2006; Del Mármol, 2007). This kind of framing opens a couple of reasoning lines we will be pulling from. The first reasoning would work around memories' channeling and the evocation through language. The transformation of the past's perception into a specific reality occurs within that process of evocation and channeling. In such a way, whatever may be considered abstract in memory might turn into a fact, setting abstraction as an instrumental tool. The narratives of the past provide the shaping of a specific experience into the present. However, as we hinted earlier on from the outcome of my ethnography, past narratives get prone to further manipulation. Memories' narratives might either get pulled or pushed away into abstraction, searching for presence, prominence, and entitlement. In such a way, abstraction becomes a mere device in the symbolic and the tangible play. The second line talks about the concerns of the handling and custody of heritage, as objects may become qualified to be suited as a treasured possession themselves. Heritage becomes a display of the bidirectional subject-object connection. That mere act of possession becomes both a modernization tool and a sign of modernity, both product and producer (Kirchenblatt-Gimblett, 2006; Smith, 2006). After the possessing and value assignment action, the ensuing part of the process leads to the body of conservation and management, that becomes a product of modernity in itself (Smith, 2006). Through that process, heritage gets to the meaningful quality formerly lacking. The wisdom wielders, those who back by their expertise set heritage hierarchies and values, saying what is valuable and what is needed to be done to turn objects into

heritage have 'the' say in the whole process of separation, conceptualization, and repossession, the connections and transformations that determine and affect societies get exposed.

As a follow-up, we can infer that societies' actions in the procedure of selecting, describing, and adding meaning for the safeguarding of goods and objects supply a powerful representation of those societies. To the extent we award objects with meaning to allocate them within my values system, and we set the caveats for their custody, the task of tracking history may be paramount in displaying the conditions those actions work out and take place. In its framing way, heritage discourse tends to correlate cultures to identity. Heritage, as an artifact, becomes a value-added cultural provider and an enhancer of present time cultural production (Guthrie, 2010 and 2013; Kirchenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; Sánchez-Carretero, 2013). However, how do we get to define heritage with such a socially centered assigned value as we face it in New Mexico? While we above talked about object connection, selection and description that gets turn into heritage through some sort of representational device, we fall under the need to define what it is actually going on with that concept we call heritage. Two particulars become apparent when we dive into its examination. One that the concept does not just refer to or necessarily have to do with a physical object anymore. It rather encompasses a broad scope of elaborated aspects departing from mere 'physicality'. In that direction, Smith (2006) reflects on the "[a]ct of passing on and receiving memories and knowledge", while Sánchez-Carretero (2013) and Kirchenblatt-Gimblett, (1995) elaborate on whatever tangible or intangible becomes attached to heritage's construction. Instead of paying specific attention to the entrails of heritage as a mere social production, we move into the second particular, which we understand stems from that former logic. my research's core has been swiveling around the way Newmexican 'Hispanos' talk about and articulate the portrayal of their heritage. Heritage has gotten much conventionally defined as a social project. Large institutions and nation-states have deployed a whole set of entities to conveniently filter their own interpretation and the resulting influence in outlining heritage. Therefore, institutions and nation-states have the potential to shape, even transmute, the ideas and traditions on which they themselves get grounded (Barbe, Chauliac, Tornatore, 2013). There is a

lengthy corps of epistemological knowledge shed on how the ruling of heritage conceptualization gets set through discourse (Smith, 2006; Guthrie, 2010; Franquesa, 2013; Harrison, 2013). Established governmental institutions have found a way to push over and forward, through discursive articulation, their particular interests in the same way they do it with the construction and shaping of tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2002; Smith, 2006). Through discourse, those institutions, or else the supranational organisms working along them, namely UNESCO<sup>19</sup>, thrust a very restrictive and restricted set of general conventions, recommendations, and resolutions, that eventually shed uniformity on a concept as varied as culture itself, for the purpose of global cultural standards.

In the task of disentangling what was meaningful and distinctive from the socio-cultural textures manifest in my field research, and while seeking the precise symbolic fabric stemming from the information pouring from my object of study, one particular trait drew my attention. It was the psychological resonance that my informers displayed in my interactions, by the constant invocation of a sense of obligation, a vow, an urge to restore and pay honor to both ancestors and descendants. All this was perceived exceeding all the epistemological approaches we have been addressing, regardless of the analytical precision (Davidson in Fairclough, Harrison, Jameson Jr., Schofield, eds, 2008). It was a two-way exercise looking backward in order to nurture the present in a decisively projection for the future. Swerving into that direction, into the clear-cut exhibition of that constant invocation, would provide additional relevance to the diachrony treatment we had envisioned. The assorted shapes that constant invocation would take as an individual or collective endeavor during the historical process will light up, contextualize, and provide merit to the actual chain of events in the transformational process of objects, social actions, and interactions becoming branded as heritage. Somehow the analysis proposed in my project sprouts from the decisive command posed by the above referred "constant invocation of a sense of obligation" 'Hispanos' shed on their articulation about their heritage. In order to track that path, we will get to consider substantially relevant the relationship between heritage and history, and the way heritage, as Lowenthal asserts (1996, 121), mimics history, uses

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<sup>19</sup> <https://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/> <accessed, December 17th, 2019, 09:07>

historical trace and tells historical tales, not only to behave as a reasonably plausible account of the past but a declaration of faith in the past. We are not that much interested in getting to the core of values and typologies heritage might take -historical, cultural, and symbolic, social, spiritual, and religious, aesthetic- (Mason in Fairclough, Harrison, Jameson y Schofield, 2008: 103) but instead what happens through time with those objects and cultural traits becoming heritage (Smith, 2006; Sánchez-Carretero, 2013). While far too often, the heritage object itself outshines the whole process of patrimonialization to the point of concealing what Lukàcs (1972) calls its fundamental nature, namely the relations between people. The complexity of that process will prove helpful in disclosing the clues which make heritage a device used to reject, or contest received notions of identity (Smith, 2006), the final concept illustrating this conceptual frame. We will report the research results that will examine the practices and, most importantly discursive practices deployed in identity's legitimization, in a complex representational process coming out from already functioning relations (Smith, 2006; Bindi & Grasseni in Santamarina, Del Màrmol, Beltran, 2014; Del Marmol, et al, 2015).

### 2.3.3 Wrapping-up on heritage

I have introduced here how heritage has moved from a transmission taxonomy, privileging the formal relationship of societies with their past, around aesthetically pleasing material objects, monuments, places, or even landscapes, to the point of becoming a narrative itself.

In the aftermath of the 1850's US-Mexico war, the ensuing cultural clash spurred Spanish-rooted Newmexicans into a yearning for their past and cultural roots they felt lost. That evolved through time into a series of community aspirations that timely coalesced with the conceptualization of heritage as a realm where cultural reflexivity turns to the fixation of social value and meaning. Not having other chance, initially at least, but to assent to imposed discourse from American Anglo institutions and elites, 'Hispanos' differed from an official discourse by asserting and calling for their own heritage, "adding value to their culture" in the way Sánchez-Carretero (2013: 387) articulates.

That way of intentionally reflecting on culture showed how problematic and instrumental heritage may be. Heritage became a contentious space in New Mexico. It became problematic in how it raised concern about the arbitrary selection of the past as a dynamic referenced into the present. The past's memory gambles into evocation in that same realm, and narratives and their dynamics turn into specific realities. Memories, therefore, might turn into an instrumental device to serve particular interests, acceptable either way to the symbolic and the tangible. Edward Hewett and the Anglo artists elite found a good idea to arrange the 'Fiesta' as a product to be commodified for the purpose of making the New Mexico project more salable. Their choice was bringing the "great events in the history of the Southwest" (Owen Lewis and Brooks, 2007: 27-28). The selection was arbitrary to meet the spectacle and the purpose to pull visitors into the state.

That also happened with the promotion of the Spanish Market. The arbitrary art form's aesthetic selection to spur collection and sales pushed for the promotion of specific standards, as Farago and Pierce (2006: 252) put it: "making traditional crafts means adhering to the Spanish Colonial style developed by SCAS, that is, replicating nineteenth-century religious and domestic items." Quite a blunt statement that conditioned the whole aesthetic production. In that concern, both official and unofficial approaches to heritage (Harrison, 2013: 15) collide in terms of the conditions needed to explicit what standards should be relevant for communities and informing social practices. While SCAS prompted for the building up of assets that would meet the paradigm of preservation, safeguarding, and revitalization, artists leaned on the corps of their own tradition and their own ways to confront the artwork. Even MoSCA entered that contentious consideration. As a repository, as an art container, it embodied the resolute stance of the cultural elites to fix what was considered pertinent to the traditional Spanish-related colonial art. On the other side, the 'Hispano' artists would struggle to balance their traditional ways as a reasonable condition of their identity while following the aesthetic canon established for them by SCAS. In that order, a great bulk of the epistemology developed around heritage relates to and informs of the societies' productive capacity and skills to represent and relate to their past. However, we urge to harken back into that reflexivity fixation and further invocation Newmexican

'Hispanos' put in play by constantly invoking the past-present-future connection as a means to honoring both their ancestors and their descendants.

#### 2.4 Talking about identity in New Mexico

At its inner core, this thesis targets identifying and making explicit a broad vision of how Newmexican 'Hispanos' address their identity, and we will do that by tackling a couple of specifics. First, to bring about the broader scope of 'Hispano' identity meanings, as one part within the New Mexico's social community, we will do that around the information dug by in the two cases of study of my ethnography. Second, and departing from the former, to provide and expose the set of devices Newmexican 'Hispanos' put at play and their maneuvering in their identity articulation. In all, it will be an exercise that will seek to comprehensively deploy the set of social practices weighing in delivering the inter-generational community urge and sense of obligation, leveraging on the diachrony backdrop. Accordingly, we relate that urge to the complex predicaments that spur the identity concept as an irreducible term (Hall, 1996: 14). Those predicaments arguably swivel around discursive practices that Foucault (1970) and Hall (1996) elaborate on a more extensive analysis of the individual as a subject. Instead, we will address the individual and community agency centered in social practices built around reckoning loyalties on shared values (Hall, 1996) while conceptualizing identity. we will need to tackle two specifics in addressing 'Hispano' identity representation: One addressed to fix what identity means for New Mexico's social groups. Other on how they deal in that articulation and the conditions underpinning the shape and length of the identity-building processes. The historical review will help disclose the conditions and events that follow suit what we already hinted, related to the constant invocation, of a sense of a debt to restore and pay honor to both ancestors and descendants. In mind, identity's conceptualization as a taxonomy arose and was elaborated from complex progressions. It was undoubtedly conceptualized as part of the normative knowledge, building up since the mid-eighteen hundreds. One of those processes pulled from the overlapping of the constructions of both 'race' and 'ethnicity'; 'race' became conceptualized as a construction assigned

from otherness, predominantly from dominant groups within already established social hierarchies; 'ethnicity' was so as a build-on paradigm from the assertive chosen integration and membership into an (ethnic) group. The idea of traditional culture as laid out by Gonzales (1993: 159) may connote that the cultural meaning related to ethnic identity involves situational dynamics that would promote the individual or the community into a place in the social structure; it would also entail strategic calculations to find a place in the situational level, that also may entail some entitlement or privilege; it would also course as a construction/reconstruction process in order to make adaptation possible. No wonder institutional frameworks determine the precise location on boundaries in ethnicity making (Wimmer, 2013), as in the same fashion they spur communities' resilience and strategy making. While the former would fit in the social power relations, the latter would inform the cultural realm. In that reasoning line, Barth (1969) highlights that we have to consider ethnic groups as categories of ascription and identification that the actors decisively set themselves up in. These two ways in approaching race and ethnic taxonomies, specific to the American system, set the grounds for underlining paradoxical and conflicting perspectives: one springing from the external assignment, all that is social and institutional, versus that of the internal affiliation, that eventually calls for individual selection and personal identification. That is an ongoing conflicting issue in New Mexico. For that matter, the existence of Spanish rooted Newmexicans, both collectively and individually, has been historically shaped by the dominant society. It is not easy to set the limits between race and ethnicity by how the standards to both taxonomies operate together in the US (Gomez, 2007). It is difficult so far racial grouping involves the bundling of a great variety of ethnic groups, as it happens with Native Americans there. It is pretty similar to what happens with the 'Hispanic' category in the American census<sup>20</sup>. It is so because it subsumes the assignment of a wide variety of ethnic groups -Puerto Ricans, South Americans, Mexicans, Latinos, Hispanos- to a racial category, all of them shoved in together because they share some cultural traits. It gets confusing because while racial classification involves a less voluntary membership, as it comes from an 'etic'

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<sup>20</sup> <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/US/PST045219> <accessed, August 13<sup>th</sup>, 2018, 17:26>



assignment coming from a dominant group, ethnicity is more of the 'emic' tone, as belonging voluntary choice.

It is also conflicting because "[b]elonging to an ethnic category implies being a certain kind of person, having that basic identity, it also implies a claim to be judged, and to judge oneself" (Barth, 1969). Who is to decide the itemized descriptive list of cultural features or cultural differences fixed as a relevant standard for identity?

#### **2.4.1 For the sake of identity**

One of the key sources in identifying the identity shaping process would get based on the boundaries delineated by the definition and segregation of subjects and communities among themselves. All that runs with social interaction practices, that work from the communities' needs in self-defining themselves. They do that based upon segregation, or identification to the 'other', that works itself as the definition of 'otherness', as well (Bourdieu, 1977; Farrell, 2010). The identified 'other' responds to the confirmation of the self and becomes a reference point (Hall, 1996: 25) and would enter the play of the inclusion-exclusion game and that of belonging. We understand the communication and interaction arena through belonging, contingent on a series of assumed, shared, consolidated, and unitary cultural and social values (Barth, 1969). Byrne (2008:170) argues about the bidirectional expression of 'otherness'. He articulates about the dialectical condition lodged in the neighborhood relationship, inferring the mutuality of 'otherness', the two-way mirroring of the other. In that field, it gains solid relevance the importance of self-adscription that involves an active 'I'/'we' mutually as well as, and in duality opposition to, 'you'/'they' (Cornell and Hartmann, 2007: 81).

One reliable place where we can find the articulation of belonging and separation relates to the concept of ethnicity and the dynamics of self-adscription implied within it. Those dynamics have a direct implication in the formation and definition of "a collectivity within a larger society having a real or putative common ancestry, memories or a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more

symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood" (Schermerhorn, 2007: 19). The real or presumed commonality both share and imply the urge or the need for belonging, as the communication and interaction arena, contingent with a series of assumed, shared, consolidated, and unitary cultural and social values (Barth, 1969). In the path to identity, ethnic values reflect the perception of integration, feeling rooted, attached, and cohesively felt unity as a part of the group. Ethnicity involves either circumstances and active responses to circumstances that either individuals or groups put in play to advance their preconceptions, dispositions, and agendas by taking, accepting, resisting selecting, specifying, inventing, redefining, rejecting, or actively defending specific identifications (Cornell and Hartmann, 2007: 81). That battery of likely actions and answers related to social interaction and material circumstances depicts the scope of cultural solutions and responses that determine the outcome and definition of ethnicity. Although ethnic communities exert agency for their own production and reproduction, we should not disdain the "passive experience of being made by external forces" (Cornell and Hartmann, 2007: 83).

#### **2.4.2 Identity parallels ethnicity parallels heritage**

Likewise, ethnicity, identity caters to social identification's needs underlying individuals' labeling as a specific part within a shared group (Ashford and Mael, 1989; Roitman, 2009); moreover, it justifies social cohesion and group membership in either tangible or imagined communities (Anderson, 1983 y Hobsbawm y Ranger, 2012). The complex web of values associated with the identity's definition can only be fully understood, reflecting individuals' context as part of society. Accordingly, as Friedman proposed (1994), identity could be shaped by the cultural baggage and social customs. So, in a way, there is a double standard to measure the formation of identity. One would be that precisely, one of the cultural baggage and the social customs. Another standard would be related to the strategies that ethnic groups put in place when tackling issues that actually belong to the global nature, although approached at a local level. In line with what Loeffler (2016) explains, ethnicity is the provision of community culturally local solutions to problems that are recurrent for all humanity. That would justify a

specific stance in terms of social participation. A stance pulled from the tangible realities of social life, the internal social complementarity between identities, or the combination of both subjectivity and sociability. As social construction and participation go, the complexity in that combination makes the approach to identity more problematic. In terms of current affairs, collective expressions on ethnic resistance and identity reinforcement in New Mexico tend to be more confrontational for 'Hispanos' than it would be for Indians (Rodriguez, 1990: 551). In this case, by the contrast and differential status, that both communities get portrayed in political and economic life in the state.

That precise realm of complexity is solidly underlying within my ethnography's methodological perspective. To engage in that, a couple of decisive considerations will pinpoint the analytical focus. One would be the always tricky interaction between 'the individual' and 'the social' within social practices; another would be the simultaneous interpretations flowing from those practices when they get meant as conveyors from time past or past practices, provided the generalization that meaning and significance gets established by previous generations (Byrne in Fairclough, Harrison, Jameson y Schofield, 2008). Both perspectives could get landed according to the proposal raised by Terradas (2004). Those two avenues would inform and contextualize how the discourse gains shape from the intricate interplay within the social structure. Terradas proposition sheds some light about the affairs of the process for identity's construction, a process that holds two ways of discourse pitching, in his view: one that portrays cultural identity as the sediment of day-to-day identity, as lived identity. The other condenses identity viewed as a formal jurisdictional taxonomy, coming from the political, economic, and institutional grounds. Both, two conflicting occurrences. Both, two separate and confrontational ways of shaping discourse about the memories and the past. Both provide sharp, specific views on how each society defines direction, understands, handles, and relates to the/its past. On the whole, they supply the keys to understand the dynamics in social interaction.

The impact of discourses' review, as negotiation devices around the meaning of the past and the present, will help to discern how the objectification of the lived identity, as the memory of life-building culture, gets compromised by the dynamics of

what is arbitrary and artificial. However, as we upheld back in tradition's analysis, discursive analytics will not be the frame for my examination. Instead, we intent not only at making apparent specific structures of sacredness (Swentzell, 1985) but also pay due to honor the precepts of forebears, told and untold, that have shaped the behavior and "guided ancestors for the thousands of years they lived without the benefit of formal empirical thought" (Peterson, 1999: 7). Instead, how all that would combine with formal people's legal and political identifications, again mentioning Terradas (2004), how normative legal/political identification criteria would collide with cultural identity. Those two identity characterizations would work well upon my ethnographic flooring to measure social agency, expose social powers counterbalance, and the 'uses of the past' handling.

As we exposed for the conceptualization of heritage, we expect to confirm the strong association between heritage and identity (Smith, 2006), from the outcome of my ethnography. It will be so as the identity will also share with heritage the processes of cultural production through meaning, communication, and engagement's creation. Crucial to the fabric of those processes would be, again, the recourse to the referred 'uses of the past,' what Kirchenblatt-Gimblett (1995) and Smith (2006) would refer to as the recourse of the past, and Macdonald (2013: 67) calls the "repertoires of the past" in the way a variety of everyday structures in the present can become explained. As in heritage, the recourse to the past pushes for the negotiation of the back-and-forth relationship between past and present (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2002; Macdonald, 2013). In all, it is selective access to memory, an exercise on amnesia or willful remembering or forgetting, the history and tradition's evocation in order to validate what becomes genuine as a structure supporting the group reproduction (Pujadas, 1993; Friedman, 1994; Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2002; Smith, 2006). A justification for social cohesion and group membership for intangible or imagined communities (Anderson, 1983 y Hobsbawm y Ranger, 2012). It is precisely through playfully using memory, history, and tradition that we can introduce value and perspective in the relationship between past and present (Briggs, 1996; Halbwachs, 1992; Hobsbawm and Ranger 2002; Macdonald 2013; Lowenthal 2015). Introducing those values and perspectives into the dialogue to produce identity as a lived culture, somehow holding

on to the bearings of experience, is also fundamental in the scaffolding that sustains heritage construction. (Terradas, 2004; Lowenthal, 2015). Altogether, the gate opener analysis units to disclose the social conflicts within the identity structure. Should we pull ourselves aside, we would be able to draft this identity concept path's components. In its inception, conceptualization, construction, and progress, a path echoes how social structures gained shape in the age of revolutions (Hobsbawm, 1996). Since its establishment as a political unit, New Mexico has been promoted as a cultural and racial melting pot. That idea of a tri-ethnic New Mexico, spurred and promoted by socio-economic elites at the beginning of the century, eventually solidified as a state symbol and motto. In that social and cultural blender, some would complain that New Mexico has been marketed as a commodified ethnic property (Rodriguez, 1990; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009). Rodriguez (1996) bluntly states, following Bodine (1968), that those elites managed to commodify the idea of a fantasy socially balanced New Mexico around the motto of the tri-ethnic social harmony. However, Kim would refer to all that would entail a process as 'racial triangulation' (1999).

That process would call to reconcile cultural and ethnic contradictions, constituting hierarchical power relations and eventually constituting identity production as part of the balance between predominant and oppositional discourses (Wilmsen, 2007). The place assigned to 'Hispanos' there eventually showed that they were unable to advance beyond clear-cut secondary economic status and had been facing with the steady and irrevocable pace the loss of their traditional land base. Both authors agree that must abide by a tourism-engendered Anglo glorification of Indian culture, as well as the federal protection and even restoration of Indian lands, sometimes at the expense of Hispano ownership". On their part, Nieto-Phillips (2004) and Weigle (2010) condense the whole underlying idea: "New Mexico was the meeting ground for the modern Americans, the descendants of 'the Old Latin civilization' and the 'native [Pueblo Indian] races'", where the 'Hispanos' attempted to find their niche to thrive, nonetheless socially.

### 2.4.3 Identity and territory

In all that rhetorical interplay that we are laying out to track and explain heritage and identity production, one last 'player' will get brought into my elaboration: the territory. We will not take the territory just like a blank representational canvas to merely stage social practices. Instead, as a dialectic tool, we need to deploy how the territory becomes a created or imagined contextual space of cultural performativity and discursive production, working as a catalyst for the symbolic and representational level (Gallegos, 2017; Smith, 2006). My ethnographic choice, New Mexico as the land base for both the institutional New Mexico and the New Mexicans, would play that role. The territory would be a place for connection, a lived space that demands and provides symbolic or imagined formulas of a community (Anderson, 1983; Cohen, 1985; Appadurai, 1996; Swentzell, 1997). The space, the territory, as the scene where social relations get portrayed are special significance in New Mexico. It is not just a matter of land controversies pulled from legal management and specific rights upon it that turned into sour disputes after the American assimilation of the territory. Appadurai (1996: 182) sharply articulates that the association between community and locality, the 'structure of feeling', can never be taken for granted.

Ethnic relationships in New Mexico -Pueblos, 'Hispanos,' Anglos- reflect the contrasting modes of handling space (Grimes, 2013). Most times, that becomes present in a symbolic manner, to the point that Tewa Pueblos, the Pueblos of the Tewa language, classify their existence hierarchically related to six levels of space, six geographical categories (Ortiz, 1969: 9). In order to bring a thorough analysis to that, we will consider what Burke (1969) defines as the scene-act ratio; the connection between action and context: that what is done as an act; the context or locus of doing as a scene; the purpose; and who is the performer as an agent. The territory and its handling become a location and the basis of a venue for social norms and relations. It is a place because the community performs and physically stamped its identity upon it, in a precise and sharp process of identity building. Both are ambiguous and ambivalent, both a representational device and a stage for representation (Keating, 1999). As a place, it is hybrid, porous, and open to the co-existence or contention of different narratives, a constructed reality to anchor a sense of belonging (Massey, 1999; Escobar

2002; Smith, 2006). “Heritage is about a sense of place,” asserts Smith (2006: 75), and while heritage gets upscaled as a locus for meaning, the territory is warped holding identification strategies (Escobar, 2002), both combined becoming contingent with each other. There is some kind of ambivalence in the heritage and territory interplay. The territory works as the setup scenario, constructing my sense, my position, not only as individuals or as part of a larger community, but providing the fabric for collective belonging and otherness confronted to other ethnic groups (Harrison in Fairclough, Harrison, Jameson y Schofield, 2008). Moreover, the territory as ‘the land’ is the arena for simultaneous play and production for identity and alterity's inclusion and exclusion (Gupta and Ferguson, 1992). Those Newmexicans who call themselves 'Hispanos' link and validate their identification with the land as a continuum of that call. The land attributes, homeland as a sentiment (Rios-Bustamante and Blaut, 1984; Rodriguez, 1986; Nostrand, 1992), its possession, and timeless connection always show up in identity's discursive articulation and production. In my case, the land as a paradigm to leverage the cultural entity upon acknowledging the rejection suffered, and the land as a representational carpet for the layout of the cultural and social connections built through ‘mestizaje’ (Anzaldúa, 1987; Fonseca-Chávez, Romero, & Herrera, eds., 2020). Those ideas look forward to conveying an established community's archetype with the territory - 'Gemeinschaft' - (Tönnies, 2002) combined with shared interests, values, rituals and goods (Geertz 1973; Williams, 1976; Ortner 1978; Bauman 1992), and a necessity to draw analogies between the different worlds’ domains (Strathern, 1992: 47).

The ethnographic venues that we have engaged in – ‘La Fiesta’ and MoSCA - gain their relevance here in the capacity that turns them into a geographical and temporal occurrence. In their existence, they generate and establish borders and a specific territory and define a time and space which ownership becomes called by the self-defined community (Delgado, 2004). Newmexican ‘Hispanos’ voice their belonging to the territory as their heritage, sometimes to the point of wielding entitlement. In all, that notion of a homeland (Bustamante, 1982; Nostrand, 1992; Horton, 2010; Grimes, 2013) keeps lingering as a handy effective construction for them. A relay of former times and ideas when the US and New Mexico started to set in motion.

In New Mexico, community representation became a conflicting issue mostly ducted through a dispute between institutional and vernacular identity representations; again, we can see how valid, and sound is the echoing of previous Terradas (2004) elaboration here. In the cultural environment of the factual and symbolic representation of identity politics, 'Hispanos' have portrayed themselves as an ethnic group coming from an outright different, non-American experience. Beyond that constructed reality is that they did not historically have had felt the pressure to produce themselves within the realm of such a taxonomy. In a way, they conveyed the jurisdictional frame setting of 'Hispanos' as a conveniently compact racial, ethnic group, alienated from the American being because of their Spanish heritage -an alienated one-. Instead of integration and assimilation, a sense of cultural and racially tainted social segregation underpins the regular 'Hispano' life. 'Hispanos' feel disparaged by the folk-like vision of the institutional narratives about them. It all was part of the developing social dynamics. Wilmsen (2007) maintains how ethno-racial groups in the US get valued in relation to each other group, getting divided in axes of "superior/inferior qualities, insider/outsider status, and other purported attributes" (ibid: 238). In doing so, hierarchical structures get empowered, while other hierarchies' forms get disregarded, like those hierarchical natural structures voiced by Peterson (1999). It also avoids the expression of individual and communal relationality and mutuality (Viveiros de Castro, 2009; Sahlins, 2011) that might show in the Newmexicans inter-ethnic social relations. While 'Hispanos' currently struggle with their perception of symbolism cancellation, the state has proved outwardly efficient and productive in the state's marketing discourse, all the way since the beginning of the 20th century. Through time and even more recently, the newly minted ethnic social-politics conversation raised to political discourse prominence since the Civil Rights' struggle, and academy ideological production, coming from the Chicano and Native American studies departments and faculties, has deflected the study on 'Hispano' Newmexican identity production. That new direction shifted the tone away from further research on principles and motivations of the ongoing discourse of the 'Hispano' taxonomy.



#### 2.4.4 Wrapping-up on identity

The reasoning for the whole ethnography task was to cover the broader scope possible of 'Hispano' identity meanings as one of the ethnic communities within the complex New Mexico's society. Thus, even though discursive articulation of identity is more than merely apparent, my purpose swivels around the identity's conceptualization in one specific direction: the individual and community agency prompted by social practices built around the reckoning loyalties on shared values (Hall, 1996) for the 'Hispano' representation. That we devised the deployment of the historical review has the sense of contrasting from diachrony of the whole presentation. That strategy will disclose the real sense of the process that comes from the overlapping of both concepts, 'race' and 'ethnicity', a creation themselves running along in parallel with the inception of both the institutional body that turned into current New Mexico, and the concepts measuring social interactions. We have spotted that the first two stages in assigning identity had to do with the contrast between internal/external affiliation and the definition of segregation as a reflection of 'otherness.' Defining both the terms of affiliation and segregation has to do with the result of the specific terms of ethnic social interaction and the perception of cohesive integration, rooting, and attachment.

In New Mexico, a great tradition replicates this duality we have just exposed, combined with another one, like the one proposed by Terradas (2004), that confronts the production of identity from the balance of cultural identity and social and political identification, for social interactions. Regardless, there are two crucial and defining features that determine the shaping of identity's articulation by Newmexicans. One first has to do with the constant negotiation and strategies around what Macdonald (2013) labeled "repertoires of the past." The stubbornly precise look backward, to select specific features of the historical past, and the constant connection and articulation between the past and the present, prove a functional and sensible intellectual a device for Newmexicans. We have already suggested how 'Hispano' Newmexicans display a sense of obligation to restore and pay honor to both ancestors and descendants. In that sense retrieving the past is meant to provide meaning and purpose to present times and willingness to render beneficial into the future. Both ethnography samples display

such a stubborn drive. 'Los Caballeros De Vargas' go to the lengths to claim the power of the civilization enterprise carrying on the banner of legitimate 'Spanishness' and heralding as the representative paradigm of the community. They appear as they portray themselves as the upper layer in the structure of the social relationship. Their symbolic prowess, as carriers of the name of the prominent figure of Don Diego De Vargas, and the sacred status earned as the guardians and protectors of Holy Mary, make them the beacons of distinction to follow to express social cohesion.

One second relates to the territory, a fitting place for all sorts of connections, a locus with assigned personality, a lived space calling and providing for symbolic or imagined community content. If land rights had become a contentious issue, it was not less accurate that it was an issue that had gone beyond economics. It is true that 'Hispanos,' as well as Native Pueblo peoples, got dispossessed from their former land grants due to the new administration ruling. However, for 'Hispanos,' that went beyond mere economic consideration. The land was an endurance price taken from long centuries of resistance and prevalence. Land, obviously, had the tangible value of the heritage that had succeeded in construing a sense of place (Smith, 2006: 75). But the land had been the carpet where all the traditional narratives got woven and became the anchor to a reality fed by a strong sense of belonging (Massey, 1999; Escobar 2002; Smith, 2006). In New Mexico, 'Hispanos' have to confront their self-perception of disparagement in the social scale and hierarchy. The territory meant a perfect example in that sense. That they express the conviction of being accepted as part of the general discourse would not tell they walked out of voicing their entitlement as heirs of the long and solid Spanish tradition.

### **3 CHAPTER 3: A SOCIAL AND CULTURAL BACKDROP: CONCEPTS, TAXONOMIES & OTHER STORIES**

#### **3.1 New Mexico: Background (&) Context**

While in the process of building this research project, it already had become outwardly obvious that both the object of study and the analysis topics would get calling for a comprehensive explanation. It became clear that theoretical ideas and the whole ethnography project would be calling for context. The cultural customs and traditions at hand, the performative behavior observed all the way through fieldwork, and the complex levels of inter-ethnic social interaction, when not conflicted, had brought many information layers to display and process. All of them were rooted in a historical process towards the present day that we consider needed to get disclosed and analyzed.

##### **3.1.1 An introductory angle**

As an opener, this chapter will get committed to lay out the historical information blanket, reviewed through the fieldwork process. It will do so not just by inspecting the historical events related to the peoples of New Mexico. It will also examine the inception, evolution, and progress of concepts that eventually became instrumental in both the discourse narrative construction and valuing social relations. Having had to pay attention to discourse construction pushed the reasoning necessity up:

1. I needed to explain the conceptual tools at work. Which concept lines were in place at specific times or during a specific period, for contextual differentiation, in shaping discourse?
2. I needed to understand which conceptual devices were put in place in tooling discourse. In my case, those used reference and connections feeding identity and heritage. Why, and when did cause the call for identity and heritage amongst 'Hispano' Newmexicans?

3. With all the above mentioned, there is a needed to frame the explicit and implicit motivations through time and figure out what was meant as an offshoot, should that be the case.

As we will deliver, discourse construction implies a whole selection of narratives and specifics justifying, perhaps assigning, certain values to taxonomy constructions. That would be the reasoning behind knowledge systematization, in order to disclose the meaning of concepts looking to explain the structure of social relations. The diachrony in the information handling signifies an instrumental exercise in the use of various categories, consistent with identity and heritage in the process. That might be the case of the ethnic community, whose construction and conceptualization rely upon as the contemporary backdrop to New Mexico's history. It is not artificial to highlight the timely coincidence between both the institutional inception of New Mexico and the History of Anthropology. That parallel exercise should work as a construction background, ideology discloser, and finally, a definer of current arguments.

### 3.1.2 Basic context for the research

Anthropological research is at its core one in the quest for exceptionality. Not so much what is anomalous within the exceptional. Perhaps just the quest for patterns, whatever their sign, enabling the understanding in the association. Be it from mere discrimination or similarity. Exceptionality becomes an issue since the quest entails a two-party topic: the subject -the researcher-, and the object -that community or theme the researcher hinted to comprehend or perceived as problematic in any way-. That predicament is currently tackled elsewhere in grasping research's repercussions and ethics. This research proposal sets off from one exceptionality assumption: Newmexican' Hispanos' social practices. ¿What is that we value so exceptional in New Mexico's social life? That exceptionality we push in my case study stems from the troubles and social issues lingering from a century-plus long history. We find exceptional and troublesome in the onset the fitting of the Spanish and Mexican descent communities into the American socio-cultural structure and system, from the very beginning, back in 1850. That year, gun smoke still smoldering, the complex New

Mexico's Spanish-rooted cultural and historical traditions, and practices, that had been building up for a couple of centuries, had to confront a quick process of assimilation as part of westward expanding American society. Living through that shake-up stipulated the adjustment of the people's experience to the point of reaction. Differentiation in social and cultural terms would suddenly emphasize what had been construed as part of the vernacular experience. Whatever Newmexicans perceived as a social bond or a cultural tie - linguistic, religious, territorial, historical, traditional - started to be sifted out and marked to wield differentiation. It essentially worked as a defiance cultural battle and for the power struggle. A first insight approach highlighted some specifics: that the narratives 'Hispanos' put in place in arguing both their identity and heritage, for the sake of vocal or placing themselves in the conversation, those concepts looked inherently interchangeable and univocal. When Newmexican 'Hispanos' refer either to their identity or heritage, they thrust their perception of belonging to the unique whole set of cultural ties we mentioned above. The articulation of discourses responding to perceived conflicting social issues comes exposed in an outright conscious connection, and bonding with the past. Some sensibilities related to the past get propelled as conscious memory footprints, 'acts' of the heritage process (Criado-Boado, 2001), and identity leverage.

To provide direction to the research, we understand it would be proper to dig for context thoroughly. My interest, at this point, will focus on the analysis of historical processes. We will take into consideration the conceptualization history of identity as analytical taxonomy. Then, we will track down the consolidation of heritage. First as the outcome of social and cultural construction, in the building of larger ideological projects. After that, the reference frame will discuss heritage as the conceptualization climax of cultural traits precipitating from the selective bonding with the past. The underlying idea would seek to fix the selection of elements and discourses and how that has ensued in the entitlement production and identity validation. Besides, we will scrutinize the dynamics and sequence of historical processes. How the action, or the purportedly intended inaction of the institutions, the range of agents, and the endemic political ups and downs, have influenced and concur in time with the social construction that is today the state of New Mexico, the Newmexicans, and the 'Hispanos'. We value

it as relevant, stressing that it will initially be from an 'etic' content methodology. That will be comprehensively developed. From that set point, we hope to gather a general picture of selected self-conscience values, affirmation, preservation, and continuity. Which of them would prove to be confrontational, conflicting, reactive, or adaptive in the course of history? Trailing history, we understand that we will be apt to visualize and track whatever stories may arise, either their consolidation or volatility or the reasons for perseverance; how different arguments gain continuity or get left behind. After having fulfilled the ethnographic task, we have considered the historical account as a reinforcement, as a decisive device to explain and clarify the proposed analysis approach.

That we appeal to the course of history is essentially meant to pinpoint how identity and heritage get brought about instrumentally. Both taxonomies get tooled up to provide visibility to group segregation within modern societies. Both emerge from social interaction processes, from self-reflective positioning, from the need for identification/segregation in front of the 'other', and the confirmation that we are 'other' regarding others (Bourdieu, 1977; Farrell, 2010). Both also come out of the reflexive rational selection that we, as subjects, deliver to recover, protect, and further safeguard my objects (Hafstein, 2018). Identity and heritage are, in that sense, modernity concepts in Western societies. They are the byproduct of dramatic social, cultural, and political changes that occurred throughout the eighteen hundreds. They are concepts that, in their formulation, coexist with progress and evolution formulations as the backbone for ideological reinforcement and in the shaping of national states and nationalism throughout that century. In 'stricto sensu', New Mexico's history as a political entity, and the Newmexicans alike run parallel and crystallize around the times of systematization and production of knowledge of the Social and Behavioral Sciences, Anthropology included.

In relying for background and context, one first consideration would reflect the steady direct action of the institutions through time, the wide range of contending agents, and the troublesome political ups and downs caused during the struggle for statehood. All these events concur in time with the social construction that provided shape and content to today's New Mexico, to Newmexicans, and 'Hispanos.' The

troubles and social issues lingering from a century-plus long history make much more pertinent the focus on the analysis of historical processes, as a source for context. We will take into consideration whatever Newmexican 'Hispanos' perceived as a social bond or a cultural tie, either linguistic, religious, territorial, historical, or traditional, because of the resonance of the invocation and the sense of obligation to restore and pay honor to both their ancestors and their descendants, they show in the articulation of their identity.

### **3.1.3 Set number 1: 'La Fiesta': the weaving of a community**

The Santa Fe Fiesta takes its name from the proclamation and thanksgiving that on September 14th, 1712 (Annex Image-1), celebrated the Spanish resettlement of the Villa de Santa Fe in 1692, after the 1680's San Lorenzo Day Pueblo Revolt. That August day, a Pueblo confederation had succeeded in expelling the Spanish settlers from the New Mexico Territory, in the Colonial New Spain's Northern borderlands. The Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, called the state capital official celebration (Chávez, 1953-PÁGINA), has been celebrated continuously in Santa Fe since that day, following the Spanish custom to commemorate the patronal feast day of cities and villages. This festivity happens to be the oldest continuous community celebration in the United States (Pierce, 1985; Wilson, 1997). In September 1712, Nuevo México's governor, through his Captain-General and spokesman, Juan Paez Hurtado, issued a declaration. The decree stated that a religious and general thanksgiving celebration, 'Fiesta', would be held from that year on to honor of the praised bloodless reconquest of Santa Fe in 1692, after the 1680 Pueblo Revolt. Those were troubling and very intense times for New Mexico, which went on throughout the whole seventeen hundreds. There was apparent restrained resistance, mistrust, and unrest amongst the local Pueblos, though. The so-called bloodless reconquest was locally disputed, and simmering community tensions kept the Revolt bursting embers, here and there through the Territory, in the following decades. Second, by 1712 Spain, the whole Empire had already shifted from the Habsburg to the Borbon power rule.

That rule shift had posed a change in the paradigm and direction of policies and financial criteria. It also had a dynamic effect on social relations in Northern New Spain. One of them was the eventual opening of East-West commercial and trade trails -the expansion to the East of the Spanish trail connecting Santa Fe, NM, to Los Angeles, CA- and a more solid centralized dependence on Mexico. As a result, the New Mexico settlement was left to her own devices to deal with the East's new trading pressures, especially Missouri's French traders. That trading increment eventually brought new business opportunities, on the one hand, although also attracted intensified raiding activity from the Apaches and the Comanches, and some other plains roaming bands. Uncertainty and the fight for survival became a routinely harsh commonplace for the vastly scattered communities and settlements. An example was the 3,000 army-like Comanche siege and raids to the Villapando compound, the largest Hispano settlement near Taos, in 1760 that pushed settlers southbound to the vicinity of San Juan Pueblo. In the tension of that lifestyle and the harsh environment, the institution of a communal celebration turned to be a crucial juncture. 'La Fiesta' declaration became a unifying force for the community, not only for the 'Villa' but also for the whole settling units of people residing in the Northern New Mexico area. 'La Fiesta' was first, spurring cultural consolidation from the narrative built around shared symbolic references. There was a calling for unity in commemoration of the return to the former land base. There was a deep emotional bond connected to the people left behind in 1680, either dead or still alive, and to factual family reunification. Spanish people had family connections with Pueblo peoples, and even some Puebloans, who worked as 'criados' or were family connected, had left to the South with the Spanish. Besides, the religious ritual associated helped in providing consistent symbolism and meaning to the celebration. That resulted in a once-a-year celebration that prompted the whole community to coalesce in sharing and participation, escaping away from the year's worries, suffering, and gloom. We will later see how gloom re-enters the picture of 'La Fiesta'.

The Fiesta de Santa Fe is a consistently observed commemorative event since its proclamation back in September 1712. In terms of its ritual format, promoted as the oldest continuous community celebration in the United States (Horton, 2010; Pierce, 1985; Wilson, 1997), has undergone substantial alterations throughout the three



centuries span of its duration (Annex Image-2). The weight of this 150 plus years' time-lapse has shown up in changes that become more than apparent in the decade after statehood got granted, during the 1929 recession and wars relapse, and after the 60s Civil Rights Movement up to present times. The 307<sup>th</sup> celebration that here we report would play as the launching platform in analyzing my object of study. By exposing 'La Fiesta' instrumentality, we mean introducing the informational layers to the structures that become basic for constructing and shaping of 'Hispano' identity and heritage. 'La Fiesta' would be the 'wheres' to the 'how's. One of the several stages where the articulation of identity and heritage discourse get performed. That original 'Fiesta' format worked until 1912 -the year New Mexico got granted the US statehood-, only to become revived in 1919. By that year, the closing of the WWI and the influenza pandemic had brought many artists, writers, and social activists to New Mexico from back East. Many of them did so to recover from serious health issues in a high desert, drier climate, as other artists previously did back in the late eighteen hundreds and at the turn of the century. Somehow it worked as the prolongation of former waves of elite intellectuals from the East that had shown up in New Mexico as part of the patrimonialization enterprise a few decades earlier. It was then that the 'Fiesta' celebration got customized into a commemorative three-day folk festival with the backing of the School of American Research (SAR). SAR -the cultural institution founded in 1907 as the School for American Archeology- backed by the intellectuals' colony, largely of Anglo-Saxon origin, engineered a whole new idea for 'La Fiesta.' It was envisioned as a three-day outdoor festival to portray "[a]nd commemorate the great events in the history of the Southwest and... the part played by each of the three races, Indian, Spanish-American, and Anglo-Saxon...headlined 'The Days Before Santa Fe Was,' day one was devoted to Indian Culture -ceremonial dances, performances, and parade-. The triumphal entry of don Diego de Vargas, Fiestas' original focus, was relegated to day two, 'Santa Fe Antigua.' Day three, 'Santa Fe Moderna' · featured Anglo performers depicting General Stephen Kearny and his troops in 1846 as they approached over the Santa Fe Trail to put a stamp of finality over the American occupation." (Owen Lewis and Brooks, 2007: 27-28). Altogether, a dramatic shift in shape, form, and content for the festivity, and a radical paradigm move, witnessing the power balance in the new State.

*“[i]n the past, it used to be a two-day Fiesta, with mass, processions, and vespers. Then they added the parade, the food booths, the queen, and everything else.”* (Horton, 2010: 132)

We deem it relevant that the course of time has determined those different aspects that historically 'La Fiesta' has embodied up until today. In that regard, we maintain that 'La Fiesta' history exposition and monitoring would come conveniently. Those two mechanisms, exposing where it gets delivered, and how it is expressed, meet a double objective. First, to focus on practices, discourses, and the viewpoints that social agents, both individual and collective, may sustain. Within my task, it will be not only about 'Hispanos' but it will make present the reality of those other ethnic groups that share culture, history, and lineage most times with the object of study, no matter how antagonistic they may appear to be. This targeting means making explicit the cadence working in the creation and production mechanisms that have been followed over time, which have not been immune to historical ups and downs. Upon that perspective, we can at least anticipate what has and what has not been a central influence on the process, as developed in the third thematic package, with Chapters 4 and 5, that would handle the case studies outlining the analysis for this thesis. That is why we will be able to fix the motivation behind specific practices or discourses that somehow stuck, consolidated, or otherwise whatever caused them to be discarded. In contrast to the former, the second objective would have the confrontational impact that all the above would have on different groups that would count as outsiders to the production -Native peoples and Anglos-. One further aspect, diachrony, would shed further light on my ethnography and has a double character. One refers to the ability in dissecting each moment in history. Necessary specificity on each historical time 'cut', as specific times report specific unique responses. The sequence of the historical process is transformed into the polyphonic version that arises from bundling up individual moments. The latter, we could say, inform the details of the process. The other character would account for transformation. Transformation due to process accounting for the heritage sediment, social activities, and relations, and, indeed, discourse production. We address here the mechanisms of production, selection, and follow-up re-elaboration that emerge instrumental in discursive construction. Instrumental in conveying layered stratification, providing shape, intent, and contextual meaning, hanging from the socio-

political-cultural dynamics through time. To recap, to make available all the genealogy details for the analysis of identity and heritage discourses, exposing how valuable, multi-instrumental, and convenient the event of 'La Fiesta' fits here as a functional analysis device.

First of all, 'La Fiesta' de Santa Fe holds a whole genealogy and a lengthy historical trajectory. The historical journey identifies the symbolism of the very first moment and all the emotional and symbolic associations it renders. It also informs about the relevant characteristics and their transformations over time. It identifies or, better, allows identifying the discursive argumentation, the itinerary of the plot thread. Time unveils the rhetoric of preservation, highlighting all that deserves to get remembered or that one wants to overlook. All that emerges from temporality, exposing what society means for itself at all times. 'La Fiesta' got at first set upon a deliberate ritual remembrance. It was a celebration of New Mexico history's glorified moment, meant as a backdrop for local memory. Setting 'La Fiesta' celebration was a willful exercise formerly meant to cheer up and reinforce the spirits of the lives of those enduring from a particularly harsh environment, in a far-out isolated land, and a very hostile ecosystem. Such a foundational moment, mirroring into the 1692 reconquest, appears as setting off a conscious affective process, the embodied footprint of memory and oblivion (Criado-Boado, 2001; Macdonald, 2013), and keeps self-reflecting itself through social practices that turn into a culture production device (Kirchenblatt-Gimblett, 2004; Smith, 2006; Sánchez-Carretero, 2013). The function of this referential game of mirrors, construed around the selection of memories that are fetched from the past, and self-reference discourse construction, would frame how identity and heritage get articulated.

All the speeches delivered during 'La Fiesta' solemn inauguration addressed that archetypal moment of Santa Fe's 1692 reconquest. It was a repetition methodically summoning for place and memory, in reproducing that very first celebration; it was as if everybody had spared some personal space to coalesce with and acknowledge the communal memory. It was thoroughly and decisively intentional a move. It was memory at work, establishing a foundational and paradigmatic moment, not only used as a standard reference but as symbolic support of legitimation. That referential

moment got pledged with a determined will. In doing so, the univocal and incontestable connection between the past and the present was set and manifested through the sacralization in the repetition of a profane moment (Durkheim, 2008; Eliade, 2006), and a challenging production of the past in the present through that the people variously experience (Macdonald, 2013). In this specific case, the sacralization of the outcome of an act of war in Santa Fe's history is read differently depending on the party. While the 'Hispanos' side would promote the positivity of the dramatization and reenactment of the event, arguing that eventually naturalized the imposed social order, positively affect its functioning, Native Pueblos just see the conveniently glaze coated staging of their defeat, therefore perpetuating their subordinate role. As for the ceremony, it becomes apparent that the markedly religious sphere gets willfully present in the ritual followed during 'El Pregón.' All gestures and protocols get shaped by the ritual, determined to fully enclose everything and everyone within a very well-framed sacred territory. There is a double consideration here nonetheless, a paradoxical one. The Catholic ritualization platform, more obvious and evident in the performance, behaves as a cultural differential fact. It does so by ratifying the proclamation of specific 'Hispano' limits of identity. Thus, the Catholic ritual works as a privileged entitlement, reminiscent of the times it portrays, instrumental to the historical hegemonic power. It is relevant to interject that 'El Pregón' is produced in a private environment in present times, perhaps more than in the past had been, adding up to the conflicting issues. While the constitutional First Amendment shields individual worshipping freedom, personal liberty should not conversely interfere with public life in any way. This first part of 'La Fiesta' has been performed within the exclusive boundaries of privacy, regardless of the inclusive appearance and the heavy institutional backing.

Boasting Catholicism introduces some sort of marked 'otherness', as well as a kind of internal domain in preserving "essential markers of cultural identity" (Chatterjee, 1993: 6). Self-exclusion and self-otherness through symbolism would play in this opening celebration in constructing the invisible norm that 'otherness' works in reciprocally, securing and hinging both identity and self-identity (Alonso, 1994). 'Hispanos' stubbornly continued to hold their religious tradition dear and continued with the performance of Catholic rituals during 'Fiesta' days, as they had been

previously doing to sanction, exert and exhibit their cultural belonging. Thus, on the whole, 'La Fiesta,' as it had become shaped by the first third of the nineteenth century, was one of the performative effects. It had become so because of the institutional program projecting the history of New Mexicans as one of evolutionary progress, thoroughly conveying in those days a specific promotional message: the idea, discourse, and display of New Mexico and the New Mexicans as a tri-ethnic society. The successive historical episodes and the institutional and social actions have pointed at how deep some 'Hispanos' bought that proposal. So many times, it was to their own avail and entitlement aiming at squaring disadvantages in their position within the social structure and cultural displacement. After the First Great War, the short-term recovery that timely happened a few years after statehood was granted, in 1912, was soon followed by the significant fallback of the 1929 Great Depression. Then, in the late 1930s, the Roosevelt Administration set the ambitious WPA Project -Works Progress Administration- to relaunch the whole country's productive fabric and many sectors. By 1939 that program had already been at full steam for almost a decade. It then got upgraded rebranded as the Works Projects Administration. That new undertaking targeted at building documental series and State Guides to back and promote states-general culture and history. New Mexico joined that project that took a folklore twist in the research to push for tradition recovery and to expand the scope of patrimonialization. The project addressed preserving a long history of rich oral traditions that started back in colonial times and had its continuity and interest until the nineteenth century by identifying specific cultural events. The core reason for that was to recover and curate the very long cultural-related Spanish traditions.

That initiative that shipped researchers and writers to interview the 'ancianos', meant to patch the relentless sense of cultural loss by preserving those cultural traditions transmitted through vernacular storytelling. Because of the very harsh, centuries-long, isolation conditions New Mexicans had been enduring, being as they had stayed isolated from their mother countries, Spain and Mexico, the recourse to storytelling had gotten deeply engrained within the time-honored traditions' Hispanos' relayed generation after generation. Thus, storytelling is a cultural transmission device deeply lodged within the 'Hispanos' cultural expression. A three centuries' span in the

works saw how nostalgia conjuring and memory-evoking perfectly blended for the 'Hispano' Newmexicans with the American Southwest original peoples' sacred tradition of storytelling and verbal wisdom transmission.

Following that seminal enterprise, two main events stand out in the bellowing and dramatic social changes New Mexico endured in its recent history, just after WWII. One was the massive industrial and military investment that brought the research and production of the first atomic bomb and other variants of nuclear weaponry. The Manhattan Project developed at the Los Alamos National Laboratories, just 35 miles Northwest to Santa Fe, since the 1940s, and the 1942's Project Y, the top-secret atomic weapons laboratory directed by J. Robert Oppenheimer, meant both an economic burst and the withering of New Mexico's former social fabric. Along with the National Security Agencies' personnel, the significant US military presence favored a substantial technological leap and a dramatic shift in the labor market. While most of the arriving jobs got filled by scientists, engineers, and technicians from other states, much of the blue-collar labor force and service sector workers fell upon local Newmexicans. The second event we were referring to, it was the trickling down of a new mentality bursting from the fact that New Mexico, and Santa Fe at the top in the crown, were increasingly starting to trend as tourist attractions for American visitors looking for the exotic 'us.' By the time of the extraordinary social, economic, and mobility outburst that followed WWII, the North American society had already got soaked through by the message that New Mexico's visibility held on the cultural thematization of its natural environment and its society. That idea of a tri-ethnic New Mexico, that had begun to catch among the elites at the beginning of the century, eventually solidified as a state symbol and motto. In that social and cultural blender, the 'Hispanos' attempted to find their niche to thrive, nonetheless socially.

To that effect, 'La Fiesta,' as it was then staged and proposed, still provided some sense of continuity and proper ritual significance. 'La Fiesta' was an event that, regardless of the new trends and new formula add-ons seeking a better popular response, still retained that symbolic connection for Newmexican 'Hispanos' unique cultural expression and traditional relevance. So far, they built their empowerment on the staging and format implemented since 1919, essentially around the 'Entrada'

pageant. Regardless of the obvious cultural trivialization and inter-ethnic grievances that brought with time, 'Hispanos' at least gained a sense of agency and exposure while retaining some feeling of possession.



*"People served in the war, they missed New Mexico, and they wanted to help in whatever way they could to keep things going...I thought, 'This is really important. I need to preserve the Fiesta'."*

(Armando Benavides in Horton, 2010: 64)

In that New Mexico social environment, 'Los Caballeros' entered the picture as an organization. They figured out that being at the core of the 'Fiesta' would be essential to retain and control the celebration's ritualization pattern. They assertively meant to be vocal in the genuine preservation of old formulas, values, and traditions. Somehow, it was an exercise for self-empowerment in front of what they had perceived socially downplayed and neglected as an Anglo encroached subaltern community. The extent of the persuasive use of symbols and the precise construction of identity discourse arguably sets the parallel with the sentiment of ethnonationalism (Horton, 2010) as an initiative binding identity and space, binding identity, and territory.

Los Caballeros De Vargas is a lodge-like organization established in the summer of 1954 -June 24th- to honor and perpetuate the memory of General Don Diego de Vargas Zapata y Luján Ponce de León y Contreras, the Spanish military man who in 1692 commanded the Santa Fe's retaking for the Spanish crown, after the Pueblo Revolt in August 1680. The 'Hispano' veterans returning from the front lines after World War II had to get to grips with the social transformations Santa Fe, New Mexico, and Newmexican society, as a whole, had undergone in their absence. The operational military and scientific projects had drawn a great migration flow in, eventually transforming the Newmexican social fabric beyond recognition for them. From 1940 to

1960, New Mexico had its population doubled<sup>21</sup>. Coming back to an unrecognizable homeland pressed reintegration as an ethnic backlash. To provide social substance and ceremony, the organization's founding members got knighted on the Plaza's gazebo bandstand on June 25th, 1956, by the Cathedral pastor. That institutional religious accolade heightened the social hierarchy with the pulling of regular 'joes' into 'Caballeros.' The status credited by that military prowess and performed 'Spanish royalty' reinforced the symbolism in safeguarding and protecting what it got meant as an old 'Hispano' social tradition. That formality also translated into a legitimizing hierarchy, shaping a selection that would top the 'Hispano' community in some sort or form.

'Los Caballeros' social status and proof they get from the 'Hispano' society in general, relies and gets leveraged upon the combined ritual and symbolic, civil, and



religious values, furnished upon an outstanding, meaningful object: the image of 'Nuestra Señora de la Asunción,' 'La Conquistadora.' Her presence in New Mexico dates back to 1625 when Fray Alonso de Benavides took her to Santa Fe, serving as a center of religious devotion. During the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, the image was rescued from the burning church and in exile for 1680-1692. She was given that title -La Conquistadora- as the bearer and symbol for reconquest determination during those twelve years.

<sup>21</sup> <https://www.macrotrends.net/states/new-mexico/population> < accessed, December 21<sup>st</sup>, 2020, 13:42>



Finally, the image got brought back to be honored as the Patroness of the Kingdom of New Mexico and the Villa Real de la Santa Fe de San Francisco de Asís. Los Caballeros also honor the Virgin as their Patroness in that capacity and as stated in the Pregón hand program, “[p]romote the Hispanic-Christian Culture of Santa Fe, New Mexico and the Southwest in general.” In terms of relevant Fiesta venues, the inauguration occurs on a site of profound symbolic content to the event. ‘El Pregón,’ the official institutional religious ritual opening ‘La Fiesta,’ occurs at the Rosario Chapel. This chapel was built upon the same 1692 encampment spot De Vargas took before the final push to retaking of Santa Fe. The Spanish prayed there for their victory to the Virgin Mary. It is the only place where ‘La Conquistadora’ can be worshipped outside her regular chapel inside the Saint Francis Cathedral. The Rosario Chapel is also where all the pre-Fiesta ‘novenas’ for her and processions are also held. In their capacities, ‘Los Caballeros de Vargas’ act as ‘La Conquistadora’s’ official Honor Guard, responsible for her transfer, protection, and safety during processions and through the year. Fray Angélico Chávez (1974) goes on to assert that “‘La Conquistadora’ would come to reflect a chief feature of the *anima hispanica* in New Mexico down three centuries to my day.” ‘Los Caballeros’ consistently convey that effective culturally charged meaning in their discourse, to the point of considering themselves as cultural ambassadors in the Spanish-speaking world (Horton, 2010: 75). As a religious ritual icon, ‘La Conquistadora’ had been hand in hand with the spreading evangelization message as spiritual support and guardian of Hispano settlements in New Mexico. To this day, she is the influential Patron Saint of ‘Hispano’ Santa Feans.

‘La Fiesta,’ both civic and religious staging, has ended up becoming the representational set where selective and bundled up cultural cherry-picking has worked in showing how social, cultural, and inter-ethnic tensions could get thwarted. During fieldwork, it was evidenced that ‘Hispano’ Newmexicans adhered to the prestigious ‘Entrada’ reenactment. For as long as nearly anyone seemed to recall, the whole pageant had absorbed credibility through yearly consistency in the performance. However, the way ‘Los Caballeros’ yearly portrayed the relics of the past and their royalty prowess, ‘La Entrada’ is not meant as an objective historical presentation.

*“Nuevomexicanos did not appropriate and reinvent the Entrada until the 1950s, and this coincides with the revitalization of Hispano-Catholic organizations and cultural preservation projects. During World War II, many native New Mexicans left the region to join the military or work in wartime industries. When they returned, they wanted to be fully included in U.S. society as Americans. But they also wanted to preserve their culture and traditions, which they believed were diminishing as a result of Anglo emigration”.*

‘Coming to terms with Santa Fe’s Entrada Pageant’, Aimee Villarreal

Santa Fe New Mexican, August 31, 2017

Conversely, in that same social environment, social activists and Native organizations, and Pueblo peoples in the area had been voicing their concerns and opposed that kind of portrayal. It was a clashing approach of ideological commitment because of the dramatization of the event. Disrupting activities and actions through the years, when the 'Entrada' was in play, had mounted up to oppose a celebration they felt like attempting to gloss over past atrocities from the old Spanish settlers. While social tensions are still high, the official institutions -All-Pueblo Council of Governors, the Fiesta Council, and the local Catholic Church authority- keep working together to meet a consensus to keep at with the 'Fiesta.' After the first step into a joint agreement, striving on the path for a further consensual approach, 'La Entrada' pageant reenactment had got officially replaced, in 2018, by a prayer gathering within the opening ceremonies at the Plaza, scheduled as 'Celebración de la Comunidad Fe' (Image-3). This new start for the annual 'Fiesta' aimed at forging a time for dialogue and reconciliation and an attempt not to engage in other predicaments, as authorities elsewhere in the country keep grappling with monuments and statues, considered symbols of historic brutality. Thomas Baca, the president of 'Caballeros de Vargas,' shared the 'Caballeros' collective view resenting that the decision to end the 'Entrada' reenactment as an attempt to curb Hispanic traditions and cultural cancellation in New Mexico.

The Santa Fe Fiesta became a contention venue for cultural confrontation soon after the realization of New Mexico as a state of the Union, by 1912. 'La Fiesta' had

solidified as a unifying symbolic force for the 'Hispano' community during its two centuries continuous celebration, mainly due to the potent religious connection. As a religious commemoration and thanksgiving had gotten woven into the Newmexican social fabric because it soon caught the meaning as the re-assertion of Spanish-ness. 'Hispano' identification took then a form of representation boosted by social and economic difference with the 'Anglo' community and by the need to render their specific culture, tradition, and presence visible. By the 'Fiesta' reinstatement in 1919, the format had morphed from the religious symbolism into an event that would call and commemorate what the new promoters - Edward Hewett and recently founded Museum of New Mexico (1909), in Santa Fe- realized were the feat points in the history of the Southwest. 'La Fiesta' got transformed into a festival to "[c]ommemorate the great events in the history of the Southwest and... the part played by each of the three races, Indian, Spanish-American, and Anglo-Saxon" (Owen Lewis and Brooks, 2007: 27-28). It included ceremonial dances, performances, and parades, from the Indian Cultures and a pageant staging the 1692 triumphal entry of don Diego de Vargas in Santa Fe. From that year, 'La Fiesta' turned into a pageant of the three cultures - Natives, 'Hispanos,' Anglos'- that had shaped the Newmexican social tapestry. That arrangement had been not only shaped by Santa Fe's Anglo elites, but soon it turned into a commodified product. New Mexico was in its first decade as a state of the Union, and tourism turned into a reliable resource. La Fiesta' got promoted to attract visitors into the region by highlighting the specific history and tradition of the Southwest, also seeking an active popular response from the Newmexicans, by the inclusion of the three ethnic groups aforementioned. The staging of 'La Entrada' pageant, rendering the drama of the Santa Fe reconquest in 1692, got promoted as one of the highlight points in the Spanish colonial past in New Mexico. Through time 'Hispano' Newmexicans adhered to the prestigious 'Entrada' reenactment, portrayed after many changes by 'Los Caballeros De Vargas', the 'Hispano' connected organization established in the summer of 1954. Although it was not meant as an objective historical presentation, the event dramatization soon blistered amongst native sensibilities.

Even though the old Spanish-rooted tradition continued to get practiced, the actual branding of 'La Fiesta' shifted into an event more in the promotional tone,

consistent with the spirit of culture and heritage preservation and revitalization. 'Hispano' Newmexicans moved into the leading structures of 'La Fiesta,' some would arguably mention appropriated and reinvented 'La Entrada' (Villarreal, 2017) by 1950. This coincides with the revitalization of Hispano-Catholic organizations and cultural preservation projects that showed how socially imbalanced the 'Hispano' community had become in front of the state's new economic and political powers. When veterans returned from the WWII battlefields, they had to get to grips with the transformations of Santa Fe, New Mexico, and New Mexican society. The internal US migration tides had altered the Newmexican social fabric beyond recognition for them. Having gone through the traumatic war experience and having served like anybody else, they felt empowered and entitled for inclusion beyond the neglect they had experienced before. Part of that bartering they wanted to preserve their culture and traditions, which they believed were diminishing due to Anglo emigration.

'La Entrada' ended up being a controversial performance for the lack of sensibility displayed to one of the actors of the staged drama pageant: The Pueblo Peoples. While their ethnic values had been portrayed as "[g]uardians, stewards, and protectors of cultural property and the maintenance of the spirit of the homelands of Pueblos upon which the city of Santa Fe now sits and occupies", their role in 'La Fiesta' had always been instrumental and devoid of representation. Politically inspired groups like Red Nation<sup>22</sup>, in line with the Civil Rights Movement, get very active in New Mexico to reinstate Native sovereignty upon their lands and cultures. After years of showing discontent for 'La Entrada' portrayal, disrupting surged up to the point that by 2018 'La Entrada' pageant reenactment got officially replaced by a multidenominational prayer gathering within the opening ceremonies at the Plaza. It was called 'La Celebración de la Comunidad de Fe', to retain the symbology of past celebrations -celebration, fe-, with an inclusive intention, and it was prompted and promoted by the official institutions - All-Pueblo Council of Governors, the Fiesta Council, and the local Catholic Church authority-. That positioning got met with a collective resentment on the 'Caballeros'

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<sup>22</sup> Politically inspired groups like Red Nation get very active in New Mexico following their mission: "The Red Nation is dedicated to the liberation of Native peoples from capitalism and colonialism. I center Native political agendas and struggles through direct action, advocacy, mobilization, and education". <http://therednation.org/about/> <accessed, November 19th., 2021, 14:13>

part and many in the 'Hispano' community. There are currently concerted efforts<sup>23</sup> on the part of the many cultural, political, and social institutions, individuals, organizations, and groups of diverse backgrounds in Santa Fe, aiming at a collective undertaking to provide solutions to unresolved historical issues, amongst them those related to symbolism related to the portrayal of 'La Fiesta.'



'La Celebración de la Comunidad de Fe -Santa Fe Fiesta 2019'

### 3.1.4 Set number 2: @ MoSCA

The Museum of Spanish Colonial Art -MoSCA- opened to the public in July 2002 at the Museum Hill complex in Santa Fe. It was the culmination of a five-decade task the Spanish Colonial Art Society sought to obtain land and financing to build a site to

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<sup>23</sup> <https://www.chartsantafe.com/about> <accessed, October 4<sup>th</sup>, 2021, 22:02>. CHART (Culture, History, Art, Reconciliation, Truth) Santa Fe project is a project inspired by the September 2018 city proclamation that resulted from one year of conversations between the All-Pueblo Council of Governors, Archdiocese of Santa Fe, the Caballeros de Vargas, and the Santa Fe Fiesta Council.

exhibit traditional Newmexican Art. A casual donation of some land plot in 1998 allowed the commission for this building, placed in a contextually significant culturally driven site in the city. Financed by John D. Rockefeller, it is the only museum in the world committed to Spanish Colonial Art, focusing on the unique artistic styles developed in New Mexico. "The Museum of Spanish Colonial Art is housed in a building that is part of the legacy of the acclaimed late architect John Gaw Meem. The building is a classic example of the 'Spanish-Pueblo Revival' architectural style that Meem pioneered in New Mexico in the early-twentieth century. It also reflects Meem's personal interest in the region's Hispano culture and his longtime involvement with the Spanish Colonial Arts Society."<sup>24</sup> The bulk of its collections came from the split from existing collections in the vaults of the Museum of International Folk Art's (MoIFA) Spanish Colonial Arts Department. It additionally included private collections and art and craft assets gathered as part of the conservation endeavor carried out, since 1928, by the Spanish Colonial Art Society (SCAS) and its predecessors, the Society for the Revival of Spanish Arts, and the Society for the Restoration and Preservation of Spanish Mission Churches of New Mexico - "[t]he collections are the most comprehensive compilation of Spanish Colonial art of their kind" -.<sup>25</sup> The Museum's vision statement reads: "The MoSCA offers a welcome into the life and heart of 'Hispano' culture, preserving and honoring traditional Spanish Colonial art forms as expressed in New Mexico and around the world, and celebrating the continuing evolution of this aesthetic" (Padilla (ed.), 2002: xv). Such specific reviving, protection and safeguarding tasks emphasized collecting devotional and religious traditional art, so profuse and essential for the Newmexican 'Hispano' communities' lifestyle, since the early eighteen hundreds. There are also educational and promotional programs at work to revitalize this type of art as part of the Spanish Colonial Art Society and Museum's mission. In that undertaking, SCAS has been acquiring masterpieces from renowned awarded Spanish Market artists for the last five decades. While the Museum embodied the material realization of a desire for a horizon of continuity, it is impossible to get its social and cultural relevance without bringing here the issue of the Spanish Market.

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<sup>24</sup> <https://www.spanishcolonial.org/about.html> <accessed, August 21<sup>st</sup>, 2020, 18:47>

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. <accessed, August 27th, 2020, 10:27>

We have hinted how New Mexico would have sustained an intense migration of intellectuals and people of the cultural world after WWI. "Artists and writers such as Witter Byner, John Sloan, Mabel Dodge Luhan, and Marsden Hartley, painters such as Georgia O'Keeffe and Oliver La Farge" ...got referred by Wilson (1997) as 'internal expatriates', as the romantic wing of the New York intelligentsia; Montgomery (2002: 114) would refer to them as 'the Anglo corps' led by Edgar Lee Hewett. Another fine arts names joined the crew: Carlos Vierra, Sheldon Parsons, Gerald Cassidy, Will Shuster. Those people were following the trend already set by other artists back in the late eighteenth hundreds. Back-to-back with the changes implemented for 'La Fiesta,' by 1926, Mary Austin, one of the SCAS' founders and a writer and stage director herself, organized the first Spanish Market, altogether with Frank Applegate, following the trend set by the Southwest Indian Fair, precursor to Indian Market, The School launched in 1924. It formerly was a small format showcase determined to promote the local 'Hispanic' traditional arts, to be held along as an insert in the 'Fiesta' time program. The idea was arranged a public exhibition to display and sale Spanish art in assorted traditional craft categories. It was both an ethnically colorful addition to comply with the effort to promote the State and attract visitors and a bid aligned to the preservation and the incentive for Newmexican vernacular art forms. In that sense, 'traditional' was the keyword. Furniture, tinwork, 'colcha' textiles, woodcarving, and religious devotional artwork '-retablos' and 'bultos'- were promoted as Spanish-American traditional cultural expressions and art forms. Since 1926 'Fiesta' prizes got awarded to a variety of categories and continue up to today. The Spanish Market experienced several changes in its operation through decades. By 1965 the Traditional Spanish Market got eventually settled, revived as a yearly event, after the forceful WWII recess, and in 1972 it started to be held during "the last full weekend in July with associated events during the week leading up to Market, known as Viva la Cultura."

The SCAS website currently states: *"Rigorous standards were developed to ensure that Spanish Market artists participated in regional Hispanic heritage, and they were juried into art categories that represent the established traditional arts and crafts of New Mexico and southern Colorado. Today, there are nineteen art categories with approximately 200 adult artists working within them. Artists compete for many top*

*awards and cash prizes in their juried categories. On Friday night before the weekend market, the Society sponsors Preview which honors the awards recipients and offers collectors and visitors a sneak peak of the best artwork that will be for sale the next day.*"<sup>26</sup> To sustain those 'rigorous standards' SCAS took at a couple of cultural references already explicit in that same statement. One was the condition of traditional arts and crafts; the other has to do with the specifics of the 'Hispanic heritage.' Both culture and lineage got meant to work together as defining features of one of New Mexico's cultural expressions. In such a way, it helped cover the scope of culture by tradition and biology by lineage, laying the grounds for a range of narratives related to both perspectives. It just did not call for cultural traits, features, and symbolic connections within the non-sumptuary popular Newmexican art and craft referenced as traditional in their history and acknowledged popular in their usage. Instead, it built a pattern, a cultural case, where rules shaped and framed the homogeneity and unchangeable aesthetics. It was an idealized call for the times when those art and craft manifestations We refer to -furniture, tinwork, 'colcha' textiles, woodcarving, and religious devotional artwork- were part of New Mexico's popular lifestyle, that had settled during colonial times and also preceding the 1850 American administration. Categories got formerly set to organize art and craft expressions leading to jury and contest. The inclusion in any of the up to nineteen categories gets only granted by artistry skills and, most importantly, by manifest credited heritage proof. This ruling is where heritage, as a tangible craft form expression conveying the conceptual transmission of community values through specific aesthetic means, gets entwined with blood lineage and group identification. SCAS, in the grounded knowledge capacity set as former and sole promoters, determined the categorizing model and the art and crafts' selection canons. Candidates should be consistent in terms of replicating skills and techniques fitting in the traditional frame set by the juried rules. SCAS has also built, as a proven authority within the New Mexico institutional environment, the whole promotional machinery that ended up being the successful enterprise the Spanish Market became. The rescue task and art revitalization of traditional styles veered into directions that were not consistent with the initial mission and got perceived as

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<sup>26</sup> <https://www.spanishcolonial.org/spanish-markets/history/> <accessed, December 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2020, 14:07>



conflicting. On the one hand, it cornered and conformed the artistic aesthetic expression to the point of restraint of development and advancement, arguably for the sake of tradition and heritage.

On the other hand, artists have challenged themselves to fit into the body of rules, refraining from blowing out their art expression into the more current modern standards. Those who would move should not be suitable for the contest, henceforth needing to fit into some other art areas within the general art market. In doing so, they have helped construct a very narrow and held back market mainly around the needs and preferences of collectors, which has brought a solidly structured artist hierarchy as a collateral market effect. SCAS frameset ruled how originals had to suit the so-called traditional standards. That would eventually prevent art representation from evolving or, at least, get forcibly pushed to gaze onto the past. That gaze had inevitably to aim at the first half of the eighteen hundreds' 'golden age' -1790 to 1863- the historical period initially established by researchers as the topping moment for New Mexico's religious art (Larry Frank 1992: 29; Padilla (ed.), 2002; Farago and Pierce eds., 2006). MoSCA and Spanish Market, under SCAS umbrella, have walked hand in hand, blending informative forces and marketing folk-style traditional art for the last couple of decades, providing an outcome that seems antagonistic with the purpose. The provision of a financial source for artists willingly adapting and/or adopting the Spanish Market rules and the constraint acceptance implied while fitting into them.

The colossal efforts pushed by the late 30's WPA Project -Works Progress Administration- to relaunch the whole country's productive fabric and many sectors coalesced with the ongoing Newmexican devotional and traditional religious art reviving protection and safeguarding endeavors. The former Society for the Revival of Spanish Arts, and the Society for the Restoration and Preservation of Spanish Mission Churches of New Mexico, working since 1928, gave way to projects fixed on preserving and honoring traditional Spanish Colonial art forms as expressed in New Mexico. The Spanish Colonial Art Society (SCAS), the Museum of Spanish Colonial Art (MoSCA), and the Traditional Spanish Market became fully recognizable brand names dealing in Spanish-related Newmexican vernacular forms. The tradition was the key for the promotion of crafts like furniture, tinwork, 'colcha' textiles, woodcarving, and religious

devotional artwork - 'retablos' and 'bultos' -. On those grounds, MoSCA has become the symbolic context hub and the venue where art visibility gets more exposed, turning into a platform for confrontation and collaboration. That is the case because it moved the cultural wrestling, 'Hispanos' social affirmation within the American society as the state's significant minority, up into the grounds of expert preservation and revitalization of old tradition and heritage.

### 3.2 New Mexico: a conceptual environment

*"We as Hispanos – because of prejudice, loss of our status, the 'tri-ethnic trap', and romanticizing of culture – have massive identity problems. That's not to say we are not proud of being "Hispanos" in our homeland as defined since 1598. But who are we, and does it matter?"*

Orlando Romero

'A fine mix Spaniards are into', The Santa Fe Newmexican 04-03-2012

This piece is part of Orlando Romero's weekly column in Santa Fe's local newspaper. He summarized there the symbolic reference repository to which Newmexican 'Hispanos' turn to build their self-perception narratives. He reflects on the day-to-day perceptions. It is a reproduction mechanism to expose what is perceived as relevant in the discourse articulation and support. The reference to the tri-ethnic trap goes beyond the cliché status to become the clue in understanding the underlying frustration of Sr. Romero with the tri-cultural hierarchy. New Mexico's lengthy multicultural background went exponential with the arrival of Americans after the 1850 war. The dramatic shift of institutional powers in place with the US Administration shaped a concrete new social structure. New Mexico turned into a three-tiered social hierarchy where Native peoples were at the bottom, 'Hispanos' were in the middle, and Anglos at the top (Rodriguez, 1996). That social structure, the actual conveyor belt of the racially framed American social stratification, boosted the imagery of a tri-ethnic social pattern. Rodriguez (1996) bluntly states, aligning herself to Bodine (1968), that "[t]he tri-ethnic trap is a situation in which Hispanos, unable to advance beyond clear-cut secondary economic status and faced with the steady and irrevocable loss of their

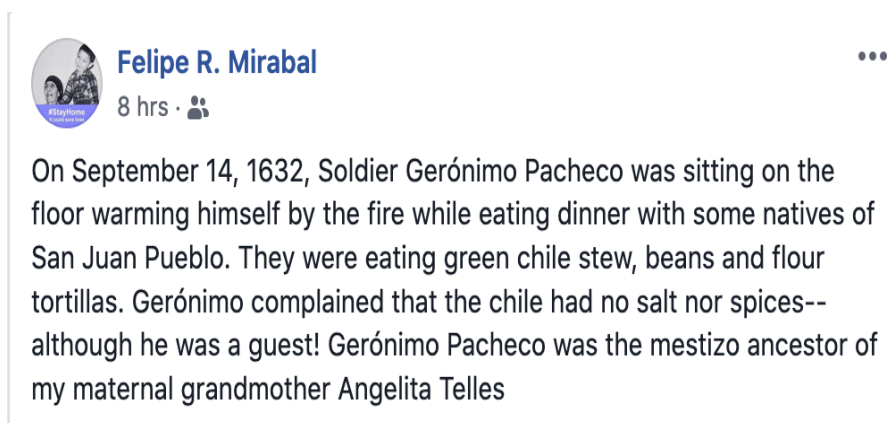
traditional land base, must abide by a tourism-engendered Anglo glorification of Indian culture, as well as the federal protection and even restoration of Indian lands, sometimes at the expense of Hispano ownership." We would also add up for the romantizing and the ensuing commodification of the fantasy of a frozen Newmexican Spanish-rooted culture, that even authors (Wilson, in Rothman, ed. 2003: 24) would refer as "the third of New Mexico's tricultural mix". With that direct reference, Orlando does not hesitate to reflect what his audience fully would understand. This parochial view shows that 'Hispano' ethnicity as a cultural tradition would end up framed as homogenized in a reductionist approach. That cultural canon, and cultural objectification in romantic terms, would not stand on their own although it seems far too easy to conjure:

*"Santa Fe not only has inherited a rich store of icons, emblems and insignia from its dramatic past and an arena of conflict and alliance between 'Hispanic', 'Anglo', and 'Indo' peoples and cultures, but also has generated new 'signifiers'."*

Victor Turner (Grimes, 2013)

'Hispanos' would rather boast their pride for community difference, explicit cohesion, and solid traditions. In any case, all of them instrumentally relevant as discursive references, applicable in the setting of identity and heritage. In such a manner, they question cultural and social perspectives that arise from the blending of subjectivity and sociability. Terradas (2004) refers to the objectification of lived identity through the construction of cultural identity. However, We consider a pivotal point that echo of "[w]ho are we?" and that last "[d]oes it matter? Those two emotional requests somehow imply an internal contradiction. In the long-term reference to the past, the memories, and the traditions, how relevant might currently be defending one's identity? How did identity gain consolidation? Furthermore, in that direction, while New Mexico's social and cultural structure has proved such a blender for centuries, what can we make of my rummaging into the past, the memories, and traditions. The current state of affairs comes from the clashing between the painstaking 'Hispano' selection and whatever had permeated the institutional imagery.

In his piece, Orlando Romero -Nambé, NM-, writer, sculptor, and former director of the New Mexico Museum Library, calls for a precise paradigmatic date: 1598. He does so because that was the first and the oldest, the most relevant to the Spanish presence in the New Mexico territory. On April 30th., 1598, Juan de Oñate's exploration party, the first Spanish official incursion in the territory, had assembled on the south bank of the Rio Grande. It was the Catholic calendar day of the Ascension, and the site was called San Juan de Los Caballeros, on the west bank of the Rio Grande, in the vicinity of Ohkay Owingeh -current San Juan Pueblo-. Orlando brought that reference as an archetypal moment with a foundational ambition. It certainly was in terms of the conquering enterprise in 1598. However, he loaded it with a signifying original setting moment, an emotional claim to the Spanish presence in the territory, and a shred of substantial evidence for belonging. The calling for the old-time plays the trick. Suddenly, symbolism, emotions, and the lengthy belonging get bundled up in just bringing the oldest Spanish presence's date possible over. In doing so, discourse acquires a powerful symbolic load in its paradigmatic value, shaping and conditioning everything after. Discourse gets endowed with superior value by highlighting and mobilizing the past, and connected nostalgia, on account of perceived authenticity.



'Felipe R. Mirabal'

Facebook thread, 19.04.2020 / 11.54.24 GMT+1

In factually recurring to the old days -Orlando Romero- or by bringing a substantial and lengthy lineage -Felipe Mirabal- both share a fact. They both aim at

underpinning explicit arguments that enable the validity of their discourse on their identity. Both ways of presenting their reasoning mean to become lines of legitimization. They set the standard for identity sanctioning in the connection they establish through culture. In other words, the culture absorbs the values of the roots in the past by pumping prestige and authentication through the old (Lowenthal, 2015; Rosenzweig & Thelen, 1998). Those 'big' stories get weaved along with more intimate ones in the social imaginary, and that is why we venture into assessing the weight of the focus towards the history turn. This strategy equates the identity discourse speculative dimension to heritage discourse. This comparison gains relevance when introducing the historical perspective. It has to do with the calculus and the complexity in fixing, the timing, and selective trimming, that history supplies to the process. It is to identity the same that Kirchenblatt-Gimblett (2006) proposes for heritage: that once the declaration of heritage's complex process gets closed, that opens the door to the sphere of calculation about it. On the whole, it is a complex process of evaluation and assessment, susceptible to successive process repetitions and increments. In a similar way to heritage discourse, identity discourse has to confront the proof and evaluation challenge. Therefore, it has to overcome the hurdles posed by whichever practices and devices come on the way in order to assess authenticity.

To figure out how those calculations eventually get realized, we need to trim down two long centuries of New Mexico's existence. The construction of discourse over time has led to the instrumental articulation and balance of and for one's individual and community consciousness. The inception of that consciousness was ratified from particular social challenges, which belong to the core of identity and ethnicity. We begin by assuming that Newmexican peoples were not in need to exert their internal differentiation beyond social affiliation. Even though one can easily assume that existing social tensions between native Puebloans and Spanish settlers, there is no documentation filed complaining about ethnic differentiation or segregation over time. Two centuries of coexistence only seemed to prove the many issues the institutions had to face when trying to classify the many sides and features of miscegenation in the territory. The arrival of Americans meant a striking change in social relations. It meant the surge of consciousness from confrontation, from the

realization of otherness. The outcome of the 1846-48 war between Mexico and the United States led to a cultural clash between Newmexicans and Anglo-Saxon North Americans. The products of social activity, cultural interaction, and collective memory got suddenly challenged for all Newmexicans, and Spanish-related peoples resented the most. One can arguably assert that former taken for granted privileges were at stake. The set of rules working during colonial times were confronted and tumbled down by the pushing effect of the American drive towards the West. In those days, the American Manifest Destiny was the ideological propeller. Newmexicans could have barely, if at all, adapted themselves to the institutional change that supposed being part of the Mexico administration between the Independence from Spain -1821-and the end of the US-Mexico war -1846-. In trying to understand the whole discourse-building process, defining how Newmexican 'Hispanos' shaped their stance on identity and heritage to this day, starting up on those early dates, we will structure a descriptive artifact. It is going to be essentially inventory profiled and structured around the synchronization of two types of events. On the one hand, the production of discourse about and of Newmexicans and New Mexico concurring with the constitution and statutory process of New Mexico as a political entity.

After the annexation, New Mexico was processed for assimilation into the whole new American administration. Newmexicans had to change gears for adaptation to such a drastic change. Part of that adaptational energy would show in the formal application and strive for statehood that eventually happened in 1912. In that sixty-year process, one of the main drawbacks preventing New Mexico from gaining that status had to do with the Spanish and Catholic cultural roots of the New Mexico Territory. That entailed a whole process of identity emergence, shaping, and configuration on Newmexicans part, for decades. On the other hand, and we do want it closely related, we will focus on concepts. In essence, the rising taxonomies as part of normative knowledge's conceptualization enter social narratives by the mid-eighteen hundreds. In that capacity, the concepts that conformed as my analytical categories -identity and heritage- became easily tooled as instruments of discursive manipulation. With manipulation, we refer to the fact that identity and heritage only got stoked by the process of sedimenting ideas through discourse in social interaction.

That process was an incremental one because the concepts entering the public discussion realm gave way to further manipulation. It was an accumulative process where concepts grew following the linear historical progress up to a point, we got them nowadays. We mean that from the point of non-existence, the taxonomies we are using to scrutinize my object of study entered up the grounds of normative knowledge. In that way, they were used to frame, ascertain, and maybe explain the intricacies of social relations. It conversely happened that they entered the social domain, they became part of the discourse articulation, and were used to stimulate further elaborations about them. As mentioned, we will pair up the timing of New Mexico's institutional historical process with that Anthropology followed as a systematization science in the production of social, behavioral knowledge. We understand this is more than apparent a connection, as we can trace, they both share the same historical background and timing, running in parallel since the mid-eighteen hundreds.

The essence of that process precluded any sense of uniformity in the outcome. The length in time, the cultural, social, and financial wrestling, and the disparity in muscle power, still at play, make discourses on identity and heritage necessarily inconsistent, heterogeneous, biased, and lacking uniformity. Many diverse contentious input lines would reflect the workout of the power balance. Because of that unmanageable condition, we brought together two separate lines of discourse: the one behind the New Mexico institutional powers and organizations and the one that we called vernacular around the 'Hispano' sentiment. This exercise is just a functional one meant for the sake of analysis and viewpoints' confrontation. Comparing argument lines in such a lengthy period, altogether with the diachrony breakdown, we can take advantage in comparing the contrast between institutional and vernacular discursive lines of support, which interests were thrown in the play, and how they were counteracted, in producing identity and heritage. From the current vantage point of view, some reasoning lines talking about identity and heritage get more settling powers than others. We understand that has to do with 'Hispano' strategies to deal with multiple anxieties on their self-perception, legitimacy, or the space they occupy, socially, geographically, and historically. There is a slanted premise, though, that we want to address by monitoring the taxonomies' conceptual evolution. Despite the very

much intended consistency, Newmexican 'Hispanos' need to deal with self-representational polyphony and adhere to a wide range of changing social and cultural interests. That situation requires ignoring identity and heritage's conceptual volatility and their mere essence as 'mestiza' community.

We have set the staged environment and have introduced the actors. On the conceptual grounds, the predominant idea in the concept of heritage started up rooted in its materiality, the idea circumscribed, fixed, and objectified to a place or an object. The conceptual shaping of heritage comes up from the connection forged with objects in their material condition. They either relate to the past or stand for a community values template. This whole idea of materiality, restricted, immovable physicality, tied to a place or an object, has prevailed to conceptualize heritage as tangible material symbolic representation in support of the identity discourse (Prats, 1997; Smith, 2006). This connection with the past gets settled because the values comprised in the object itself would become representative of what is considered proper, lasting, and valuable, for a community. Holding on to that seems to determine a sequence in the thinking; that heritage preexistence seems to support the reasoning for identity. However, we argue that the historical perspective would not shed much light on that regard. While heritage seems to back identity discourse as symbolic representation, the need for identity seems to be behind the reasoning and rationale for heritage's existence. We enter, then, a difficult to solve speculative dimension here, and we realized that the intriguing proposal Kirchenblatt-Gimblett (2006) sets for heritage might also work for identity. She states that once the declaration of heritage's complex process gets closed, that opens the door to the sphere of calculation about it.

On the whole, it becomes a complex process of evaluation and assessment, susceptible to successive process repetitions and increments. We have to add up the calculation factor, making it all much more speculative. In a similar way to heritage discourse, identity discourse has to confront the proof and evaluation challenge. We then face the dilemma and decision making of whether to accept, or not, the preexistent priorities order. Which was first to get conceptualized, heritage or identity? Which was the one to inform the other? Shall we depart from what we earlier inferred that identity discourse becomes the symbolic representation of heritage's material



condition? We struggle to accept identity as a category, substantiated, justified, and supported on values assigned to heritage. The prior physical representation, heritage, is tooled to substantiate identity-based on a sense of place, a sense of self, and a sense of community and belonging. The 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo signed the official end to the Mexican American War. The US took over the New Mexico Territory, and the new administration brought the whole apparatus of a new social and cultural frame. The clash between two cultural viewpoints started to get played then around the central issues of race, citizenship and belonging. It was not only on the Mexican side but also on both American parties, Whigs, and Democrats. The formal debates started to get pulled around how privileges or the lack thereof could be justified to meet the issues at stake. That opened a whole complex perspective we got to bring into the dilemmas underlying this investigation. One, the symbolism and significance provided by one's heritage is problematic in the significance of identity construction. Other, the process is just the reverse for "Hispanos"; there is a previous heritage that would support the launching, first, and would substantiate, then, their concept for identity. The clues hinted at by Orlando Romero's text necessarily overlooked what is structural, in the backdrop, and contextual within his point. In the assumption of his assertion, he overlooked the process just by pointing at some specifics.

It seems that underpinning a certain number of symbolic references would suffice to validate and make explicit the 'Hispano' identity discourse. We aim to deliver the ethnographic picture of current discourse by fraying the reasoning threads brought to this day. Following Prats (1997) lead, it sure will need to show how identity discourse leans on the structure sustained by heritage. In short, we will get to display the selection of various resources behind the processes that led to heritage, the processes of patrimonialization. What we mean to disclose, and expose is what is inherent and belongs to the process. New Mexico's institutional formatting in selecting narratives and the characterization of heritage safeguarding had a powerful political drive. As we will explain elsewhere, after the war, California was immediately granted statehood. To New Mexico, it only started a six-decade struggle to fight for inclusion, with the Federal Government, in Washington. While they shared the same prior status as part of Mexico, both territories had a dissimilarity: by January 1848, California had declared the first

'Gold Rush' there. That event made the difference in the US political standpoint and rushed in the process. Newmexican institutions had to galvanize themselves around political positions, not yet present earlier on, warranting loyalty and return for acceptance. That predicament thrust the Newmexican societal urge, from the political and financial elites at least, to build an effective program to apply for statehood. It has been mentioned that it took long, and many dramatic events happened in the timespan, taking up to 1912; one was the Civil war where New Mexico took the Union part. By 1850 it began a political struggle and internal strife to decide whether there were matching interests for the statehood request. There was sediment and selection of cultural values, settled traditions, religious differences, the language, and ethnic differentiation due to racial issues that were 'patrimonialized' in the process and would start to support and reinforce the incipient identity discourse. With this proposal, we pursue to disentangle that skein's fabric to reach the point where we can have a wide-angle view, track, and determine how identity and heritage have been discussed in New Mexico. Hence, in that capacity, we will be in the condition to set the benchmarks of New Mexico's social order and the conflict scope within social relationships.

### **3.2.1 Setting the stage for Newmexicans**

From the chronicles, the Northern New Spain, where New Mexico is, was in a constant state of warfare for most of the seventeenth hundreds. It was a century of total exchange of violence and people, a very decisive period for shaping New Mexico's social structure's future. At that time, two centuries into colonial times, the culture, the social relations, and the genetic pool and demographic panorama evolved into a comprehensive scope blend and exchange between the different populations in the area. We had Puebloans, Mexican Indians, Hispano-Mexican Creoles, peninsular Spaniards and, finally, genízaros. Genízaro formerly emerged as a designation for native detribalized Indians, captives, often women and children, valued for their labor and reproductive capacity, as the hispanized form of the Turkish word 'yeniçeri', the Christian captives in the Ottoman sultan's elite guard. It ended up becoming a generic low-caste synonym of generically admitted Spanish-native cultural hybridity (Gonzales

y Lamadrid, 2019). These people were enslaved into servitude and forced labor as captives of raids and incursions against nomad tribes, by the Spanish forces. That was a regular practice between Native American tribes and Spanish settlers. As we write, the term is gaining steam in social discourse and identity representation as a part of the lives and culture of modern individuals, families, and communities experience, in New Mexico. This category, a term abolished with the Mexico's 1821 independence from Spain, evokes a bundle of affiliation aspirations for many current Newmexicans, within a very ethnically polarized social context. It was a multilayered conflict for survival. It was so for both the Spanish settlers and the Pueblo peoples. The formers in the enterprise to stabilize their settling, the latter as sedentary farmers original settlers along the banks of the Northern Rio Grande. These two groups had to sustain pressure and raids from nomad bands from the plains or the deserts West and South to Northern New Mexico- Comanche, Kiowa, Ute, Paiute, Pawnee, Apache, Navajo -, looking for resources, either human or in goods. As original communities in the area, Pueblo peoples mainly had gathered along the Northern part of Rio Grande. The river had resources aplenty to offer as food and game provider and as a geographical defense against raids from outsiders. The arrival of Spanish settlers added extra complexity. It was a conquering move that became instrumentally beneficial for both parties. While Spanish power might supply defensive strength to the Puebloans, for the Spanish Crown, the settling prompted a sense of stability to the region; moreover, a beneficial one in devising a mechanism to prosper and survive, provided the scarcity of resources of all kinds at hand. The records talk about that by 1846-48, the northern region of Mexico, independent from the Spanish Crown since 1821, became a United States territory. New Mexico, west of Texas and north to the current Mexican border, was part of this territorial move. Three historical events were chained in this process:

- The 1836 revolution, segregation, and independence of the Republic of Texas, as a Mexican state (Coahuila Tejas).
- The subsequent annexation to the Union of the United States in 1845.
- The United States-Mexico war 1846, after the breaking of relations stirred by that annexation.

In the background, the Texan expansionist ambition to control the territory from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific should not get overlooked. After the 1848 Guadalupe-Hidalgo Treaty, the New Mexico that had belonged to the New Spain Viceroyalty and the United States of Mexico became thus integrated as a territory under the control of the US administration. That set of events gave way to a sociocultural reordering process that had a colossal impact on the break with the previous past. By 1821, the 'Plan of Iguala'<sup>27</sup>, or Plan of the Three Guarantees of the Mexico independence around three core principles:

- The primacy of Roman Catholicism
- The absolute political independence of Mexico
- Full social equality for all social and ethnic groups in the new country.

The document introduced a dramatic social novelty, explicitly including all residents of Mexico's geographic territory, without any other distinction besides merit and virtue, as citizens. That independence act embraced the ideological push of exerting social equality of rights for all individuals, regardless of ethnic, cultural, or social conditions, ambitiously departing from the Old Regime's social program. The Plan was a total break with colonial times and a rupture with the previous Spanish colonial 'Casta' social structure. Just the opposite of the egalitarian Plan de Iguala proposal, the 'Casta' system seemed to have been designed to structure and fix the people's place within the Spanish and Portuguese colonial societies, around a lineage hierarchy. That hierarchical lineage ended up getting based on the merits of phenotype and skin appearance. Considering the settlers' various and different origins and conditions and the original people's diversity in the colony grounds forced that hierarchical conditions to be arranged around racial identifiers. Thus, it soon established a social structure where racial phenotype features and the economics class run in parallel. The 'Casta' hierarchy, a social ordering system of up to sixteen different categories, seemed to have officially identified, classified, and registered the broad 'mestizaje' scope the Spanish setting brought about in the Americas. It was common in Spanish colonial times

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<sup>27</sup> <https://www.gob.mx/sedena/documentos/24-de-febrero-de-1821-proclamacion-del-plan-de-iguala> <accessed, December 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2020, 22:13>

that the lighter the skin color, the higher the social rank. It is needless to say that whatever skin tone or racial feature loophole could be sorted out with the proper backing official paperwork. It worked in this way:

- The offspring of an 'español' and an 'indio' was tagged 'mestizo'
  - The offspring of an 'español' and an 'negro' was tagged 'mulato'
  - The offspring of an 'negro' and an 'indio' was tagged 'lobo'
  - The offspring of an 'mestizo' and an 'indio' was tagged 'castizo'
- ...and so on to up to sixteen different 'castas'.

That norm, a reflection of the prevailing enlightenment movement of the times, was still far from the ideological precision level we currently would work and will use for the conceptual framework. In itself, it was not yet clear whether race, identity, or ethnicity, not to mention heritage, would get any significant conceptual weight. The Plan got meant to be a reactive instrument for social cohesion to overcome the colonial period's inequality and social imbalance. However, that move secured a political framework that opened the vision to safeguard what was different and defining. In New Mexico, the nickname 'vecino' invoked a communion between the introduced civil status and citizens' cultural identity (Nieto-Phillips, 2004). This terminology inclusion would prompt a shared sense of integration and belonging, related to commonly upheld and partaken cultural traits that were jointly social and culturally sedimented. It furthermore pre-empted and introduced social practices and ideas derived from the ideology emanating from the American and French revolutions. As a defining social concept resulting from that enlightenment period, the surfacing of citizenship may correlate in the seeding of the identity notion and the raising to an unambiguous social assertion of the individual. The declaration of the new egalitarian Mexican norm got to tackle issues of social nature and manifest inequalities between the different peoples of the newborn nation. By challenging those former conflicting social issues, it raised cultural differentiation and the functional connection between individuals and culture, their culture. In all, this final sets the clock for the subsequent conceptualization of ethnicity as the knowledge package of a social group that informs and defines its relationships with nature (Loeffler, 2016; Swentzell, 1985)

The New Mexico social structure reproduced New Spain's hierarchical scale regardless of the average demographics difference by the early nineteenth century. A tiny socioeconomic elite made up of a small number of peninsular Spaniards - born in Spain' *hombres ricos y poderosos*' (Montgomery, 2002; Jiménez, 2006)<sup>28</sup> -, civil servants and soldiers, 'Criollos' -peninsular parents' New Spain born offspring-, and a lower-ranking majority, made up of a whole range of 'casta' people, 'mestizos' and indigenous people. This social structure quandary makes us pull a description of what we have been hinting at on the 'casta' social order. This ordering would establish the disposition of the social structure based on the inverse correlation between the degree of miscegenation and economic status (Bustamante, 1982; Nieto-Phillips, 2004). The higher miscegenation, the lower the range within the hierarchy. It was not so much about setting racial differentiation but the obvious. The darker the skin color, the farther from being taken as Spanish by blood, at the top of the social scale, and their weight connected to the metropolis (Bustamante, 1982; Nieto-Phillips, 2004). Bustamante (1982-PÁGINA) talks about 'verdaderos cristianos viejos de limpísima sangre' and 'gentes de razón' when referring the top of the scale. The social hierarchy got introduced from the metropolis, and it had functionally pitched skin color phenotype branding and specific physical characters, not familiar within the Spanish societies in the peninsula, as a relevant consideration. That was a transformational time since conceptual production started to spring from the same movement of organizing the naming of communities and individuals around taxonomies. Similar to what happened later on with the identity categorization or even with ethnicity and cultural-linked traits, specific phenotype differences begin to get conceptualized under the race's taxonomy.

Primary sources and records at that time were almost exclusively ecclesiastical. Both civil and ecclesiastical authorities were in charge of ranking the peoples accordingly within the system. They did it by informing just lineage on their records, with no extra references. Those individual or collective practices and features that

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<sup>28</sup> Author's note: On terms of identification, Montgomery (2002: 234) refers to Rosembaum (1981) to report that because of detailed historical studies, the composition of the Hispano society in the nineteenth century remains a matter of conjecture...on accounts of not solid reliable sources.

might provide extra data started to sediment around basic categories. The community assumed the traits socially assigned to a determined group applied to the individuals ranked within that group. The ranking classification itself produced the segregation and bundling of cultural traits and defined social practices. In its own mechanics, simplicity on the records opened the connection to the assertion of characteristic cultural habits, packing up community customs, and conventional communal traits. It meant kind of an unintentional conceptual move. Phenotype features informed cultural differentiation and brought cultural connections together, along with the inception of ethnic framing. There are no records left before the 1692 recolonization because of the destruction caused in the 1680 Pueblo Revolt. In one of the first demographic records registered, Nieto-Phillips (2004: 34) refers that, Santa Cruz de la Cañada's church's 1822 census, north of Santa Fe, the records displayed no efforts to specify parishioners' affiliation beyond that of 'indio', 'español' and the generic 'gentes de otras clases', with no actual reference to 'casta'. It could get inferred that by that year, the very fine-tuned previous colonial societal system was on the verge of collapsing, if not collapsed yet. One of the points that could be made in bringing this about would have been the Plan de Iguala's operation. The other one would be related to the specifics and isolation of Northern New Spain's New Mexico frontier. It was not particularly encouraging settling at such a vast distance from Mexico's main cities, and indeed, the thin base of natural resources outweighed the attraction of landowning for Spanish settlers. The 'casta' system would have been blown out (Montgomery, 2002) by the fact that many 'indios' and 'gentes de otras clases' - 'mestizo', 'castizo', and 'genizaro' - would have gotten emboldened landowning citizens proclaiming themselves 'españoles'.

The land grant system had been an integral part of the stabilization and colonial settlement program since the 1692 recolonization in New Mexico. We referred earlier on to the institutional officials' role in sorting out paperwork to overcome possible loopholes in classification and the trading business around it. The land was leased to settlers for exploitation and organizing a defensive front line buffer to fight the incursions and depredation from the plains' roaming bands. While the overall classification still held on racial features, the social structure started to get tensioned by the willingness of individuals to chug away from the social ladder for the sake of

prestige and recognition. In fact, it meant an assimilation process. In such a way, the loophole became apparent: racial tagging into the 'casta' system could effectively be overcome by mere functional practicalities, like being granted some land plot. Hence landowners, whatever their place within the hierarchy or 'mestizaje' level went into claiming for their privilege up the social ladder regardless of previous social status. For that matter, the racial benchmark representational features that provided value to what was meaningful for social status got shifted away. As Montgomery (2002) sharply points out, there was little satisfaction for Spanish settlers claiming to be 'español', while the struggle for survival remained unbearable. Having more relevant issues at stake, it was hence understandable the lack of engagement in preventing the former social structure from decomposing. We are talking demographically here of population numbers in scarcity stretching from the Texas panhandle, on the East, up to current Colorado state, on the North, and West to Arizona state (Image-3). The figures say that by 1817 the non-Indian population had reached some twenty-seven thousand (Montgomery, 2002), and the 1850 census informs an overall population of 61,547 individuals. Nostrand (1992) gets a more precise recording that 54,394 'Hispanos' were the 90.9% of the total population out of that 1850 census figure. All that in a one-million square kilometer territorial base. For the record, as if the Zamora city current population got spread out over twice the size of Spain.

One has to have in mind that the overall jurisdictional control was in the hands of the Church, in the way above informed by the Santa Cruz' records. The recording mechanism fulfilled the eventual task of listing and identifying individuals on their integration in religious education, baptism, and conversion process. That Newmexican registry reflects some differential peculiarities, for group affiliation, compared to what happened elsewhere in New Spain's territories. Again, as hinted as it showed in Santa Cruz's records, we can see a fracture in the tagging specificities in New Mexico. Not only we find terms such as 'indian' or 'genízaro'. A pertinent one would be 'coyote', and the complexity in the definition would show how difficult it became to grapple with the inconsistencies of individual and community categorizing. "'Coyote' was a second stage 'mestizaje' mixing 'español' with 'indian' or some other 'mestizo'. By the 1820s, Newmexican Spanish began to marry newcomer foreigners - they could be French,



Americans, Italians, Germans, etc...-. Their offspring became called 'coyotes'. This is happening to date. " (Felipe Mirabal, Field Diary 2019). According to Cobos (2003), up until the beginning of the nineteenth hundreds, it was the term given to the first-born of a "Hispano" couple as they handed him over to one of the grandparent couples to be raised as their own child. The term 'coyote' was later assigned to the Hispano-Anglo mixed couple's offspring (Cobos, 2003; Rodriguez, 2016), while Gallegos (2017-PÁGINA) bluntly refers to "[m]ixed blood 'indio' / 'español' ". The consistency between all the meanings would essentially be set up from the reference markers established by the Spanish lineage connection. New Mexico came under the control of the United States administration, in 1846, with the territorial political status with a population in the vicinity of the figures above provided. As Bustamante (1982) refers, Newmexicans, who had been Mexicans for a generation -1821 to 1846- became, by right of conquest, citizens of a country, the United States, which they had no connection whatsoever. While the 1821 revolution had introduced some artificial perception that would show the emergence of the individual identification and ethnocultural construction, in the way individuals and communities started to produce themselves, the Newmexican society got immersed in a catharsis of changes. Those who were older enough could even remember having been Spanish or being one of the 'castas'.

The institutional intent embedded in the 'Plan de Iguala' to get social barriers suppressed, if not a fully operational, had prompted some sense of self-perception social uniformity. Newmexicans, and more precisely Spanish/Mexican related Newmexicans, entered an eventual assimilation process, after the war, as an ethnic group within the American society. Just like any other culture that had before been vanquished through the means of force, Newmexican society got disrupted in defeat. Newmexican 'Hispanos' became part of the American assimilation project just like migrant groups from Europe were on their arrival. However, the assimilation of New Mexico was part of the westward expansion movement towards the Pacific Ocean. Newmexicans, and more precisely Spanish/Mexican related Newmexicans, entered an eventual assimilation process as an ethnic group within the American society. Just like any other culture that had been vanquished through the means of force, Newmexican society got disrupted in defeat. Newmexican 'Hispanos' became part of the American

assimilation project just like migrant groups from Europe were on their arrival. Americans brought the self-perception rule-cracking by introducing their own ethnocentrism, where race and ethnicity overlapped in relevant ways, to the point that race operationally subsumes ethnicity in the US (Bustamante, 1982; Gómez, 2007). For example, the US Census Bureau of the States' 'Race and Hispanic Origin' itemized ethnic composed self-ascription gets utterly based on the racial assignment<sup>29</sup>:

- White alone
- Black or African-American alone
- American Indian or Alaska Native alone
- Native to Hawaii or other Pacific Islands alone
- Asian alone
- Two or more races
- Hispanic or Latino
- White alone, not Hispanic or Latino

We start here to sneak peek the preview of the ethnic as a consistent concept, because it had begun to be an identifying formula in defining a group, based on specific shared cultural traits and informed difference self-awareness in front of the others. The Newmexicans certainly were not lacking some resignation in the face of the new situation. "When the Stars and Stripes was planted upon New Mexico soil -1846-, the old men at Tejón and Placitas talked together of the change in a casual way. "Now that we belong to the rich country maybe we shall see some money, who knows?" [L] ife in the villages went on as before and old customs remained unchanged. " (Rebolledo and Márquez eds., 2000-PÁGINA). We might add that the seeds for discourse direction were already planted. The New Mexico political entity consolidation process, leading to the inception as a State in 1912, was carried out after a long, arduous, and challenging political path of more than six decades. It all started in 1850, after the Mexico-US war. The US Congress rejected up to fifteen times the New Mexico Territory's demand for their integration into the Union. 1850 was California's incorporation granted to the Union (Brogan, 1999; Jenkins, 2002). California was, like New Mexico, under Mexico's rule after 1821 independence. A short-lived period of rebellious unrest in 1846 by the settlers there led to the American occupation with the

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<sup>29</sup> <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/US/PST045219> <accessed, August 13<sup>th</sup>, 2018, 17:26>

outbreak of the war with Mexico. By January 1848, gold had been discovered on the banks of the Sacramento River (Brogan, 1999) and California declared the 'Gold Rush'. The land speculation process that the call ensued justified that apparent alibi and made the difference from the US political standpoint. It all ended in rushing the process for the official annexation and furthering the petition for statehood, which got eventually granted on September 9th., 1850. California and New Mexico, despite their geographic vicinity, despite having shared historical-cultural references, both as part of 'La Nueva España' and Mexico's territories, and being both spoils of war, the difference in profitable conditions for both territories stipulated their final institutional destination, with a radically different effect. As mentioned, the 'Gold Rush' seemed the conclusive fact and the consideration differential towards California, compared to New Mexico. California joined the US then while New Mexico did not. The situation also showed the sharp contrast in economic approach and strategies for both territories and how land claiming and grabbing played in that game. California was much more attractive in that sense. New Mexico would, later on, enter the play when she became more desirable given the permanent lack of legislation and despite the imbalance between ethnic majorities in the territory, where Anglo-Americans were small in numbers in front of the Native and 'Hispano' combined majority. The 1848 Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty had opened the window for New Mexico's incorporation into the Union. The US Congress, in its capacity, was entitled to lead that process according to the American Constitution<sup>30</sup>.

However, no matter what the efforts were put in play all the way through by Newmexican political representatives, they felt they had been disregarded and not treated with good attention or consideration. Most of the time, Newmexican representatives had to face being diminished in treatment, as not possessing "population, industry, intelligence, nor the wealth to get entitled the admission as a sovereign state" (Nieto-Phillips, 2004: 69). That perceived misrepresentation was proof of the lack of interest in integrating New Mexico's peoples, essentially Native Pueblos,

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<sup>30</sup> U.S. Congress, Senate, Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreements between the United States of America and Other Powers, 1776-1909 (Compiled by William M. Malloy under resolution of the Senate of January 18, 1909) 61st Cong., 2nd Sess. 1910 Senate Doc. 357, p.1112.

often referred to as 'hostile Indians, and 'Hispanos' or Mexicans. New Mexico officials had to strive from 1850 to prove how industrious, civilized, self-sufficient, and even democratic New Mexico's population was. The underlying backdrop in the contention was to defeat three culturally specific differences that stirred much wariness from Federal officials:

- The prominence of the Spanish language and culture perceived as cultural tools of a vanquished enemy.
- The 'Hispano' majority Roman Catholic religious affiliation (Roberts and Roberts, 2006) conflicted with First Amendment rights with loyalty to the Church's hierarchy.
- Resulting from all the above, the suspicion of diverging or false loyalties to the Federal Government.

At that point, in this instance of contextual background deployment, we are navigating those decades where social structures were pushed to shift from one cultural past into a radically different one by means of war followed by the arrival of a new administration. It seems to be apparent that former social relations would have started to ground into a new paradigm. The former, widely accepted assumption of a social structure Colonial Spain based on racialized tagged categories was revived after the short trying period of the Mexican administration. This time, the new system's targets aimed at those who were somehow holding entitlements in the previous one. Here is to consider how the possibilities for discrimination, social, cultural, or racial coming from the Americans held sway over the conditions where Newmexican 'Hispanos' started their self-defense discourse articulation. At play, we have their needs to build a consistent and articulated discourse around the pressure to fulfill social presence in the new sociopolitical American environment.

We got to the crossroads where identity and the backing discourses supporting it would start to consolidate. That got delivered first through the assimilation of the preexisting social conditions and differentiation, defining and pushing for changes in collective behaviors. Changes that eventually would nurture the search, presence, and substantiation of both group differences and different and differentiated features working to support the discourses' articulation. One of the determinants of the form

that discourses will. The conceptualization of race and ethnicity as attributes eventually filtering into the shaping of the social structure would set the context for future terms in social relations.

### 3.2.2 New Mexico culture, a clash and a shake-up

Considering the cultural and relational habitat we have laid out; we also need to introduce the troubles that the radical change in the cultural model entailed the arrival of the new American Administration. This change responded to the ideological and civilization model shift of westward expansion promoted in the United States, called Manifest Destiny, that got bolted onto all conquered new territories. In essence, Manifest Destiny became a widely held cultural belief, and in the specifics outlined the following:

- The special virtues of the American people and their institutions
- The mission of the United States to redeem and remake the west in the image of the agrarian East
- An irresistible destiny to accomplish this essential duty

Although it was not, not at least initially, more than an editorial reference proposed by the Democratic Party journalist, John L. O'Sullivan (1845), after the annexation of Texas, where he put forward a very ambitious project: the movement for the liberation of territories in the West "[d]estined to swell the still accumulating momentum of our progress" (O'Sullivan, 1845). The United States of America had the right and destiny to expand across the continent and freely develop. At that time, the United States exclusively consisted of the thirteen colonies seceded from Great Britain, plus the Louisiana Territory, purchased from France (1803), and Florida ceded by Spain (1819). The Manifesto declared westward expansion justified, justifiable, and inevitable, regardless of the means put into operation to achieve it. To do everything in its power to open a clear path to the Pacific (Sides, 2006).

A double ideological vector essentially supported it:

- The supremacist principle that the white man had the right to expand his institutions (Deibel, 2018), progress and advance his civilization westward across the continent (Brogan, 1999)
- A visionary religious sentiment: "In the nineteenth century, many Americans believed that their country had been chosen by God. It would have been difficult to find a white American who did not believe that the Lord had planned a special destiny for the United States and that it was His will that it should be an example to the world. However, tensions over what God wanted for America at mid-century were tearing the country apart. At the heart of the conflict was an issue as old as the nation itself: slavery. Both those who defended slavery and those who opposed it believed that God favored their cause. That certainty threatened not only the nation but its special status as a chosen people."<sup>31</sup>

While the U.S. Constitution acknowledges the freedom of religion through the First Amendment right to freedom of speech, it does not officially support or sponsor any religious creed. Nevertheless, the general feeling of the population of being in a new promised land provided a powerful symbolic and reinforcing value to the ideology of expansion. We shall not lose sight at this point of a concept that also began to gain ideological traction at that time. It talks about the concept of civilization as that condition in the organization of social life that allows us to refer to culture from refinement, an advanced order, and is associated with the sense of having achieved modernity (Williams, 2015).

Manifest Destiny's ideology exemplifies the assumption and contract with a system of norms by which the societies in the 13 states and those territories getting assimilated agree and come to operate on the basis of a national ideology. It worked as a cohesion element to pave the way for the expansive, ongoing process of rapid westward expansion. It meant an emotional bond to a national sentiment and a unifying drive-in in front of the contradictions provided by the economic model that

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<sup>31</sup> <https://www.pbs.org/godinamerica/view/> and <https://www.pbs.org/godinamerica/transcripts/hour-two.html> (Chapter 2 'A New Eden' 02:52) <accessed, March 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2020, 19:13>

had split apart the Northern and Southern states. We will later see that the links set by this kind of ideology opened the construction of identity's debate, heritage's definition, and consolidation, and problematized the discourses of memory and history in the US. Moreover, as categories that fed and reinforced national identity, they raised a representational hierarchy and a set of symbologies that turned cultures invisible to the point of annihilation, as it was understood they would not fit in with the promulgated 'essence' of the new Nation. In this project, the white Anglo-Saxon community was (self-) positioned at the top of the social ladder as the representation and cultural culmination of the most significant references of modernity and, consequently, of the modern state: evolution and progress. What was it that defined progress then? The level of progress got defined by the capacity to dispose of, use, and control technology; essentially, the capacity for industry and mobility. We refer to the second half of the nineteenth century, the historical moment in which the most significant set of novelties of all sorts -the unprecedented pace of economic, technological, and industrial changes and mass production- were already evident and produced massive social transformations. Furthermore, that was the very moment when social evolutionism was getting forwarded as an ideological driving force within Western societies' discourse. As an example, we can consider the setting of hierarchies based on stages of evolution, according to which the explanation for cultural variation would get explained by the existence of more 'primitive' societies that would not have reached higher and advanced stages, as the Western societies would have (Taylor, 1871).

Naturally, specific ideas gained more traction than others. However, this type of taxonomy ranging had a significant impact in New Mexico because it soon established that the Newmexican was a simpler society due to its technological deficiencies, therefore considered similar to ancient society. In that sense, the railroad's arrival substantially increased the coal and lumber industry in the state and pushed the boosting of the intensive cattle ranching industry in free and open range. Furthermore, the boosting in business deals, combined with the new ways in dealing with them, alien to former Newmexican socio-cultural habits, attracted new ways of managerial organization. Soon, so-called 'Rings' in New Mexico took the state into the

wild. 'Rings,' cartel-like organizations of a rather loose constitution, were composed of financial individuals and corporations, politicians, and were also associated along with teams of lawyers. Altogether they were committed to the corruption and crippling of the legal system, taking advantage of the loopholes that existed concerning property rights over land, about the rights in place in the previous social order, and taking advantage of the legal ignorance and lack of abilities of the 'Hispano' Newmexicans (Larson, 1968). At that historical moment, "with the pretended argument of scientism, the European intellectual elites, with the help of authors, theoreticians and scientists such as Renan, Le Bon, Gobineau, Vacher de Lapouge in France, Galton in England or Chamberlain in Germany, were legitimizing the concept of race as an explanatory principle of social life, and ensuing social order, establishing racial hierarchies and predicting all kinds of evils associated with miscegenation" (Pujadas, 1993). Leveraged by the repercussions of the publication of Darwin's 'Origin of Species' in 1851, the concept of race became a problematic concept for science in the mid-nineteenth century, due to the establishment of a single evolutionary scale, as opposed to concepts such as culture and evolution (Stocking, 1968). Thus, at that point, the white Anglo-Saxon American population, the majority, was placed in the very privileged position of social superiority, at least in the way they construed their relationship with the peoples they encountered in their advance toward the West. The technological control was their argument. Thus, they felt unstoppable in their advance, and consequently, they got relentless in the imposition in the moral superiority self-conviction, which was based upon the racial biological constitution (Fairclough, Harrison, Jameson, and Schofield, eds., 2008). Cultural superiority, associated with greater display in technology, biological arrogance, and, above all, the designs of a divine will, formed the conceptual and ideological package behind the racial segregation of the United States. Congressional debates and proceedings in 1848 show how determined and consistent that ideology stance was. "[W]e have never dreamt of incorporating into our Union any but the Caucasian race -the free white race...Ours, sirs, is the Government of a white race. The greatest misfortunes of Spanish America are to be traced to the fatal error of placing these colored races on an equality with the



white race. That error destroyed the social arrangement which formed the basis of society."<sup>32</sup>

The most visible and immediate result was the ideological positioning about slavery, resulting in a secession attempt and a Civil War. Racial stigma also played a role during the Civil War period in the New Mexico territory. Confederate leaders counted on New Mexico as a potential slave state to further their ambition to reach California toward the Pacific. However, due to the proximity and antagonism with Texas, territorial and border disputes (Larson, 1968; Nieto-Phillips, 2004), and the ultimate determination to join the Union, Newmexicans remained firmly loyal to the Union during the time of the Confederate invasion. We were at Adan Carriaga's home, in Sawmill, Albuquerque's Old Town. In his characteristic soft-spoken tone, he told stories of his family in the old neighborhood; he went on in detailing all his Spanish surnames when he talks to me and does so with pride: Carriaga, Cervantes, Ulibarri and Chavez. He told me “[l]os texanos son los peores frente a nuestro sentimiento Hispano...antiguamente y en la actualidad...les derrotamos y rechazamos su entrada por estas tierras en un par de ocasiones...por aquellos rumbos...aquí cerca” and then he made this half grimace, half a gesture with his mouth pointing with his lips to the South, like the ‘Navajosos’<sup>33</sup> when they mean pointing at a direction.’ (Field diary, October 15<sup>th</sup>. 2014). The Territorial Congress, solemnly gathered on January 29<sup>th</sup>. 1862 encouraged the populace “[p]redominantemente hispanohablante, a resistir y a expulsar al invasor...no consentir ni su mandato, resistirse a su ejército y oponerse a su despotismo esclavista” (Larson, 1968). This society, with such a long, strong-rooted storytelling tradition, a tradition that was crucial in the participation, maintenance, and perpetuation of indigenous cultural traditions, a tradition 'Hispanos' have lived and shared with for centuries, provides a special meaning to the narrative of the conflict with neighboring Texas.

That conflict remained alive and got projected as the reinforcement of 'Hispano' pride and presence, resistance, and identity in the face of a neighbor that got perceived

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<sup>32</sup> Congressional Globe, 30th. Congress, 1st. Session, 1848, page 99  
<https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwclink.html> <accessed, December 21st, 2021, 23:43>

<sup>33</sup> Author's note: This is the way Newmexican 'Hispanos' call the Navajo nation people (Dinéh)

as powerfully aggressive. The Union's victory at the end of the Civil War did not mean overcoming the stigmatization and racialization of Mexican Americans, in general, and Newmexicans, particularly within the Anglo-Saxon imaginary.

We address that differentiation because of the perspective that, then already, the Southwest<sup>34</sup>, where New Mexico belongs, also contained the current states of California, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, and Colorado, within what was the administrative boundaries of the original colonial and Mexican territories -California and New Mexico. In all of them, there were remnant population pockets of the former New Spain's people. Nieto-Phillips (2004) hinted that "The United States' conquest of Mexico in 1848 did not destroy the social arrangement by which white Americans predominated over 'colored races'...adding a new dimension to race relations...". That racial superiority ideology we talked about trickled down and got absorbed as a general belief and supported the logic of social actions and policies. The colonial experience implied plundering and domination practices and the establishment of a rigid and prefixed scale of hierarchies. The arrival of the U.S. Administration in New Mexico meant a qualitative leap in racial and cultural stigmatization. All the ideological novelties had such an impact on the system of relations of the Newmexicans that identifications and contention on identification and labeling began to emerge, seeking for the internal cohesion of the 'Hispano' population. Cultural stigmatization began to greatly impact the complex cultural apparatus dealing with land ownership and control. The action of the 'Rings' turned New Mexico into havoc for land profit. The region's primary economic resource was the territory, the land. It was an identity staple working as a contextual space and a catalyst at the symbolic and representational level (Gallegos, 2017; Smith, 2006). Because of that critical, meaningful relevance, its control and management had become paramount in terms of social wrestling. In colonial times, the land had gotten formerly distributed and parceled into 'grants' to forward the Empire's

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<sup>34</sup> Author's note: Due to its geographic conditions and inhabitants, the Southwest became a space of idealization, untamed and exotic, in the North American culture. To Oliver La Farge "If you asked a Newmexican what constitutes the Southwest, he will name New Mexico and Arizona; after hesitation, he may add the adjacent portions of Colorado, Utah and Nevada. he rejects California, Texas and Oklahoma" (La Farge, en Meinig, 1971)

advance, favoring the private enterprise of a small number of individuals, turning them into landowners who eventually built their social prestige around it.

By the late mid-eight hundreds, the new economic system pushed a major transformation in that original system. The 'Hispano' elites, 'rich and powerful men' (Jiménez, 2006), the rich owners of the large 'haciendas' obtained from the 'royal grants' of colonial times, perceived the new socio-political system as a threat to their economic and social privileges. In order to get themselves protected, they maneuvered to lean onto the new alliances aligned to the new Anglo political trends. Unfortunately, that meant they had to build sinister associations with back East's crooked lobbies and investors, coming into New Mexico to exploit for the benefits of legislation loopholes and the locals' legal ignorance. As a result, a vast territorial seizing happened followed by dispossession, punctuated by corruption operations in the hands of the new political-economic powers. As an offshoot, the popular class majority -'los pobres' or 'paisanos'- that had been acting as intermediaries in the bartering and social relations with the local native peoples (Hall, 1989), who were also working as farmers, servants, and shepherds, got socially displaced from that role. Subsequently, they got downgraded from that functioning economic system into one of the agriculture of subsistence. The social and economic trauma, brought by the subsequent loss of customs related to the shift in territory management, was directly connected and behind the cultural and relational system breakdown. There is enormous complexity in defining the contours of culture within the conflicting terms we refer to. In our case, we know that at that moment in history, culture was on the verge of becoming a defined taxonomy that was not before. It got defined as a category that would enunciate the state of civilization, a community, a people, or in our case, a nation, the US. Culture would get eventually defined, arguably one of many and admittedly "[o]ne of the two or three most complicated words in the English language" (Williams, 1976), as the set of values, knowledge, beliefs, customs, and traditions acquired and shared by the individuals of a collective, as members of it (Harris, 1990; Stocking, 1968; Tylor, 1871; Williams, 1976).

We can easily figure out the disruptive action that the entry of the new administration, changing hands into a new nation, and the subsequent social changes

if we also consider Strathern's definition of culture. She asserts that "culture consists in the way people draw analogies between different domains of their worlds" (1992:47). So, suppose we reflect on the way 'Hispanos' had been previously making effective their cultural world, upon a set of analogies that got to shape around their Spanish cultural roots and centuries-long experience in cultural and social blending with native American peoples in the area. In that case, we will be capable of gauging their sense of displacement in front of the 'anglo' American privilege, by the substantial shift in the world of analogies provided by the newcomers. Culture also gets defined as the state of acquired capacities and habits within the process of human development. We will see later on that, leveraging with the development of the category's conceptualization, different forms of intellectual and academic approaches got produced, essentially by the introduction and development of the ethnographic method. The association between culture and civilization will be, as we shall see, problematic because of the implicit association with the gradation scale between cultures. All these different courses and evaluations of culture eventually show how the actual game of setting the culture as a hierarchical value derides the value and the experience of inter-ethnic collaboration, and cooperation, as reflected by Ortiz (1969) and Swentzell (2012).

We have already hinted how technological progress was coeval to the setting of hierarchical strategies, that on a social scale diminished some cultures and provided prevalence to others; all that on the exploits of technology privilege. This whole package of concepts became explicit in detail, in the contempt with which travelers, explorers, and investigators alike produced themselves in their chronicles about their experience with New Mexico Territory's settlers. Thus, Beadle (1873) calls his book 'The Underdeveloped West,' and E.H. Ruffner (1876) recounts his exploration experience, as relayed by Bustamante (1982) refers: "[t]he very fact that New Mexico is a scion of the Spanish race, should lead us to hope for little of education or progress. It is questionable if we can find a colony of Spain...that may be more ignorant, more reserved, and self-satisfied, and less inclined to adopt new methods of life or thought". The issue of what to do with the 'Mexicans' living in the lands that had been conquered after the end of the 1850's war lingered through a decades-long debate on race, citizenship, and belonging (Gómez, 2007). That debate yielded all its argumentative

power to the ideological framework of the incipient economic system and the strength of technological progress. In this regard, Hobsbawm (1996) portrays the guts of the congruence of this situation, pointing out how particularly relevant the militant capitalism ideology was for the United States. That ideology device was rooted in social Darwinism, which related biological constitution to cultural degrees, and got tooled to implement ideologically driven social policies as a platform for the expression of progress.

### 3.2.3 The building of an identity: ethnicity in the absence of social policies

In this attempt to encapsulate as many arguments become apparent inside the Newmexican toponym, we find fundamental placing the creation of 'nuevomexicanos' as a political, social, and cultural subject. With the beginning of the political-territorial structure after annexation, Newmexicans became a subject of the Union's political and legal administrative framework. Although the impact of this situation mainly affected the popular classes, as we earlier mentioned because of the incidence on land management and land rights, the social elites on their part managed to solely get fixed on one political objective: the full integration of New Mexico as a member State of the Union. Nevertheless, how does this toponym start to show up, and to which individuals does it refer?

At the setting off point, New Mexico's branding materializes almost as a mere idealization. It comes from the aspirational wishful repetition of the dream and the riches that Mexico formerly embodied within the conquest's context. The idealization of the journey northwards, up into the uncharted Northern territories on the limits of the New Spain, that would bring as much wealth as the arrival to the new continent. That enterprise got resumed at the end of the sixteenth century. One or two generations had elapsed since the first tentative Vázquez de Coronado's led 'entrada,' from 1539 to 1542, and his failure to figure out and locate the fable Seven Cities of gold, the Seven Cities of Cibola, of the European mythology. He followed information coming from the Cabeza de Vaca expedition and wreckage in 1528. Those expeditions

that resumed in the '80s were, to a great extent, personal enterprises and adventures in search of social prestige and material riches -gold, silver-. The trail to the North kept consistent with the drives of the conquest. The first one related to the evangelizing project, for God's glory, therefore for the kingdom's glory. As part of the general belief then, Indians could just be considered "civilized" once they had served in the missions (Montgomery, 2002). Alongside conversion, and as a result of it, individuals and peoples turned into subjects of the king, providing context to the territorial expansion. Because of all that, they became tax-generating and extractive labor pawns. So, they had the individuals and just needed to name the territory they were in. What better that bring in the need to reinforce the imaginary for another Mexico, another Mexico City, a New Mexico? One of the first references we can find comes from Gaspar Pérez de Villagr a's 'Historia de la Nueva Mexico' (1610), an early travel diary recounting Juan de O ate's 1598 led 'entrada' into what it became New Mexico. There were no records of the 'Nuevomexicano' self-assignment until the middle of the eighteen hundreds. Most of the public and private records kept in the Northern New Mexico churches and those in the archives and vaults of Santa Fe's Palace of the Governors got lost at the 1680's Pueblo Revolt. When 'Nuevomexicano' shows in the records, after the reinstatement of the Spanish presence in 1692, it is so after a manipulation process exclusively gathering the references to those individuals of Hispanic origin, who present no lineage or indigenous affiliation whatsoever; more precisely, those who in one way or another had or might claim their genealogy connected with some peninsular Spanish ancestor. Somehow, in the vein of those 'true Christians of the cleanest blood' that we mentioned earlier. "New Mexico's Spanish-speaking population...referred to as Nuevomexicanos, a term set out to define their racial identity as Spanish, in part by resurrecting archaic notions about 'purity of blood' that dated to the conquest" (Nieto-Phillips, 2004). In all, claiming genealogy proved a strategy utterly challenging for the social system. Newmexicans, in general, did not have to have the necessity to promote self-identification. The 'casta' system somehow marking every step in the social ladder. The Spanish-related people had the entitlement to claim social privilege within that social hierarchy, while New Mexico's Pueblo Indians remained somehow in the outskirts of the social system. They had their own sufficient referents for identification, language, culture, and cosmology. Furthermore, they exerted their agency not to be

homogenized defending their own rights for their own land and their treaties. However, by the time Americans annexed the territory, the colossal level of demographic racial mixture, an issue that had overwhelmed the system back in Mexico (Gómez, 2007:51), provided no actual differentiation clue between 'Hispanos', Pueblo Indians, or another Indian communities, if were not for the settlements where they lived. Thus, when the Americans deployed after annexation, they made no fuss about the cultural clash, going for the specifics about the population. Instead, they started labeling and began to use 'Mexicans' for everyone, regardless of actual ethnic or cultural connections, more a racial slur in the tone and shape that social relations were heading. Soon the specific target moved to the Spanish-Mexican language related individuals. That characterization's scornful and disparaging tone took shape in the views expressed in political views and press opinions (Montgomery, 2002; Gómez, 2007). Since Indians were essentially perceived as social outsiders, out of the political system, 'Mexicans' became the stereotyped rhetorical target, depicted as a race deeply inferior, of the lazy and backward kind. Because of that, a process began to emerge when the Newmexican 'Mexicans' started to counteract that pressure. That gave way to the adapting reaction looking for distinguishing values related to Spanish colonial ancestry and cultural belonging, which opened the emergence of the Spanish-American sentiment (Montgomery, 2002).

*“Luis, as a friend I ask you a favor, that you never let them call you Mexican, because that is a great insult and the lowest slander that can be leveled against a Spanish American.”*

Thomas C. de Baca to Luis Armijo, Armijo Papers, 1909, en Montgomery, 2002

The characterization as Mexicans initiated the process of selective sifting of referents and symbols for self-identification. "Mexican brought to mind the disagreeable image of the impoverished mestizo, while Spanish evoked a redeeming if slightly decadent European character" (Montgomery, 2002: 3), pulling along 'Spanishness' as a mark of distinction. The average Newmexican, usually peasants living in the isolation of what they call 'ranchos,' who had negotiated their existence with the resignation of their social class, had not been confronted with needs for identification,

social meaning, or the need to belong. They actually functioned socially from the basics of resistance and survival. They had adapted through centuries-long permanence to deprivation, in geographic isolation from the metropolis, in Mexico. They had built a very internally stratified system of mutuality around family, group, and inter-community relations with the Pueblo neighbors. Well over 250 years had elapsed that the 'nuevomexicanos' had led their lives without much interference from the central authorities (Lucero, 2009). The northern border region of Mexico had been pushed from marginal status to periphery (Hall, 1989); according to Weber's (1982) graphic description, it was the periphery of the periphery, and the harshness and eventuality of life there made up the reality of New Mexico's people's life. The sudden political change, implemented by the assimilation into the new administration, had pushed New Mexico's popular classes to confront several new realities and deal with a new way of living and coping with the new situation. Thus, a first framework could be articulated around social changes caused by the territorial shift. The actions defined by the wrestling between economic and political powers to provide some order to the vast territory between Texas and the Pacific, West, and between the border with Mexico and the Oregon Territory, North, eventually generated a new order and displaced the previous economic and social balance. On the one hand, the tensions generated by the management of mining and intensive cattle ranching of the large land estates and the control of speculators and land grabbers. However, on the other hand, all the issues related to the policies implemented provide direction and pace for integrating the New Mexico Territory into the Union. The instances of the territorial government system were deployed according to the dictates of common sense and committed to non-resistance to United States Manifest Destiny (Larson, 1968). Because of that, it would not allow us to single out collective or specific policies that would influence or motivate the identification process. All labeling at work was characterized by social custom and how society adjusted to the new situation. We can understand that a double-sided process determined a certain sense of individual or a collective identification with all this.

On the one hand, the assimilation to the new reality imposed by the dominant society and, on the other hand, the emergence of a need based on the preservation



and protection of what was perceived as their own, while identifying cultural contexts, customs, traditions, and history as common references to the past. Newmexican society was pushed to articulate pride assertiveness out of nowhere. They started to get assertive on shared customs, their lengthy connection to the territory, language, and traditions with a past that was thought to be prestigious, as a way of presenting themselves and to others. A line of reasoning that had not become explicit until that precise moment. Newmexican 'Hispano' peoples had not needed to address their identification in any way before. The affirmation of their cultural pride, as a minority group, showed up in the form of a fightback strategy. That reaction meant the ascertainment and confirmation of the different challenges. It was proof of the rejection felt and the cause for vindication. It was a manifest endeavor to show resolution and the presence of rights before the new dominant society. First, it was the loss of previously entitled social rights within the former structure. Second, it also was the perception of sinking into the social structure and manifestly a class degradation. Third, should we follow the logic of the new ideology framework, we found that it brought to the surface the need for 'Hispanos' to pick out specific cultural symbology related to their customs and traditions. That would eventually determine, later on, and coalesce with the general conceptualization of an ethnic group. In this social inferiority situation, it became present that higher agencies, the governmental bodies, the institutions, and the social powers forced Newmexican 'Hispanos', in line with the reasoning proposed by Cohen (1994), to commit their individuality towards the belonging to a society, as members of a collective entity and a category, before considering themselves just individuals. Hence a collective entity that would get uniformly constructed and essentially conceptualized from the mere fact of segregation.

Cultural change ensued to the social change. One first track would be the identification awareness fact that led to the emergence of a discursive terminology that ultimately sought reference in public identity. This social marker had been molded, in an informal way, by two and a half centuries of survival and solitude in the harsh Southwest environment. That particular condition made more evident the need for a cultural association with all things Spanish. Terms such as 'Spanish,' 'Spanish-American,'

'Español,' 'Hispanoamericano' and the confusing use of the derogatory term 'Mexicano' as a replacement for 'Spanish' emerged, basically in ecclesiastical records as a reminiscence of the twenty-five years of the Mexican rule (Montgomery, 2002). As soon as the Mexico-US transfer had taken place in 1850, Newmexicans got aware of the racial perception Anglo-Americans had of them. To be called 'Mexicans' by Anglo-Americans was perceived as a cultural disenfranchisement, a stigmatizing designation that branded them as foreigners in their own land. The very American soldiers' attitude towards the 'Hispanos,' as an example, as it got delivered in letters, diaries, and reports, uniformly reflected the idea of civilization superiority. They would describe Newmexicans as indolent, degenerate, unreliable, dishonest, corrupt in their forms of government, and addicted to gambling and other assorted vices (Nostrand, 1992; Montgomery, 2002; Gómez, 2007). Throwing slurs at them such as 'greaser' or 'mongrel' tilled the grounds to show them that they would not be considered equals neither in the social context nor in the political sphere. As Gutiérrez (2016: 36) roughly exposed "Calling someone a Mexican in 1850 was deeply insulting...because the English word Mexican signified a dominated population stigmatized by defeat and subordination...rapidly to become the insulting expletive." Furthermore, the technology, the new transportation means, and the commercial breakthrough coming from back East made Newmexicans appear as primitive and lacking in inventiveness. However, this situation could not hide some other more evident reality. In terms of the racial divide, 'Hispanos' were racially white enough to seek strategies to escape total stigmatization (Nieto-Phillips, 2004). The black and white racial dichotomy is behind the formation of a Hispanic racial group right from the very inception of New Mexico (Gomez, 2007; Trujillo 2009), as it appears in the census record. "Census, beginning in 1850, deemed Nuevomexicanos to be 'white' for the purpose of enumeration..." (Nieto-Phillips, 2004). However, there was a reality gap coming out from that institutionalization of the race scale: on the one hand, a certain 'white legality,' in which 'Nuevomexicanos' could move (Gómez, 2007). Nevertheless, on the other hand, the contradiction informing that "[I]f 'Nuevomexicanos' were enumerated in censuses as 'white' by their Anglo counterparts, they were not considered equals in social contexts or political realm...the popular impression was that they were nonwhite..." (Nieto-Phillips, 2004).

In any case, and at least rhetorically, it would seem that the inclusion of the term American, as in 'Spanish-American' or 'Mexican-American' in colloquial terminology, would explicitly acknowledge the yielding and admittedly the will of inclusion and belonging to a single political unit. To that struggle, the eventual introduction of stigma against everything Spanish worked as a booster for the need for strategies that would alleviate the social pressure and provide power and continuity to social life. Stigmatization propped the outburst of self-identification of 'Nuevomexicano' individuals and communities. To a certain extent adding up the racial discourse into the social hierarchy had much to do with the response strategies. The presence of strategies that would work as self-convincing conveyors and discerning devices may arise (Pujadas, 1993) from the perception or result of a stigma. We can confirm that stigma was the decisive turn that conditioned and cast how 'Nuevomexicanos' confronted imposed otherness as a cultural novelty after the rupture with the previous status quo.

The delimitation arising from creating an ethnic group as a new cultural unit settled up a problematic intermediate territory in inter-ethnic relations. Barth (1969) calls them 'ethnic borders' or 'transitional zones.' The 'Hispano' ethnic habitat, consistently stigmatized, had been generated from imposition on one side and ignorance on the other. Furthermore, is focused on the reactive maintenance of ethnic boundaries rather than the preservation of specific cultural content (Rodriguez, 1986: 3). In its inception, it lacked the conceptual structure that would allow negotiation for a transitional territory. From the beginning, 'Hispanos' lacked the communal social references and skills to negotiate and manage their own social status in the new environment. The radical difference in cultural baggage and customs between the two social groups at play in New Mexico, 'anglos' and 'Hispanos,' will credit the positions taken in the face of concrete realities of social life, as proposed by Friedman (1994). Differentiation usually generates a variety of articulation environments that highlight or question the reasons for the separation within the social structure, and the defining ethnic boundary that encloses and defines the 'Hispano' group, in contradiction to mere cultural stuff (Barth, 1969: 15), poses a problematic landscape for that differentiation.

However, differentiation needs to acknowledge shared internal references to the group. In the navigation for that space of difference, there were assorted referents not necessarily shared. In this particular case, Newmexican 'Hispanos' tried to construct the discourse that would enable them as total participants in the North American project, setting away from the parameters that determined and stigmatized their ethnic singularity. Despite the more than evident prejudice against the culture and in particular against New Mexico's catholic religious model, the actual legislative drive of the Territory got centered on the opposition of the two political parties in DC, each one according to its interests and arguments, to the incorporation of new states. The game for New Mexico was played on the political chessboard so that each of the two parties could preserve their privileges and assets as part of the gambit for the government legislative branch. The nation's capital's sophisticated social life and legislative intrigues were far removed from New Mexico's political instability and violent environment. It was so imperative to deal with internal problems first before going before the federal government. When Edmund G. Ross was appointed territorial governor in 1885, he described New Mexico as "The curse of this Territory is rings" (Larson, 1968). Thus, it is not surprising that the political promotion of the territory vis-à-vis the institutions of the Nation began to take shape and to lay the foundations of the argument lines and reasoning.

The set of attributes necessary to make New Mexico's identity apparent were based on an exotic and essentialized definition. They would emphasize social relations' balance and harmony, although it was evident, they were not taking place as they were being presented. For the sake of an appropriate contextualization, we must keep in mind here the construction of logic that, from sheer idealization, were being imposed in the ideological structure of the Western world. Rulers' political guidelines of the proposed new state were condensed around a central strategy and a predominant discourse, which emphasized the history of social cooperation between groups, over time, and the harmonious social and cultural interbreeding as a fact (Bradford Prince, 1883; Bodine, 1968; Meinig, 1971; Rodriguez, 1986; Nieto-Phillips, 2004; Weigle, 2010). That discourse, already preempting the essence of cultural segregation, was supported by the classification of ethnicity and race taxonomies getting shape and

gelling around the knowledge production of Social and Behavioral Sciences. Altogether, it was to become the articulation that would justify the acceptance for the new state into the Union. The institutional vision uttered by the Territorial Governor, William Gillette Ritch (1875), spoke of an ideal scenario in which it seemed each actor within the Newmexican society played a specific assigned role. "New Mexico was the meeting ground for the modern Americans, the descendants of 'the Old Latin civilization' and the 'native [Pueblo Indian] races'" (Nieto-Phillips, 2004; Weigle, 2010). In general, all that display of stereotyped realities got directly staged for later assimilation of ethnic groups. Years later, Governor L. Bradford Prince (1883) emphasized New Mexico's people's exoticism by branding it into three separate ethnic groups. That discursive essentialism was based on a fictitious social equilibrium -"Anglo-Americans have frequently assumed the role of scientist or businessman in the rhetoric and imagery of 'triculturalism' in New Mexico, just as Indians often appear as artists and Hispanics as Conquistadores, farmers, and laborers. [A]nglo-Americans usher in (and dominate) the modern age while other groups are relegated to the past." (Guthrie, 2013: 255)-, an equilibrium that would echo, decades later, in the selection of stories, traditions, customs, memories, and objects, and the discursive articulation built around that selection. It was a device that endowed New Mexico with a solid concept to talk about heritage. The final straw to this set of conceptual production comes with the sense of stigma in the interruption of the previous social configuration. The social discredit charged on 'Hispanos' motivated the need for strategies to sprout to alleviate individual and community conditions and provide continuity to social life. Stigmatization as a self-conscious drive for agency and discursive strategies defined the outburst of 'Newmexicans' self-identification. To that concern, the inclusion of racial discourse into the hierarchical social structure has much to do with the new views on attributes, behavior, and reputation at play for social discrediting (Goffman, 1963). Against the dehumanization of stigma, and as a backlash, the self-convincing production of identity strategies became the agent vehicle to restore, symbolically at the least, the lost social status.

### 3.2.4 New Mexico: Shifting cultural gears and new conceptual devices

*"We're Doing Today What Should Have Started 150 Years Ago"*

Angela Davis In Conversation with Yara Shahidi.<sup>35</sup>

For New Mexico, the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th saw the eventual definition of the political guidelines that sought to define the options for the final incorporation of the Territory into the Union. There are still feelings, lingering on the social dialogue that many of the current discrepancies and ongoing matters have to do with issues that started to simmer back in the days of the American takeover in 1848. That successful feat came to be realized on January 6<sup>th</sup>, 1912. By that time, it also got confirmed the consolidation of the already fragile inter-ethnic balance, caused by the introduction of the new administration, five decades earlier. The former Newmexican communities, Natives and 'Hispanos', that had mingled for centuries, and because of that had already structured a pattern of mutually impacted social devices, had become exposed to the powers of political trade and influenced by the force of new Eastern economic interests. The affairs related to the admittance of the Territory as a State of the Union, as they kept boosting more and more through the decades leading to the end of the century, put on hold the specific policies those original communities might require. The statehood issue showed that some factions favored the integration, arguably following the variable directives pushed by the DC bi-partisan balance and postulates. Others pressed to remain an independent political unit for their own control and benefit. However, much of the struggle of Spanish or Mexican origin Newmexicans were flushed on defending legitimacy for their citizenship, in the same it already was for the European origin peoples in Kansas or Iowa (Larson, 1968: 178).

A great conceptual change production got developed, running along with all that political unrest in New Mexico. As it happened in Europe, that change provided the ideological structure to support the stabilization and strengthening of the American nation, most remarkably after the Civil War social chasm. The concerns pouring from

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<sup>35</sup> <https://time.com/collection/the-new-american-revolution/5880933/angela-davis-yara-shahidi-blm-activism/> - August 20, 2020, 6:25 AM EDT - <accessed, August 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2020, 19:13>

that trauma started to institutionally crystallize in views that got enforced by the idealistic and romantic character of the selected traditions and the push for the paradigm of evolution (Hylland Ericsen y Sivert Nielsen, 2013). The myriad of problems, in the chaotic decades of the 50s and the 60s, brought by slavery, the bloody Civil War and the controversial Reconstruction, left little time to meet the needs of the Territory of New Mexico desire for admission as a state (Larson, 1968: 62). Idealism pushed as the booster that highlighted the conscience of loss that followed the assimilation or displacement of indigenous peoples and haunted the East's cultural elites. That cultural drive gave way to a series of rhetorical devices that promoted the protection, preservation, restoration, and safeguarding of cultural elements that had to do with ancestral traditions. As it soon became apparent, the first target was to protect, preserve, and safeguard Indigenous Peoples cultures that were being depleted in the push toward the West. Those efforts were afterward reconvened and expanded, for the same former reasons, to meet the cultural and traditional features of the Southwestern Hispanic and Mexican demographics. In order to transfer that project to the field, it was very functional and helpful that systematic observation, empirical analysis, and scientific positivism had eventually consolidated as methods for assessing behavioral patterns and social relations by the Social and Behavioral Sciences.

All the conceptual formulation, the ideological framework that sustains the knowledge of anthropology, concurs over time with multiple theories and schools. Most subscribed to functional analogies that prescribed a dichotomous division of social studies that juxtaposed traditional and modern visions of the society, “without postulating that the former would ever evolve into the latter” (Hylland Ericsen y Sivert Nielsen, 2013: 40). For my chosen field of study and timely matching in perspective, one of the anthropology founding fathers, Franz Boas, introduced the cultural slant into the discipline in his 1883-84 field research. That proved helpful in the outcome for many scholars who based their research on this particular geographical Southwest environment: Benedict, Sapir, Whorf, Lummis... In this context, rescue, preservation, and revitalization appear as concepts that, as we shall see, move the progressive content that heritage has embodied as a concept.

For further context, the first initial steps of Anthropology, as a science that generated systematized knowledge, are diverse in their dating. According to Erickson and Murphy (2013), Boas dates its origin by the middle of the 19th century. Bonahann and Glazer (2007) dated it earlier, at the beginning of that century. Hodgen (1965) goes as far as to set the date in the two immediately preceding centuries. Both the texts and the production of works confirm that, around the mid-eighteen hundreds, Anthropology got consolidated as an empirical social science trying to attack the social complexities triggered and boosted by the Industrial Revolution, the change in the nature of European cultures (Bonahann and Glazer, 2007) and the emergence of new and powerful nation-states (Germany, the United States, Italy, and all the countries of Central and South America departing from colonial Spain). Anthropology, although not a hermetically closed discipline, began with the observation systematization of peoples' history without history at that time. Essentially, it worked out the observation of the culture of agraphic peoples. It is not that previously there had been no interest in the customs of distant peoples, considering the knowledge of Western European civilization. It was a response to the stimulus of encountering 'the other' and conversely to trace the change and growth in societies, either in small-scale form or in the complexity of nations. Bonahann and Glazer (2007) go so far as to assert that Anthropology, like history, does not have a setting-off point.

However, from the mid-eighteen hundreds onward, a qualitative and quantitative leap occurs about the systematization and production of scientific knowledge. That need springs to define concepts that come from the research methodology and concept generalization. Thus, the condition of concepts such as culture, community, ethnicity, identity, and heritage start to precipitate. The knowledge consolidation, produced by the thrusting emergence of the sciences throughout the 19th century, due to the progress and conceptual explosion propelled by the Enlightenment expansion and institutionalization, would not hinder the constant need for conceptual and methodological revision up to the present day. The concepts and categories that were rushing out from the formulation of the Social and Behavioral Sciences enter, from their beginnings, into a process of constant change and revision. That is the point for the need for process making evaluation and analysis. The



formulations made in understanding social realities that pulled from the study of the subject confronting the 'world out there' (Hylland Ericsen y Sivert Nielsen, 2013) made available a whole scope of entries evaluation of the universal into the particular. The empiricist rationalism that waged on the western intellectual and cultural construction would not hamper inherent cultural interpretations of a specific subject. Some of those interpretations do not value different systems of meanings that would introduce dimensionality perception connecting beliefs and symbolic statements as a social representation, the eventual realization of space, the time being, and the time becoming (Ortiz, 1969; Swentzell, 2012).

One of those interpretations, relevant to my research and analysis, and relevant to the presentation of identity and heritage we are aiming at, has to do with the acts of memory and oblivion in bringing the past to realize for a present interpretation (Criado-Boado, 2001; Macdonald, 2013). One complication that arises from that inherent duality of memory and oblivion would be the different take people do from the past and into their present. Each present moment in history, its journey up to the present day may be taken as a representational look back into the past. In its journey, the present's interpretation has to adjust to new needs and perspectives, social and cultural, that may arise through time. All the categories mentioned above -culture, community, ethnicity, identity, and heritage- were conceptually construed in response to the need to understand and inform knowledge settling, derived from research on social relations, as know-how production; social relations that were giving way to reflexivity and knowledge production that established the formulations working for and shaped anthropology. Concepts initially surface from the analysis of simply structured societies, with little technology complexity and low political hierarchy (Pujadas, 1993). The first initial times get directly linked to the study of agraphic societies. However, as definitions, concepts are far from being stable, homogeneous, and permanent over time because they become a part of unfinished, complex, relentless, permanent transformation processes. A change over time that gets intrinsically linked to the diachrony in analysis that we carry out, asserting what Stocking (1968) defines as the importance of anthropological research through historical episodes. Should we refer to

one of my work's key categories -identity-, its anthropology conceptualization busts from the sheer research experience.

As one of the primary outcomes of anthropological field research, experience data needs to get itemized, registered, and classified in some sort or manner for cataloging. For that purpose, cultural traits or ethnic identifications pop up as valuable features. Malinowsky (2014, [1922]) set one of the first definitions for identity himself. He did it by connecting the unavoidable individual biological being to the human urge to persevere, perpetuate, and reproduce themselves. Those conditions that hinted at a biological link stubbornly appear on the trail to define my interest's taxonomy events. On the way to success, be they individual or collective tasks, the essential activities for functioning must facilitate adaptation to the environment. Both the generation and success of those activities would induce a new set of needs that, in their turn, have to be satisfied, as Malinowsky boils down from his fieldwork. Therefore, when we talk about identity, it becomes essential to its definition that we assess what connection could get established with the production of culture. That would, in due course, define the relationship of the individual with the physical environment, his immediate natural surroundings, the nature of social discrimination, and boundaries set (Barth, 1969).

From this association between the individual and the environment, we may directly infer the conceptualization of ethnicity based on the needs pointed out by that same author. In going ahead along the process trail of understanding how taxonomies were conceptualized, a systematic observation noted that the human group's main priority was to achieve its self-perpetuation. To that feat, individuals have to lean on a joint project usually bundled up on a set of shared and mutual cultural values. In that setting, inclusiveness relies upon self-identification as part of and from the group and otherness discrimination, confrontation to the 'other' to channel social life (Barth, 1969; Harrison in Fairclough, Harrison, Jameson y Schofield, 2008). Self-identification and discrimination from the other would then be one of the ingredients explaining why each social group would develop cultural expressions radically different from those from other groups. In line with Loeffler's (2016) assertion, ethnicity would be the branding outcome in providing local community or individual solutions to issues of more general scope and recurrent for all humanity. When those solutions become

efficiently productive, they get turned into cultural expressions that would turn and generate new ones. Tönnies (2002) adds to the previous reasoning the conceptual branding of 'gemeinschaft,' a concept that pours from traditional and collaborative practices, establishing the community's archetype communion with the territory. Ethnic tagging to a group becomes a social organization taxonomy form that pours from interpersonal relationships and symbolic collective representations (Durkheim, 2008) and also reflects the social hierarchy structure in balancing conflict, power, and dominion upon the territory (Peterson, 2018). Collaborative and mutuality practices shape the social relations and practices and are proper to the 'Hispano' social fabric. 'Vecindad' is distinctive of collaboration and mutual aid to 'Newmexican Hispanos.' Mutuality in the Southwest, the articulation of 'vecindad', is the umbrella of an idyllic social shelter, proof of communality with the environment, the expression of the centrality of the household in social relations, and an accurate translation formally emanating from the introduction of the term 'vecino' in Mexico's Independence, Plan de Iguala. In this thorough, comprehensive task, we can consolidate that, following Friedman's rationale (1994), identity became defined as a representational construct based upon a continuous positioning while facing specific realities of social life. The appearance of the struggle and ambivalence in the face of what is one's own and what is alien can get described in the primordial adhesion to commonality (Geertz, 1973). With this idea in mind, identity is the diacritical condition by which individuals resort to the group's cultural and symbolic baggage, otherwise manifesting their own willful belonging. This action, by which individuals recourse in a random, non-constant, and non-fixed way to symbolic group elements, exposes the discontinuity that exists 'de facto' in the individual's relationship with 'his' ethnic unit. Those discontinuities would explain the motives for the differences, even inconsistencies, in the production of identification-related discourses (Barth, 1969; Pujadas, 1993). Thus, identity is constructed based on how the relationship between continuity and discontinuity of the selected cultural and symbolic repertoire is manifested. Later on, we will deliver the reasoning for the relevance of that approach, as it gives way to the introduction of the discourse, its demands, and its connection with the construction of the concept of heritage.

### 3.2.5 'HISPANO': taxonomy cocktail for an 'emic' - 'etic' stereotype

'Hispano,' one of the labels and denominations for my object under study, appears as a community currently part of the institutional New Mexico imaginary. Many others may apply at the street level in discourse articulation, depending on personal preferences, opinions, or ideology stance. According to those specifics Hispanic, Spanish, Mexican-American, or even Chicano may show with tangible reference to the differentiation identification that we address here in the 'Hispano' branding. They would somehow imply a blending of individual or group's acceptance and/or rejection to particular features socially commonly used with the 'Hispano' taxonomy, plus the insertion of the play of what is internally/externally defined. The fact that those assorted types of branding have been rising throughout this paper only to make apparent how complex, somehow subtle, and confusing the identification issue may become. It appears as an artificial ethnically categorized set of individuals bundled up as a uniform group because of the practices they hold and their relationship with a past and a heritage detached from that of the American Anglos.

For the purpose of this paper, we adhered to and took 'Hispano' as a significantly used and meaningful taxonomy that many Newmexicans that individually or communally relate cultural, historical, and traditional past of Spanish heritage. In the confusion exerted by the loose use of the term, we take it as a popular label that is informative enough following what was learned from ethnography experience and from the voluminous bibliography that we have worked on. In that order, we would fit into Korte's (2012) approach to the definition:

"The word Hispano here is not a synonym for Hispanic or Latino. It refers to a particular set of communities in what is now New Mexico...Families there can trace their heritage and roots to Spanish colonists from the earliest days of Spain's hegemony, long before Plymouth Rock. Linguistic scholars have traced their vernacular to ancient forms of Castilian and other forms of Spanish."

We refer to 'Hispanos' as a consistent representational, self-ascribed reference, we assume how problematic that may result. Horton (2010: 17) addresses the topic

branding 'Hispanos' as a "[d]istinctive regional subgrouping of Mexican Americans in New Mexico and southern Colorado who trace their roots to the seventeenth century Spanish settlement of the Southwest. They are also known as Spanish Americans". DeBuys (2015: 309) consistently refers to the term as a standard taxonomy device for Spanish-speaking Newmexicans, suggesting "ethnic heritage and nothing more." However, already from the term's inception, it became a tricky one, challenging to offer a solid unified definition. 'Hispanos,' regardless they mostly follow the Catholic faith and uniformity in Spanish spoken language, they come from very entangled ethnic origins. In all a problematic, unbalanced issue between the 'emic' and 'etic' approaches. The history of the American Southwest, and as we have been tracking that in particular for New Mexico, has been a chain of many nomenclatures, like the ones we mentioned earlier on -Hispanic, Spanish, Mexican-American, Chicano-. As tradition and heritage, self-identification branding calls for specific roots in historical periods. That manipulation of time aims at bringing definitions, symbols, and images that members would apply for themselves to their own avail and argumentation. Labels try to bring favorable connotations, but they lose that value through time. Hence labeling becomes a device and a strategy simultaneously, as groups and individuals alike struggle for a place within the social structure, therefore needing to adapt in the process. 'Hispanos' directly or indirectly became the product of generations of inter-breeding and 'mestizaje.' we mentioned elsewhere about the relation of the social structure, based upon the 'Casta' hierarchy was intended to measure up and comprehend the social diversity. 'Hispanos' are genetically linked to colonial settlers, either 'peninsulares' or 'criollos,' but also to 'mestizos' of all origins, African descendants, and most importantly, New Mexico's native Indian tribes (Montgomery, 2002).

Those ties with the past, either tangible or symbolic, generate two realities from the 'emic' perspective. One, it is of the cultural texture, fixed to language, tradition, history, and memory. It would relate to customs and memories brought back over to provide context to the will of cultural continuity and social backing. Because of that, it would advance the idea that promote 'Hispanos' as a conceptual group homogenization; as a unitary, solid, and sealed body. As such, it had become both a management unit -etic- and a unit of self-management -emic-. Effectively, it became

an ethnic and social taxonomy of functional and utilitarian character. Two ways of approaching the past come to mind when talking about New Mexico and the Newmexicans. The first one connects to the political strategies and the leading institutional discourse from territorial times, after the Mexico-US war. As already mentioned, the predominant discourse made an issue of statehood and, because of that, it prompted for imagery that idealistically pulled from the social and cultural interbreeding as an advanced feature. The mechanism of institutional production conveniently framed to its advance a set of practices, values, and behavioral norms providing a suitable, meaningful continuity with the past. In that sense, New Mexico's institutions neglected the inclusion of the many long pasts the different communities might address when looking for practices, values, and behavioral norms that would give context to their reality. It all went down to the emphasized history of social cooperation between groups, depicted a reality far from reality. The stereotyped exotic approach and essential views soon got some intellectual elites hooked into the fantasy of devising New Mexico as a reservoir of past essence, in front and against the tread and progress of technology. The second comes from the community's subjectivity. Somehow those communities that we mentioned had been left out in the project to become instrumental in the outcome of the larger project called New Mexico. Once again, it shows the struggle between what is formal, institutional, jurisdictional confronted to what is lived (Terradas, 2004), no matter what the call might be.

The other reality spurt from the antagonistic dichotomy around what happens with individuals' stance. On the one hand, the imposition's acceptance of ethnic differentiation -etic-; on the other hand, the double game of self-exclusion -emic- in the acceptance of the previous. There is a need to address that the categorization terms of the 'Hispanos' depart from the assimilation process after the US-Mexican War of 1850. It is also relevant to signify that that paradigmatic moment was effectively the point of the taxonomy's initial observations and valuation build-up. Subsequently, individuals, whether grouped in a community or not, initiate the articulation of discourses about identity around that 'Hispano' branding. In any case, it is manifested and staged in the desire for continuity of the individual as part of a collective and as a translation of traditions to counterbalance the new status quo. In that staging, the

category 'Hispano' responds to interests that are not just one's own, albeit with the eventual result of appropriation and re-branding. Whether because of the learning process, which is ever historically changing, or because the discursive character gets confined to specific domains -social interaction, social leverage, dominion hierarchies-, it does not seem possible to show all the nuances that identity acquires individually. It is, therefore, necessary to group up. The validity and relevance of the title of this thesis get based on the vernacular and popular proposal, as a uniform and homogeneous taxonomy, related to the 'Hispano' family concept. The Newmexican 'Hispanos' family has a precise duality intention. On the one hand, the acceptance of ethnicity as a condition construed from the outside and, hence, assimilated -etic-. On the other hand, the value of the recognition of one's own, as legitimate, and traditional -emic-.

Earlier on, we referred that during territorial inception times, "[C]ensus, beginning in 1850, deemed Nuevomexicanos to be 'white' for the purpose of enumeration..." (Nieto-Phillips, 2004). That meant the very first steps to introduce a 'white legality,' in which 'Nuevomexicanos' could move (Gómez, 2007). Nevertheless, that posed a contradiction because "[I]f 'Nuevomexicanos' were enumerated in censuses as 'white' by their Anglo counterparts, they were not considered equals in social contexts or political realm...the popular impression was that they were nonwhite..." (Nieto-Phillips, 2004). Before digging deeper into the identity debate in New Mexico, although a local debate, it can be seen as part of a broader debate. The Pew Research Center's Executive Summary<sup>36</sup> -"[a] nonpartisan fact tank that informs the public about the issues, attitudes, and trends shaping the world...by conducting public opinion polling, demographic research, content analysis, and other data-driven social science research.... without taking policy positions", shows how the terms Hispanic and Latino appear as interchangeable taxonomies applied to Americans who link their relationships and origins to Spanish-speaking countries. This lack of definition fuels the debate and makes the use of sufficiently precise, clear, and uniform terminology more problematic. There has been a consistent and ignited academic debate around the semantic point of view, in which Blaut and Rios-Bustamante (1984)

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<sup>36</sup> <http://www.pewhispanic.org/> [Consulta, 28 de abril de 2017] <accessed, April 28th. 2017, 21:06>

speak of the term 'Hispano' as a term of self-reference, exclusively. They, thus, dispute Nostrand's (1992) claim that 'Hispanos' are a specific New Mexico subculture, coming from the Spanish root, disconnected both from other Spanish-speakers and Mexicans, on a discrete and real geographical space that, not only, Nostrand brings to the point of calling it the 'Hispano Homeland', but is also referred by Horton's informer, early 'Caballero' member, Edward Gonzales (2010: 64). The setting off point for the conflict might be located in the categorical relationship between ethnicity and race, which is internalized in the social and cultural American society, by the weight and influence of the census referent<sup>37</sup>. The U.S. Census Bureau assignment gets very specific in the self-adherence taxonomy statement. The statistical category arguably says it all under the Race and Hispanic Origin labelling:

- White alone
- Black or African American alone
- American Indian or Alaska Native alone
- Asian alone
- Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander alone
- Two or more races
- Hispanic or Latino
- White alone not Hispanic or Latino

There is a couple of precision to be made from the options provided in the itemized multi-optional choice. One has to do with cultural, ethnic, and racial labeling mixed along. The second one, stemming from the former, requires an exercise of subjectivity on the part of the census takers. In this case, choice subjectivity gets exposed to confront the legitimacy posed by the institutional branding. Therefore, before shoveling into terminology accuracy, we will go into some cultural landscaping of my subject of study.

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<https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/nm,taoscountynewmexico,rioarribacountynewmexico,santafecountynewmexico,US/RHI725217> <accessed, September 4th.2018, 15:02>



As the Pew Hispanic Center asserted in their 2012 'Executive Summary' "Nearly four decades after the US government mandated the use of the term 'Hispanic' or 'Latino' to categorize Americans who trace their roots to Spanish speaking countries a new nationwide survey of Hispanic adult finds that these terms still have not been fully embraced by Hispanics themselves." The U.S. Census Bureau data collection since the 1790 Census has been based, measured, and classified upon racial and cultural origins. The 1850 Census, the year the New Mexico Territory got assimilated by the American Administration, data started to get coded by race color for the very first time<sup>38</sup>, measuring a "Black blood" quantum, termed "Mulatto," for free inhabitants and slave inhabitants (Humes and Hogan, 2009). As earlier on informed (Nieto-Phillips, 2004) there were no particular specifications for the Newmexican demography but to deem them 'white', just for statistical purposes. For the 1930 Census, "Mexican" had consistently been categorized as White, got introduced as a category. The 1970 Census form eventually enforced the addition of Hispanic as a self-identification question (Humes and Hogan, 2009). In both cases, 1930 and 1970, the specifics -Mexicano, Hispanic, Latino- for taxonomies were included in the 'White' labeling. As such, institutions and media alike have been addressing the people from countries of Spanish cultural descent on the generic Hispanic and Latino labels. In terms of homogeneous classification, the gradual incorporation of ethnic groups into the American institutional system collided with Newmexican 'Hispanos' ' perception of themselves. That comes from a harsh reality: their Spanish descent dates back to times before the US assimilation. As a result, they show up as a strange cultural anomaly as US citizens, their traditions and cultural roots not being fully recognized as an integral cultural part of the nation.

The racial slant also adds up to the contradictory pattern of identification. The subjectivity choice in census options collides with self-perception, the others' perception, and the socially structured. The assumption of a long-lasting tradition presupposes that the visual and verbal symbols 'Hispanos' put at play in social interaction, behave exposing the radical contrast to the oversimplified institutional

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<sup>38</sup> <https://www.census.gov/library/visualizations/interactive/decennial-census-measurement-of-race-and-ethnicity-across-the-decades-1790-2020.html> <accessed, August 14th.2020, 19:02>

taxonomies' set. In that sense 'Hispanos' wield a connection to a very particular territorial land base; because of that, they can produce an emotional connection to anchor a sense of belonging to their place (Massey, 1999; Escobar 2002; Smith, 2006); finally, they hold on to a set of values, traditions, and memories they use to pull forward their presence into the future. According to all the above, the knowledge and analysis contribution does not bring much light to help to discern the identification terminology applied to the individuals of my object of study, other than that of the Spanish speaking native people of New Mexico. Many bring the 'Hispano' label (Larson, 1968; Meinig, 1971; Rodriguez, 1987; Hall, 1989; Gonzales-Berry, Maciel, eds. 2000; Jiménez, 2006; Trujillo, 2009; DeBuys, 2015), while others try to elaborate around Spanish speaking people (Sanchez, 1967), Mexican-Americans (Gómez, 2007), Hispanics (Rodriguez, 1986), Spanish Americans (Gonzales, 1993 and 2001), or Hispano Americans (Nieto-Phillips, 2004). As one of them (Phillips, 1993) asserts, nomenclatures aiming at addressing ethnic minorities issues appear as agency devices that garner institutional resources and vie for cultural hegemony. The terminology used to categorize ethnic groups was initially loaded with ethnic 'folklorization' emanating from the romantic and idealistic ideology stemming from the 'Volk' concept promoted by Herder. In that direction, identification categories urged to root into the generalization in the communities' memories, the tradition of their storytelling, and the emotional and symbolic connection with the past. On the other hand, that necessarily appears as owing political implications because labeling and agency imply action on structural dynamics, strategies in calculation, and conveying cultural meaning. Historical periods, as context, have shaped the meaningful outcome of particular labels that, as an example, currently show up in the Southwest -Mexican-Spanish, Chicano, Hispanic-.

The memory tracks in 'Hispanos' identity and heritage articulation get a pervasive presence and translated on the identification branding. That makes it even more noticeable how ethnic definitions and images got produced to counteract institutional action or prove contention within the social structure. The memory of 'Hispanos' struggles still today with the terms of racialization and the stigma imposed on Mexicans as war foes for the Anglo-Americans. Cultural and language similarities played a significant role in preconception's normalization. Just after the first few

decades of the annexation, when the Territorial forces pushed for Federal recognition, the ideological implications became exposed when the category Spanish-American gained prevalence. In general, that term kept the logic of acceptability, lifting the opprobrium of being a Mexican while becoming a member of the white race and expressing American citizenship (Campa, 1946). Somehow Newmexican 'Hispanos', who had internalized the stigma of being called that way, reflected in the Spanish-American name the concerns they had been enduring for decades and their defensive reaction against the anti-Mexican American prejudice. While 'Spanish' would address the anti-Mexican prejudice as a defensive reaction (Campa, 1946), the term Spanish-American would have served a triple purpose, as Gonzales (1993: 161) discloses citing Campa (1946: 13): "It lifts from the Newmexican the opprobrium of being a Mexican; it makes him a member of the 'white' race and express his American citizenship". That was also a cultural trick evoking the grandeur of the past, portrayed in the picture of the 'Conquistador', and the 'myth' of a historic Spanish culture (Chavez, 1984), that flourished in New Mexico in the 1930's, leveraged upon the WPA Project. All that playing along what Byrne (1991) and Dicks (2000) would articulate, becoming actors and agents in their self-scripted role in conforming and producing that relationship with the past (Macdonald, 2013).

When 'Hispanos' snap back to memories, they unavoidable can pick from a whole rack at their disposal. The imagery selection they have available spans four centuries, so they are to trigger as many devices as possible to reminisce into a whole array of emotional connections. By doing so, they enter the play where they set the footprint -illustrate, obliterate, or preserve- of memory and oblivion (Criado-Boado, 2001). First, they go to their genealogy, which is so prominently present, in ethnic configuration nowadays. If we recall the old profession of blood purity as a marker of social status, as it happened during colonial times, and later as a concept of racial pedigree, the current percentage of blood quantum, as one demanded for Native American affiliation, seems to address any problematic issues on identity. In general genealogy became an all-purpose device to address, dissect, and direct specific issues related to affiliation, although it would not be devoid of contradiction.

According to all the above, the knowledge and analysis contribution does not bring much light to help to discern the identification terminology applied to the individuals of my object of study, other than that of the Spanish speaking native people of New Mexico. Many bring the 'Hispano' label (Larson, 1968; Meinig, 1971; Rodriguez, 1987; Hall, 1989; Gonzales-Berry, Maciel, eds. 2000; Jiménez, 2006; Trujillo, 2009; DeBuys, 2015), while others try to elaborate around Spanish speaking people (Sanchez, 1967), Mexican-Americans (Gómez, 2007), Hispanics (Rodriguez, 1986), Spanish Americans (Gonzales, 1993 and 2001), or Hispano Americans (Nieto-Phillips, 2004). Some even would not hesitate to mix any of the above terms with Latino (Hunner, 2001). As one of them (Phillips, 1993) asserts, nomenclatures aiming at addressing ethnic minorities issues appear as agency devices that garner institutional resources and vie for cultural hegemony.

No genetic test can determine if you are Hispanic or Latino genetically, because there are people who are similar to many Hispanics or Latinos genetically who are not Hispanic or Latino. If a genetic test claims to be able to identify that you are Hispanic or Latino with any degree of certitude, it is almost certainly a test you should avoid.

Max Martinez, New Mexico DNA Discussion Facebook thread

November 9<sup>th</sup>. 2019, 18:42

Altogether it all shows for a customized reactive agency. The person or the community delivering their identification they do that in order to position themselves against what they perceived as either too formal or imposed. Most of the times Newmexicans use a variety of terms, in the similar tone, to adapt their discourse to the context they are in or in discussion participation, to stand themselves for a particular sociopolitical orientation.

We have already seen how problematic and conceptually entangled the identification assignment may have become because of the ethnic/racial context. While

initial ways to address this issue tried to solve this complexity through more general labeling. Montgomery (2002) talks about the term Hispano-Americano, even referencing 'el pueblo Hispano-Americano' from speeches at the turn of the twentieth century. It was so to the point that Hispano-Americano, or 'hispanoamericano', became as favorite labels in the political and press rhetoric. Other authors would use Mexican-Americans (Gómez, 2007), Spanish Americans (Gonzales, 1993 and 2001), or Hispano Americans (Nieto-Phillips, 2004), while some other authors and scholars tried to replicate vernacular approaches to the matter. The Spanish anthropologist Jiménez Núñez (1974) talks about 'Hispanos' in his work, while Gibson (2019) does about Hispanics, and Martha Weigle went to describe Spanish-American Villages in New Mexico. However, the need to meet the official standards set by the US census form is always pervasive, no matter how problematic that may end up being. Since we have seen the US census aligns, at least from the possibility of exclusion, the racial terms 'White' and 'not Hispanic,' which is problematic enough for the contextual bundling of race and ethnicity. That is not only problematic for the Newmexican 'Hispanos', because, as Trujillo (2008: 217) also reports, many of those Newmexicans in the Anglo census group would complain as they would not self-identified themselves as such, on the premise they were not of English descent. Even some authors had been reluctant less in adapting their labelling criteria. We can follow the example of renowned Taos native and anthropologist Sylvia Rodríguez (1987; 2007) who moved from the earlier use of the term 'Hispano' to favor Nuevomexicano instead.

However, most of the imagery selection further dig into the continuity of symbolic meaning many individuals reinforce their identification upon. The rules that would apply move around the personal drive into the realm of memories, privileging what is more meaningful. Many of the conversations entertained around terminology and classification, what the term 'Hispano' would bring to mind, provide the intent in relaying personal core values. While talking in that purpose to Samuel Sisneros (Field Diary, 02.08.2017) archivist, and curator at the UNM's Center for Southwest Research

and Special Collections (CSWR)<sup>39</sup>, he drives his interest towards the 'genizaro' identification, following his personal's ancestry line towards the 'genizaro' people from Belen, NM. He refers to the 'Hispano' indigenous history in terms of an extension to the 'blood memory', trying to make real, a physical one memory's ontological character. There is a deep, strong call for Spanish ancestry in Northern New Mexico. The rural communities of the San Luis Valley, scattered in the South-Eastern Colorado and North-Eastern New Mexico, would reflect their shared cultural tradition, heritage, and identity to the Spanish culture. Local people, Jozette Atencio, John Valdez, and master 'Santera' Arlene Cisneros, would reflect differently on the details expressing that connection, but still, they would deeply express their 'Hispano-rooted' relationship through the family histories, and their younger times' experiences in that area, although two of them (John and Arlene) live away. It all may have to do with the harsh reality of long-term isolation in those mountainous areas. The conditions of struggling together in that environment reinforce the endeavor to persist in reviving memories and symbols. In order to keep up, the community needs to share knowledge and wisdom on past stories, history, and cultural traditions, Professor Estevan Rael-Galvez envisioned a digital space for virtual gathering. The project, called The Manitos Digital Resolana<sup>40</sup>, is meant as a "space for people from these rural communities and their urban diasporas, where people connected to these villages now live, to reconnect, recollect, record, and reflect on their shared cultural heritage." It pulls, more importantly, from the taxonomy 'manitos,' a self-assigned label the people from many villages throughout this region call themselves in rural northern New Mexico and southern Colorado.

The reactivation of the discourse promoted by the Civil Rights struggle had widened the discussion scope on identification. Professor García Griego refers to the shift in tone the Acoma Pueblo, NM, tours introduce their relationship with the Spanish peoples. He asserted that while in not such a distant times, the Acomas introduced their 'nativeness' in terms of belonging and good 'mestizaje' with the Spanish peoples

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<sup>39</sup> The CSWR specializes in preserving historical manuscripts, books, photographs, architectural drawings, recordings, and other library materials relating to New Mexico, the Southwestern US. <https://elibrary.unm.edu/cswr/> <accessed, December 1st, 2021, 14:02>

<sup>40</sup> <https://manitos.net/> <accessed, November 4th, 2021, 09:07>

in New Mexico, nowadays they do it in harsher regretful tones, and he hinted that "[t]he Federal affiliation regulations and policies, might have to do with that shift." (Field Diary, 02.08.2017). Newmexicans partake in the terminology confusion using themselves terminology applied to different discussion settings. Professors Ramón Gutierrez and Michael Leon Trujillo (Field Diary 28.07.2017) both addressed the emergence of the use of the Chicano term as an ideological expression, sometimes heavily racially charged because of the social implications that manifest the sociopolitical orientation of the speaker. In general, the Chicano movement had impacted Mexican American communities in the Southwest, around grassroots issues in the labor area. In New Mexico swiveled around the conflicting issue of the Land Grants and property rights (Gonzales, 1993). In fact, Chicano as a term connoted rejection and hostility towards the American authority and society. Informers Carmen Arteaga and George Autobee, both Pueblo, CO, residents would definitely go for self-assigning as Chicanos. Their ideological stance would reinforce their already weak ethnic position in a predominantly Anglo, white, Colorado. That is a problematic issue since we could infer that sometimes self-identification holds only just on personal context. "[p]eople would clearly prefer the term Spanish in ethnically/racially mixed groups setting call themselves Mexican in an in-group situation" (Trujillo, 2009: 42). The social context in New Mexico sets the shape of identification discussion. In a family gathering, Arturo Olivas, OSF, profusely elaborated (Field Diary 18.08.2017) on his Native Mexican roots while introducing himself as Indo-Hispano. He articulated the relevant presence of Native ancestors in the area but still adhering the cultural traits and historical tradition of the Spanish past. Much in that stripe of reasoning Enrique Lamadrid (2003) would align himself supporting the Indo-Hispano labelling, from the outcome of his research on ritual witnessed in the Española Valley. So, while the reality of Newmexicans ancestry looks in both branches, European and indigenous, the speaker's orientation is always prevailing in the address, not certainly meaning that they would stick to a single one.

There are many threads open, and while social pressure, individuals still get to address their stance in different forms. Alongside ideological lines to revitalize identification, there is also a shift in the choice of lineage threads that were not that

apparent earlier on and are getting prominence nowadays. Those moves would undoubtedly call for cultural entitlement. The volatility of identification can also be summarized in the use of more general self-referenced terms like 'La Raza,' as in race, and 'La Plebe.' Both terms adopt the metaphorical shape meaning our people, 'nuestra gente.' Both can be referenced in vernacular popular language use on the street level but as it happens with 'Raza' embodies community symbolism. The University of New Mexico's department, 'Centro de la Raza', "commits to cultivating a supportive community that helps students develop skills to fulfill their lifelong goals and expectations...positively impact the transition, retention, and graduation of students through an engaging environment built on academic, cultural, personal and professional activities"<sup>41</sup>. On the whole, it is a cultural resource aimed at and to interest Spanish speakers in that University.

### 3.3 Chapter recap

It had become already outwardly apparent in the setting off of the project that both the object of study and the analysis topics would get calling for a comprehensive explanation. Fully understanding 'Hispano' identity articulation would require a comprehensive contextualization. It became so as an accompanying feature of the whole ethnography task. Laying out cultural customs and traditions at hand, or the performative behavior observed all the way through fieldwork and giving an account of the inter-ethnic social interaction, regardless of their more than evident complexity had brought many information layers to display and process, that only would get whole meaning by an exhaustive set up of the contingencies that would inform all of them. First, in that undertaking, after an initial fieldwork review, we expose the need to review in a couple of directions, both of them in the historical realm, introducing the diachrony approach for the whole study as a backing for the comparative methodology. One of the directions would inform of the historical events related to the peoples who were part of the territory that would eventually end up being the New Mexico territory, to become later on a state within the Union. One second direction would be arranging the

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<sup>41</sup> <https://elcentro.unm.edu/about/mission-vision.html> <<accessed, December 4th, 2021, 19:02>



inception, evolution, and progress of concepts that eventually became instrumental in both the discourse narrative construction and valuing social relations. Concepts were built and gained consistency, both informing narratives and getting informed and shaped by narratives at work. That was timely concurrent with the inception of the institutional New Mexico, alongside identification narratives Newmexicans have been putting at play. As conceptual devices, the analysis devices we put at work -tradition, identity, and heritage- would picture the mood and fabric of specific historical periods. Newmexicans would feed their discourse in a particular manner that had to do with the institutional and social pressure exerted upon them since the American annexation times. We come from the relevance of the predicament of the anthropology approach on proposal setting off: Newmexican' Hispanos' social practices. We pull into 'Hispanos' self-appointed social and cultural differentiation construed as part of their vernacular experience. An experience brought forefront as a social bonding or cultural tie - linguistic, religious, territorial, historical, traditional-, highlighting the narratives identity and heritage. They do that by stressing ethnic differentiation while it would work as a defiant cultural battle and power struggle within the Newmexican social hierarchy. One of the main features in that stance is that when 'Hispanos' place themselves in the conversation, identity and heritage look inherently interchangeable and univocal. The articulation of that differentiation got hooked to the response of conflicting social issues and arguably got molded and supported by an outright conscious connection and bonding with the Spanish past. Appealing to the course of history would pinpoint how 'Hispanos' brought identity and heritage to manifest community segregation as a self-reflective positioning. 'Otherness' seemed to illustrate the need for identification/segregation and confirmation regarding others; we are 'one' as far as we contemplate the 'other' (Bourdieu, 1977; Farrell, 2010). It was a byproduct of the dramatic social, cultural, and political changes that occurred throughout the eighteen hundreds, a concept emerging from the evolution of Western societies that we walked towards identity and heritage. We find arguably telling that concepts formulation, progress, and consolidation, align in time with the systematization and production of knowledge of the Social and Behavioral Sciences, Anthropology included, and the becoming of New Mexico and Newmexicans as a political entity.

We then introduce 'La Fiesta' to deliver the mechanics underlying the celebration from the early times. We then expose the theoretical insight informing the analysis process that would hint at the heritage build-up and identity discourse. In that order, we bring about the agency's effectiveness in the choices of memory and oblivion (Criado-Boado, 2001; Macdonald, 2013) and the self-reflective exercise that would turn social practices into a culture production device as articulated by Kirchenblatt-Gimblett (2004), Smith (2006), and Sánchez-Carretero (2013). The center of the 'Fiesta' event gets taken by the main actors: Los Caballeros De Vargas. We guide the reader through their origins and the course of motives behind their coming as a lodge like organization. As self-promoted holders of traditional Spanish values, consistently pushing to retain the spirit of the 'Hispano' culture and heritage's care, preservation, and revitalization. They became central characters and social representatives of the 'Hispano' values in New Mexico, and because of that, they became the target in the controversy around the 'Entrada' pageant, a reenactment staging of the Santa Fe reconquest in 1692.

The second case study -The Museum of Spanish Colonial Art (MoSCA)-embodies two paradigms. The first one is the reviving, protecting, and safeguarding flagship of Newmexican devotional and religious, traditional art, so profuse and essential for the 'Hispano' communities' lifestyle, since the early eighteen hundreds. The second one is the conveyor belt of social hierarchies relayed on the grounds of knowledge, expertise, and academy narratives, generally Anglo-led, upon the artists' bunch who necessarily have to be of the 'Hispano' lineage. As SCAS' website currently states: "Rigorous standards got developed to ensure that Spanish Market artists participated in regional Hispanic heritage, and they were juried into art categories that represent the established traditional arts and crafts of New Mexico and southern Colorado." The museum has become a tangible physical space, an institutional space to credit and legitimizes traditionally crafted Spanish-rooted colonial art, that has become a sovereignty issue. The subjective identity construction the Spanish Colonial artist develops through is culture, by the experience of living his own culture, either in the evocation or performative action, cannot commit to matching him/herself with the identification promoted from external means to his/her culture, his/her life (Terradas, 2004: 63).

We move then into the detailing of the feature's history brought throughout the two long centuries of New Mexico's existence. Over time, the discourse build-up of a territory and its people have led to the instrumental articulation and balance of community consciousness. From the no-need for identification in colonial times to becoming Mexicans to forced identification as non-Anglos, in an environment of racial, social hierarchies entailed a whole process of identity emergence, shaping, and configuration. Shifting from one social mode into the following has transformed the social fabric because ideological programs, like the one described in the American Manifest Destiny, set a dramatic change in social ruling. Finally, we explore how the 'Hispano' community delivers the fitting into the newly minted social structure. The assimilation to the new reality imposed by the dominant Anglo-American society prompted the emergence of a need based on the preservation and protection of what the 'Hispanos' perceived as their own, while identifying cultural contexts, customs, traditions, and history as common references to the past, and a way of presenting themselves and to others. That would set the playing board for future social changes mainly related to formal leaning on a project that would provide continuity and consolidation.

The final clue we brought to devise the context of the whole discussion has to do with the 'Hispano' labeling. The New Mexico institutionally established symbolism would lean on the ethnic balance between communities, the fantasy image of a tri-cultural hierarchy, framed the Newmexican people with Spanish/Mexican lineage or connection in a very tight cage; getting branded as foreigners pushed them into the identification articulation that would provide social consistency. The history, tradition, and customs came to the rescue in an ethnic/racial structured society. We found it difficult to adhere to just one specific definition for the category 'Hispano,' as internal -emic- and external -etic- approaches to the matter turn quickly into quicksand, because most of the imagery selection for the identification build-up aimed at digging into individual reinforcement, through symbolic meaning. Continuity and prevalence would privilege random selection of memories in personal articulation. Social pressure puts individuals on the verge of constant identification shifting. We observed how self-identification gets to respond to the self-customized reactive agency in front of what

gets perceived as either too formal or imposed. Most of the time, Newmexicans use a variety of terms -'Hispano,' Hispanic, Latino, Mexicano, Chicano-, in a similar tone to adapt their discourse to the context they are in or in discussion participation, to stand themselves for a particular sociopolitical orientation.

## 4 CHAPTER 4: SANTA FE FIESTA: ETHNOGRAPHY OF A PERFORMANCE

In Santa Fe, NM, a city that has been fully dragged into the hospitality and tourism business as an economic resource for the last few decades, the festive calendar gets its highlight in the first week of September. It is time for the Santa Fe 'Fiesta'. The first case of study, 'La Fiesta' has become a well-choreographed and tightly scheduled event that has been ongoing for three centuries now and has adopted different formats through time. It is a festive celebration that engages and attracts both locals and visitors from the state. We enter this chapter by the first step of the 'Fiesta' ritual. We will deploy the researcher's entrance on the field and the first encounters that will lead towards a descriptive explanation, some in the contextual intention, and the reasoning on assorted attitudes around 'Hispano' tradition, identity, and heritage, provided by informers.

### 4.1 'El Pregón': a sacred entrance to 'La Fiesta'

The official Santa Fe Fiesta celebrations were scheduled for 06:00 AM to start with 'El Pregon' at the Rosario Chapel. It was 05:11 AM Friday, September 6th, 2019, when we set off for the road. I had to drive across town from the neighborhood I was staying in. From Southeast Santa Fe at the I25, Rodeo Road, and Old Las Vegas Highway intersection, all the way up to the Northwest part, to the Rosario Chapel, next to the National Cemetery, North Paseo de Peralta. It was still pitch dark, slightly breezy, and I didn't encounter much road activity still, a bit too early for Albuquerque's commuters. The dim yellow city highway lights led my ride along the Old Pecos Trail, Santa Fe Trail, and the South-North Eastbound bend Peralta takes around downtown. Two blocks past the Old Taos Highway I did a right turn into the Rio Grande Avenue all the way up to the back of the Rosario Chapel. A dusty cloud my own front lights showed coming along with me for the last fifty dirt yards, leading up to the gate entrance at the back of the church. When I got there, I hesitated to leave my car in the first place, not a designated parking spot. There were a couple of trucks already sitting in that chapel's backspace. I was feeling very excited. I hadn't slept that much overnight because of the mounting

excitement. I was finally to meet the only event still missing in my research from the 'Hispano' related ritual calendar. I was eventually fulfilling my last ethnographic task, and I reckoned it was a privileged moment. Out of that insecurity blend, coming out of my ride, I asked a couple of guys, one of them dressed in the Caballeros' gear, whether it was appropriate for me to leave the car in that space, to which they nodded. Later on in the day, I learned that guy was called Martín.

This introductory entrance on the field presented one of the 'Fiesta's' key figures: 'Los Caballeros De Vargas.' With their number and colorful presence, Los Caballeros host and lead all the rituals of this first celebration step. They also will be present and key during the whole length of 'La Fiesta' as a pivotal group in religious ceremonies and social civic interaction. Los Caballeros De Vargas is a lodge-like organization established in the summer -June 24<sup>th</sup>. - of 1954 to honor and keep alive the memory of General Don Diego de Vargas, the Spanish military man who in 1692 commanded Santa Fe's reconquest for the Spanish crown after the Pueblo Revolt of August 1680. After World War II, those 'Hispano' veterans returning from the front lines had to get to grips with the transformations Santa Fe, New Mexico, and New Mexican society as a whole had undergone in their absence. During that war period, the internal US migration tides had transformed the Newmexican social fabric beyond recognition for them. To the forced Newmexicans 'migration' to serve in the war theaters, the Manhattan Project was brought to Los Alamos National Laboratories, just 35 miles Northwest to Santa Fe. It was a project to develop the research and production of the first atomic bomb and other variants of nuclear weaponry. Since the early 1940s -along the 1942's Project Y- that industrial enterprise hauled over to New Mexico a very specialized core of personnel -scientists, engineers, and technicians- from other states, along with a relevant number of National Security Agencies' personnel, and a significant US military presence. That all of them moved in with their families boosted the ethnic presence of the state's Anglo population. Between 1940 to 1950, New Mexico's population went up 28%, from 531,818 up to 681,187 inhabitants, with a 46.2% increment in urban population<sup>42</sup>; by 1960 the population had raised up to 951,023, a

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<sup>42</sup> <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1950/pc-08/pc-8-30.pdf> <accessed, November 11th, 2021, 21:07>

39.6% increment in a decade <sup>43</sup>. Eventually, the creation of 'Los Caballeros' organization, and the choice of the name De Vargas, was meant as a solid symbolic reference back to Santa Fe's re-foundational times in 1692. Keeping the name of the leader of the Spanish reconquest after the 1680 Pueblo revolt and preserving his memory had the effect for them to recover 'the spirit' of the city as they recalled it. In some way, the internal message was that they were bringing back the rule of Santa Fe in the same way De Vargas did in 1692. Somehow their effort, to counterbalance those they considered foreigners in their own land, appeared as an ethnic backlash by the reinstatement of Spanish traditions, in the fashion De Vargas did when he beat the Pueblos.

The social backdrop for this situation started to get conformed during the late eighteen hundreds. The railroad construction in 1880 opened the territory for the arrival of an unprecedented number of Anglos. They were attracted by opportunities to do business and settle. There was growing industrialization around coal, the lumber industry, and the intensive cattle ranching. Anglo newcomers, lacking social ties and family connections in the territory, prompted solidarity associations such as the Masons and the Old Fellows (Wilson, 1997). Such groups created their own symbology, rites of initiation for joining members and publicly exhibited their presence through themed parades and pageants (Horton, 2010), and eventually controlled the culture industry. Shoulder to shoulder with this, Native peoples routinely had their Feast days enhanced by dances and dramas that conveyed out the cultural 'mestizaje' with the Spanish tradition. This tradition of public dramas, mixed with rurally and religious-based folk dramas, like Christmas related 'Las Posadas' y 'Los Pastores,' or 'Los Moros y Cristianos' live together with Pueblo Feast Days' dances like 'Los Comanchitos', Comanche dances or 'Los Matachines' (Grimes, 1976), were part of the cultural blending happening after the arrival of the Spanish-Catholic regulation system. Music, dance, and performance were tools of ideological support to conversion and evangelizing Indigenous peoples. This is to expose the strong tradition that all ethnic

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<sup>43</sup> [https://bber.unm.edu/visualizations/migrated/census/NM1910\\_2010.htm](https://bber.unm.edu/visualizations/migrated/census/NM1910_2010.htm) <accessed, November 11th, 2021, 22:41>

groups in rural New Mexico delivered their social presence. 'Hispano' Newmexicans, on their part, as a response and as an alignment in that performativity, started parallel forms of exclusivity, drawn from their Hispano-Catholic heritage. They revived religious confraternities and took leadership positions in 'La Fiesta' Council, dedicated to preserving "Spanish culture" on their own terms. Catholic liturgical observance would intend to replicate the social exposure the other ethnic groups were displaying. Much in the fashion their Anglo counterparts did, the 'Hispanos' found reasons to build fraternal organizations that formerly aimed at cultural preservation and expanded to ethnic and status purposes, as well as political concerns (Wilson, 1997; Horton, 2010). 'Los Caballeros De Vargas' and 'La Sociedad Folklórica,' became two symbolic and prominent organizations in that enterprise. To a certain extent, 'La Sociedad Folklórica,' a prestigious women's organization devoted to preserving the culture and customs of northern New Mexico (Horton, 2010) appeared to be the first step in that direction. By the early 20th century, Spanish traditions hundreds of years old had begun to fade from the northern New Mexico landscape. 'La Sociedad' worked as a booster of the concerted effort to preserve them pushed by newly arrived artists and Newmexican peoples whose families lived the traditions - folklore, colcha embroidery, traditional attire, tinwork, literature, dance, music, and art- for generations<sup>44</sup>. The 'Sociedad' worked as a lobbying group that laid over the cultural path for 'Los Caballeros De Vargas' inception. The Knights of Columbus was another organization that blazed the trail for the 'Caballeros' tasks, vision, and mission. The Knights is a national Catholic fraternal organization founded by Father Michael McGivney in 1882, with a mission to serve the Church and the local neighborhoods. They promote educational, charitable social works aimed at meeting local welfare, volunteering charitable tasks, and rendering mutual aid and assistance to the sick and the needy. In New Mexico, they follow that mission and also provide aid whenever a 'Hispano' related social event gets to work, providing help in the logistics organization.

*"Llego a eso de las 07:30 AM a la iglesia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, en Peralta. Saludo a Felipe Rivera, a Nick Otero, a su compañero Travis y a Juliette Castillo. En el aparcamiento de la iglesia siete miembros de los Knights of Columbus, del capítulo de*

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<sup>44</sup> <https://www.nmhistorymuseum.org/blog/tag/la-sociedad-folklorica/> <accessed, November 13<sup>th</sup>, 2021, 17:24>



*Peralta, se están organizando para distribuir todos los coches que van llegando a la celebración de la 'Matanza' y del mercado de arte".*

Field Diary, February 23rd. 2019. Fiesta de la Matanza en Peralta, NM, sponsored by 'santero' Felipe Rivera to honor the late 'master-santero' Carlos Otero

Up until the foundation of 'Los Caballeros De Vargas', the Knights were entrusted with the honor to serve as guards of 'La Conquistadora,' and even shared some participation in early versions of 'La Fiesta,' portraying Franciscan missionary friars in 'La Fiesta' pageant (Wilson, 1997: 208).

Forward in time, the massive investment that the 1942 Project Y, the top-secret atomic weapons laboratory directed by J. Robert Oppenheimer, generally known as Manhattan Project, shook New Mexico's social structure, as I hinted earlier on. Money flushed into New Mexico for that purpose meant an upscale for the labor market, and soon, many Americans from different technological backgrounds flooded the area. That dramatic move also transformed all subsidiary labor sectors along. Much of the former small-scale rural and agricultural labor had to shift to the supply and logistic service grounds that fed the needs of Los Alamos' new residents. The perception of a profound loss of social and cultural references pushed the club's founders into searching for and recovering symbols to coalesce around. While men departed to the battleground, those who stayed felt the change as a threatening move, hence felt the responsibility to retain those traditions that they perceived made Santa Fe, and New Mexico, a "distinctive Hispano homeland" (Horton, 201: 64)

*"People served in the war, they missed New Mexico, and they wanted to help in whatever way they could to keep things going... This is really important. I need to preserve the Fiesta'..."*

Armando Benavides in Horton (2010: 64)

Don Diego De Vargas was the representative figure chosen as that initial reference. All the values they felt at risk and wanted to preserve and get reproduced got discharged on him in that process. De Vargas had been the character that had led the 1692

resettlement move, and his historical visibility and representative relevance fell within the logic of reference for the 'Hispano' community. De Vargas, and as a translation 'Los Caballeros,' was meant to be the repository of the moral values' purpose and the recovery of those considered lost.

*“Santa Fe used to be such a small town...after the war soldiers were moving in to recuperate...I saw traditions disappearing. So, we asked ourselves, ‘What can I do to keep this going.’”*

Edward Gonzales in Horton (2010: 64)

They stressed fixing values that they felt translated the 'Hispano' community's sentiment. The building of a network connection, consistent with that socio-cultural restoring program, mobilized a set of interests that brought the lodge close to the field of political action. Amid such a bursting transformational shift, to restructure social life along past or preserved social traditions shows up as an attempt to put some social and political interests at work (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2002). They brought upfront those that were essential for group coexistence, and they thought they knew that. One was that of the extraordinary family centrality. Family bonding that is understood as a rooted strand holding the community together, a physical tie that had been stubbornly built through times of need and resistance in isolation in the past. The family as a hierarchical structure that solidifies internal and external relationships in the transmission of the most solid and relevant community values. This dissertation title definitely aims at stressing how commonplace that reference might appear to be. In some ways, family is a place, a symbolic safety place to retort for protection, that provides with the strategies to overcome the bumps of daily life. One other field was that of tradition. Tradition meant to the 'Hispanos' a continuity instrument. Should the old ways gain some validity in helping to survive and thrive in the past, what a better way than honoring them by chaining them to the actions of the present? In all, that instance provided a way to honor and pay respect to the tasks taken by the ancestors, acknowledging their value and their unbroken presence. That reference to community's continuity in portraying the social and cultural values was voiced by 'Los Caballeros' President, Mr. Thomas Baca Gutierrez, in the closing statement to his public

participation in the Opening Ceremonies, at the Plaza. He went to say “[S]omeday I will be known as good ancestors”.<sup>45</sup>

Consistent with family, one other bonding staple 'Los Caballeros' held on to was tradition. While their motto and mission are essentially one of the cultural preservation, the whole adopted symbology is one of continuity of the past. The group established the basics of its legitimacy upon the selection of the name and garnering the continuity with the Spanish colonial past. De Vargas branding brought the credit of an illustrious family, with many of its members knighted in the 'Orden de Santiago.' However, the main feature was that he led the reconquest force that took back Santa Fe in August 1692, with a modest force of fewer than 200 soldiers, 'vecinos', and Indian allies<sup>46</sup>. Alongside comes the dressing up, the insignias, banners, flags, and the coat of arms as described in their website<sup>47</sup>, as a recycling task of old Spanish symbols. All this means a cultural recourse that pulls into the social reality an abstraction of values. While there is a contention of the meaning of their presence and participation in the 'Fiesta's' Entrada pageant, as I will later describe, some would hold it as a conveyor for community sharing. As reported on the press, while watching the re-enactment on the Plaza, Mayor Javier Gonzales reflected on how the public perception of the annual event has shifted since he portrayed Don Diego de Vargas in 1989. “I grew up viewing Fiestas, and even the people who portrayed De Vargas, as a part of a community celebration and a religious celebration of the community and the religious part of our city's history...There was nothing as I was growing up — and I don't believe even today — that was all about, 'Hey, you have to participate in this because this shows how I came and I conquered.' It was never any of that. I think it was really just about community participation and celebration.”<sup>48</sup>The tradition's validation and verification compel for the existence of shared beliefs that Newmexican 'Hispanos' hold on the purpose of providing continuity to their community experiences. So that would be the

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<sup>45</sup> Field Diary, September 6<sup>th</sup>. 2019

<sup>46</sup> <http://caballosdevargas.com/diego-de-vargas/> <accessed, November 16<sup>th</sup>., 2021, 09:28>

<sup>47</sup> <http://caballosdevargas.com/> <accessed, November 16<sup>th</sup>., 2021, 12:24>

<sup>48</sup> [http://www.santafenewmexican.com/news/local\\_news/at-least-eight-arrested-during-entrada-clash-at-fiestade/article\\_bbb99d35-bde1-5195-bc54-7912d6fed3e5.html](http://www.santafenewmexican.com/news/local_news/at-least-eight-arrested-during-entrada-clash-at-fiestade/article_bbb99d35-bde1-5195-bc54-7912d6fed3e5.html) <accessed, September 8<sup>th</sup>., 2017>

superior instance to be served, following somehow the argument Hobsbawm laid out (2002; 273) around tradition figuratively being the conveyor belt bringing cohesion and identity to the social structure. Through selection, process, and instrumentality, 'Los Caballeros,' as a community, brought to present the legitimizing task to portray consistent symbolism of an idealized past. In their own way retaining the idealization of the old rule of Santa Fe, as their mentor did in 1692.

This thorough introduction to the celebration's entrance, characterized by the initial 'Fiesta' act - 'El Pregón'- calls for highlighting the centrality 'Los Caballeros De Vargas' embody throughout 'La Fiesta' celebration. Because of that, I enter in detail into the causes leading to their genesis and foundation. Including the grounds of their history and genealogy would help to illuminate the prominence they hold. Values and meaningful connection with tradition are behind all the symbolic apparatus that gets staged in their performance. This is the first mixed civic and religious activity; elsewhere, the concepts of 'civitas' and 'ecclesia' would help understand the ritual precision that gets loaded with symbolism and meaning for the 'Hispanic' community.

#### 4.2 The mooring cultural devices for tradition

Two very crucial final cultural devices still come along. One would be the language, and the other one, faith and religious devotion. For apparent reasons, language, the Spanish language spoken traditionally in the Southwest area with Spanish colonial presence for two centuries, has been the contentious battleground since American assimilation. The language was the device expressing all the cultural conflicts at stake. It became a 'space' to retort into and a 'place' for shelter. Even though New Mexico is the only state in the Union whose Constitution (Article XX – Miscellaneous, Sec. 12. [Publication of laws in English and Spanish.]) identifies the dual official status of Spanish and English. However, it was not without conflict that the use of the Spanish language entered the social space. Most informants -Mónica Sosaya, Yolanda Cruz, Adán Carriaga, Charlie Sánchez, Felipe Mirabal, Charlie Carrillo, John Valdez, Carmen

Arteaga, Benito Tapia, Marie Romero-Cash, Felix López, Alejandro López, Manuel López, Ascensión Jaramillo Martinez, Anthony Martinez<sup>49</sup>- referred to a certain point the many issues brought by speaking Spanish in public. I had an interview with an informant, Linda Borrego (Fieldwork Diary, 09.10.2019), that while stressing her 'Hispano' ancestry and Spanish cultural heritage, all the way through in perfect English, made clear that she and her five siblings talked in English between them because of the ugly experiences their parents had while trying to speak Spanish in public. 'Santero' Felix Lopez and his brother Manuel recall that they were barred from speaking Spanish among themselves or other children, at school<sup>50</sup>, following the educational norm of the 'Boarding Schools' for Native Americans. Spanish became a domestic communication resource, not only for older generations in front of the American language assimilation, but as a tool in the logic of values and traditions transmission. To some extent, many families even went to the pains of using English as a domestic language to avoid their younger ones the suffering and stigmatization they had confronted.

*"I grew up in a household where my dad was adamant for us to know proper Spanish," Medina said. "I could always tell how people spoke in a different way."*

Carlos Medina aka 'Graviel de la Plaga', Albuquerque Journal, July 31st. 2015<sup>51</sup>

The 'Boarding Schools'<sup>52</sup> for Native Americans set the strategies to detach culture from the language in which it is spoken. The struggle for language survival becomes another of the main axes for identity maintenance and reinforcement. In this context, many 'Hispanos' would work the strategy of compartmentalize their culture and the way they express themselves. While their culture would show determined willingly Spanish-rooted, they would express in English. It would be cultural expression in a discretionary manner, an expression of culture from the cognitive regardless the language used in the transmission. That is a strategy proof of the adaptability and

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<sup>49</sup> Author's note: As reported on Field Diaries

<sup>50</sup> Field Diary 12.12.2014 and 11.03.2015

<sup>51</sup> <https://www.abqjournal.com/620866/the-man-from-chicken-flea.html> <accessed, November 14<sup>th</sup>., 2021, 19:42>

<sup>52</sup> Author's note: The Boarding Schools were institutions in the American educational system, where children were provided with formal instruction getting "room and board" (lodging and meals). In the US, they were part of the government policies implemented to educate and assimilate Native American youth into the Western culture.

compartmentalization skills acquired by living in the territory. The power of the bilingual context, as described by Buxó (Amunarriz, Brito, Villar, 2013: 14), which as a sample can be found in the Larry Torres' weekly column in the Santa Fe Newmexican - 'Growing up Spanglish' -, portrays how compartmentalized is the level of cognitive expression of one's own culture.

*“What are ‘las raspaduras,’” asked Canutito pulling una lagaña away de sus ojos. “It’s the best part,” said grampo, scraping the bottom of the puela where las papas, la cebolla y el chorizo estaban todas crispies. “Cuando mis hermanitos y yo estábamos chiquitos I used to fight por las raspaduras and sop up la mantequita from the bottom of the frying pan con un pedazo de tortilla.”*

The Santa Fe Newmexican ‘Growing up Spanglish: Canutito ‘agarra a su’ pet Jeffrey’

Larry Torres May 31, 2015<sup>53</sup>

Despite the formal constitutional bilingual status in the state, education programs and general social usage promote the English language as an overall means for communication. What happens is that ‘Hispanos’ regularly split the way they produce themselves. They do it in public by using English as a communication means. In private, at home, or in specific social interactions, like gatherings, certain festivities, and religious rituals, they do it in Spanish. That has been an issue going on for a whole century, and inevitably language expressions have bidirectionally oozed into both languages. However, the current power of new technologies, the social pressure pushing for the general use of English, and the ubiquity of that language as the institutional one has successfully shoved the younger Newmexican generations into the monolingual realm. It also helped that the restrictive usage of English in a private ‘Hispano’ environment got altered, as I earlier hinted, by the fear of ‘Hispanos’ of stigmatization and social objection. All those are motivations why young Newmexicans carry on their social communication fully in English. I have detected that language articulation follows two cognitive vectors throughout my fieldwork time. One of the vectors would go in the direction of languages blending -Spanish and English- into a

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<sup>53</sup> [http://www.santafenewmexican.com/news/el\\_nuevo\\_mexicano/growing-up-spanglish-canutito-agarra-a-su-pet-jeffrey/article\\_234b872d-c136-51f0-8d12-01b44536e72a.html](http://www.santafenewmexican.com/news/el_nuevo_mexicano/growing-up-spanglish-canutito-agarra-a-su-pet-jeffrey/article_234b872d-c136-51f0-8d12-01b44536e72a.html)

sort of idiomatic soup. Some terms get locally used in a seemingly random manner that 'Hispanos' refer to as 'Spanglish.' In that blending, it may occur that you would get some English words to get given the Spanish treatment, like when I see the use of the word 'grampo', as the direct translation of the term 'grandpa'. Buxó (en Amunarriz, Brito, Villar, 2013: 14) argues that that way of expression conveys the innovative formulation in creating strategies of cultural compartmentalization on a cognitive level. When I address 'compartmentalization' here, I do it as a concept emerging from sociological analysis (Spicer, 1962) depicting how the Pueblo acculturation by the Spanish got conceptualized. In addition, it is a concept coming from the assimilation or syncretism in the religious field, although it can be applied to all spheres of relations, ours here included. Finally, compartmentalization strategic articulation, both functional and ideological, is a mechanism of acceptance of attributes or patterns that may be peripheral to a given set of cultural precepts along with the rejection of those others that may alter the main direction of that culture (Fargo and Pierce, 2006: 122).

*"[u]nfortunately I would speak Spanish here and there ...it's SpanEnglish... now that I'm getting older, I miss speaking Spanish and it gets rusty when you don't use it but my true Spanish came back... I kind of lost it from high-school because not everybody spoke Spanish ...then I went to work for the food-stamp office and 'ahí estan tos los viehitos', like my grandfather and my in gramma, and you had to speak to them in Spanish...my ex-husband's parents spoke mostly Spanish... and I remember my ex-mother-in-law would correct me sometimes when I would speak Spanish... people in the army ask me when you dream do you dream in Spanish or English I told him I don't know. They're both the same".*

Yolanda Cruz interview 30 January 2019

The other vector confirms compartmentalization as a cultural device and cognitive strategy. Yolanda resents her Spanish getting rusty because of the lack of use. There are some social instances where 'Hispanos' would undeniably feel compelled to use the English language. However, as Yolanda asserts, Spanish becomes a common place to deal with the old folks. There is a deal acknowledging cultural traits that need to get explicitly conveyed in Spanish. That is when 'los viejitos' are around, as she says. That is the confirmation of the invocation and the sense of obligation to restore and pay honor to ancestors in order to retain the respect to honor their descendants as an

identity strategy. Yolanda also enters the realm of compartmentalization by just admitting there is no actual difference in the language her dreams would show up in. While Yolanda is taking as valid cultural precepts that make her expression acceptable in English in functional terms. She finds no dissent in admitting that as a 'Hispana', her dreams might show in a different language than the one she was supposed to. That confirms the strategy of acceptance of precepts that she feels would not necessarily alter the direction of, or her stance in her culture.

As mentioned, the other cultural device along language was faith and religious devotion. Two main factors combined pushed the relevance of 'La Fiesta' celebration. The first one, as mentioned, was around the commemoration of a significant historical accomplishment for the Newmexican 'Hispano' community. The second one had to do with 'La Fiesta' deep symbolic content it had related to the Catholic devotion and religious faith. 'La Fiesta' started as a thanksgiving celebration for the historical feat. The religious ritual accounted for the presence of the Catholic Church's hierarchy, not only as a relevant part within the celebration but in the symbolic prominence of the devotional backing to the reconquest achievement. Those two traits make 'La Fiesta' endowed with a civil and religious ritual combination. Institutional bodies of both spheres share participation providing inclusive imagery for the representation of the whole Newmexican society. However, the devotional tradition had gained a socio-cultural depth within the 'Hispano' community as a cohesive and validating element of unity. To 'Hispanos,' the recourse to the sacred, the communion in faith and devotion, would work as a cohesive instance that would call for social uniformity and unity. The performance through the Catholic ritual became the symbolic 'locus' where the assembly embodied a consistent, hence turning 'La Fiesta' space into an acknowledged common symbolic space. Somehow, they would provide a sacred meaning to the whole event. 'La Fiesta' retains that tainted sacred space symbolism for Newmexican 'Hispanos.' Within the ritual of the sacred, the community shares its own will to be and to become one (Turner & Turner, 1978), replicating Ortiz (1969) articulation on space and time of being and becoming. The time being as the present time confronted with that liminal time of becoming, a transition in times. That liminality makes the people going through they become transitional (Turner and Turner, 1978). Liminality means



constantly transitioning from being to becoming and back into being (Ortiz, 1969; Swentzell, 2012) to repeat the process. They would neither be one thing nor another but simultaneously be on the two conditions. It would never be an integral way of transitioning between identities, losing parts of the former but not having fully received those for the initiated. However, what it was the initial ritual context has morphed through time. It has happened as part of a process that Grimes (1976) describes as the interaction within society between 'civitas' and 'ecclesia.' That appreciation would formally be a breakup divide with former Durkheim's articulation on the imbalance between the profane -the concept of 'civitas' would do for us here as the profane factor-, and the sacred. Durkheim enunciated (1993: 82) that "[T]he sacred thing is, par excellence, everything the profane must not, and cannot be. The sacred cannot also be touched with impunity" or "...the notion of the sacred is, always and everywhere, separated from the notion of the profane in the human thinking..."<sup>54</sup> The celebration of 'La Fiesta' itself would be a break with Durkheim's assertion. In fact, it would appear as a constant metaphor for the combination of the civil -'civitas'- and the devotional and sacred -'ecclesia'-, where the profane 'touches' and interplays with the sacred. A cultural artifact that serves as community cohesion (Bauman 1992; Geertz 1973), aiming at integrating all walks, and viewpoints, lay and religious. That enhances the constant and daily coming and going between sacred and profane spaces, again 'civitas' and 'ecclesia,' between areas of transformation (Van Gennep, 1960), during the 'Fiesta' time. I can seat the example of 'Los Caballeros' performance as a lodge for the safety and protection of 'La Conquistadora.' All their ritual gesticulation, and parading, by making explicit their devotional stance in public towards the Virgin; also, their uniform outfit, and the heraldic symbolism of their coat of arms, with a straightforward reference to the DeVargas coat of arms. Likewise, the constant reference to courteous royal hierarchy as in 'The Fiesta Queen,' and 'Spanish Princess,' or 'La Conquistadora' court, or the coronation of the Virgin, in a milieu that is at the same time invested with the symbolism of religiosity.

However, and due to the social prominence given to the Catholic faith, the next step taken had to do with self-furnishing the lodge with a powerful, easy to get

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<sup>54</sup> Translated from the Spanish version by the author.

recognized, and socially credited symbol for the 'Hispano' collective. The image of 'La Conquistadora' had and provided all the needed credit for all New Mexicans; therefore, 'La Conquistadora' became the chosen symbol as mother and benefactor, also as a matching supportive symbol to De Vargas figure. It was Santa Fe's archbishop, at 'Los Caballeros' ' request, who granted them to serve as the guard of honor, protectors, and bearers in the very few public events the Virgin takes part in. That honor, as mentioned earlier, had previously been held by the Knights of Columbus. 'Los Caballeros' founding members were duly knighted on the Plaza's gazebo by the Cathedral pastor on June 25th, 1956. That was a dramatic move that prompted the uprising of both the organization and the individuals, up to a social prominence that counterbalanced the already prevailing Anglo social presence and power in Santa Fe society, that had come with the estate's industrialization. That institutional religious accolade, that backed the transformation of regular 'joes' into 'Caballeros', worked to reinforce a tradition they claimed themselves as the bearers (Hobsbawn and Ranger, 2002) by retaining or crediting themselves with some sense of military prowess and Spanish royalty. It also translated into the honor of belonging to an elitist crop within the 'Hispano' social community, levelled to some other older 'Hispano' pressure groups like the aforementioned 'La Sociedad Folklorica'. All that symbolism rooting and looking into old times fraternity and military imagery bears wanted distinction and social recognizability. It is meant to stress legitimacy's entitlement, say by splitting from lower-class status, as Hobsbawn (1996) would put it, or by signaling and preserving cultural identity markers, willfully apart and self-distancing from the process of modernization or acculturation (Chatterjee, 1993).

One way to confront problematic social issues that gets manifest in New Mexico is through language confrontation. The language is both a device and a conduit to channel worldviews and transmit values. 'Hispanos' have been facing specific issues caused by the usage of their common language, as a minority ethnic group, over the last one hundred and seventy years. They have had the language as an instrument of differentiation and transmission, conservation, and perpetuation of values they value as their own. According to their own words, traditional values coherent with the rescue and safeguarding view get promoted from the heritage conceptualization. On some

other note and parallel with the language, faith, and devotion, due to the long Catholic tradition, act as symbolic support for 'Hispanos.' That is traditionally argued as providing strength for resistance and resilience, such valuable concepts throughout the history of the people in this territory. Directly related to devotion, the image represented in my Lady of the Assumption, 'La Conquistadora,' stands as the pillar and necessary support to anchor and displace all symbolic representation. The Virgin's figure, 'La Conquistadora,' was the most valuable piece of religious art in all of New Mexico. Created in Spain and transported to colonial Mexico by ship, the statue had been brought to New Mexico on 'El Camino Real' by December 1625, embodies and represents the mother's figure, the highest soother for any longings of the 'Hispanic community' might have.

#### 4.3 Staging and performance

The site of the Fiesta inauguration event I was attending, the Rosario Chapel, was built on the same encampment spot where De Vargas prayed to the Virgin Mary before the retaking of Santa Fe. It is the only place where 'La Conquistadora,' the image of Nuestra Señora de la Asunción, can be worshipped outside her regular chapel inside the Saint Francis Cathedral. The pre-Fiesta 'novenas' for her are being held there. In their capacities, 'Los Caballeros de Vargas' are responsible for her transfer, during processions, and they are in charge of her protection and safety as the official Honor Guard, through the year. Fray Angélico Chávez (1974) goes to assert that "'La Conquistadora' would come to reflect a chief feature of the *anima hispanica* in New Mexico down three centuries to our day." On the whole, a potent culturally charged meaning addition for 'Los Caballeros' symbolic association. As a religious ritual icon, 'La Conquistadora' had been hand in hand with the spreading evangelization message as spiritual support and guardian of Hispano settlements in New Mexico. To this day she is the effective Patron Saint of 'Hispano' Santa Feans. I made my way to the Chapel's main entrance. It was still dark, and the lights of all the arriving vehicles frantically illuminate the entrance's surroundings. Up to twelve 'Caballeros' de Vargas swarm

around in the main portal handling the program for the mass. Most of them, the ones in charge of the ritual of the day, were wearing their official outfit. They are dressing in a white wide-collared baggy loose top, black slacks, and a yellow-fringed red sash. They also wear the official brotherhood medallion: a silver round shield reproduction, showing the De Vargas family seal, hanging on their chest dangling from a yellow and red ribbon, the colors of the Spanish flag. Some members of 'La Cuadrilla de Don Diego', the general's inner circle, start leisurely showing, wearing their late sixteen hundreds military garb replicas. Inside the church, a few women still hold the last 'Avemarías' of this very last daily 'Novena', before 'el Pregón'. While the person portraying the general figure must be always a chosen candidate, who under contract should match the restrictive application ruling<sup>55</sup>, his personal entourage, called 'La Cuadrilla', comes from a selection of 16 men of his choice, from the whole membership, to support him in all his public appearances. The 'Cuadrilla' members try to replicate in their outfit the military gear and dress-up of the army officials that led the Santa Fe reconquest, along Don Diego. On the whole, complying with the prescribed symbology of the Spanish past, as a traditional group, reminiscent of the ambition of an accurate portrayal of the Spanish troops back in the day.

The church begins to fill up. A great majority of the attendants, at this point, are prominently women. The dressing code is made out simple regular Sundays' best with a splash of silver concho belts, some squash blossom necklaces and a great display of turquoise earrings of assorted designs<sup>56</sup>. Admittedly, a flashy exhibition of luxury within their modesty. The regular outfit splashed out with native inspired silver and turquoise jewelry. While entering the church and meeting with each other, the people exert a great deal of friendliness. There is an open display of familiarity in gestures, greetings, and conversations, although I can pick none. It looks like a very intense social act before it all started. Everyone seems to acknowledge each other as an essential part of the

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<sup>55</sup> <https://www.santafefiesta.org/don-diego-de-vargas-la-reina-de-la-fiesta-de-santa-fe/> <accessed, October 16<sup>th</sup>, 2021, 10:12>

<sup>56</sup> Author's note: All this kind of regalia and personal adornment that has been associated to the Southwest Native American tribes -Navajo, Zuni, Hopi-, is mostly crafted using silver and turquoise. Such a show of adornment gets flamboyantly displayed in ceremonies, and, as such, has been incorporated to festive outfits by the peoples in the Southwest, 'Hispanos' amongst them.

important event coming, acquainted in familiarity. There are twenty-two rows of benches on either side of the main nave's aisle, and some individual seats more in the transept and around the choir. These latter for the celebrants and the authorities who will attend the event. I take a seat at the back right, in row twenty. It's almost six AM in the morning.

The ritual begins just on time. The processional cross entered followed by the three priests celebrating, headed by the Cathedral of San Francisco de Assisi's Rector - Rev. Timothy A. Martinez-. They are followed by Santa Fe's Officials:

- Santa Fe Mayor Alan Webber
- District 1 Councilor Renee Villarreal
- District 2 Commissioner Anna Hansen
- Fiesta Council President, Melissa Mascareñas

These individuals would fill the transept individual seats. They come in followed by 'Don Luis De Vargas' and his entourage: 'The Fiesta' Queen, her four maids, and the Indian Princess. Next, De Vargas' 'Cuadrilla' holding 'el Pendón de San Andrés', and finally a dozen 'Caballeros'. This 2019 'Cuadrilla' is listed in the program handed to the assistants:

- General Don Diego de Vargas – Leonard Mike Romero y Fordman.
- Alférez Don Juan Páez Hurtado – Leonard Romero y Vargas
- Capitan Primero Rafael Telles Jiron – Alejandrino Salazar y Vargas
- Capitán Segundo Juan de Dios Lucero de Godoy – Ronell Holms y Padilla
- Custodiante del Estandarte, Capitán Fernando Durán y Chávez – Phillip Romero y Wheat
- Cacique Domingo, Gobernador de Tesuque – James Rivera
- Sargento Mayor, Indian Interpreter, Juan Ruiz de Cáceres – Rodney Martinez y Valdez
- Alcalde Mayor, Don Juan de Almazán – Robert Salazar y Padilla
- Padre Presidente, Padre Fray Francisco Covera – Mark Jacobs y Tafoya

The female counterparts of the 2019 Royal Court:

- Reina de La Fiesta – Elisa Elaina Lopez y Layba.
- Native American Princess – Windsong Tapia
- Spanish Princesa – Ellia Lauren Lopez
- Spanish Princesa – Sabrina AnnaBelle Varela
- Spanish Princesa – Kristina Marie Briceno
- Spanish Princesa – Alynna Marie Romero

The gentleman representing De Vargas comes from a selection process. That honor is currently assigned to one of the 'Caballeros', although the selection process has evolved since former institutionalized enhancements of 'La Fiesta Entrada', back in the 1930s. Both De Vargas and the Queen figure out as the 'Hispano' authenticity representational key persons. Stipulations to select individuals to portray the De Vargas and Queen roles had been adjusted to a selection process that required New Mexico born, Santa Fean residency 'Spanish' ancestry, a Spanish surname, and proficiency in both Spanish and English. Overall, it was a measure and ruling aimed at preserving and providing continuity to the values, tradition, and cultural transmission those two 'Fiesta' key representatives, and cultural ambassadors, got meant to embody in front of the whole society, and most importantly, for the 'Hispano' community-. The ruling adjustments were taken back in the mid-1970s to deflect the resentment offense taken and voiced by many New Mexican 'Hispanos' who felt that the staging of 'La Entrada' had become a social spectacle. Many showed concern 'La Entrada' had reached the point of more and more a public display for social relevance, and it had gotten deprived of cultural or ethnic connections, just mere ethnic entertainment, and spectacle. I can take the set of conditions for candidates to meet that selection process as a package that would bundle up a batch of cultural traits and customs. In doing so, the social craving for meaning and continuity gets manifested in the choice of selected narratives of the past (Hobsbawm, 2002), based here on genealogy, settlement permanence, and specific Spanish-related traits. Tradition production is not exempt from conflicting issues within the Southwest, where all ethnic groups have been facing a history of resistance, survival, and resilience. 'La Entrada' pageant has been one of those issues that got targeted. No wonder there were some difficulties in trying to meet such a list

of cultural requirements, but the popular feeling was as Hilario Romero<sup>57</sup> harshly stated:

*“Son tan ignorantes que eligen a gente poco apropiada para representar a los colonizadores...gente pelirroja, que no tiene barba y que cuando tienen que hacer el ‘speech’ ni siquiera saben expresarse en español.”*

Hilario Romero, TFM Field Diary 06.10.14

‘La Entrada’ is a pageant, formerly an addition to the religious processions, reenacting Diego de Vargas's entry into Santa Fe during the 1692 reconquest of New Mexico. Los Caballeros oversaw this performance as an historical depiction and asserting the value of his responsibility in the peaceful reconciliation of La Villa Real de la Santa Fe de San Francisco de Asís in 1692<sup>58</sup>.

All these people will fill the seats in the first five front rows. An overall attendance calculation adds up to the vicinity of the two hundred people. The more significant part is female, and in general, I can guess I are all within the seniority range, but a few middle-aged people; I might be in the lower sixties as an average. The event starts with Mayor Webber and Fiesta Council President Melissa Mascareñas taking the floor to proclaim the 307th ‘Fiesta de Santa Fe’ by reading ‘El Pregón’ and welcoming attendees. In their speeches, the presentation of gifts, and candles, they emphasized the antiquity of the festivity and how beneficial its continuity is for the Santa Fe community’s multicultural social fabric. Once this introduction was over, the Proclamation mass was celebrated in both Spanish and English, mainly addressed to honor the deceased members of the organizations involved. It was a warm and participatory one, not much different from the rest of the mass observances I have

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<sup>57</sup> Author’s note: I met Professor Hilario Romero on October 4th. 2014, when I landed in New Mexico for my master’s field research. Hilario is wiry, slender, and dark-haired, Jicarilla-Ute-Spanish-Basque guy in his early seventies, now. He wears a thin mustache, and his hair is tied back in a ponytail, most usually under a cap. He was one of those references everybody I had met informed I should get in contact with. So, I did. Since that very same day he became a solid reference, a supportive stronghold during my research, a well of wisdom never short in telling and, eventually, a very close friend. He refers his origins and genealogy to northern New Mexico -Ribera, and San Miguel del Vado-, in Las Vegas, NM, vicinity. He is a National Bilingual Fellow, University of Wisconsin-Madison Ph.D., majoring in Educational Policy Studies, Multilingual/Cultural Curriculum & Instruction, History, Language & Social Sciences in Education. He had also server in the capacity of New Mexico's state historian between 1980/1981.

<sup>58</sup> As mentioned in the ‘Annual Caballeros de Vargas Breakfast’ 2019 handout.

been attending through the years in several parishes throughout the state. At the end of the Proclamation mass, the ritual exit procession takes place led by the processional cross. Everything patterned with a deep ceremonially charged sense, according to ritual, this researcher can easily relate to home. Once outside, the entire 'De Vargas' royalty group is available in line to get to greet the attendees; it is a kind of royal audience -'besamanos'- meant for further socialization with the attendants. Soon people start huddling around the most prominent figures of 'De Vargas' entourage, to gossip, picture taking, or one last peek into the cell's social media status. 'Don Diego' and the 'Queen' are in the most demand. Tables have been set up in the church's front courtyard. There, there are disposed coffee and chocolate dispensers, trays of 'biscochitos' -the traditional New Mexican cookies similarly flavored to Spanish 'mantecados' and the Official State cookie since 1989-, and one-use disposable tableware services. It was 07:20 AM, already, and it all came naturally in the performance of that deeply rooted local tradition of socializing around food. Once again, the call for home to this researcher around those flavors. It is a sign of host prestige and almost an unspoken demand at social gatherings of all sorts in New Mexico, no matter the ethnic background. On the whole a welcoming delivery of host gratitude, that is also part of the Puebloan social performativity. There is a 'common sense' in how all this performativity gets displayed to the researcher's eye. There is a familiar gist in the cultural production of social relations, as they get portrayed. The display of empathy and friendliness between participants somehow pulls from a fluid intersubjective relationship (Sahlins, 2011) that acknowledges mutuality ties in shared traits, most importantly, in these times of genealogy groups and blood quantum, shared blood. These people here either share ancestors themselves or have ancestors in their genealogy who once behaved as 'mutual people' to the other's ancestors.

While everyone is engaged in this part of the celebration, a group of four people arrives in the front courtyard. They are Tesuques, from Tesuque Pueblo: a singer, a drummer, and two dancers, one of them a female. They are all wearing the appropriate traditional Tesuque outfit and regalia for their role in the dances. There they perform the Dance as part of their tribute and contribution to the blessing of the event. Tesuque is one of the Northern Rio Grande Pueblos, whose land is where Sante Fe sits. Tesuque



people here bring the Pueblo people's share and representation for 'La Fiesta' as part of the larger New Mexican community. It seems an inclusion exercise, acknowledging shared space, a likely bi-directional cultural concession agreeing on the vital long-standing relationship between Santafeans on the whole, specifically the 'Hispano' community and this land's former original inhabitants. This performance is not a casual occurrence. It is meant and, in that way, honored as an exercise of collective mutual recognition in partaking. It portrays the performance of the reckoning of 'otherness' by the delineated ethnic boundaries, following Wimmer's articulation (2013), while breaking the implications that belonging or inclusion within a specific ethnic category (Barth, 1969) might enforce. Everyone pays respectful attention to the dancers. Everyone is familiar with dances' protocols during Pueblos' Fiesta days. All this happens while some sip leisurely their hot beverage from their plastic cups.

Particular ethnic, cultural features are here on display in connection to the Spanish past. They echo what participants here consider the traditional ways. To the researcher's eye, what has been emerging in this precise social environment can be specified in a cultural bundle of references that maintain internal coherence. There is a display of shared values that work as a strategy to validate and appropriate the uses of the past (Breglia, 2006; Franquesa, 2013; Macdonald, 2013). The whole ritual I was attending is set as an archetype to manage and present either artifacts and practices, not only to draw analogies from the past but integrating into the 'Hispano' domain those of the current prevailing institutions – Council officials, Fiesta Council members-, and that of the neighbor Pueblo performance. A coherence which is consistent and familiar for this researcher's cultural perspective, be it for the venue and the Catholic entrenched ceremonial symbolism. It all contends with the need to deliver objective epistemology in the analysis, but still too present and ostensible in the observation. Alternatively, the form, flow, and shape of interaction in this social environment, where gender role's specifics, segregation included, become more than apparent. Or the outfits, behavior, representation, and performativity at the display. Or the language itself. Even in the call and substantiation of a willfully paradigmatically referenced moment in history, namely Santa Fe's reconquest. Everybody fully acknowledged, even from the institutional part, that point. In all, a complete set of features conforming to

a specific pattern of references. A pattern that is perceived and promoted as a consistent cultural backup, full of symbolism and social credit. I here go back to the Smith assertion "discourse is all that matters" (2006: 13), but here disguise within performance, portraying the interrelationships between what is seen -a display of mutuality reverberating the traditions of the past, to the point of inter-ethnic acceptance-; what is said about what is seen -the space gets unconditionally shared, also as a conflict-less display-; and what is done about what is seen -the whole setup works as a traditional perpetuation, validating what is present for future's purposes, so another year's Fiesta is possible-. Altogether a whole selection of cultural features, around religiosity and ritual, aiming at positioning this section of the New Mexican 'Hispano' community in their role as self-appointed representatives and embodiment of a relevant 'Hispano' tradition.

All the rituals, shapes, and content have been loaded with symbolism manifesting the community's unity. The staging of the entrance to the temple, the distribution of all the participants, and the ceremony's rhythm have been met by the recognition of the different layers of social hierarchy. The institutions' officials have



paid their tribute to the central protagonists and leaders of the celebration. Don Diego De Vargas, his court, and 'Los Caballeros' as the guardians and custodians to 'La Conquistadora' have displayed their centrality and acknowledged by the institutions. 'La Conquistadora' has been the most prominent figure, though, as all the requests have been addressed to her in the hope her holy aid would help in the transit of the whole 'Fiesta.' The ensuing social display of commonality, around a light

breakfast, has been balanced by the inclusive symbolic presence of the Tesuque dance group. Their Butterfly dance performance has been delivered as an offering that honors the 'Pregón' event.

#### 4.4 Digging for meaning

My initial participation as an observer was no more than that of a foreign element to the community until that moment. As I had been detecting in my interventions on the field, an essential factor is that my physical appearance is disconcerting within the 'Hispano' environment. Both the clothing gear, my complexion, and skin color have an impact on this; and I would stress on that specific last issue. 'Hispanos,' Newmexicans, and all Americans, in general, get themselves portrayed within the ideological mechanism that subsumes ethnicity from the race (Gómez, 2007). Because of the character of that slanted territory, the value of ethnicity as an archetype pollutes the regulatory, social norms and shape socially balanced power hierarchies around the ideas of racial and ethnic origins (Anderson, 1983; Hobsbawm y Ranger, 2002). The regular negotiation process to be publicly acknowledged while starting an interaction enters here a domain of hierarchies' interplay. While I have been witnessing how hierarchy structures work blending political legitimacy -the up-down framing of the event organization, with all its politically assumed organizations-, with the woven tapestry of natural hierarchy structures shaped and conformed in centuries (Swentzell, 1985; Peterson, 1999: 7) of mutuality and commonality between the peoples in this area. The regular negotiation process to be publicly acknowledged, to start an interaction, and to engage in conversation would need to get adjusted to that interplay. Where am I in that game as a researcher and as a foreigner? For the researcher to enter that well-structured and choreographed realm entails a point of rupture, requiring a set of negotiations. The ritual symbolism of tradition conveyed and embodied in a rigid set of actions performed by 'Los Caballeros,' and the public attending, around the staging of the mass and 'El Pregón' event, built a powerful symbolic frame around. One another point of rupture would be the racial-ethnic archetype. While recording the field diary and checking all the pictures taken during the event, I reviewed the need to approach the phenotype

racial mentioning I picked earlier on that day in describing some of my interactions. As I would go into those interactions during the whole 'Fiesta', I became repeatedly confronted with the racial issue. That it was what had happened that morning, when you could only tell when people produced themselves and acknowledged some specific identification. Despite the implied phenotype stereotyping, you could not have asserted identity or ethnic affiliation to anybody in that event, but perhaps just the Mayor. The only 'blanquito' in the party, as Ms. Chavarria would later utter. To my amazement, even those Tesuque dancers could fit into that general concept, if it wasn't for their garb. There is no way, in New Mexico, to tell people apart from whichever minority, 'Hispano' or Native, and the tensions underlying that pronunciation show explicitly apparent within the social practices, as more and more these days bring the individual personality and choice into the identification labelling, as described in Chapter 3.2.5.

While wandering around the area, trying to peek into gossip, I run into that 'Caballero' I first met while parking my car earlier on. He was in his official attire and introduced himself as Martin. I introduced myself in Spanish as a researcher coming from Barcelona, Spain. He turned curious about the character of my research when I mentioned the 'Hispano' identity and heritage to him. It was meant quite as minor information, but so curious he was that he rushed to grab that year's 'Caballeros' President, Mr. Thomas Baca Gutierrez, from the group he was huddled into. I got introduced to each other, and I hinted that I had taken 'La Fiesta' as one of the fields for my case study since I understood there were plenty of social references, related and around the 'Hispano' community, that would prove relevant to my research. Naturally, I wondered, and I asked him whether I would have the chance to interact with his group members, to which he boldly nodded. I understood then that it was a move on my part that acknowledged the reproduction of hierarchical arrangements already defined and accepted as a 'continuum' of the traditional within the social structure, embodied by 'Los Caballeros'. I felt excited that in just a moment, a serendipitous trivial event, it all prompted my connection with the topmost high-profile person within that critical organization for my purpose. After formal introductions to a couple more members of the organization, all of them wearing the formal outfit and

regalia, I stay with one of the 'Caballeros', 'el Sr. Márquez', pronounced Marques. I immediately recall him from last Spanish Market's Jason Baca's graphic report. 'El Sr. Marques' had been the one holding the opening processional cross after the Spanish Market's Sunday Mass. He is a 5' 6" well-framed guy, I guess in his mid-seventies. He is sporting the 'Caballeros' outfit, a long untrimmed white beard, and back slicked long hair in a ponytail. His facial features would say of his likely 'mestizo' lineage, in skin tone, and shape. He shows himself curious about whether there still are any Márquez, back in Spain, and I engage in deciphering the pronunciation issues between the both of us. It was most commonly that 'C' spelling as mentioned above, the lisp<sup>59</sup> they call, and the use of old-fashioned Spanish verb tenses on his part -i.e., "truje" instead of "traje", for the "traer" past tense-, as part of the 'Hispano' version of the Spanish language use. Again, it is mainly a pronunciation and tone in speech that stirs the mutual surprise, in feeling rid not to have to compulsory engage in English. It basically spins around the use of the 'ces' or the 'eses', and some wording, which is clearly picked from English translation; "¿cuándo vas p'atrás?" as meaning "¿cuándo vuelves?". I bring this interaction over because of the idea of reinforcement that language exerts on the production of identity and how it gets manifested itself. The whole exchange with Mr. Marquez has been a back and forth searching for similarities and differences in how I both produce ourselves in Spanish, our shared language. It has been an instance of emotional exchange, not only linguistic, in which the need for empathy on both sides has become evident. My interlocutor's way of producing himself showed a space of mutual recognition, where I asserted my identity through language. On the one hand, the confirmation of territorial empathy in which the researcher's origin turns figuratively into a space (Anderson, 1983), a territory of imagined symbolism, that embodies identity reinforcement upon the attributes of belonging and inclusion in a common homeland (Rios-Bustamante and Blaut, 1984; Rodriguez, 1986; Nostrand, 1992). On the other hand, the interaction worked as a supporting factor for living the identity, in the cultural experience sharing the same language. As Terradas (2004) says,

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<sup>59</sup> Author's note: Cambridge dictionary definition (<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english-spanish/lisp>) for lisp says: a way of speaking where 's' and 'z' sounds 'th', that would translate into Spanish as 'cecear'.

a lived identity is not only a response to the desire to objectify oneself by claiming a cultural identity but is committed to a dynamic critique of all that is arbitrary and artificial and addressed to claim a cultural identity. In that sense, there is a general consensus within the 'Hispano' community to commit themselves to critique the image portrayed in the institutional imaginary. That consensus is part of the railing wall of solidarity and loyalties that 'Hispanos' have internally established to recognize their identification. That would be based, as Hall articulates (1996: 13), on the settlement of foundations around a common origin -the Spanish past and history, and the continuous settlement-, and shared features -traditions, cultural customs, spirituality, and language- that would work together as a cohesive context. As Hall continues, discursive tools push that initial bargain into a moving and evolving process through time. I understand that this process will never end and never gets finished, as both individuals and communities need to adapt to their own premises. The strategies for adaptation reshape the context of former solidarities and loyalties, reconceptualizing them into new ones.

*“Sun, silence, and adobe – that is New Mexico in three words”.*

Lummis, 1893

'Hispanos' resent from the institutional portrayal of their place within a tri-ethnic New Mexico. A notion that can already be found in the late eighteenth century as an idealization of an exotic land within the continental US -the United States, which is no United States- (Lummis, 1893; Gutierrez, 2002), notions of tri-ethnicity presented in the work of Anglo writers like Lummis (1893), Fergusson (1946), and Austin (1932). The social structure was framed around the imagery of a tri-ethnic social pattern that has posed the 'Hispanos' in confrontation with the set of stereotyped realities that were directly staged as assigned to diverse ethnic groups. As mentioned in Chapter 3, as early as 1883, then-Governor Prince had emphasized New Mexico's people's exoticism by branding it into three separate ethnic groups. That gave way to a patterned fictitious social structure supported upon the rhetoric and imagery of 'triculturalism' in New Mexico, where "Anglo-Americans have frequently assumed the role of scientist or businessman, Indians often appear as artists and Hispanos as Conquistadores, farmers,

and laborers...[A]nglo-Americans usher in (and dominate) the modern age while other groups are relegated to the past." (Guthrie, 2013: 255). All that imagery eventually solidified as a state symbol and motto -the Land of Enchantment- that "powerfully fuses race, landscape, architecture, into romance and commodity in the premised notion of 'tricultural harmony'"(Trujillo, 2009), and finds continuity despite much contention from social subsidiary ethnic groups – ‘Hispanos’ and Natives- up to this day, within the ‘New Mexico True’ brand promoted by the New Mexico Tourist Department<sup>60</sup>.

#### 4.5 Explaining and positioning

I then shifted the topic into the aging issue, how it seems to me a majority of the group are in the seniority range. He immediately agrees on the difficulties they face on bringing younger men to the group, inferring that comes along the many issues they have to face in conveying their traditional culture and heritage. He tells me that he somehow feels the Spanish traditions are nowadays dealt with as a cultural commodity, provided the current social environment and the social pressure exerted upon social minorities from the public institutions. He went to assert that "[l]a gente jóven no quiere usar el español", as a proof that younger ‘Hispano’ generations feel much more comfortable immersed in the prevailing Anglo culture. It is always amazing how, from the very first instances of my observation, up to this day, the younger generations of very deeply aware and determined identified 'Hispano' families cannot express themselves in fluent Spanish or feel unsafe while trying. However, their social production and interaction get shaped by the appreciation of cultural traditions and customs running deep through their families and peers.

On those comments made by ‘el Sr. Marquez’ In the conversation entertained with Renee and Christina, one idea is brought to the center. Just only when indigenous discourse had gained more social and media visibility a revision of the 'Hispano' speech had been detected. Renee asserts that a majority within the 'Hispano' community has

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<sup>60</sup> <https://www.newmexico.org/industry/resources/research/#stratplan> <accessed, November 21<sup>st</sup>., 2021, 21:26>

a reactive position against the social changes occurring and, essentially, to those that might come in the future. Renee resents that the community has not done the work to realize and make evident the blend of realities ongoing within the New Mexican society and those that, in particular, get related to the narratives displayed in the 'La Fiesta' celebration. The current celebration format and the symbology attached have been leisurely sanctioned as traditional and historically consistent without further or detailed analysis or dialogue. By doing so, they adhere to legitimacy that serves to the oblivion of the multiple formats that three hundred years of life would have provided to 'La Fiesta' celebration. Later, to be more specific, Hilario Romero himself would question the paradigmatic idea of a peaceful reconquest of Santa Fe, as it is being told. Hilario says that the December weather conditions would have favored the necessity of a fast and aggressive attack on the part of the Spanish forces to overcome the city's resistance. The human damage and all the suffering caused then seems to be only running within the Pueblo storytelling.

As in many previous occurrences, it came to mind that that simple artifice of expressing myself in a Spanish Castilian accent, 'lisp' included, worked to a radical change of attitude with the 'Hispano' people I interacted with. In that sense Spanish expression seems to easily overcome any initial circumspection. To this point, I guess that I had somehow soaked up with the response I was receiving from my 'Hispano' sources and the empathy my linguistic production provoked, so I tend to use it more frequently. Not much of a difference when I then asked for my coffee and threw a request on "esas galletitas en la bandeja"; just like that in blunt direct Spanish. Language is both appealing and puzzling, for them and for me. The slightest vocal interaction involves enhancing the attention devices.

There has been an experience that blended lay and religious rituals. It has been a displaying combination where the rhythm of the sacred and the profane, leisure, and religiosity have been interjected in participation and acknowledging the 'otherness' in the neighbor, with the inclusion of the Native dances. It was a community performance to glorify the event, fulfilled with dynamic transit and liminal transition (Van Gennep, 1960) between untold spaces of representational sacrality and civility, constructed as a festive reality to anchor a sense of belonging (Massey, 1999; Escobar 2002; Smith,



2006). While people start to disband, I approached a group of three ladies. They are Melissa Mascareñas (Fiesta Council President), Renee Villarreal (Santa Fe District 1 Councilor), Christina Chavarría (Public Admin.-Santa Clara Pueblo and Taos). To my amazement, Councilor Villarreal recalls me from the time I were introduced to each other, back in early 2015, in a Council session of the Santa Fe's Planning Commission. She made my presence acknowledged, and I soon gleefully engaged in chatting about parochialisms, mostly about my being there, my origins, the length of my stay, and such. Their last names pop up suddenly as a topic, being so Spanish framed, the actual spelling, language tone in pronouncing their names, and geographic references they had to Spain, like Villarreal's Mediterranean connection. The three of them are really chirpy during the interaction. The three ladies are in the middle age range, just guessing. Renee looks the younger of the three to me, not yet in her fifties, and she is also the leanest one in complexion. They are around 5' 2" and 5' 5" tall and quite similar in skin tone. You could not actually tell the difference in ethnic affiliation from each other provided skin or hair color -Christina is, amazingly, the only one blonde hair dyed-, or body frame. However, their last names and their presence infers some special bonding with that event and whatever the Spanish character might be, their institutional capacities, other than just mere socializing.

The conversation soon veers towards the experience of the day and 'La Fiesta' in general, and personal leanings towards some controversial issues. 2019 was going to be the second year that the public version of the 'Entrada' was going to be effectively over, after so many years of in 'crescendo' disruptive activities around it. As the press had informed in the previous year, "A resolution passed...by the All-Pueblo Council of Governors appears to confirm that city officials, the Fiesta Council and local Catholic church leaders, have agreed the 'Entrada' pageant -the most attendance pulling 'Fiesta' event- will not take place this year -2018- on the Plaza. But it's unclear if all parties are as in step as the resolution suggests." That meant 2019 'Fiesta' was the actual confirmation year for that change to take place, and spirits were still high. A gentleman who had joined the conversation group - I later figured out his name, Caballero Antonio -'Tony'- Lopez when he mastered the presentations on stage in La Plaza- utters about the raising unspecific fears beyond the 'Entrada' suppression. Yet, he dropped that

there is an intended program of history concealment and cancellation. He fears that only would mean a first blow, a smokescreen leading to the suppression of other Spanish-rooted cultural traditions, hinting that it is a shared communal feeling. Renee Villarreal reminds us of the 'Entrada' current format, as it was performed until 2018, was part of a popular enactment of the 1692 reconquest event. 'La Entrada' pageant had been part of a construct to dramatize the Spanish reconquest of Santa Fe, showcasing that as one of the region's cultural resources. It formerly was a sideshow to the main 'Fiesta' events, which were formerly related to processions and religious rituals. 'La Entrada' got devised as a parade in the tradition of cultural dramas I mentioned earlier, as performative storytelling, that formerly included Navajo and Pueblo dances, in the contest format (Hewett, 1924). 'La Entrada' was then billed and advertised as an "accurate" reenactment, initially meant for public consumption. It was part of a cultural effort to preserve the vitality of perceived disappearing old traditions by reinstating them. Renee stresses that the pageant was part of the transforming features introduced into 'La Fiesta' to draw visitors and travelers in, to promote New Mexico as a tourist attraction. A tourist attraction fueled by a frozen fantasy of a New Mexico built around the social harmony and inter-ethnic cooperation discourse. A narrative manicured more precisely to skip the contradiction of a racially framed American society, in the early nineteen hundreds, that turn into a commodified product, initially for internal consumption, an image that the New York Times reliably describes:

*"[t]he portrayal of New Mexico's complex history, marked by centuries of enslavement of Native Americans, military conquest by Spain and the United States and attempts to depict the state as a place where Hispanics, Native Americans, and Anglos, or non-Hispanic whites, peacefully coexist."*<sup>61</sup>

This is coming from an informed, trustworthy, and popular Santa Fe official and weighs in a solid, balanced position in the conversation. Christina Chavarría's contribution (Santa Clara/Taos) points out how the celebration had shown a lack of empathy and omitted all the grievances that show up in Pueblo storytelling through the years. In that sense, she emphasized the tarnish and slanted bias around the official history of the

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<sup>61</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/08/> <accessed, August 9<sup>th</sup>, 2018>

relationship between Pueblo peoples and the Spanish settlers for the sake of making the narratives easier to digest for general consumption. She widens the topic towards, what she refers to as shifting from over-simplification, and how former narratives' construction solidified with no further questioning through time, depicting natives as mere subsidized stooges, with no substantial role whatsoever than their exotic presence. I would add that their presence in the pageant would somehow have arguably trivialized their representative character and sanctioned the 'Hispano' supremacy discourse along, substantiating its validity. I had had a conversation with Professor Estevan Rael-Gálvez (Field Diary 11.10.19), where he referred to the task to suppress 'La Entrada' as a set-off healing starting point into the process to overcome the underlying social issues. The means he stressed were focusing on shared objectives addressed to alleviate the suffering caused by either unresolved or not dealt acrimonious social issues of inter-ethnic character. He found that while proposing a shared healing objective based upon community connection, the project had to meet the hurdle of established social hierarchies within the Newmexican society. Every part set the hurdle of their own imaginary, making apparent the point on how the 'Hispano' elites first, and the rest of the community then, bought the institutional project that supplied a whole ideological package, that Professor Rael-Gálvez asserted "[i]t was a bet devoid of consistent content," in the sense it just was 'étic' prompted. Renee reckons the reactive attitude 'Hispanos' display against ongoing changes or those in the works, possibly coming in the future, arises from unawareness of mixed and complex historical realities. Unawareness might come from an uninformed stance or deliberate memory loss and oblivion of social and community traditions, which Criado-Boado (2001) parallels as an act of heritage, at play for centuries, where communities blended and were striving to be intertwined. Yet somehow a response that is consistent with their own sense of fragility in the awareness of their subsidized position within the Anglo-American-led, New Mexican society. Christina insists on aiming at the lack or no consideration 'La Fiesta' narrative shows towards the trauma underlying Pueblo intergenerational storytelling. Altogether, slanted stories outcoming from varied interests and cultural bias, although produced in a very civil way; somehow, a dialogue devoid of all the tensions one would encounter delivered in conventional chatter when 'Hispanos' and Natives separately huddle.

Observation and participation, in ethnography terms, are always subject to relationship protocols that are dynamically established in the actual action of the processes. The clues for social interaction have to get patiently disclosed for the sake of an individual approach. As hinted elsewhere, the 'Hispano' community owns its singularities, as strongly ethnicized and even racialized. This researcher has some physical and cultural peculiarities that have favored that the established dynamics got materialized into a more excellent approximation. They might even play in the grounds of racial discourse, though. However, greater approximation has led the researcher to more inclusive participation. This sense of proximity has favored, in my understanding, that communication had become manifestly open and willing to contrast viewpoints and personal positioning in the ideology realm that would not always become manifest while in social interaction.

#### 4.6 Focusing for meaning

After the ceremonial I have been following, I could bring some context to the ritual and symbol patterns that had surfaced. It has been a very well-structured sequence of rituals, and a wide range of symbolic references got called. Since they all have proved evident and will subsequently reappear in the following 'Fiesta' stages, they might drive some interest from the analytical perspective. Reading the meaning and prominence of symbols used and rituals performed would start bringing some clarity and intent in the analysis. By talking about context, I mean disclosing and exposing the whole performative operation, perhaps the actual reason for being. This first step aims at focusing on those theoretical concepts that will later become useful due to the evidence that I will show. Therefore, I hold them relevant in how they get introduced and get drilled as a discursive form that would eventually encourage the articulation of 'Hispano' identity and heritage. The staging of 'El Pregón,' with its full display of actions, artifacts, and speeches, is tightly scheduled and orderly performed. 'El Pregón' becomes both 'La Fiesta' initiation ritual and the closing point of 'la novena' Catholic ritual held during the previous nine days, as a sacredness marker and symbolic

connector for Catholic 'Hispanos'. The staging brought from that underlying interaction between what is civil, lay, and what is accepted as sacred provides a perception of unity and uniformity for the attendees. In the intersection of shared cultural values and traditionally rooted customs, the ritual stabilizes the milieu for congregants and participants' unity. It is a community place, not only from yearly repetition but also because it becomes a cultural artifact that serves as community cohesion (Bauman 1992; Geertz 1973), aiming to integrate all walks and viewpoints, lay and religious. In that setting, enhancing the constant and daily coming and going between sacred and profane spaces, between areas of transformation (Van Gennep, 1960), is where the symbolic frame for 'La Fiesta' gets fixed. Somehow, this first opening, 'El Pregón,' sets the ruling and the path for the following days laying out the format the community performance will transit through the whole event, trailing alternatively between the profane daily life and moment and spaces of sacrality, setting liminal moments of internal transformation (Van Gennep, 1960).

A ritual transition that takes shape by combining several meaningful features for the 'Hispano' community. On the one hand, the proclamation's Catholic mass ritual, after the 'novena' preparation. On the other hand, the unique symbolic space choice where it is performed -the same encampment spot where De Vargas prayed to the Virgin Mary before the retaking of Santa Fe-. Finally, I consider the bundled emotional and symbolic connections with that historical feature of 1692 Santa Fe's re-settlement. It is all about the transfer round trip that makes the two spaces, the sacred and the profane, evident as two separate spaces into one. The transition between them entails a metamorphosis (Durkheim, 2008: 80) that would eventually deliver the transformed community into 'La Fiesta' space. Overtly making present the relevance of ritual and symbolism becomes interesting for the analysis purpose, as mentioned, to track discourse building. Rituals and symbols are both relevant methodology devices to explain how they reflect and reinforce structures of everyday life. One specific relevant feature that would be apparent because of the ritual is how volatile hierarchical relationships may become. This would be so because of the balance between ritualistic and social officials, the balance between power positions or honorary positions, so present on 'El Pregón' staging; Rosaldo (1968: 524) talks about hierarchies set within

other hierarchies, as it happens in specific actions –the ceremonial parade into the church- or situations -as in ritualistic transitional environments (Van Gennep, 1960)-, and the transition between them because of the ritual shape. While talking about hierarchy building, I point at Terradas (2004) elaboration on identity. He gets leveraged from Assier-Andrieu (1997) – “Culture is committed to a dynamic critique of everything arbitrary and artificial, claiming a space for its own and for its resonances, the same space that assists in its renewal”<sup>62</sup> – to elaborate on how opposed phenomena, basically within the realm of political means and culture, interfere in hierarchy’s construction related to cultural production and, moreover, to the concept of identification. He seems to infer that there is a conflict terrain, a terrain where institutionally imposed identification clashes with cultural identity. Terradas (2004) would go further into proposing that, outcoming from the clashing, I understand that “[u]nderneath cultural identity lays a lived identity struggling for self-objectivation towards the claim of cultural identity, refusing to fit into legal or political confinement.”<sup>63</sup> That looping idea makes sense with the hierarchy issues I will confront, besides introducing the identification and identity concepts in the reasoning equation. I will need to deal with the underlying skirmishes of cultural legitimacy, conflating what is political -institutional-, and what is vernacular -lived-. I keep hinting it is substantially relevant to disclose how spaces get fought. How the balance between the parts is found or exposed, if any, and conflict gets dealt with in the history of tradition and the symbolic links with the past. On the whole, to veer towards the dialogue between resistance and assimilation, and empowerment and enfranchisement. Nevertheless, despite the prospect all these analytical tools might induce, my intention would not get settled in dissecting the structure, nor the meaning of symbol and ritual, sacred and profane, space transit, or hierarchy construction. I instead would make explicit those pairs as devices for contextual evaluation to expose discourses of community validation and social affirmation.

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<sup>62</sup> Translation by the author.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

#### 4.7 Serendipity for breakfast

There were not many people left in the area by then, not 07:30 yet. While I disband for my cars, I get invited to join Renee and Christina at the Convention Community Center's Fiesta's Official Caballero Breakfast 2019, which I obliged. The institutional Breakfast is organized by the Caballeros De Vargas Lodge. It is a 'civitas' backward transitional move in liturgy following 'ecclesia' up. I am confronted here again with the transit in space. The transit from sacred space -'ecclesia'- to 'civitas' that Grimes (2013: 16) defines as "[t]he designation of symbols of city-mindedness, symbols aimed at generating informal cooperation and mutual respect." The move suits the institutionalized rituals and procedures that I started the festivities with at 'El Pregon.' The Convention Center is a public space in Downtown Santa Fe, just two blocks Northwest of La Plaza. The room where the Breakfast was held was a basketball court-like space, with a long side table on the left as you enter the room, for officials, authorities, and speakers, and some twenty round tables on the court, sitting up to five people each, assigned to Board and Officers. It is a well-choreographed formal event to share praises and prizes for the individual roles played within the organization. As the Program stated:

*"A promise made. A promise kept. I have great deal to celebrate during this 307<sup>th</sup>. Christian Fiesta as I showmy Antepasados did and what they sacrificed along the way. I are also thankful formy great faith and love formy Catholic Religion,my Lady of Peace, La Conquistadora andmy Lord Jesus Christ."*<sup>64</sup>

A Native American Prayer leads the introduction ritual to the breakfast. It was an invocation that is part of the cultural and land acknowledgment ritual. In all sorts of cultural events -lectures, presentations, and cultural gatherings- in New Mexico, I have had the opportunity to experience this declaration of inter-ethnic appraisal. It has recently got introduced to acknowledge and certify foreign presence on original Native land, honoring original peoples. The Indigenous Land or Territorial Acknowledgements -the statement that recognizes the Indigenous peoples who have been dispossessed from the homelands and territories upon which an institution was built and currently

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<sup>64</sup> Annual Caballeros de Vargas Breakfast 2019 Program.

occupies and operates in<sup>65</sup>- has become a cultural and educational protocol, introduced in formal presentations and activities in most places in America with Native American presence. This is a move towards a more respectful approach and recognition of Indigenous nations' sovereignty. While sovereignty would appear as a political statement, the ratification of the protocol provides a larger frameset for collective belonging in the acceptance, not in the confrontation, of otherness (Harrison in Fairclough, Harrison, Jameson y Schofield, 2008). The land is an underlying conflicting issue in New Mexico, amongst many other areas in the country, behind a story of permanent dispossession that happened during Spanish colonial times and after the American annexation. The concession of symbolic possession would overcome the mere inclusion-exclusion ethnic identity game, in the way of splitting from the identified 'other' as a device for self-confirmation (Hall in Hall and du Gay, 1996: 25). While social interaction practices between communities require self-definition through segregation from the 'other' (Bourdieu, 1977; Farrell, 2010), the confirmation and acceptance of territorial rights, no matter how symbolic, asserts that the 'territorial' physical space might turn into a more inclusive system of meanings, conforming, reinforcing, and perpetuating the social orders (Ortiz, 1969: 4).

The institutional officials' speeches formally deliver praise to 'Los Caballeros,' the current President, and present 'Don Diego.' They all get reckoned in their evocative capacity and honored by the public significance of each characterized individual, bold in their social prominence. The historical prowess of each character translates socially as the codes' conveyor into nowadays' community. Altogether, a group of 'Hispano' of outstanding public figures bearing those moral values the individuals in the community should undoubtedly mirror into. 'Caballeros' President, Thomas Baca, introduced 'Don Diego De Vargas' and, one by one, all the members in his 'Cuadrilla'. They all deliver some short speeches to boast about their pride to be in that position as community representatives. 'La Reina' introduced her four maids, and the Indian Princess court, praising them for their role in the whole event preparation. During this ceremonial routine, the previous year's Indian Princess gets delivered an institutional present. She

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<sup>65</sup> <https://as.nyu.edu/content/nyu-as/as/research-centers/npf/Land0.html> <accessed, November 9<sup>th</sup>, 2021, 20:22>



gets honored for her success in the inter-community task during the whole year in her role. You can tell she is humbled by the situation and, even though she would not deliver a speech, she is the only one getting a standing round of applause. It called to my attention that the determined inclusion of native dancers and official figures related to the native Pueblo cultural domain had become more than apparent during the morning rituals. In all, it shows more like a display of balanced civility that seems to pull from long-standing inter-ethnic relationships between the two ethnic groups represented in this event. It also shows that the inclusion of Pueblo dancers and Pueblo individuals in ritual participation would appear more as a sample of shared relationality and mutuality (Viveiros de Castro, 2009; Sahlins, 2011) rather than a shot for cultural, artistic indulgence. This is a response more in line with the presence of a sense of solidarity because everybody around gets aware of the intersubjective relationships of being and becoming, as Swentzell (2012) would put it. This simple act seems to be the mere confirmation; it shows as a cultural statement on the part of the organization, in line with whatever is commonly shared and lived through daily life between the participating communities, and the actual experience of many Newmexican families with shared ties either in Native or 'Hispano' communities. This would be another instance where the dynamic critique of all that is arbitrary and artificial, addressed to claim a cultural identity, gets exposed (Terradas, 2004) as a contradiction to the institutional dictate that dissects ethnic communities for the convenience of exposure and commodification.

On the other hand, the association in practices seemed contradictory by the symbolic articulation of different cultural units. On the one hand, the ritual displayed a strong Catholic customary and 'Hispano' related symbology, all conveyed in the honoring of 'La Conquistadora' and along with the historical impersonations. The selected symbology could be understood as a cultural device that legitimizes that specific human activity and reinforces identity awareness. It seems inevitably apparent that the choice of the image of reference here, 'La Conquistadora,' calls for the power of the sacred and the strength of the military. In all, a commanding and imperative a discursive selection. As Grimes (2013: 80) would put it, the conflated blending condenses meaning and symbolism in the rhetoric, imperative, petition, prayer to

express values and power. On the other hand, I had the inclusion of the 'other,' the 'other' in the participation as a symbolic character, embodied in the Native individuals -dancers and Native royals-, who take part in the liturgy. On the whole, the sharing of sacred space and a place for metaphors and desired symbolic transformation I call 'La Fiesta de Santa Fe.' That is significant because it brings to the counter the dramatization, for further remembrance, of those values that signify the ultimate nature of the community, its order, and to make present the ties the group ultimately depends on.

All delivered speeches get filled with allegiances and pledges during breakfast, articulated to perpetuate symbolic Spanish-related and religious-content calls. They appear prompted by the familiar and shared foundation and reckoning of the past relics, history, tradition, and values (Hall in Hall and du Gay, 1996). Moreover, through that level of identification, 'Los Caballeros' embody agency as the leading community corps and pave the way for the community to gain agency. In that direction, religiosity, devotion, and faith get praised as a historical blessing leveled along with the Church's official statement stressing the "[r]ich heritage of faith in our land, our people and our cultures." They are meant to comply with Los Caballeros willing purpose to shape and give continuity to their public behavior in a way they turn up as cultural conveyors to the community. Resilience and endurance get referred to as consistent qualifiers. Those qualities are intended for the vindication and legitimacy bearing the idealization of strategic referents at the service of a lubricated functioning of social relationships. By doing so, they expose the meaning of their actions and activities, shedding content into their day-to-day cultural life by realizing a past made present with values, strengths, or features, acknowledging the footprint of past over memory and oblivion (Criado-Boado, 2001), while preparing for further strategies ahead in time. Festivities convey a sense of what is exceptional to daily life, to that I came to consider quotidian. I get consciously aware that what becomes exceptional frames the time that communities measure their social life. Festive times wrap time measuring and social language up altogether (Leach, 1989; Turner, 1985). The festive time enters the realm of social suspension in providing clues to social functioning for the rest of the non-festive time (Delgado, 2004). Following that, 'La Fiesta' becomes the receptacle in

which all the reasoning lines, all discourse constructions, and all desired relationship forms get simmered for the society to adhere during the non-festive time, the meshing of 'civitas' and 'ecclesia' (Grimes, 2013), in the always transitional time functioning between regular/profane to exceptional/sacred (Durkheim, 2008; Leach, 1971). By the fashion of their act, and by the centrality Los Caballeros perform, they hint and shape the specifics of 'Hispano' culture. The mimetics between their festive performance and their social lives work out as signaled identification-owned spaces and as a sounding board for renewal by pushing forward those self-perceived cultural traits that get felt on the risk of being curtailed (Terradas, 2004). On that logic, Los Caballeros would work either way as Geertz (1973) put it, shaping themselves for reality and shaping reality for them; they would work both as deliverer and receiver. In other words, they go into extolling through the community educational image they embody, crediting their significance as carriers of cultural and traditional symbolism within the 'Hispano' community while being receivers themselves as part of that same community. By their performance, they somehow translate the final objective of their actions. The paradigmatic representational figure they embody works as a presence, a connection reassurance, and the bond as intermediaries with the past in present society. The gentlemen honoring virility and masculine values as carriers and providers, embodying deportment, and honorable behavior; the ladies, by the portrayal so far, as female ritualistic counterparts, cultural ambassadors, and much in the seamless continuity to other Southwestern public practices, like rodeo, parish, football, fair, or homecoming queens. Just a few minutes after 10:00 AM and this official Breakfast is called over. It is amazing how everybody so leisurely flows from the ceremonial to the collaborative clean-up of all the tables; all the attendees engaged. I will all later meet again in the Plaza because the Official opening ceremony begins at 12:00. After that, everybody moves to their own errands.

I mentioned above the dynamics that ethnographic observation and participation put at play. This section proves those dynamics turn into empathy and fully committed participation, as I witness a very private event. The Fiesta's Official Caballero Breakfast 2019 was a transition formality that meant coming from the sacred into the profane ritual as a continuous move. The same actors provided the

performance in the same conspicuous fashion the sacred ceremony was performed at mass earlier on. This civic expression provided ritual continuity and form to the opening of the 'Fiesta.'

#### 4.8 ¡Que viva La Fiesta!... y ¡Que viva Santa Fe!

I followed the after-breakfast goodbyes calmly wandering the two blocks that go from the Community Center down to the Plaza. It is already really warm at that time in the morning, and I walk trying to bring in the experience of the past four hours, breakfast serendipity included. It comes a pretty introspective a stroll. I walk along Lincoln south towards the Plaza, escorted by the art and craft stalls that are already opened and arranged on both sides of the street, as part of the traditional Fiesta Fine Arts and Crafts Market. There are already some people peeking and browsing the booths, some early birding for a bargain. I eventually get to La Plaza. La Plaza shows fully decked out and starting to bustle.

*"The coats of arms you see on the Portal are not real coats of arms, they are "invented" for celebrations"*

New Mexico's State Historian Rob Martinez Facebook Messenger thread <May 31st. 2021 - 22:36>

Along the north side of the Plaza, the upper beams of the Portal at the Palace of the Governors appear garnished with what it looked like the coats of arms of New Mexican families with Spanish last names. That is the common and popular belief. I do not know much, and I am not aware of the precision and correctness in the shields heraldry because I am unfamiliar with that science, but it strikes me that colors, fields, emblems would not match with actual names. Some Anglo-Saxon coats of arms show more amazingly among those Spanish names and Pueblo shields (Kewa, Cochiti, Nambe). Only those would look real to me as they depict the actual Pueblo shields. This information would expose and contradict the information institutionally advertised about some 'La Fiesta' symbols. Therefore, it would fully collide with the idea that has been promoted since the celebration's changes, in effect since 1919. Those changes

shifted from the mere former religious celebration into the appropriation of 'La Fiesta' by turning the event into a folk festival that "[w]ould commemorate the great events in the history of the Southwest," as Edward Hewett put it (Owen Lewis and Brooks, 2007).

*"Son tan ignorantes que eligen a gente poco apropiada para representar a los colonizadores...gente pelirroja, que no tiene barba y que cuando tienen que hacer el speech ni siquiera saben expresarse en español."*

Hilario Romero, Field Diary October 6th. 2014).

What Mr. Romero was bitterly exposing there speared into the core of values of 'Hispano-referenced' heritage -historical, cultural, and symbolic, social, spiritual, and religious, aesthetic- (Mason in Fairclough, Harrison, Jameson y Schofield, 2008: 103). 'La Entrada' had been re-tailored in 1919 by the action of the new Newmexican cultural elites. Forefront to them, artistic locals, mainly Anglo artists coming from cultural production centers on the East and West coasts, had initially devised a new fun and festive event for private purposes that they called 'Pasatiempo,' in the early 1920s. They were coherently pushing in the endeavor to restore, preserve and revitalize local Newmexican cultural expressions. In that party event, they came with the idea to torch the newly built effigy of Zozobra and parade around the Plaza in costumes; that parade would include dressing their pets for the parade. All that eventually became the set of new contributions added to the new 'Fiesta' format that would start working in 1926 after the 1924 project (Hewett, 1924: 203). There was an intentional plan in bringing the exotic face of New Mexico by throwing many of the references in Spanish. Zozobra and 'Pasatiempo' would do the job, in that direction, also pulling the imagery of a cultural bond with the area and its people. 'Hispanos' reluctantly, as Hilario Romero would later voice when talking about Zozobra and Anglos' participation in 'La Fiesta, were circumspect in the final intention of the way those events unfolded. However, they started to engage in that newly minted version through time, as it started to gain popularity. They also started to build strategies to repossess 'La Fiesta' they felt taken away from them. 'La Entrada' was transformed into a storytelling drama that portrayed "[t]he battle between the Indians and the Spanish army...and the Indians have surrendered. The historic ceremony of retaking the city is enacted in front of the Palace

of the Governors" (Hewett, 1924: 203). 'Hispanos' knew for sure it was turning into a commodity and a spectacle, and as Hilario Romero voiced, they felt they were losing it into the hands of the promoters. It all was intended to push New Mexico into the limelight to pull visitors in. Alongside, local Newmexicans started to play the game of subtly guiding visitors to feel that they had become a part of the place while subtly guiding them away from the essence of being local (Rothman, 1998: 12). It meant a strategy not to allow the fundamental nature of their patrimonialization process, as Lukàcs (1972) argued, concealing the actual relations between the people.

Hence it would refute that the coats of arms, or shields, actually are the visible symbols of family in 'La Fiesta,' the symbols of 'founding families' adorning the Plaza during the event (Horton, 2010: 144). The aristocratic distinction portrayed conveys and relays the misinformation that the 1692's reconquering De Vargas's group was anything else than a resettling group, with nobility individuals in its ranks, just for the sake of providing status to the city and to the event.

*"Esto es un invento del los pinches gringos, zafaos, para adueñarse de nuestra tradición...¡mira esos nombres de gringos -Milligan, Johnson, Stoffler-...!"*

Hilario Romero, Field Diaries September 10<sup>th</sup>. 2019

Under the Portal, as is customary, Native (Pueblo, Navajo, Apache) vendors are selling their art and craft products. Not many visitors on the buying enterprise, though, that time in the day. Just across the street, on the northern side of the center of the Plaza, two separate stages have been arranged. The main one on the Plaza's gazebo and another one slightly larger annex, just to its west. There are booths and stalls all around the Plaza dealing with a whole range of rainbow-colored and flavored lemonades, soft drinks, and food trucks; they do New Mexican and Mexican food to go -roasted corn on the cob, Navajo tacos, fry bread, tamales, empanaditas, fajitas, gorditas, BBQ meat, and burgers-. At the corner of Lincoln and San Francisco, 'Fajitas Molero', a very familiar feature in the Plaza life, has set the kiosk in the same spot where their New Mexican fajitas food-truck would be placed during the week. There is also a recruiting booth from the Santa Fe Police Department. Mariachi -Mariachi Diferencia- is playing on the main bandstand, and people start gathering at the Plaza. Mariachi -Mariachi

Diferencia- is playing on the main bandstand, and people start gathering at the Plaza. 12:00 PM is the signaled time for 'La Fiesta' opening public ceremonies.

Most of the people hanging around 'La Plaza' start to flow to the front of the stage annex to the gazebo; a majority in the seniority range, and some of them wearing their New Mexican version of the Southwestern outfit, with sash belts, bolo, and ribbon ties, silver concho belts and some turquoise, here and there. However, the general looks are pretty casual and sporty. It is hot, already at noon, when 'La Fiesta' Official public opening ceremony starts, and as it was in the religious celebration, it is not devoid of formality and ritual. On stage, there are all the personalities and figures that have been present in 'El Pregón,' and it looks fully crammed up there. Before the ceremony started, a National Guard platoon takes the stage, holding arms and the flag. The ritual starts with singing the National anthem -'Star-Spangled Banner'- by Santa Fe's 2<sup>nd</sup> district Councilor, Peter N. Ives, dressed in a black ribbon shirt. Ribbon shirts are part of the Native male garment for a feast, ceremonial, and celebration. This visible, obvious option would be likely meant, besides the aesthetics or chances of Mr. Ives's Native affiliation I am not familiar with, as a meaningful showing-off gesture or signaling to all the assistants. Altogether, this is the usual civic ritual in public and institutional ceremonies all over the country and indeed an emotional tradition setting the trail for the event. You can tell how effective it is by the people's general bearing, respect display, and singing. The delivery speeches' ritual follows up, replaying the ones from earlier on in the morning. Mayor Webber opens up with his 'La Fiesta' inauguration presentation, bringing up the importance and old-time traditional meaning for the community's joy and cohesion. After him, the relay of individuals and dignitaries take the front mike. First, Don Diego De Vargas publicly introduced each member of his 'Cuadrilla', praising them as symbolic figures and camaraderie. After that, 'La Reina' takes the stage center to introduce her whole entourage, her Princess-maids, and the Indian Princess, commending all of them publicly for their role in the organization and the managing in representing their figures in the public space throughout the year. Once she had finished her speech, the Taos Fiesta's court is called on stage to get greeted and thanked because of their participation in the Santa Fe Fiesta. There is a whole round of thanks and congratulations to individuals and

organizations' task, the City Council led by its Mayor, the Fiesta Council -Melissa Mascareñas-, as well as to security forces, present with the Sheriff's Office and the County Police, and individuals in charge of different parts in the celebration. The perfectly timed round gets its closing acts from a State Government representative and the final blessing delivery from the Cathedral's Deacon. Again, all the speeches explicitly show the community joy, calling for family and community, the traditional preservation, and the overwhelming efforts in carrying with this old celebration, to be topped by the ritual blessing as a telling part in the program. All the repertoire exhibited in the presentations makes a superficial call to the understanding of unity. A language far too familiar, social, and institutional common parley in the assumed inter-ethnic relations. Everybody here gets to interact in some way or another on what is honored, praised, or conceited. The language portrays the complex process of social relations and the implicit dynamics that relate the past to the present as a relational continuum. It is all conveyed in the burdensome preservation of the cultural heritage value added to the cultural representation, all in a metacultural reflection on the culture itself (Sánchez-Carretero, 2013: 387). In his own manner, everyone tries to cheer up the attending crowd by hollering: "¡Viva la Fiesta! y ¡que Viva Santa Fe!

#### 4.9 Staging 'La Fiesta': a public performance

The ceremony's closing gives way to the 'Bandstand on the Plaza' program, where live music will be played through Fiesta days, up until 10 PM every day. Like many others, I do some hanging around, checking the booths, and getting myself some drinking to relieve from the heat, as it is getting really hot by then. Many gather up frontstage to dance to the mariachi music playing. I bumped into Marvin Romero backstage. Marvin is the guy I met when I visited Santa Rita chapel, Chimayó, earlier in the year, during my previous stay. He is related to a couple of Martinez's lineage branches, at the least, in the Chimayó area. He is really well connected and a local Santafean; a great asset in all this. He is doing security for the Museum of New Mexico, and, as I chatted, he went to introduce some 'Caballeros' he was friends with. Eugene,



one of them, just brought in that I had met back in 2014 at Felix Lopez's woodcarving class at the Santa Fe Community College. Another one on the team is Sam Delgado, whose face looks familiar to me. I then recalled seeing him front lining the procession after the 2018 Spanish Market inauguration mass, holding the opening processional cross. He is cousin with Jason Younis, master tinwork in the Delgado lineage, whom I interviewed with his sister, Sean Wells, by late 2018. The conversation swerves towards the symbolic meaning that De Vargas pours into New Mexico's historical tradition and for the 'Hispano' New Mexicans, as a key figure in New Mexico's orderly shape and social harmony. They boast about how they feel themselves conveying the association with a distinguished heritage, carrying status and the achievement of their 'Hispano' forebearers, to the point of claiming Spanish lineage, back to the metropolis. I talk about the medallion they all are wearing, as this was the very first chance for a detailed close look. I also ask permission for a picture of it, which they granted. They engage themselves, referring to the ongoing changes in the 'Fiesta' celebration and staging in a gloomy tone as if they were feeling forced to restrain in their performance. They all reference the ongoing social changes and how they perceive those social changes are bringing the U-turn for the interpretation of history and tradition logged in the New Mexican society. As a general tone in all sustained conversations, they transmit the fear of feeling severed from reproducing and relaying their traditional discourse, preventing the act of transmitting memories and knowledge (Smith, 2006) relevant for their own continuity, in a metacultural reflection about themselves (Sánchez-Carretero, 2013: 387).

*"Fiesta de Santa Fe isn't a one-time occasion for those of us who love it. It's layer upon layer of experience, memories that blend together to create a kaleidoscope of sensation and feeling. Parades, Processions, Pageantry. Plaza fun."*

Inez Russell Gomez, The New Mexican, September 6, 2019

*"We are not melting pot, but a beautiful strong mosaic. Native residents might live in town but return home for feast days at their various Pueblos. Hispanic families gather to make tamales and 'empanaditas' at Christmas. Anglo residents...share their stories of back East or cook recipes that are exotic to folks raised on beans and chile. I get along, if barely, no small achievement in this ever-fractious world...one Santa Fe, all together on the Plaza."*

Op-ed, The New Mexican, September 6, 2019

After the first six hours of intense ritual display, I entered the popular part of La Fiesta. La Fiesta is publicly advertised as an old community interactive celebration that works as a pretext, displaying unity, peace, community, and family.

*"Our culture here in New Mexico is so unique and so different from anywhere else that I want to be a part of something that celebrates the different people that makes Santa Fe what it is."*

Elisa Elaina Lopez y Layba – La Reina de la Fiesta

The Santa Fe New Mexican, Saturday, September 7, 2019

Thus, La Fiesta allegedly aims to relay a collective ambition: the continuity and the preservation of a historical tradition and unique, long-standing culture, articulated around uniqueness and difference discourse. Therefore, it is intended to show that the Fiesta celebration seeks to convey, discursively at the least, unity, and social communion, regardless of the more or less latent, or the more or less intense, social state of discord. That would be the reason behind the shared staged joint public celebration. "Las fiestas son una especie de habitáculo sagrado en el seno del tiempo, el equivalente del templo o del monumento en la dimensión espacial, un refugio –o una turbulencia– en que el ser humano dramatiza el sentido último de su existencia como ser social, las condiciones que la hacen posible –aunque sea, como veremos, a la vez que en cierto modo la niegan– y que, además de ser exhibidas como modelos de y para la vida colectiva, son puestas a salvo del desgaste que provoca el paso del tiempo y la acción de los humanos". (Delgado, 2004: 78)

'La Fiesta' liturgy brings upfront, into Santa Fe's people's hands, the institutionalized quality so they can see themselves as a legitimized human collective. Delgado (2004) stated that it is an instrument for identity and moral order legitimation, definition, and reinforcement. Identity and moral values certify the soundness of internal solidarity and the cohesiveness in collective life. Thus, La Fiesta institutionalization would function as a legitimizing tool for 'Santafeans'. However, 'Hispanos,' as a majority minority within that community, bring specific solidarity elements to their reaffirmation discourses. One of these particular elements would be the deep into the past time reinforcement and the appending value of memory as an integral element in creating relevant community meaning. The representations of the past are central to the symbolic constitution of social groups and social identities and build up as a conscious move towards bringing value to the present from the past (Alonso, 1988; Macdonald 2013). In that process, the representation of both the official and popular historical discourses get directly affected. The introduction of ritual and liturgy is an accessory to the container perspective to 'La Fiesta' as a created space. 'La Fiesta' becomes the showcase in which moral values are shared. Those become links that reinforce the community's internal solidarity. It becomes a reviving push to recreate and dramatize the conditions where the community members can find refuge and solace in their social 'being.' Because of that, they get integrated and projected in an interactive space, delimited, lived, produced, and transformed into a tangible place for everyone (Appadurai, 1996; Delgado, 2004; Lefebvre, 2009). That 'created' space, I see, becomes a symbol reinforcer. There is another side to it, though. As this is a generated bonding space, a symbolic provider of solid values, it becomes instrumental for community cohesiveness. During 'La Fiesta,' people get to perceive the space as their own. In fact, they get encouraged by the media and institutions to do so. The celebration's old age and its inclusive and multiethnic character assist people in moving between what is attractive being exotic, for visitors, or as inter-ethnic coexistence a manifestation, for locals. The day-to-day tensions, if any, are delayed by the will of the created community. People can acknowledge the symbolism, read the ritual's narrative pattern, and be encouraged to communion with others from the public stage to integrate into the feeling as a family. When I mention communion, I also speak of the varied cultural devices related to the long and continuous New Mexican Catholic

tradition. But, conversely, that same space demands to be fueled by symbolic or imagined formulas of community (Anderson, 1983; Cohen, 1985 y Appadurai, 1996). One of those formulas comes from bringing memory and memories into the equation to fix the association between time and space (Alonso, 1988; Boyarin, 1994). The symbolic formulas are also related to that communion I referred to previously. In that communion, every participant gets entitled to participation, sharing personal experiences and memories. It is a dialogue actually validating the individual in public, such as the previous interaction I had with Marvin Romero. It is participation deploying the perception of a social mosaic, where pieces interact and provide feedback to each other, perhaps a little relieved from previous hierarchies. I have previously seen how the image of the social mosaic shows up, reflecting that popular sentiment that rejects the ethnic melting pot concept because it is perceived as unrealistic. However, that association somehow happens too often, too rigidly, by stretching the connection of specific moments in the past to present times (Macdonald), although, as Boyarin (1994) and Alonso (1988) suggest, that combination of memory, time, and space, becomes fully representative to mediate on people's identity and heritage through time.

#### 4.10 A 'new' Fiesta

*"Prominent American Indians called last week for an end to Santa Fe's Fiesta, saying it is essentially a celebration of the conquest of their people by Spain".*

*'Leaders Call Fiesta Offensive', Keith Easthouse*

*Santa Fe New Mexican, September 12, 1993*

(Wilson, 1997: 231)

*"In the spirit of this community, the spirit of justice, I ask for an end to the Entrada as a public display, funded by taxpayer money. If the Caballeros de Vargas want to continue with this fantasy/fiction, let them do it at the Santa Fe Playhouse. I ask for an end to the Fiesta Court's appearances at Santa Fe Public Schools".*

*Elena Ortiz, a longtime Santa Fe resident, is a member of the Ohkay Owingeh Pueblo*

*The Santa Fe New Mexican, Thursday, September 1, 2016*

*"[t]he Caballeros are celebrating the moment when de Vargas and his men, who were carrying the Marian statue La Conquistadora, peacefully reclaimed the city in September 1692, 12 years after the Pueblo Revolt. "If this celebration, the Fiesta and then the Entrada had anything to do with brutalizing people, I wouldn't have anything to do with it," Joe Mier President of the Caballeros De Vargas said."*

*The Santa Fe New Mexican, Wednesday, September 7, 2016*

*"The Entrada, held annually on the Friday of the Fiesta de Santa Fe weekend, was scheduled to start at 2 p.m. Instead – with groups like Red Nation and Spirit of Po'Pay promising to build on last year's protests – the pageant was started at noon."*

*Albuquerque Journal, Friday, September 8, 2017*

2019 was going to be the transformational year, as 'La Entrada' reenactment had got officially replaced, in 2018, by a prayer gathering that officials -All-Pueblo

Council of Governors, the Fiesta Council, and the local Catholic Church authority-branded as 'La Celebración de la Comunidad Fe.' The annual performance of the Spanish re-occupation of Santa Fe, twelve years after the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, and part of the city's 'Fiesta' had been attracting protesters who went to a stand-off throughout the heavily religious pageant to protest for the drama's depiction. Disrupting activities towards the presentation of the pageant soared to the point of cancellation, and in 2019 spirits were still high. 'La Celebracion de la Comunidad de Fe' is meant to be inclusive and conciliatory, built on dialogue and mutual understanding to integrate the aggrieved communities in the ceremonies. In his opening speech Thomas Baca, the current President of 'Los Caballeros De Vargas,' called for "[r]ecognition to the Pueblo leadership, to the tribal Council, and the people of the Tesuque Pueblo for their vision, their wisdom, and their undying commitment to the principles of understanding, pardon, and reconciliation." (Field Diary, September 6, 2021). The Pueblo people get acknowledged for their role as guardians, stewards, and protectors of cultural heritage and their homelands, while agreeing in the condition of having been displaced from the territory upon which the city of Santa Fe now sits and occupies. There is a whole exhibition of intentions on the stage, not only about the change in representation but also in the staging of the statements made in the speeches all the officials of the participating organizations deliver. There is a whole process of gestures, both physical and symbolic, for mutual recognition. Officials expose in that will their determination for the eventual conciliation. On the one hand, maintaining the symbolic part that the organizers, 'Los Caballeros De Vargas,' make evident. On the other hand, the whole court of Don Diego and the Virgin remain full-time present on-stage. On the other hand, Pueblo leaders deliver speeches sanctioning the act and expressing the will to integrate the 'Hispano' and Native American cultures within the 'La Fiesta' format.

Matching those intentions, a group of Tesuque do the 'Comanche' dance in front of the stage; after them, the Matachines<sup>66</sup> of Bernalillo deliver their dance. The crowd circles the dancers up and pays respect to the colorful ceremony. Most, mainly visitors and tourists, look enthralled by the exotic display. I realized then that it would



be a display for self-consumption and self-exhibition since a person non-familiar with those performances could make not much difference between them beyond gear difference. I peek into a casual conversation between two gentlemen discussing how people's attendance at 'Fiesta' events made a

difference for them. One of them resented that "while Zozobra burning pulled some sixty thousand people, 'El Pregón' mass just did around two hundred" (Field Diary, September 6, 2021). That would express the idea that spectacle had overcome religiosity in terms of popularity, hence depriving 'La Fiesta' of what was formerly considered symbolically traditional. The 'Fiesta' changes in motion appear just another step in showing the consolidation of the process of heritage becoming such, making apparent participants agency skills to bring such a transformation. While I have seen displayed and performed cultural actions that would work as fixed, immovable traditions, I witnessed how the patrimonialization process gets delivered by making explicit the people relations, the fundamental nature of heritage as an 'object' (Lukàcs, 1972). 'Hispano' and Pueblo peoples have been interacting and mingling for centuries and their practices show the many features of their relationship. The renewal step taken would portray how problematic identification definition may become in the Newmexican society. If I consider the caveats implied in the confirmation of the self, a proof that must be referenced by segregation and 'otherness,' branding the 'other' as a pivotal reference point of self-identification (Hall in Hall and du Gay, 1996), Newmexican society poses a problematic issue. The social reference would be one of centuries of mixing and blending. For the 'Hispano' representatives, 'Los Caballeros De

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<sup>66</sup> Author's Note: In Bernalillo, New Mexico, a 'Hispano' majority town in Sandoval County, NM, 'Los Matachines' has been performing for more than 300 years honoring San Lorenzo.

Vargas,' embracing specific cultural traditions related to the Spanish past in its formation, would only push the boundaries for their self-identification alienating the 'other' -the Native American Pueblo-. It would also do that while pointing at, making present, imposed power hierarchies that would diminish that 'other.' It would directly point at the colonial social structure. While self-segregation choices would certainly be instrumental in the identification process and in self-definition (Bourdieu, 1977; Farrell, 2010), making a selective choice, like 'La Entrada,' would undoubtedly give rise to inter-ethnic issues. That choice would pose a specific direction in the selection of traditional features, a manipulation of tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2002; Smith, 2006), that would not comply, or even conceal, the continuous history of community mixing and blending of cultural and social experiences within the New Mexico society. It would forego, as if it was the determined oblivion footprint, the past becoming present and conscious through the embodied actions of the pageant (Macdonald, 2013), acting upon the actual 'Hispano' trajectory in the region.

After all these rituals and ceremonies, late in the afternoon, 'La Plaza' gets filled up with people who come to enjoy the festive atmosphere, to eat from the many food stalls and food trucks, to dance, and to share 'La Fiesta.' There are many visitors from Albuquerque and the towns around, and many tourists. The main stage gets filled with music and color. Traditional Mexican folkloric dance groups are performing very lively and charming moves. People swarm around, dance and sing along the familiar tunes, although most of the people are waiting for the local bands, that would play later in the evening. The social performance in La Plaza, the central hub for the celebration, shows how people exhibit their need to ground their connection with the cultural body expressed in 'La Fiesta.' They intend to promote themselves and make visible their place within the social structure as part of the ethnic community. Festivities convey the exceptional into daily life. I witnessed the bursting of emotions many of the attendants displayed when they found an affinity to sounds, colors, rhythm, expressions referenced as Newmexicans, during all the staged performances. Upon the bandstand, musical groups, playing 'rancheras,' 'corridos,' 'cumbia,' música de ritmos latinos, plus traditional dances ensembles, spur arouse the reminiscing memories of some and pull the curiosity of others. Locals and visitors alike take part in the exotic displayed



attraction as 'Fiesta' actors. There is a sense of commonality in the party atmosphere, a social 'being transformed into a refuge for everyone (Delgado, 2004; Lefebvre, 2009). Following the articulation of both authors, 'La Plaza' became a built-up space, a symbol re-enforcer, and a re-enforcer of the symbolic. 'Fiesta' day one ends up at 10:30 PM with a joyous feel in the air; people disbanding to pick their transportation mean under the surveying glance by state and city's troopers.

Days two and three, Saturday and Sunday, are days for civic participation in the celebration. In both cases, they begin with parades and pageants. They both initially are committed to observation because I have not had access to any of the organizations behind the pageants. Saturday's first day gets opened by the 'Desfile de Los Niños and Pet Parade.' There, the city's social fabric institutions turn on in a celebratory mood. All of them are related to the city's educational network -junior, and middle schools-, and youth clubs and associations. Most of them parade behind a marching band, dancing groups, and lots of theme costumes and sweets to get delivered to the people, mostly children, on the curbs of the road. I've noticed the participants' majority look from the Anglo community from observation. I have the sense of excitement contention from the whole parade, like if the whole pageant had been tightly scheduled and precisely framed to deliver what felt exceptional for the event out of the quotidian, as it was missing spontaneity. My line of reasoning there would align Delgados' proposal (2004) of social suspension, where the measure of social life in terms of the experience of the Anglo minority gets exceptionally meshed into the 'Fiesta's' Spanish-rooted tradition.

Sunday, the third and last 'Fiesta' day, starts ceremoniously at 09:30 AM with the 'Solemn Procession' that would bring 'Nuestra Señora de la Asunción' from the Palace of the Governors to the chapel she holds in the left of the transept at the Saint Francis Cathedral. At 09:10, when I got to the side entrance to the Palace of the Governors' Patio, the departing point, some people had gathered around, camera in hand. From the openings in the main gate, you can see active preparations in the Patio. By 09:55, the Procession sets off towards the Cathedral. The Processional Cross opens, followed by mariachi and the whole De Vargas' court. Next comes a group of eight Caballeros, four of whom are carrying 'El Paso,' a movable float holding the image of the Virgin. They are followed by many people in a long line. The Procession gets to the

Cathedral by 10:10 for the Pontifical Solemn Mass. The Cathedral is packed and many swarm around at the entrance totting their cell phones to film the event. There is a sense of gravity in all the mass rituals, led by Santa Fe's Bishop. The singing parts get led by the Cathedral's pipe organ, percussion, and brass sets, which provide grandeur to the setting. Once the mass is over, and before anyone leaves, a band of six dancers and a drummer enter the church to perform the Buffalo Dance at the altar, to everybody's awe. Again, many cell phones get produced to record the curious display of participation. This whole part of 'La Fiesta' gets reminiscent of the formal tradition of the celebration set in 1712, retaining the grandeur of the old days, appealing to the old traditional rituals and ceremony, as a cultural value commonly cherished. However, similarities become apparent to the researcher's eyes, looking for clues that might illuminate the contrast. It is not just the passing of time but some changes in the social reality that make it almost impossible to retain the gaze. Santa Fe's transformation since statehood times but, most importantly, since the industrialization of tourism, back in the 1970s, has followed suit the simple strategy that required locals to market themselves and their environment as a source for sustainability and revenue. The apparent intact look of the city and its dwellers conflicts with the fact that the hospitality industry has been demanding for decades now. Locals, regardless of identity and/or ethnicity, "[m]ust guard themselves, their souls, and their places from people" while negotiating the space between them and visitors (Rothman, 1998: 12). Newmexicans have to struggle with selecting and pushing forward the core values that necessarily represent them and would support the mere existence and persistence of their community. Still, they have to confront the reality of tourism as an unmanageable alien force. The need for the visitor to reaffirm (ibid.) his image upon the local is what conditions the position of the local as a host. I had just witnessed the intent to negotiate the reproduction of standard features that would correlate to the past rituals during the mass. Many references were present aiming at traditional reproduction. However, in that massive open-ended attendance in the age of pervasive technology, somehow, it all seemed much a romanticized vision of one of the popular cultures in the area.

10:36 and it is party time around the Plaza's gazebo; mariachi and Latino sound filling the air to the lively dancing crowd. It is all before the so-called 'Desfile de la Gente

- Historical / Hysterical Parade' sets off from the De Vargas mall in the city's northern limits. Another pageantry shot for civic participation this time, that I witnessed from the West Palace Ave./Grant Ave./Sandoval St. intersection, just downtown across the County Attorney's Office. It is an all-civic forces display with all sorts of groups and associations. Members of the 'Fiesta' court lead the parade on their traditionally dressed horses, while people line the streets of downtown Santa Fe.

*"I enjoy seeing the parade every year because it celebrates people coming together. And Fiesta is our history, for good or bad".*

Santa Fe New Mexican, Monday, September 9, 2019, page A-8

The presence of candidates running for official posts at the various institutional levels gets the most attention from this researcher. It is quite a novel occurrence; council members, justices, state's AG, and even sheriffs show up to pull some following from their fellow citizens. Participants also come from the town's many sports clubs, high schools, colleges, and academies. Medical centers, churches and fellowships groups, musical associations, and private groups are also present. There are lots of dance moves, choreography, and spectacle. The Knights of Columbus float truck pulls my attention from all the displays with their loud anti-abortion messages. By 03:00 PM, the parade ends with a group of thirty 'ranchero' horse riders and four low-riders doing their 'dancing' to public amazement.

I left home, back into town, to join the 07:00 PM Mass of Thanksgiving and Candlelight Procession, the last scheduled ritual in the 'Fiesta' celebration, in the Cathedral. I get there early, and there are still few people. Surprise! To my amazement, Mr. Thomas Baca, the president of 'Los Caballeros,' asks me for help in ringing the Cathedral bells to call for mass. He explained that there were very few 'Caballeros' in the shift, so he needed extra hands. I am four people pulling from the heavy load of the bell's clappers, and I do it for five minutes solid before the mass begins. De Vargas and his 'Cuadrilla' sit upfront in the very first few rows. I can see not many people attending, but the ritual gets ceremoniously followed. The speeches delivered all address local issues, using the words and spirit of the City's patron saint, Saint Francis Assisi. Words get given to indicate the need for dialogue, harmonious coexistence, sharing, and

inclusion to solve community issues and personal and private ones, in an overt reference to the many conflicts underlying the social relations in New Mexico. At the end of the mass, I get called back into the bell tower to pull back the bells again. Once I finished, the people attending the mass gathered around the Procession Cross. Candles get distributed between the people assembled at the Cathedral's main entrance to start the Procession all the way up to the hilltop where the huge concrete Cross of Martyrs seats, north-east to the Cathedral. The pace is slow in prayer and singing. When I arrive at the Cross's site, I gather, offering our prayers in remembrance and respect to the 21 Franciscan friars killed during the 1680 Pueblo Revolt. There is this somber feel in reflection of the sacrifice and the speeches get delivered in that tone remembering those who were slain in the past for their compromise and the glory of their faith.

*"Friday night fever was alive and well in Santa Fe. Before long Zozobra was not. The 95<sup>th</sup>. burning of Old Man Gloom, a symbolic destruction of darkness and despair that has been one of Santa Fe's signature rituals..."*

Santa Fe New Mexican, Saturday, August 31, 2019, page A-4

*"Pasa un buen tiempo con mi raza, mal informados"*

Charlie Carrillo Field Diary 30.08.2019

I felt there was 'a something' after the continuous stressing of the number 95. I understood that showing in the press and having heard it produced all over from the blaring speakers at Marcy's, had gained a specific relevance and meaning to get conveyed to attendants. It was aimed at portraying consistency in the celebration and, most importantly, announcing the coming of the 100-year celebration. The present acts are getting value leveraged on past representations to construe the symbolism supporting the identity conscience of the community (Alonso, 1988; Macdonald 2013). The 100 figure brings overtly enormous relevance and symbolism. If I agree 'La Fiesta' as a shared showcase for moral values, the addition of Zozobra burning to the event, although not scheduled in the official program, helps as an enhancer to the recreation of new conditions for community members. A continuous evocation to validate what becomes genuine as a structure meant as a supporting act for the group reproduction

(Pujadas, 1993; Friedman, 1994; Hobsbawm and Ranger, 2002; Smith, 2006). There they get enabled to perform and integrate their social 'being.' The burning of Zozobra enters the field of simmering of festive time to balance the regular and the exceptional (Durkheim, 2008; Leach, 1971), in an interplay of social production that would transform into a tangible ritual space to everyone attending (Appadurai, 1996; Delgado, 2004; Lefebvre, 2009). It is 'La Fiesta' outside 'La Fiesta' for the people, and Zozobra is coming into this new festive addition, not yet officially at least, part of the scheduled program, as mentioned. The burning of Zozobra has become the most popular pulling attraction that sets off for the scheduled 'Fiesta' celebration. Friday, August the 30th. 2019 witnessed the 95th. burning of Zozobra. Will Shuster (1893–1969), a painter and sculptor residing in Santa Fe by the early nineteen hundreds, and a member of the art elite in town as part of the 'Cinco Pintores' group, built a puppet in 1924, inspired on an effigy he had seen during the Holy Week Celebrations of the Yaqui Indians of Mexico, and eventually ritually set alight (Lovato, 2004: 50). He called it Zozobra and burnt as the highlight point of a party privately held in his home's backyard. By 1926 (Wilson, 1997), it got included in the 'Fiesta' transformations and new format, part of the many changes introduced and blended intending to celebrate the multicultural past, the events, and the peoples of the Southwest.

*“Some younger kids believed that this Zozobra figure was like La Llorona...a giant paper puppet...designed and created in 1926 by Santa Fe artist Will Shuster, one of the original Los Cinco Pintores (a group of artists who were responsible for stablishing Santa Fe as an art colony).”*

(Romero, 2007: 155)

Zozobra became a fifteen-meter giant puppet that embodied sadness, anxiety, and gloom through time. It is a puppet made out of wood, cloth, and paper, that gets burnt as a liberation in the destruction of all the previous year's worries, as a symbol from everything that could be a bad omen at the end of summer in the coming of the new season. Zozobra has been burning ever since, initially a pagan ritual counterpoint to the religious and devotional spirit and eventually turned into a civic celebration. Although, as mentioned, it is not scheduled as part of the 'Official Fiesta Program,' it has got a place in everyone's mind frame for 'Fiesta' time, and it means the actual gate

opener for the celebration. The fact that it is a massive gathering, pulling up to Marcy's full capacity -sixty thousand people- makes evident the event's popularity and conciliatory fabric.

*“La Zozobra es un invento anglo de los años 20...Will Shuster empezó con un muñeco feo, ridículo y ‘chiquitiyo’ (sic.) que los de aquí desdeñaban. Los anglos querían participar de la fiesta al principio, pero no se querían integrar y los hispanos no lo compraron. Con los años se ha transformado en un ‘sell-out’, después de casi un siglo, gracias al poder de los anglos en la ciudad.”*

(Hilario Romero, Field Diary 06.10.2014)

The introduction of Zozobra proved a dividing and threatening point in the unitary



cultural and social values that 'Hispanos' assumed their cultural sense of belonging (Barth, 1969), as I see Hilario Romero's grim description. 'Hispanos' perceived 'La Fiesta' had become a far too commercial an event. As it grew more and more popular, attracting larger numbers of visitors every year, it went more and more away from former religious rituals and focus.

I got to Marcy, the city's old fort north of downtown, to join the observation of the burning of the 2019 Zozobra. It is Friday, August 30, at about 4:30 pm. The arrival and the entrance are riddled with police and security checkpoints, although there are still few people. Far too impressive the weaponry display. On a central promontory on the north side of the baseball diamond, the attendees' area, Zozobra stands tall, waiting for its fate. On the left side of the diamond, there is a stage where entertainers and bands try to cheer the crowd up. All around circling the site, there are food stands that would deliver food and beverages -bbq-corn husks, fennel, Navajo tacos, fry bread, lemonade, shaved ice-cones-. I notice there are plenty of 'gringos' already. The speakers cheer up the crowd bringing the 95-anniversary issue

over and over again and the auspices of the event promoter: The Kiwanis Club. The Kiwanis Club of Santa Fe got established in 1965 as a chapter of that international organization in order to protect, preserve and promote the unique arts, music, and cultural traditions of Santa Fe through Zozobra<sup>67</sup>. Most people just sit on the ground, on blankets, leisurely playing, and socializing; some dance just in front of the stage to whatever the bands and DJs would play. As people start to fill in the venue, you can notice a few drones, even a helicopter, flying overhead to fix security for the many security bodies present in the event. I have noticed City Police, State Police, National Guard, and private security. By 06:00 PM, three hours plus before burning sets off, you can tell the shuttle Rail-Runner trains from Albuquerque keep pulling in because of the rhythmic flow of crowds into the venue. I consider that is one of the peak points in the 'Fiesta' event. That Zozobra has become a gathering spectacle that had eventually transformed the former spirit by bringing the sign of the times into the celebration.

I sit down at one of the tables in the area just to nibble something. There is a middle-aged couple next to me, and I strike up a conversation. They ask me where I'm from, from my looks and Spanish accent. I interact in Spanish. They come from California, but they have got people in New Mexico. They come to the 'Fiesta' to enjoy themselves because it is a traditional and old celebration. People gather around to eat, and the younger ones dance to the music. There was hardly a spot left on the lawn to sit down at that time. I notice again that there are already many people with the mestizo features of the 'Hispanic' and Indian people of New Mexico, and you hear a lot of Spanish being spoken in the groups. I am reassured by Charlie's comment about 'la raza' earlier on. Recent readings on Hobsbawm's proposal come to mind. They bring upfront the blend of institutional interests, such as those put forward by the Kiwanis Club', and individual ones. The constant drilling of the 95-year celebration looks forward to that intention. It seemed as if the promoters of the unofficial opening of 'La Fiesta' were pushing for the consolidation of symbolism connoting cultural meaning by making present the time burning of Zozobra has been ongoing. However, the insertion of the event to promote the unique arts, music, and cultural traditions of Santa Fe

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<sup>67</sup> <https://burnzozobra.com/about/kiwanis-sf-history/> <accessed, December 10th, 2021, 14:32>

through the protection, preservation, and promotional endeavor, calls for a change in the social dynamics and symbolic build-up of the 'Fiesta' framework. The process' pace and rhythm in building ideology and supporting discourses about tradition becomes apparent. It is not only the confirmation of another transit from the normal-profane order to the exceptional-sacred one, as Delgado puts it (2004), in which daily quotidian life never ceases to be an interlude between two successive 'Fiestas.' In Santa Fe Fiesta, I find out a figure of extra complexity. The yearly cycle logic between 'Fiestas' gets entangled in the social mindset. The formal transit between times, from 'Fiesta' time to regular quotidian time, enters the blender of the Newmexicans popular conscience in the confrontation between the unofficial one growing in popularity and gaining the weight of tradition and the 'old-style' 'Fiesta.' In turn, mixed discourse will help discourses of identity and heritage of the people around me at that very moment. It will prove efficient on how people see themselves as participating in a tradition, putting into practice, and consolidating social relations around a collective catharsis, which occurs around the fire. In a less impulsive and less tradition-clad manner than the scheduled 'Fiesta,' the society also here makes itself present by exposing its own being. Although I have seen it heavily regulated and under control, fire as a cleanser comes entirely as a familiar recurrent symbol to this researcher. Fire becomes a symbol of expectancy of an unexpected event that mimics what Turner (1985) would refer to as a performance. Zozobra burning is an add-on transgression ritual that would explain the unstable equilibrium within the tamed social space, if not just for the contention that the presence of official security hinted. Discourse will help to articulate further identity and heritage discourses in the people around me at that very moment. It will prove efficient on how people see themselves as participating in a tradition, putting into practice, and consolidating social relations around a collective catharsis, which occurs around the fire. The festival's ritual connects with the past and will gain continuity and projection to what is to come in the future. Although the past becomes an inaccurate and not very tangible space that gets mixed in conversation and time. I keep moving around to check with the people, slower every minute because the place is getting crammed as the burning moment comes. Most people seem not to be sharing much or engaged in any participation of the entertainment. I was far from the stage then, and people entertained themselves in private conversations that turned into



roaring and bursting when the show started with Queen's Bohemian Rhapsody. Then came fireworks and drumbeats that led to the burning of Zozobra until it fell to the ground in a shroud of flame.

#### 4.11 Chapter recap

The purpose of this ethnography tour in this chapter has been to comprehensively lay out what I would call the situation room. The trip throughout the many scheduled steps and rituals included within the Santa Fe Fiesta Program has led us into a more extensive display of the reasoning behind it all. The utmost relevant conclusion would be that the theory devices at play concerning traditions, heritage, and identity have consistently worked in the setting. For what it has been reported all social practices exposed the exertion of agency in the production and reproduction of values and cultural connections affecting the community traditions. The analysis concepts have been effectively instrumental in coloring the information provided by informants, resources and displayed in the ethnographic performance. In that sense, the issue here would be how the calling for past memories and the options based on memories, customs, and specific community values would fit in the current 'Fiesta's' structure. Furthermore, by doing that I would have been able to get the gist on how instrumental a device 'past presencing' may become in shaping social structure and hierarchies, as well as keeping the grab upon the future of 'La Fiesta'.

The action of that strategy took us to pull references from cognitive systems that made apparent behavior issues hinting at self-evident oblivion dynamics. Most importantly those dynamics show up when it comes to the confrontation/acceptance of otherness within the inter-ethnic New Mexican society. This fact only delivers one of the problematic issues. 'La Fiesta' had become, once it had been molded in 1926, a mere product addressed to the visitors' attraction. In that endeavor, visitors become the final objective, as a profit and revenue resource. That was a conflicted topic because it posed a difficult to handle matter when it came to social inter-ethnic relations. What was the actual position of the communities involved in terms of

visibility, agency, and cooperation? The Fiesta's annual flow has been patching up unsorted and non-discussed issues underpinning the event endemic malfunctioning. But, at least, it has not prevented confrontation nor the willful determination of others to figure out imaginative solutions to the issues at stake. While dialogue appears to have opened new venues to deliver a more inclusive 'Fiesta,' based on the terms of mutuality and correspondence, the new ways towards new expressions of tradition, as the one embodied by the inclusion of 'non-Hispano' traditions, like Zozobra, remain open to analysis and interpretation.

## 5 CHAPTER 5: MoSCA THROUGH ETHNOGRAPHY

The second case of study leads us towards the Museum Hill, a museum complex on the foothills of Sangre de Cristo range, Southeast from downtown Santa Fe. The Museum of Spanish Colonial Art is one of the museum facilities up in Camino Lejo. It is adjoined there by three other museum buildings -the Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, the Museum of International Folk Art, and the Museum of Indian Arts & Culture-. They all are currently holding from the Department of Cultural Affairs. They all go to the existing cultural institutions functioning since the early nineteenth - the School of American Research, the Museum of New Mexico, and the Spanish Colonial Art Society. The museum itself gets its relevance first for the architectural style. It also provides a land base to the SCAS endeavor in preserving, collecting, curating exhibitions, and educational space. Because of the mission's specifics, it is also a cultural hub both for the 'Hispano' community and the general public.

The most relevant feature is that it has become a valuation center for juried Spanish Market artists, a repository of collections where those artists research for their work, and a unique exhibition center of traditional New Mexican, Spanish-related creativity, and artistic expression. The existence of the MoSCA takes on whole meaning when the Traditional Spanish Market is introduced. It comes as a convenient spot for the research of the artists; it also is a physical place for the artists to get juried for Market; finally, it is a gathering venue that makes a difference in a social environment marked by distancing. The Market is held annually on the last full weekend in July. SCAS registered, and juried artists exhibit their work in the La Plaza de Santa Fe and its surroundings. All arts and crafts expressions are present in this event: Traditional furniture, tinwork, 'colcha' textiles, woodcarving, and religious devotional artwork -'retablos' and 'bultos' -. Besides this institutional frame, some activities run parallel, reinforcing the local historical perception of tradition. Both do the job to conceptualize the preservation, production, and transmission of traditionally made art forms conveyed as heritage goods in the 'Hispano' community realm. There are local-based, mutuality-inspired, practice and training spaces where art wisdom gets passed through in the specific traditional form of the local 'santeros.' Both ways, as the two sides of a coin, get to feedbacking into each other to engage in the cultural performance. That

performance sustains the production of heritage leveraged by certain cultural traits and identity features (Macdonald, 2003: 3; Smith, 2006: 68).

### 5.1 New Mexican preservation logic

It is crystal clear, and it would be difficult to dispute that, but New Mexico's cultural wealth was as substantive as the social conditions that had set it out. Those conditions were stamped by remoteness and isolation. Santa Fe, the capital since 1610, had just one contact way to Mexico City. It was so on the north-south direction Camino Real, up to the end of the 18th. Century. Up until then, the east and the west commercial trails for New Mexico were entirely informal. I bring this issue over to highlight the isolation of that territory until it moved into the hands of the US. From that moment onwards, a process of cultural defense started to move. Former residents of the future state started to play the defense mechanism to protect their culture, tradition, and social scale. It was so as the rolling American cultural invasion became more apparent. That cultural protection started a discursive articulation and the analytical evaluation of specific cultural traits and features that would end up being conceptualized as heritage. 'Hispanos' needed to hook up into their own cultural battle, hence engaged in looking at their cultural drawers.

That process timely cursed along with the rationalization process that would endow the categories and concepts I am using with the values they got assigned up into the present day. The effect of 'Hispano' agency in that process, concerning tradition and heritage, initially followed the protection logic. However, 'Hispanos' had no plan or pattern scheduled for their heritage other than making it present to substantiate their daily life, to validate themselves in the new social structure. That shielding stance ended up giving rise to the argumentation of differentiated identification, through the articulation of the vindication of tradition and heritage, in a moment that the ethnic communities' differences in Newmexican society were promoted and enhanced.

The advent of new promoters playing the role of specialists within the Anglo elites helped fix some issues of concern. Encouraged by a sense of idealism, they were resolute in visualizing the cultures in the area they felt were at the risk of vanishing. To promote that vision, they retorted towards specific features of tradition. They aimed at the grand narratives of the past that Spanish tradition carried on. Although they were private-led initiatives, the emergence of these institutional bodies, SCAS and SAR, played that role, did the double game of the rescuing purpose and the eventual commodification of traditional 'Hispano' heritage.

Identity representation has historically been a conflicting issue in New Mexico. It was so because the American annexation fell on a very specific social fabric. First, it was the case of a rural society surviving in New Spain's high desert Northern borderlands and resisting the raids of the prairie bands. In that geographical environment, the social disposition was of a small number of communities scattered in a vast territory. The 1790 ethnic structure census of Northern New Mexico, as reported by Nieto-Phillips (2004: 31) on the information gathered by Alicia V. Tjarks, talks about a population in the vicinity of the fifteen thousand people, with almost three thousand residing in the capital, Santa Fe. That would mean nobody had been censused in the harsher parts of the desert South of Albuquerque, which would have meant half of the territory was no man land. Such an isolated and dispersed society kept a tightly knitted relationship system based on mutuality and support for economic and self-protection matters. As informed, the social hierarchy held on the former colonial segregation - 'casta'- system, and 'mestizaje' was commonplace in a society with little or no other devices to socially survive. The independence of Mexico, in 1821, with the introduction of social changes proposed by Plan de Iguala, had no real time to consolidate. Just one generation after that, by 1848, the complex New Mexico's Spanish-rooted cultural and historical traditions, and practices, that had been building up for a couple of centuries had to subdue to the new American administration.

Mid eighteenth hundred's Newmexicans, still in the conceptualization, had to give in to the quick assimilation process that took effect as part of westward expanding American society. Living through that shake-up stipulated an outright conflicting situation. As decades went by, the internal strife marked the social environment for

Newmexicans. Local private interests were at odds with each other in terms of territorial management and political ambitions, which included the antagonistic views on incorporation to the Union. The end of the eighteenth hundreds and the beginning of the new century saw the consolidation of intellectuals, artists, and writers moving to New Mexico, part of the migration tides flooding New Mexico Territory, while internal territorial feuds were at their peak. One telling example would be the separation through the independence process of Arizona, part of the New Mexico territory up until 1863 (Larson, 1968: 226). Since 1850 through 1900 New Mexico's population had tripled<sup>68</sup>. That meant that while local institutions, the powerful Santa Fe ring amongst them, were struggling for a political system suitable for the American status, namely getting a constitution fitted for statehood admission, regular Newmexicans were generally indifferent to the opportunities those steps might bring. The social struggle caused by the new demographics' situation posed by the massive addition of foreigners got shrouded in that balance.

Anthropologist Charles Lummis, one of amongst the social sciences' scholars researching within the Southwest communities, as informed elsewhere, went to New Mexico looking for the nostalgic vision of a grandiose Spanish past. That was part of an idyllic vision on the Southwest. The Southwest that was being ravaged and was turning more into a concept than a topographic environment. Lummis, a self-declared Hispanophile, got addressed to fight against the discredited and amoral image that Southwest's ethnic groups had in front of American society and dismantle the Spanish conquest's black legend, fascinated, like many of his contemporaries, by the Spanish colonial past. The promotion of an idealized Southwest and a Spanish past within it was meant to balm the relentless advance of progress and the destruction of ancient cultural forms it was causing in its wake. One of the most apparent collateral damages was the decline of traditional cultures. The surging of the term traditional would define the scenario I work in. The preservation of tradition and, connected to that, histories, customs, memories, language, and even values came at the risk of disappearing due to

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<sup>68</sup> New Mexico's population: 61.547 (1850), 195.310 (1900).

Source <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1940/population-volume-1/33973538v1ch07.pdf>, page 695.

the cultural shock at work. In that wave, the Hispanophile idealization derived in the fascination for everything that could be categorized as 'Hispano' -language, customs, traditions, beliefs, values, culture-, to the point of conforming to a complex cultural pattern. To a great extent, that conditioned the perception that Anglos instructed the state's ideology since its inclusion in 1912 and fixed the self-perception that 'Hispanos' themselves would form of themselves. This whole setting would inform how 'Hispanos' and their homeland got instrumental in becoming rhetorical figures in an exercise of intellectual colonialism. That type of colonialism would alienate 'Hispanos' internalizing outsider's expectations as the ultimate indicator of lost authenticity (Guthrie, 2013: 93), in becoming 'de-territorialized' and acculturated objects, in their own land and within their own culture. It is so understandable Rudolfo Anaya's lament (Melendez, 2001: 267), already in the 1960s, who were admittedly taking much of his identity from the values and the tribal way of life of the ancient Newmexicans, from their myths, legends, and the land, all sacred, perceived his future and the traditional community forms were in danger due to the political and economic dimension that the inter-ethnic relationships were taking on.

One of the fixtures in the machinery of that internal colonialism was the foundation of the School of American Archaeology (SAA), by Edgar Lee Hewett, in 1907. Illinois born Hewett (1865 – 1946) was an archaeologist and anthropologist, both of them very young disciplines then, who led some of the most significant archaeological digs in the Southwest in the twentieth century -Bandelier, Chaco Canyon, and Mesa Verde-. He was focused on New Mexico and the southwestern United States' Native Americans. A prominent figure statewide, he was recognized for pushing the Antiquities Act legislation (June 8, 1906)<sup>69</sup>, a policy endeavor advocating for the protection of any general kind of cultural or a natural resource, that consistently supported heritage preservation projects. Hewett was also the founder of the Museum of New Mexico and the first president of the New Mexico Normal School, now New Mexico Highlands University, in Las Vegas, NM. Hewett mastered a plan for Santa Fe's economic revitalization in all those capacities. With the pushing for distinctive projects that remodeled the city and cultivated the projection of Indian and Spanish exotic

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<sup>69</sup> <https://www.nps.gov/archeology/tools/laws/antact.htm> <accessed, December 11<sup>th</sup>, 2021, 09:35>

views, he aimed at the promotion of an image attractive to tourism. One of those initiatives had to do with planning a civic improvement, a systematic attempt to define Santa Fe's architecture, devising an inventive combination of Spanish and local Native building design. That project was behind the later conceptualization of the 'Santa Fe style,' arguably considered (Wilson, 1997; Guthrie, 2013) a profoundly antihistorical one, in the vein of romanticism and picturesque styling, concealing railroad era architecture underneath adobe 'enjarrado'<sup>70</sup>. Both authors, though, rendering more genuine the reality of the Southwest linked to that 'railroad architecture'. That Santa Fe style (Annex Image - 7) was consistent with John Gaw Meem's architecture, already working on that direction in those days, and reflecting the architect's interests in regional 'Hispano' culture. An interest that would later get reflected on the building that eventually would host the Museum of Spanish Colonial Art.

All the support to the 'Hispano' cause got conceptually engulfed by a widespread concern for the recovery, preservation, and safeguarding of traditions and heritage. That was the main logic and, by that time, part of the ideological conveyor belt that supported and fueled the construction of modern nation-states since the mid-eighteen hundreds. In this sense, the ideology applied in New Mexico follows a logic of taking advantage of an existing culture, the one of the Spanish tradition, to produce a different entity. It would feed the construction of an exportable product to attract visitors in the nascent times of industrial and mass tourism. It would also provide symbolic consistency to the new developing state. The argument line followed the reductionist symbolism of a tri-cultural state that eventually solidified as a state symbol and motto. The idea was one of a tri-ethnic Newmexican society, that had already been simmering spurred and promoted by socio-economic elites for decades. A message of a social and cultural blender that would get marketed as a commodified ethnic property (Rodriguez, 1990; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009). In that triage time, popular classes were not well-positioned to pick the relation between traditions and culture. They just had enough living them. It was then the turn of the specialists to define from their

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<sup>70</sup> Author's note: 'Enjarrar' is a Spanish term used in New Mexico to describe the finishing process of exterior walls in adobe-built constructions, that needs to get redone to maintain the outer shell in the building and for aesthetic purposes.



knowledge and from their position in the social and intellectual hierarchy, which were the features that would inform tradition as part of the culture.

Those were the days when an effective way to introduce the presentation of traditions was staging diverse vernacular arts and crafts expressions showcased as folklife samples. There was motion and a flurry of theme fairs, and New Mexico's institutions started to display what was at hand from local culture to promote what the state had achieved. That is the point behind the reshaping of 'La Fiesta' with the introduction of themed arts and crafts markets, music, and dances from diverse local communities, portrayed as a genuine and legitimate cultural and traditional backdrop.

Three prominent cultural institutions lay the foundations for the later setting of the Museum of Spanish Colonial Art in that breeding ground: The Museum of New Mexico, The Spanish Colonial Art Society, and the School of Advanced Research.

- In 1907, Edgar Lee Hewett founded the seminal School for American Archeology in Santa Fe as a center for archaeological research in the Americas, to promote that discipline in the Southwest. By 1917 the name changed to the School of American Research (SAR) to reflect the expansion of the institution's mission and vision that had broadened towards more educational tasks. In 2007, SAR's centennial celebration the name was changed to the current School of Advanced Research "to better reflect the global reach of its support for scholarship in the social sciences and humanities"<sup>71</sup>.
- "In 1909, the territorial legislature established the Museum of New Mexico as a de facto agency of School for American Archeology, creating a relationship that would continue for the next fifty years. Hewett headed both the Museum and the School"<sup>72</sup>. The Museum of New Mexico is a curatorial enterprise encompassing the Palace of the Governors state history museum, the New Mexico Museum of Art, the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture, the Museum of International Folk Art, the archaeology division, and the state historic sites, reorganized since 2004 within the state's cabinet level Department of Cultural Affairs.

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<sup>71</sup> <https://sarweb.org/> <accessed, December 15<sup>th</sup>, 2021, 017:35>

<sup>72</sup> <https://sarweb.org/about/history-of-sar/> <accessed, December 15<sup>th</sup>, 2021, 20:03>

- The Society for the Revival of Spanish Arts and the Society for the Restoration and Preservation of Spanish Mission Churches of New Mexico engaged together to seed for the Spanish Colonial Art Society in 1925. By 1929 the Society was incorporated in Santa Fe under the founding direction of Mary Austin, and Frank G. Applegate “to encourage and promote generally in New Mexico and elsewhere Spanish Colonial art; to preserve and revive the Spanish Colonial art and interest therein; to collect, preserve, and restore Spanish Colonial art of every character,...to educate the public generally and the members of this corporation especially in the importance of Spanish Colonial art in the civilization of New Mexico and elsewhere, present, past, and future, and in the various phases of earlier art as well as its modern development in every branch of the same...”<sup>73</sup>

The three combined have underscored the content of institutional discourse for the last century, feeding alongside the aestheticization of the cultural split within the Newmexican society. The tri-ethnic social proposal that had been discursively working from the early days, emphasizing the history of inter-ethnic social cooperation and harmonious social and cultural interbreeding, as Governor Prince (1883) had boasted, eventually filtered into the cultural realm. Kearns and Philo (1993) and Soja (1996) argue that by reducing the cultural difference to the aesthetics issue, I can directly point out to the tri-ethnic split workout, 'otherness' gets de-politicized and de-historicized. Suddenly there was no more one New Mexico but three divided ways to approach into New Mexico realities, from the cultural and social perspectives. There was no space left to publicly deliver through 'Fiesta' days what was currently happening in social life. Somehow the society had gotten dismembered from association and mutuality continuity left out to communities' self-interests. The logic of making valuable the state's cultural fabric of 'otherness,' the community's diversity split delivered in aesthetic terms, fed the realization of a product as a safe item for cultural consumption. New Mexico was calling for visitors, for social relevance and visibility within the Union, and that went to the cost of vernacular history obliteration and to the benefit of the steady progression of Anglo economic and cultural control (Jameson, 1992). Horton

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<sup>73</sup> <https://www.spanishcolonial.org/about-us/history/> <accessed, December 1<sup>st</sup>, 2021, 21:22>

(2010: 23) straightforwardly addressed the issue of how Santa Fe Plaza, as an example, had physically embodied the master symbol of the process of 'Hispano' displacement from the city. She did so, inferring the effect gentrification and industrial-led tourism had on the city structure first, and on the demographic's displacement later on, and how symbolic dispossession might drill the social fabric. I understand that the dispossession fact entails a contentious issue on what is original, authentic, or otherwise, as it had already happened in the New Mexico cultural sphere. The challenging recovery, preservation, and safeguarding tasks lost track of the symbolical meaning, emotional connection, and sense of belonging in the cultural process, operating on the specialist concern. In that sense, there was a disconnect between reality and authenticity. The construction of a new reality departed from a restyling and recreation with an outer purpose. It was a cultural artifact devised for the ultimate goal: attracting visitors and tourist cultural consumption. Because of that, authenticity needs to get matched to the visitor's desire. New Mexico had been conveniently idealized as that exotic part of the country where the remnants of the past stayed to supply authenticity. New Mexico also supplied, and here specialists and experts did quite a talented efficient job, the remedy of what MacCannell (2013: 3) calls modernity's sense of instability and inauthenticity. He reasons that part of modernity's conquering spirit comes from searching for what is considered purer and simpler from other cultures' lifestyles. "[R]eality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere" (Ibid.), and New Mexico catered for nostalgia and authenticity concerns within the boundaries of the land.

SAR took charge of the Fiesta management in 1924, after a boosting revival attempt in 1919. On the sole responsibility of E. L. Hewett, it was an experiment upgrading the former vernacular celebration, a celebration of an unmistakable religious character and orientation, up to one that would be mass-exposed, which involved engaging the whole city for a three-day presentation. After him, artists and writers threw themselves into devising a plan to create a "colorful marketplace in the Plaza, with numerous booths, a unique procession, a round of revelry concluding with a carnival" (Walter, 1924: 183) to remind the atmosphere of festive days in Spain. Altogether, a proposal to depict a historical content picture in line with the promoters'

task, prestige, and expertise. The work of specialists entered the cultural equation appointing themselves to bring the value of knowledgeable expertise in. By doing so, they made the selection from traditional traits that would treat performances as objects to eventually turn them into heritage as part of the whole process. Hewett and his cohorts were the specialist ones who put into operation the three-day Fiesta bringing a detailed presentation, based on selected researched items of Spanish colonial traditional culture, those specialists not being 'Hispano' lineage related none of them. Despite the tenacious and comprehensive work done for that research, that selection forcibly started a process that diverted from the previous status and conditions. In fact, two of the major events currently shaping Santa Fe's summer festive calendar sprung from the momentum the new 'Fiesta' gained in the following years, eventually becoming massive attractions for visitors. One was the Indian Market that SAR instituted in 1924, after the expressed concerns by many artists and intellectuals over the decline of Native arts and crafts. The other one was the Spanish Market initiated during 1926 Santa Fe Fiestas, under the auspices of SCAS, and Mary Austin and Frank Applegate's direction, for the revitalization of local Spanish art that had historically been under-represented. Native Pueblo and 'Hispano' cultural traditions



were exposed to public view and the marketing venture. This was the braided cultural landscape that worked by the first decades of the twentieth century in Santa Fe around the multi-ethnic cultural Newmexican landscape.

The museum building got brought into this cultural picture as a final realization -inaugurated in 2002- of a long-held dream devised by the foundational members of the SCAS to foster the preservation, continuation, and development of Spanish art and craft traditions in the Southwest. This building closed down the cultural structure constructed by the Museum of New Mexico upon the Museum Hill in Santa Fe to pay tribute to the largest

ethnic minority in the state. The MoSCA vision states that "The Museum of Spanish Colonial Art offers a welcome into the life and heart of Hispano culture, preserving and honoring traditional Spanish Colonial art forms as expressed in New Mexico and around the world, and celebrating the continuing evolution of this aesthetic" (Padilla, 2002: xv). The larger SCAS project for the museum would intend to collect and preserve Spanish Colonial art forms around the world. However, most of the temporary exhibitions displaying artwork from other parts of the Spanish world are contextual in their interpretation to what the core display in the museum would be:

- The presentation of local artists' artwork dealing with Spanish colonial-inspired art, mainly on the devotional tone.
- Art as a meaningful provider to the traditional life of the Spanish/Mexican-related peoples in New Mexico.

It is also relevant to the vision's segment that aims at the celebration and the continuing evolution of that aesthetic in New Mexico. The museum has got to play the role of a hub within Santa Fe and New Mexico's society, turning into an educational flagship providing access to general audiences on to Newmexican 'Hispano' history and the intrinsic nature of Spanish culture stressing on the specifics of the region. The aesthetics of the museum building are purposefully telling, conjuring all the symbolic meaning available. The architect of choice was well-known John Gaw Meem. Meem was one of the first architects associated with the Regionalism school, profoundly influencing American aesthetics in the first decades of the twentieth century. His efforts to revive local Pueblo and Spanish Colonial building techniques inspired the inter-breeding architectural aesthetic that has continued to this day branded as the 'Santa Fe style' and 'Pueblo Revival style.' The resolute objective was to visualize and reinforce the message of traditional authenticity connected to the land and the Newmexican communities through architectural shape, form, and texture. The outcome was an eclectic experiment using local architectural forms on modern building techniques and materials.

## 5.2 Heritage as commodity

One of the main tasks that marked the conservation and promotion path proposed by the museum was related to a romantic vision of the 'Hispano' past. In fact, there was a contradictory cultural position in terms of the stance of cultural patrons in front of cultural hierarchies. One of the leading luminaries in the endeavor, Mary Austin showed a conflicting position on dealing with an ethnic difference, as Gonzales-Berry and Maciel (2000: 85) reported “...*the Spanish language must go. There is no economic value in writing in Spanish and where talent exists it should be developed in English, about things in Spanish, if possible...Spanish customs, life, language, history...anything.*”

There was not an easy outcome when the SCAS founders' narrative and vision were diametrically opposed to the attitude of the Anglo-Saxon culture's dominant hierarchy towards the aesthetics of 'Hispano' art. 'Hispano' art was relegated to the crafty, folk-art sphere and opposed to fine art, in an always present artisan versus artist dichotomy. The lack of sophistication in the artistic expression of the Newmexican art legacy was taken as 'crude,' 'primitive,' and 'grotesque.' To their fellow Americans, "Hispano culture was perceived as exotic, pagan and foreign (Nunn, 1998: 16) by the Protestant-Anglo aesthetics and sensibilities brought into New Mexico after the 1848 occupation. Altogether the frameset of Hispanophobia and anti-Mexicanism that the Manifest Destiny's message had spread all over the country (Rodriguez, 1989). Those background cultural environs posed SCAS in a unique, contradictory, and frail position. SCAS was actually pitching a message to preserve and promote an art form coming from the stigmatized section of the Newmexican society. Since the entire Board - promoters and curatorial personnel- were, and most importantly, belonged to the Anglo community, it was fully understood by all social agents, they were promoting their task from a privileged position in the social and cultural hierarchy. They pushed to take advantage of sales to collectors and customers in those capacities, as financial success was paramount for the whole enterprise. In that logic of economics and an attempt to have a physical space available, SCAS promoted the venture of a retail curio store in Santa Fe's Sena Plaza back in the 1930s.



However, the outlet produced poorly financially and soon ceased operation. Nevertheless, despite those attempts, there was a missing link in the preservation and further expansion structure. There was a need for a solid

physical space to consolidate the project. Furthermore, most of the SCAS' assets had been held on the Museum of New Mexico and the Museum of International Folk Art. The museum was to become the realization of a physical space that would provide materiality to the sense of place. MoSCA created that awareness of place both to the institution -SCAS- and support to the 'Hispano' imagined community. The museum entered the game both as an interpretation enabler and a heritage trophy. It became the embodiment of all the triggered memories into a material good, a building. A building bound as a heritage container, a place for remembrance and performance, an inherited container to receive, transmit and revere the past on the community commitment to educate and inform future generations. The Museum accomplished two different objectives with its sole realization. The centralized consolidation of the rescue, protection, and preservation project enhanced through systematic purchase and collection of 'Hispano-related' artworks, and the curatorial task aimed at permanent and temporary exhibitions. The second fed that sense of debt many 'Hispano' artists, and the community along them, conveyed as an urge to restore and pay honor to both ancestors and descendants. Combining those objectives, the museum became a hub where artists could get some extra public visibility beyond the social exposure, they would get during SCAS' promoted Market days. The funds in the museum's vaults and collections, until the inauguration in 2002 held by the MoIFA, eventually bound a massive art repository together. In their coming together, they opened a space for dialogue and research, where artists would attend to confront ideas and projects or to do research for their artwork. It provided a very efficient tool because, in line with MacCanell's assertions (2013: 78), MoSCA has become a combined force of resocialization of traditional peoples and a reinforcer of modern values. Artists

have a powerful resource to support their research with the curatorial team backing. Likewise, the museum tools enable the conversion of a public space into scholar research center.

However, the relationships between the parts, SCAS, and artists seem not to have run smoothly. There is a substantial divergence between both parties' final objectives and vision and the way they articulate the reasoning. SCAS' mission aims to build a patrimonial body based on collections, preservation tasks, and exhibitions. MoSCA would not be considered, according to those terms, just a display of historical and cultural objects. It would also go further into the educational field, with a pedagogical target about the 'Hispano' culture. On those grounds, there is an educational funded program to teach, display, perpetuate, and enhance valuable techniques and methods used in the production of 'Hispano' traditional arts and crafts as an instrument providing continuity to living traditions. By 2002, SCAS' preservation efforts had already built a solid base of collections throughout the years. In fact, that was what founders urged to do. The objective was to focus more on the traditional aesthetic field of antiquarian-like objects that would convey some sense of authenticity by their historical value. Nevertheless, there was another functioning line that collided with that former one. Because of the relevance tourists and visitors had earned, in terms of economic power and business revenue, artists were encouraged to shape the standards of their designed craft to meet the tourists' tastes and demand for objects. So, artists began a reproduction process of traditional colonial crafts -colcha embroidery, tinwork, and assorted woodwork styles- for market consumption. The SCAS' intention was double-sided. First, it was addressed to stimulate the demand that was formerly crucial for the Market's financial success. Second, it meant to tackle and relieve the endemic financial distress many 'Hispano' individuals and families lived with. The directives were crystal clear.

*"...making traditional crafts means adhering to the Spanish Colonial style developed by SCAS, that is, replicating nineteenth-century religious and domestic items found in museums, private collections, and some churches...perpetuating a revival style begun in the 1920s in response to early Anglo patrons."*



(Farago and Pierce, 2006: 252) (Annex Image – 5)

The adherence to SCAS fixed rules on the part of 'Hispano' artists in response to buyers' aesthetics criteria and commercial demands (Annex Image – 6) set in the early days would play as an art blockade in terms of re-presentation and 're-presentation.' When I refer to re-presentation, I talk about the capacity to call for the rules that inform the transmission values of tradition, providing the viewer with the closest approach to the specific reality. In that sense, 'Hispano' artists, arranging their craft around adherence to 'foreign' SCAS rules, would get prevented from calling for their own set of shared beliefs connected to traditions and symbolic references cherished to them.

That also introduced the dilemma of direction and validation of tradition based on hierarchy status. Re-presentation in my case gets addressed in two different ways, the one -SCAS- curtailing the agency of the other -artists-, by limiting the reference to their own constructed narratives and sense of belonging (Massey, 1999; Escobar 2002; Smith, 2006).

For us, 're-presentation' would mean changing the presentation resources and would fall into the museum realm. As MacCannell (2013: 78) articulates, it would be an arrangement of art pieces in a specific, arbitrary disposition cut off from the pieces' original context. So, while 'Hispano' traditional colonial art gets more connected to the caricature SCAS ruled for 'Hispano' tradition, artists are less able to get displayed or expose themselves in a different context and get more constrained to walk their art into the necessary experiments of modern human mentality. The aesthetic standards established by SCAS, about the reproduction of nineteenth-century religious and domestic arts and crafts, to validate participation in the Traditional Spanish Market, leave little room for artists to maneuver in the introduction of methodological, technical, or aesthetic variants for the works to be juried by the Board. Family ties to a 'Hispano' Newmexican lineage would be the first criteria to be accepted as a juried participant into the Market. Participation gets also predicated in the craft of traditionally considered tools and materials. There is a traditional way to hand mix the paint and varnishes from natural pigments and naturally produced, locally gathered materials, like 'trementina'. There is also a field of wood material used for the painting

and the carving, like cottonwood and piñon pine. Finally, there is a whole set of technical methodologies related to the whole crafting process.

Even though the museum would appear as a purposeful platform for dialogue in pursuing focal topics, it shows the diverging approaches parties have taken on the path Spanish Colonial Art should lead. The SCAS' set of aesthetic standards, to validate the inclusion in the Traditional Spanish Market, leave little room for the artists' maneuvering. Those rules prevent the introduction of methodological, technical, or aesthetic variants in the works that are presented for evaluation to the Board. Those artists who would not meet established benchmarks on art piece's size, proportions, and used materials would fail to go through the SCAS juried process to join the Traditional Spanish Market. They nevertheless had the opportunity to join the Contemporary Arts Spanish Market that functions as a sidekick to the Traditional. That division would bring the idea of a false narrative confronting the contemporary to the traditional that Handler and Linnekin (1984) paired with the dichotomy of tradition versus modernity. However, some artists meant to expand their creative scope, experimenting with individual versions of traditionally considered topics. As a result, the SCAS eventually introduced, in 2011, a new juried subcategory called "Innovations within the Tradition." As the SCAS statement shows, "the innovations can be in subject, form, materials, tools, and/or techniques while still working within the traditional format,<sup>74</sup>" as Orlando Romero (Field Diary 25.10.2014) put it "temáticas tradicionales pero tratadas de una forma moderna", somehow fitting demands from all parties - artists, SCAS, and general public- to bring traditionally considered aesthetics and methodologies to the current times, and ways of expression. No wonder the use of traditionally made materials would be at stake, with the introduction of industrially made products and the new graphic and reproduction technologies. There is always some contention between the parties, around who is who in the decision making and direction taking. An undisclosed artist<sup>75</sup> informer reflected on that dichotomous struggle underlying the coexistence of the 'Hispano' artists and the SCAS:

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<sup>74</sup> <https://www.spanishcolonial.org/spanish-markets/art-categories/innovations-within-the-tradition/> <accessed, December 21<sup>st</sup>, 2021, 01:02>

<sup>75</sup> Field Diary, email 15 February 15<sup>th</sup>. 2019, 04:06PM

*"[m]y understanding is they -SCAS- were meant to preserve threatened arts/crafts expressions from disappearing, since their inception. They provided expert knowledge in the art of preservation. Is there today just a single reason for you to play Japanese under the Chinese ruling ("Do the Japanese rely on the Chinese to preserve their art and culture?")...I recall Don Matsen (sp), an early director of the market, when someone complained that there were no Spanish voices on the Board, stated that if you let "them" run it, they'll run it into the ground. There seems to have been a superior attitude that the Anglo opinion was superior to anyone else's".*

I enter into a domain that brings to light the battle for the construction and validation of tradition as a condition to identity performed through constructed heritage. The struggle between the 'Hispano' community inward version, the 'emic' struggle, versus the 'etic' version exposed by outsider agents external to the self-defined 'Hispano' community. It all has been an issue that deals with mutual acknowledgment between both parts but resents from uneven symbiosis. Both parts' perspectives and logic depart from different harbored ideas. 'Hispanos' would go to stress their agency in referencing, consolidating, and projecting towards the future their specific unilateral relationship with their past, evoking it from memories that help to reinforce the shared value of their identity (Kirchenblatt-Gimblett, 1995; Novelo, 2005; Smith, 2006; Harrison, 2013). SCAS's perspective seemed to address the narratives conceptually pouring from modern reflexivity (Santamarina, Del Mármol, Beltran, 2014; Hafstein, 2018) as Farago and Pierce (2006) above laid out and got embedded in the Society's mission statement, upon the paradigm of one of the assets heritage got rooted: the preservation and collection endeavor addressed to educational and revitalization purposes.

MoSCA cannot be fully understood without the presence of the Traditional Spanish Market. The Traditional Spanish Market, commonly known as the Spanish Market, is a festive and commercial event held annually on the last full weekend in July. It is an event referred to as a heritage event by the institutions for the promotion of 'Hispano' traditional arts and crafts. That promotion involves an art contest to award the best pieces in each of the categories. For the Market, there are booths set around the Santa Fe Plaza and neighboring streets where the artists display their wares for sale, along demonstration booths to inform and educate visitors. All arts and crafts

expressions related to the Newmexican 'Hispano' tradition get to be present in this event: traditional furniture, tinwork, 'colcha' textiles, woodcarving, and the most prominent and present of them all, religious devotional artwork, mainly in the form of 'retablos' and 'bultos.' There is a certain leaning to this latter art expression, but there are contradictory perceptions on this, as Marie Romero-Cash articulated (Field Diary, email February 12<sup>th</sup>. 2019, 09:25 PM):

*"I can't say that their vision -SCAS- still stands. It appears to me that not only has it become too large and unwieldy, but the focus also seems to lean more toward being a religious celebration than cultural. Some of the artists seem to focus on this also, but many members of the public see that as something negative rather than positive."*

The promoter -SCAS- would stress the discourse of tradition leaning on a specific feature of the 'Hispano' cultural experience, the devotional art. It would do so on matters of traditional symbolism for the 'Hispano' community and for the unbeatable commercial success. 'Hispano' religious art, as ruled by SCAS, retains the rough exotic features of the past while being executed by modern artists loaded with the traditional patina. Some 'santeros' had comfortably followed that trend because of the aesthetics and popularity of the art form. Artists would conveniently match the meaningful connection to the re-presentational frame, although some, as Marie would suggest, resent from that one-sided direction. To her avail, her prestige, know-how, experience, and broad customer base provide the conditions to argue that some sections of the public would find that restrictive approach to traditional art quite negatively. Even though 'retablo' has a defined meaning in the Spanish language, in New Mexico, they are referred to as the painted wood slab that previously had been primed with one or more layers of plaster (gesso). They are usually showing a Holy image and get used to decorating public spaces -churches, chapels, moradas, or fraternal organizations-, as well as small private altars and family homes. They are often assembled in narrative larger pieces called 'reredos' and used to decorate the altar or the transept in the church. What Newmexicans call 'bultos' are the three-dimensional carved representation image of a Holy one. They can either show in the polychrome style or unpainted. Artists allowed into the Market are SCAS registered and juried following the model established in the early twentieth century. The market is a whole activity in the

sense that it is aimed at engaging in educational interaction with visitors and buyers and a commercial display. Artists get exposed and do business there, and the revenue coming from sales helps them go through the year.

*“Market now is really disappointing 'cause it's... OK they got Board members in there according to how much money you have to get in and all... some of these Board members know ‘nothing’ of the culture...of our culture in there... and they get in because of money...prestige... so one of the guys that's one of their Vice Presidents last year... they asked him to get the judges for the pre-showing... he said I know nothing of Spanish art... all I know is eastern art, that's my specialty but he picked judges...the judges he picked knew nothing of what they were judging.”*

Transcript Monica Sosaya interview February 01, 2019

Monica certainly resents that in her views, the traditional values she supports, the ones reflecting on a deep long Spanish-lineage past, have gotten intruded on by people having no actual interest other than social prestige. As a result, the emotional connections that underscore the set of communal values she would put upfront get severed by the ruling of outsiders.

*“[t]hat's where I'm having a lot of problems with the direction that the traditional Spanish market is going. Unfortunately, what it happened I was one of the very lucky ones that was able to innovate and still stay within the criteria of the standards to be in straw applique... but what has happened is most of the artists have just followed a certain pattern of doing ‘retablos’ and ‘bultos’ and they have not been able to expand and create and go beyond that”.*

Transcript Charlie Sanchez interview Febrero 14, 2019

There is a tricky terrain about the diverging adherence to tradition private experiences and that on fixed rules, the latter to give continuity to institutionalized tradition from the ‘otherness’ split between the SCAS and the artists. A tradition fabrication following what Kirchenblatt-Gimblett (1998), Hobsbawm and Ranger (2002), and Sánchez-Carretero (2013) about how some specific policies become paramount in fixing what experts would consider proper to do about cultural and material recovery projects. Charlie Sanchez brings the issue of balance in navigating that always swift dichotomy between tradition as a reverberation of the past and

modernity. He reckoned he had managed to fit the aesthetic standards while expanding the craft introducing aesthetic novelty and a modern approach in his interpretation of tradition. Some artists take a stance and manage to operate within the contrast between institutional and local depictions of tradition.

**Q: “Muy importante la tradición para ti... ya sé que hemos hablado de esto muchas veces...”**

*A: “Hay gente que quiere trabajar conmigo que les enseño...como una mujer vino p’acá qué puede pintar bien y quería pintar retablos...le estaba enseñando cómo pintar retablos pero a una gente les puedes enseñar y alguna gente no...porque ella sabía todo y yo le decía...no tenía paciencia...porque vamos a comenzar aquí, te voy a enseñar con me enseñaron a mí...estamos aquí, aquí... comenzamos el yeso...a la otra semana venía p’acá y ‘jayó’ un retrato moderno y la pintó...yo le dije, señora ¿quieres aprender tradicional o quieres no más pintar, otro modelo? No, no, tradicional...y le dije yo al final, no puedo trabajar contigo...pero la Nina, estoy trabajando con una... se llama Nina y tiene como 22 o 23...y la Nina lo conocí porque yo iba a enseñar en una escuela, una tarea en una escuela aquí en Montano... cuando ella tenía como 10 años...y yo sabía en ese tiempo...pintó un retablo de nuestra señora de Guadalupe...tenía 10 años y esa si tiene talento...y un día la vi en misa y me dijo Adan ¿que puedo hablar contigo?... sí dije ¿me enseñas cómo hacer bultos? ...bultos, dije, o retablos...no, yo quiero hacer bultos...y ahora está trabajando en los bultos...luego la Clarisa, la hija de Alcario ...tampoco no tenía paciencia... en veces viene y en veces no...pero, tiene talento como su papá...natural y yo debe de hablar con el Alcario y le dije al Alcario: “oye, tu hija me preguntó p’a trabajar con ella...porqué en veces un papá no puede trabajar con su hija...igual como la Jenina...yo si le digo algo y luego dice, ¡vaaaaa!”*

**Q: “...y esa señora, con la que no podías trabajar que quería trabajar.”**

*A: “...quería hacer retablos, pero retablos, pero como no de este estilo entonces ...mas finos...más, sabes... y pero me habló otra vez a ver si podemos trabajar porque...la quiero convidar otra vez, pero vamos a sentarnos primero...yo no puedo enseñaros...porque esta tradición es para mí tan importante para mí...es la herencia de nosotros y está la cultura de nosotros y esta fe de nosotros...y esto es lo que quiero pasar a otros...yo no me voy a cambiar por otra gente.”*

Adan Carriaga’s interview January 10<sup>th</sup>. 2019

Carriaga's model here shows another strand of activities to pass through and perpetuate tradition following 'Hispano' community 'emic' rules. A Spanish Market 'santero' himself, he learned his art and trade from the mutuality experience, sharing wisdom and know-how with other fellow-'Hispano' artists, grounded on the fact that they emphasize social and community continuity. They do that in terms of devotional training with a strong sense of duty, commitment, and compromise to the set of values they honor as cultural heritage. There have been amazingly proficient samples of artists' collaboration over the last few decades, but, again, collaboration has been taken from the experience of grassroots mutuality. That would be the case with 'La Escuelita del Santo Niño de Atocha' in Albuquerque. That school-like, educational places, called 'Esquelas' o 'Esquelitas' (sic.), sprouted in Northern New Mexico primarily as individual grassroots efforts to perpetuate artistic and craft styles of the 'Hispano' tradition. Artists gathered to train apprentices to perpetuate what they referred to as traditional ways and techniques. They blend their own painting colors, carve, and prepare their own wood slabs for painting, and most importantly, they do it attached to the devotional character of the art they practice through storytelling and prayer. Altogether, the craft practice and the means used to engage into it fit that perspective of social continuity through communal relationality and mutuality in conveying and transmitting tradition. 'Esquelitas' sprouted down in Albuquerque's North and South Valleys, by the efforts of 'santero' masters Carlos Otero, Alcario Otero, Adan Carriaga, Federico Prudencio. Also, at the Española Valley's villages with a heavy presence of 'Hispano' community organized groups, do the educational task to conjure the connection to the past with social practices. They do so by echoing a powerfully symbolic cultural form that gets equated to the compromise of the cultural identity construction (Sánchez-Carretero, 2013; Terradas, 2004). That teaching and working environment have been commonly used to weave and strengthen communal relations between artists and training apprentices outside a more formal, scholarly organization. It would confirm the collaborative hierarchy structure by the relay of training, skills, techniques, and the use of the proper materials, on the educational grounds, according to the specific unwritten rules of Newmexican 'Hispano' tradition. Besides the functional hardware knowledge, the art language in tradition's transmission also called for the symbolic context that would provide meaningful coherence to the artist's task.

The exchange of ideas and practices of the Catholic religious and devotional sentiment was also part of that symbolic weaving. It could be considered part of group ritual comforting the individual and communal spirit in the workplace. It would also work as a consistent community educational discourse-shaper to use while confronting buyers out there in the marketplace.

The whole heritage creation based upon these traditions' alternative choices goes beyond the preservation and curation of values. Both ways to address convention have a performing quality. As Macdonald (2003: 3) and Smith (2006: 68) argue, the act of collecting, preserving, and managing specifically designed art pieces, to arrange them into detailed and organized exhibitions 'is itself a performative utterance of having an identity. The museum becomes a performativity space for identity display that is continually and constantly rehearsed and then, preserved. A performativity venue that gets managed on a well-designed discourse based upon some neatly tailored past, associated with the 'Hispano' culture events of the Newmexican past, expressed on the traditional crafts replicating nineteenth-century art style. As Macdonald and Smith stress, that is in itself a step in the process towards identity building. In the same way, artists would perform their identity discourse around the cultural structure they perpetuate themselves in the rehearsing and transmission of cultural values. They would do that as social agents pushing for the reckoning and loyalty on community shared values as a means to conceptualize their identity (Hall in Hall and du Gay, 1996). This formerly private ritual goes into the public space whenever they need to confront buyers, meet clients' consignments, or interact with visitors during exhibitions, educational programs, or Market days. They, somehow, also enter the play of identity performance by confronting themselves with visitors. They do not do that just because of self-assigned, self-segregation 'otherness' (Bourdieu, 1977; Farrell, 2010) in the branding. No wonder they call themselves 'santeros', and 'Hispanos.' They also would ritualize the interaction within the realm of a totalizing idea. Those two worlds collide in one single exchange: that of the pre-modern, frozen-styled art in the re-presentation of features of the past and that of the visitors' embodied modern mentality (MacCannell, 2013).



### 5.3 Chapter recap

This case study settles from the same point in time that the previous case, 'La Fiesta de Santa Fe'. It was a paradigmatic moment in New Mexico's history, around the time of its incorporation as a state of the Union in 1912, in which the transformations pushed by the promoters in charge of the cultural and economic domain brought to light wide-reaching contradictions within the community that is our object of study. SCAS' task, the eventual final promoter of the MoSCA, initially carried out, had the purpose of conservation, protection, and safeguarding of traditional art in New Mexico, under the banner of colonial art, and with a broader ambition in its vision. They understood that they could reach most of the manifestations of colonial art in the Hispanic world. That endeavor had made apparent the urgent need to recover and preserve the style that prevailed in the New Mexican social ecosystem, by tradition and over time. That initial task was followed by exhibition and promotion, which found in the world of collecting the argument that would provide continuity. This was followed by the ambition to get suited with resources so that the artistic gaze was not exclusively retrospective frozen in time one.

The incorporation of new artists, working within the aesthetic parameters set by the early masters of the beginning of the 19th century, got fitted by creating an art demand base. From the domestic and utilitarian art embedded in the daily parochial life of the 'Hispanos,' it went up to the popular and exotic sample of a novel artistic style due to the arguments it introduced, rooted as it was said in an ancestral tradition. That demand base was leveraged upon the reality that New Mexico had begun to show up as a center of attraction for visitors, which was the spur of the mass tourist industry in the region. This furthered the creation of art sale outlets. The first attempt was that of the Old Curio shop in Sena Plaza, downtown Santa Fe. The invention of the Spanish Market was a proposal that accommodated both parties. The Spanish Market is consistent in its operation with the popularization that happened with the new version of 'La Fiesta'; they are not just a coincidence in time. Both come as the effect of the local promotion to deliver something popular and as a commercialization effort. The Spanish Market was meant to be a showcase that supported the safeguarding of

'Hispano' art while being a new outlet for artists, in terms of resources and visibility, that was non-existent before.

The artists had to go through the filter established by the institution to get included in the Market. That gave way to the setting of awards and honors intended to stimulate participation. The rules were strict and sought to conform to canons that, from the art and culture expert knowledge, had been secured as paradigmatic elements of the Newmexican Spanish art traditional aesthetics. Despite implementing this production chain that popularized devotional art, the situation brought a collapse of criteria and values in the 'Hispano' community. That was the sense that Guthrie (2013: 93) translates as acculturation, indicating that they had been alienated by losing the sense of authenticity, altogether internalizing the set of rules and expectations from outsiders. Suddenly there were two ways to approach the artwork. One that was instrumental of the community voice, conveying what was known as permanent and solid in the tradition. The second had to fit into the aesthetics pattern set by the SCAS, becoming what Comaroff and Comaroff (2009: 71) devise as the establishment of ethno-economy, that leaves the producers in the margins unable to control the potential market value. In the same vein that it had been perceived that 'La Fiesta' had been distorted from its previous essence and marketed for visitors and tourists' leisure, 'Hispanos' got to witness that the art style associated with the most internal, symbolic, and meaningful elements for community cohesion, such were devotion and faith, had been left out of control and in the hands of other interests. Some current artists, as Charlie Sánchez above (Transcript Charlie Sanchez interview Febrero 14, 2019), even complain about "*the direction that the traditional Spanish market is going*", because he felt there are contradictory terms between traditional aesthetics and modern creativity.

That contention in the narratives management has brought many concerns. We have hinted that SCAS had to shift in front of the pressure of new ways of art production. It had to move to the introduction of some rhetorical changes in the ways of conveying the traditional message. It was more in the formal tone that somehow trivialized the message. However, it altogether opened new venues for a broader scope of aesthetic formulations, either from the use of materials that were of general concern

to traditional artists or the actual images' representation that portrayed their holiness in more parochial ways. Adan Carriaga above sets the sample on how practices become performative actions to produce heritage hanging on tradition. Having witnessed Adan's working deal in his shop and his art production, I became aware of the steps he was taking towards a more modern to his art; some 'santeros' would go as far as to say contemporary. However, the strategies of possession and appropriation of the past, in the manner Breglia (2006), and Franquesa (2013) articulate on the act of repetition, show how conflicted his traditional approach gets in his more modern art moves. His own utterance Adan Carriaga's interview January 10<sup>th</sup>. 2019, "*quería hacer retablos, pero retablos, pero como no de este estilo entonces ...mas finos* " calls for simplicity, that comes expressed by reminiscing the past in aesthetic terms and formal tooling, and what he called "*la herencia de nosotros y está la cultura de nosotros y esta fe de nosotros*". All this in a split mindset as many artists would complain on how many San Isidro or San Pascual can one produce, in tone with Marie Romero-Cash's stance (Field Diary, email February 12<sup>th</sup>. 2019, 09:25 PM) "*...seems to lean more toward being a religious celebration than cultural. Some of the artists seem to focus on this also, but many members of the public see that as something negative rather than positive.*"

## 6 CHAPTER 6: EPILOGUE

### 6.1 Recap and closing thoughts

When I opened the research for this thesis, I did it within the assumption of the implicit difficulties that analyzing the concepts of tradition, heritage, and identity might bring. Going in that direction, after previous research chores, got spurred by the apparent compromise individuals, I had met and worked with, had in delivering a consistent message. It was an identification message that got uttered by expressing and wielding a desire for physical and emotional connection with the Spanish past in the territory and was symbolic and emotional with mainland Spain itself. That they defined themselves as 'Hispanos' consistently reverberated from past experiences and, most decisively from lineage, according to their expressed interests. Bringing the topic of Newmexican 'Hispano' identification' to the equation made the categories' inherent complexity becoming more challenging.

The exhaustive observation and recording of identification manifestations during the research took a perspective that contrasted with the initial perception of solidity, unification, and consistency. The verbalization of identity appeared as a demand. A demand that was initially calling for social recognition soon to turn into a demand presenting themselves as central agents in the political reality of institutional New Mexico. Indeed, the history of New Mexico, and the relationship 'Hispanos' claim to have with it, are used as a way to seek public recognition. Much of the efforts shown in identification utterance, on the part of the 'Hispano' people, get leveraged from bringing a proud past that pulls from tradition, heritage, and identity. However, there was no solid body of specific references other than the seeming resistance and confrontational stance to the state's institutions and towards the ethnic Anglo majority.

One of the relevant features I have taken, to enable the comparative analysis would be the play of dualities. I meant to do that exercise to evaluate the current critical value of identity as it gets delivered in discursive articulation. I felt there is an intrinsic duality in the performance of identity. It was problematic to discern when informants were referring to the past, to their past, in a contextual manner to substantiate their

stance, or merely inferring discourse from the past into present days. I saw that I could inform that sort of inconsistencies through the historical journey. Most reviewed literature retains that sense of frailty when addressing the 'Hispano' identity issue in New Mexico. While some authors adhere to the mystified context of the term, like Nostrand (1939), who had endorsed the cultural distinctiveness in terms of geographical presence, Blaut and Bustamante (1984) would consider that an obsolete identity myth part of a larger one. That myth said that due to social conditions in the Spanish Empire, some elites pushed the belief that they were descendants of the actual colonizers. That brought some quality status in the social scale that was used as protection against prejudice, and in the New Mexico case, to fight for civil rights, against property loss, and social injustice.

The incidence of Chicano politics, departing from the 1960s Civil Rights Movement, spurred the formation of identifications contending with those leaning more on the Spanish past. Younger generations would not settle easily on claims of 'Spanishness,' as the 'Hispano' label might suggest. Instead, authors would address this issue by shedding light on specific New Mexico's historical moments, so they came into the conversation brandishing names that eventually gained little resonance. Most of the time, it was as part of battle identifications fully connected with ethnic-racial assignment's discussion. Besides the Nostrand/Blaut and Bustamante's debate mentioned above, most would take the cultural reference of the early days in Territorial New Mexico as a branding. The terms Spanish-Americans and Hispano-Americans (Weigle, 1975; Gonzalez 1993; 2001; Nieto-Phillips, 2004) were politically thrust to alleviate the extreme views they had in Washington towards the New Mexico intention in applying for statehood. Politically driven branding, as I mentioned, taken from the Chicano/Chicana liberation movement led by Reies López Tijerina, brought more ethnically diverse labeling. Some would look south-going for the Mexican-Americans (Gómez, 2007), vindicating the pre-American status, and as a backlash towards the misconceptions, Americans had on Mexicans. Others would react to the exertion of classification categories evolving from European domination and would introduce variations getting away from the paradigm of 'Spanishness,' abiding by local indigenous terms, like 'genizaro' (Gallegos, 2017; Gonzales; 2019) and Indo-Hispano (Olivas, Field

Diary 18.08.2017). A great a majority of the literature reviewed, though, (Larson, 1968; Meinig, 1971; Rodriguez, 1987; 1996; Hall, 1989; Gonzales-Berry and Maciel, 2000; Jiménez, 2006; Trujillo, 2009; DeBuys, 2015) adhered to the everyday use of the term 'Hispano.'

It is not surprising that individuals calling for identification would go to whichever lengths to claim it in this puzzling situation. In those grounds of duality, we will also find the terms of construction of discourses around the analysis categories. While trying to develop the narrative for this thesis, I had to confront the actual non-existence of the taxonomies and concepts I would first use if I had to go back in time for context. How could the current effect of taxonomy calling, with such a proclivity to produce the words tradition, heritage, culture, and identity, have gained relevance without considering the conditions of the formation, their conceptualization in the first place? We read about the rhetorical compromise (Horton, 2010) between ethnic groups sharing social life in New Mexico, but in that sense, there is no uniform, mutually accepted way to address identification issues, regardless of the assumption by the parties that there is one. The ethnic complexity coming out from the Spanish and Mexican times was followed by the need to adapt to the new administrative status the American annexation had posed for the last part of the eighteen hundred. Much as New Mexico, modern discursive means were at their inception, Newmexicans had to grow in an adaptational flow. That also brought another twofold issue: that New Mexico followed towards administrative institutionalization while Newmexicans had to build themselves up from scratch. New Mexico enforced the construction of its self-image upon a selected set of values of its ethnic groups, while Newmexicans projected the image they had about themselves from the past.

And that is when I need to bring back the confrontation issue because it became apparent that the popular stance amongst 'Hispanos' was one of hostility towards the commodified version of their traditions for display. So, bringing 'La Fiesta' makes sense from the standpoint that 'Hispanos' had started to assess their community identification. The limits they set for themselves swiveled around the features that had solidified for centuries. They were fit following the deposit of customs and social behavior that got shaped and articulated as tradition. The rituals held on 'Fiesta' days

would provide the symbolic consistency to that ending. The construction process, which had been ongoing for a few decades, actually since annexation days in 1850, became instrumental because they made it relevant and got it charged with symbolic value. They provided the continuation value needed to solidify tradition. Repetition and endurance in harsh times provided the symbolic background. They went for a big chunk of their traditional past to do so. In that task, 'La Fiesta' had become a central reference helping to validate cultural and social meaning and cohesiveness. It was a celebration that embodied what helped make the past an ideal one. It had provided the element of traditional devotional sacredness, with the proper grandiose rituals that engaged the whole community and the emotional symbolism in the staging of the final event that key in the re-settling of New Mexico. It was a one-day event that accommodated and justified the sense of belonging for the rest of the year.

Thus, when the time came for the changes when SAR and SCAS took over in the name of a more popular exhibition of New Mexican cultures in general, 'Hispanos' felt the actual substance of their elaboration process had rendered useless, to that point. Continuity and repetition had construed the feel of legitimacy and unquestionable authority for the community, and they had to give it all into the hands of experts and specialists. The forging of that consciousness turned to the emotional level in front of the strength and power of the Anglo elites. It suddenly happened that outsiders to the 'Hispano' culture were imposing criteria that were external to the community, for the sake of it was perceived as mere commodification and spectacle. Reflexivity on the acts of repetition and safeguarding (Hafstein, 2018) pushed tradition, an intangible in itself, to get articulated as heritage, as a tangible object that had to be wrapped up to be preserved. 'Hispanos' had a clear-cut idea of what it was to be of being valued, preserved, cataloged, exhibited, restored, admired from their tradition. They looked well deep into their past for those, although they eventually lacked the power that would provide the social or economic mechanisms of imposition (Novelo, 2005: 86).

One other objective was to shed light on another duality. That would be the one that defines the contours of identification. I have signified two conflicting ways to determine how identity gets manifested in the object of study. The first one came from the influence of the process set by exclusive identity characterizations from non-

abstract terms like, Terradas argues (2004), those sanctioned from the political or juridical arena. The second one came, also following Terradas (2004: 63), from the fact that we do have a 'lived identity', the one subjectively construed, while our sociability terms make us lean towards turning that into a cultural identity. Here we get presented with two fields of contention that easily mirror the agent parties in both case studies. Here, for the precise interest of this case, we have available a lived identity, the identity embodied in the artists. A lived identity is construed based on a lived continuity in tradition and scripted on the heritage that displays a cultural identity. In that sense, the arguments Spanish Market's artists would play that field leveraged by the institutional depiction of a 'Hispano' ethnicity, assigned for the sake of cultural differentiation. On the other hand, however, we also have the game SCAS plays based on that exact institutional depiction but on criteria of stereotyped paradigmatic elements of the Newmexican Spanish art traditional aesthetics, leveraged on the hierarchy power of culture expert knowledge.

As a final thought, I reckon that the comprehensive amount of information I have been working on, and the personal need to show I have had a proper 'digestion' while rationally deploying the knowledge I have acquired during my years of study, bring me back to the motivational chapter. As I hinted there, I cannot avoid the feel that the whole encyclopaedic work I engaged into, remains open for further future investigation and analysis.



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8 ANNEX

## IV

## THE ORIGINAL BANDO OF MARQUEZ DE LA PEÑUELA (1712).

*Translation by Lansing B. Bloom*

*In the Villa of Santa Fe, the sixteenth day of September, 1712, being gathered and assembled in the house of the dwelling of General Juan Paez Hurtado, lieutenant of the governor and captain general (since the houses of the town council are untenable by reason of the continuous rains which have prevailed since the thirteenth of the present month as well as the recent thunderstorms) in order that, reflecting on the fact that this Villa was reconquered on the fourteenth of September, 1692, by General Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponze de Leon, Marquis de la Nava de Brazinas and that in twenty years this Villa has not held, as was due, a Fiesta in honor of the healthful benefit of our redemption, and in order that henceforth the said fourteenth day may be celebrated with vespers, mass, sermon and procession around the principal plaza, all the members of the Illustrious Cabildo of justice and government being obligated to its observance by this affirmation, with a solemn oath given by those present in the hands of the Reverend Father Guardian of said Villa, Fray Antonio Camargo, who was asked by said Illustrious Cabildo to be pleased to attend said gathering with the other distinguished and capitular citizens of the city. Captain Alfonso Rael de Aguilar, alcalde, and the adjutant and regidor Salvador Montoya carried to the Marquis de la Peñuela, governor and captain general of this Kingdom, a request that he would be pleased to attend as President over said gathering, but he orders his lieutenant to preside over it, which he accordingly did. And since the fourteenth day, which is the one designated for coming years, is already past, we determine to observe the said Fiesta on the seventeenth, which is that on which the Church our Mother celebrates the cruel wounds of San Francisco, in whose Church it is our desire (that) a fiesta be celebrated forever in honor of the elevation of the Holy Cross, and we obligate in so far as we are able upon all who may succeed to places in said Illustrious Cabildo the charge of gathering the contributions, also of assigning the sermon to the person who may be fitting, to whom shall be given a gratuity of twenty-five pesos; that of the balance which may be collected thirty pesos shall be paid for the vespers, mass, and procession—to all of which we, those present, obligate ourselves and we obligate those who may succeed us, as we also obligate ourselves, to provide the candles which may be necessary, and if perhaps in the course of time this Villa should have some sources of income a portion of them shall be designated for said festivity, all of which as already said we swear in due and rightful form: I, General Juan Paez Hurtado, for said the Marquis de la Peñuela; Capt. Alfonso Rael de Aguilar, alcalde; Capt. Don Felis Martinez, regidor; Adjutant Salvador Montoya, regidor; Miguel de Sandoval Martinez, secretary of the cabildo; Maestre de Campo Lorenzo Madrid, capitular; Capt. Antonio Montoya, capitular; Capt. Juan Garsia de la Riva, capitular; Capt. Francisco Lorenzo de Casados, capitular. And this declaration that the candles which may be burned in said festivity—they must be collected by said Illustrious Cabildo or by the person to whom this duty may be assigned, and this we do because of the small means of the country. Likewise we obligate ourselves to attend at vespers, mass, sermon, and procession, and we swear by the Most Holy Cross, Protectress and Patroness of this Villa of Santa Fe, and this writing and obligation we sign on said day, month and year.*

<i>Juan Paez Hurtado (rubric)</i>	<i>Alphonso Rael de Aguilar (rubric)</i>
<i>Felix Martinez (rubric)</i>	<i>Lorenzo de Madrid (rubric)</i>
<i>Salvador Martinez (rubric)</i>	<i>Juan Garsia de la Riva (rubric)</i>
<i>Antonio Montoya (rubric)</i>	<i>Francisco Lorenzo de Casados (rubric)</i>

*Before me:*

*Miguel de Sandobal Martines (rubric)*  
*secretary of cabildo*

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Image - 2



Image – 3, Source <https://www.freeworldmaps.net/united-states/newmexico/newmexico-map.jpg>  
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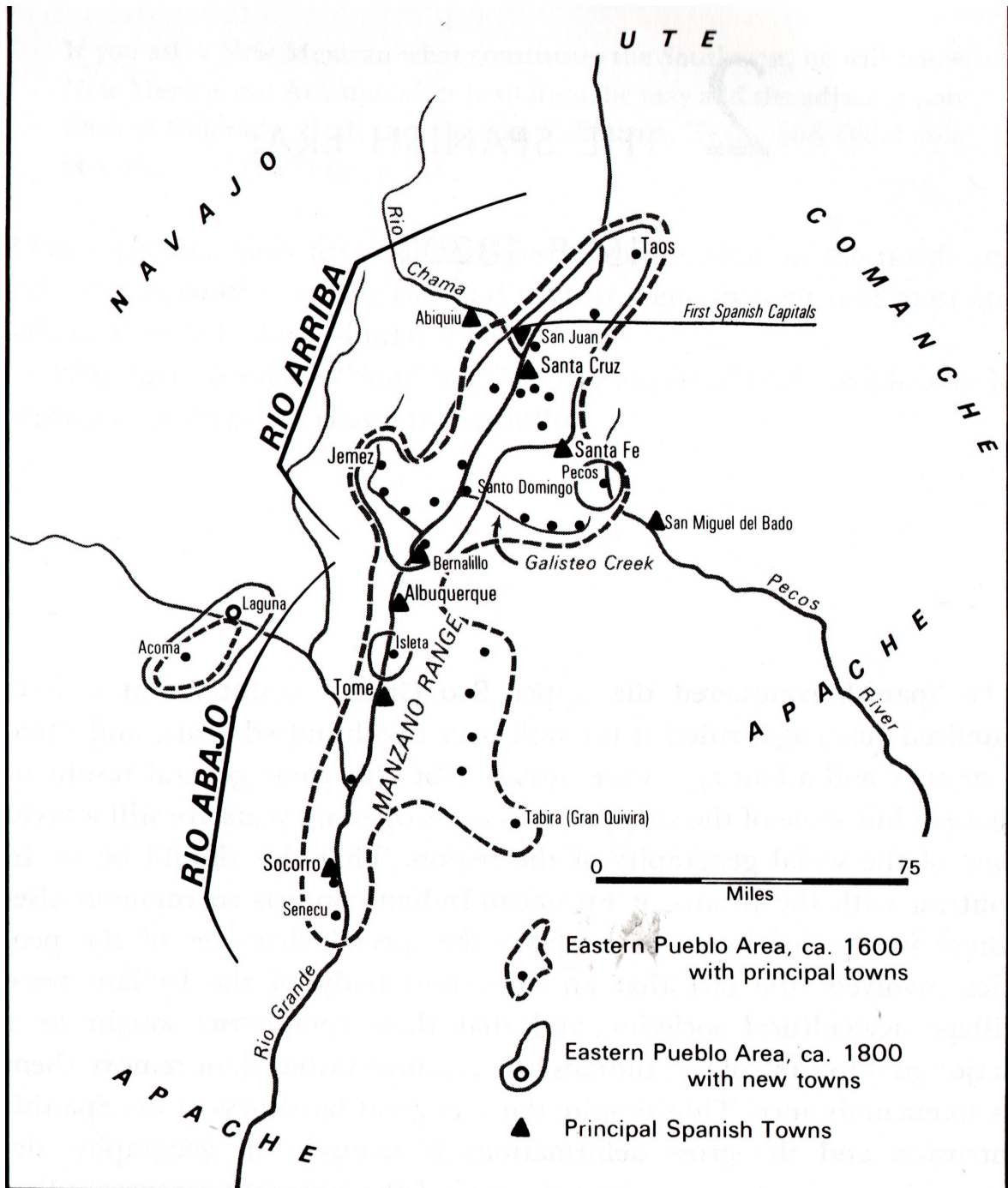


Image – 4, Source Meinig, D. W. (1971) 'Southwest: Three Peoples in Geographical Change 1600-1970', Oxford University Press, London, UK. Page 10

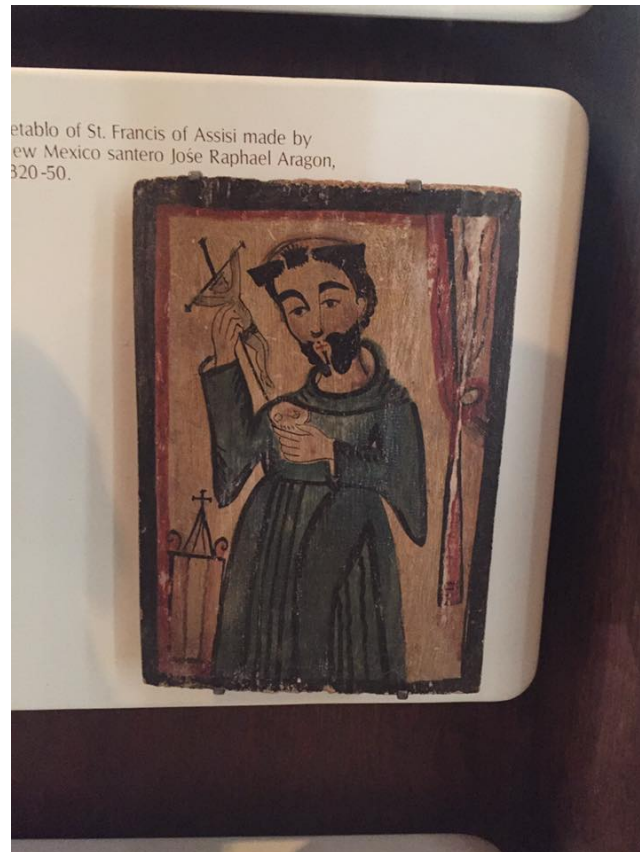


Image – 5. MoSCA permanent exhibit



Image – 6. Nick Otero (Maestro Santero)





Image – 6. Adan Cariaga (Maestro Santero)



Image – 6. Federico Prudencio (Maestro Santero) and Annette Turk (Colcha weaver)



Image – 6. Charlie Carrillo (Maestro Santero)



Image – 6. Jerry Montoya (Maestro Santero)



**Image – 7.** Laboratory of Anthropology, Museum Hill, Santa Fe