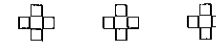


CHAPTER 1



THE HISPANO

ONE AUGUST afternoon in 1969, in the far West Texas town of Muleshoe, I stopped to visit with the Roman Catholic priest. The Muleshoe priest was on vacation, and the Reverend Robert Hammond from across the New Mexico state line in Tucumcari was filling in. As we talked, Father Hammond pointed to a front-page headline in the local newspaper. "Look at that," he exclaimed, "the Spanish-speaking people of Muleshoe are preparing to celebrate Mexican Independence Day. In my thirty-five years at Saint Anne's Church in Tucumcari never once have I even heard of the event."¹ For me, Father Hammond's unexpected observation forcefully reinforced the point that New Mexico-centered Spanish Americans or Hispanos are different from Mexican Americans who live elsewhere in the Southwest.

THE BORDERLANDS CONTEXT

Hispanos and other Americans of Spanish-Indian or Mexican descent are by and large products of the "Borderlands," that zone in the Western Hemisphere where the sharply contrasting Latin and Anglo cultures overlap. Initially, people possessing a basically Latin culture advanced into New Spain's distant northern frontier, not as the result of one grand march but through thrusts that were separated in time and space. Ancestors of the Hispanos led the way by settling New Mexico's upper Rio Grande basin late in the sixteenth century. In the

¹ The Reverend Robert Hammond, interview with author while temporarily at Immaculate Conception Church, Muleshoe, Texas, August 22, 1969. Tucumcari, which is partly Hispano, and Muleshoe, which is partly Mexican American, are only ninety miles apart.

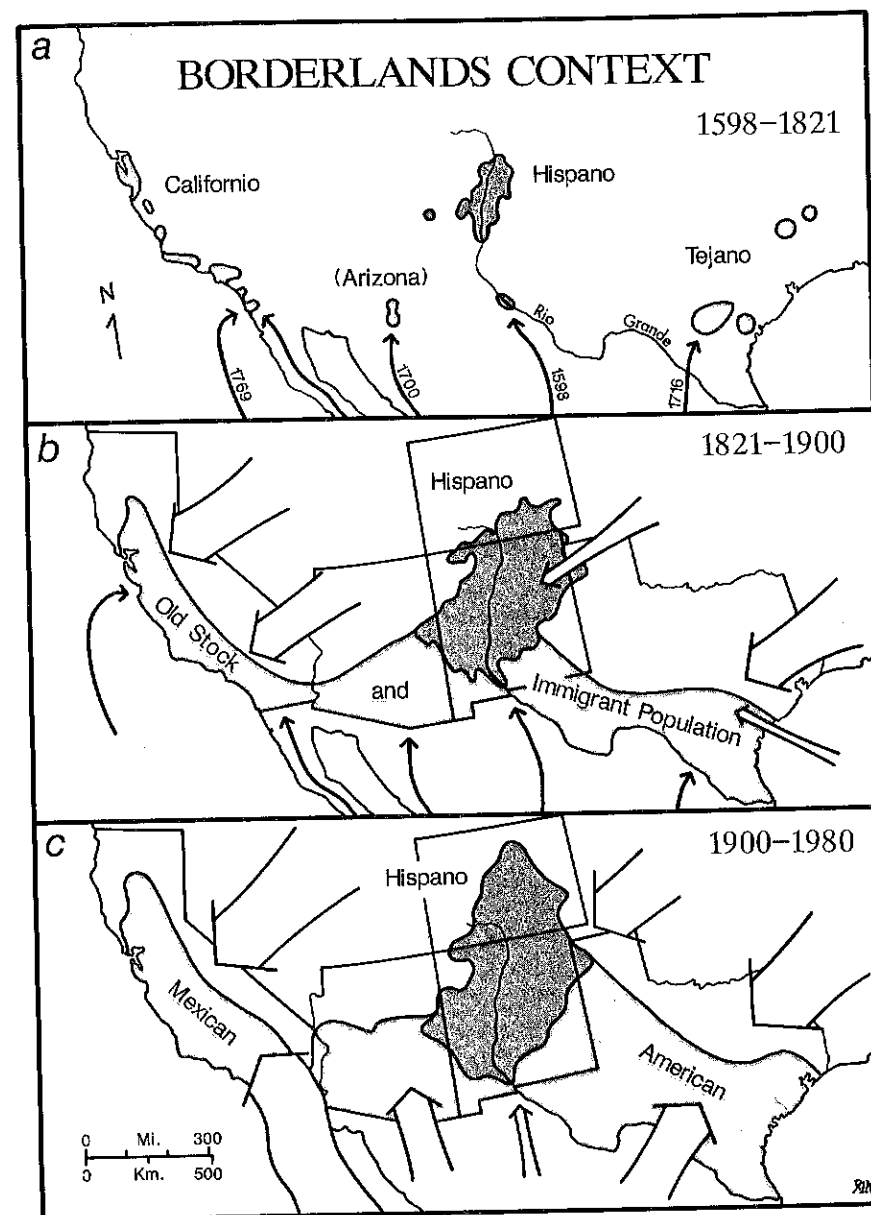
eighteenth century other Latin people colonized present-day Arizona, Texas, and California [Map 1.1a]. The four outpost clusters that came to exist were remote from Mexico's Central Plateau, and they were isolated from each other. Not surprisingly, subcultures developed, at least among the Hispanos, Tejanos, and Californios, yet greater numerical strength and a long head start enabled the Hispano subculture to develop most fully.²

Many of the earliest colonists going to New Mexico were Spaniards, a Mediterranean people who probably included Moorish and other admixtures and who were both *peninsulares* (born in Spain) and *creoles* (born in New Spain). Many were also mestizos, the products of Spanish and Indian miscegenation in New Spain. Some were Indians, and a few were mulattos. In New Mexico these various peoples and those who came later intermixed with the sedentary and peaceful Pueblo Indians, but in time they seem to have intermixed to an even greater degree with the warlike and nomadic Indians. Children from nomad Indian bands were used as servants in Hispano households, and they and their mixed descendants were assimilated into the Hispano population. In a racial sense, this nomad Indian strain to a degree differentiates Hispanos from Mexican Americans in the Borderlands.³

In 1821, newly independent Mexico opened her northern frontier to non-Mexicans, and in varying degrees the three colonial subcultures were encroached upon by westward-moving "Anglos," as non-Indians and non-Spanish/Mexican Americans are known in the Southwest. Large numbers of Anglos from the southern United States quickly overran Texas, and the small Tejano population was largely engulfed by 1836 (Map 1.1b). California lured only a small number of hide and tallow traders to its littoral in the Mexican period, but when gold was discovered in 1848, Anglos immediately inundated Californios in Northern California, and thirty years later a real estate "boom of the '80s" had the same result

² The existence of these subcultures, each nestled in its separate political entity, in part explains Herbert E. Bolton's plural use of the term *borderlands* in *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest*, Chronicles of America Series, vol. 23: 120–295.

³ Fray Angélico Chávez, "Rejoinder" [to Nostrand's "Hispano Cultural Distinctiveness: A Reply"], *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 74 (1984): 170–71.



Map 1.1 The Borderlands context. These three frames are intended to be suggestive: widths of arrows and areas settled are approximations. Mexican immigration is relatively modest in the nineteenth century; Anglo intrusion continues in the twentieth century. Pueblo and nomad Indians have been omitted.

in Southern California. Lacking California's gold and Texas' position astride a dynamically expanding Anglo frontier, New Mexico in the nineteenth century attracted only modest numbers of Anglo trappers, traders, soldiers, and others, and by 1900 Hispanos still constituted two-thirds of the population of their New Mexico-centered Homeland.⁴

Mexico paid a heavy price for allowing Anglos to overlap into her northern frontier. In 1836, Anglo Texans and some Tejano allies revolted and created an independent Texas. Texas was then annexed to the United States in 1845, the first event whereby Mexicans became Mexican Americans. The annexation of Texas in part triggered the Mexican War, which resulted in Mexico ceding New Mexico and California to the United States. Mexicans in those two areas thus became Mexican Americans in 1848. The present-day political geography of the Borderlands was completed in 1853 with the Gadsden Purchase, the final event to make Mexican Americans of those Mexicans resident in the northern frontier. Altogether, then, through annexation, conquest, and purchase, more than eighty-thousand Spanish-speaking frontiersmen, most of them New Mexicans, became Mexican Americans.⁵ And as a result of contact with Anglos, these people by midcentury were already becoming bicultural and bilingual.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century the number of migrants going from Mexico to this politically realigned territory was but a trickle each year. Following the Mexican Revolution of 1910, however, their numbers grew to floodlike proportions. The major immigrant destinations in the twentieth century were Texas, Arizona, and California (Map 1.1c). A sizable immigrant-derived Mexican American population came to completely submerge the old Tejano and Californio populations. However, New Mexico, as well as southern Colorado, which Hispanos meanwhile had colonized, attracted only modest numbers of Mexican immigrants. Once again, in a relative sense, the Hispano subculture remained relatively intact.

Understandably, these twentieth-century immigrants from

Mexico, and in lesser degrees their descendants, had mixed political loyalties. The ideology of the Revolution of 1910, moreover, engendered in them a pride in their *Mexicanidad*—which means in part that they extolled their Indianness and rejected their Spanishness. By contrast, Hispanos in New Mexico, as citizens of the United States since 1848, in the twentieth century have had undivided political loyalties. And as explained below, they identify with their *Hispanidad*.⁶

Out of the context of the Borderlands, then, come the Hispanos—an indigenous people who evolved from the oldest and largest of the Spanish colonial subcultures and who were relatively unsubmerged by Mexican immigrants and, until the twentieth century, by Anglos. Because of sustained contact with Anglos, Hispanos, like their Mexican American brethren, are a bicultural and bilingual people. Because of their peculiar origins, however, they are different culturally from the larger immigrant-derived Mexican American population. The result is something of a Hispano enclave embedded in the midst of overlapping Latin and Anglo peoples.

A DISTINCTIVE SUBCULTURE

Two reasons, then, explain why Hispanos are culturally distinctive among members of the larger southwestern minority. First, their ancestors came earlier and, with exceptions, more directly from Spain to the Borderlands than did those of Tejanos, Californios, or, of course, of Mexican immigrants, and certain archaic Iberian cultural forms that do not seem to exist elsewhere in the Borderlands remain peculiar to them. This reason can be styled *early diffusion and preservation*. Second, after initial colonization, Hispanos were isolated from outside contact, and their numbers increased—factors that fostered certain indigenous attributes. *Independent invention or modification*, then, is the second reason.

Both reasons explain the distinctiveness of the Hispanos' Spanish language. Juan de Oñate and his colonists took a largely Castilian dialect of Spanish with them to New Mexico in 1598.⁷ As the several Spanish dialects evolved in Spain and

⁴ Richard L. Nostrand, "The Hispano Homeland in 1900," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 70 (1980): 384.

⁵ Richard L. Nostrand, "Mexican Americans circa 1850," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 65 (1975): 383, 390.

⁶ Marc Simmons, "Rejoinder" [to Nostrand's "Hispano Cultural Distinctiveness: A Reply"], *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 74 (1984): 169–70.

⁷ Aurelio M. Espinosa, *Studies in New Mexican Spanish*, University of New Mexico Bulletin, Language Series, vol. 1, no. 2, whole no. 53: 53.

her empire, many now-archaic forms were preserved in isolated New Mexico. "I believe there is no modern Spanish dialect, either in Spain or America," wrote Aurelio M. Espinosa, "that can surpass the New Mexican in archaic words and expressions, constructions and sounds."⁸ In his glossary of New Mexican Spanish, F. M. Kercheville noted, as archaic words, *truje* (rather than *traje*) for "I brought" and *facer* (rather than *hacer*) for "to do" or "to make." After colonization certain colloquialisms also came to characterize New Mexican Spanish. Kercheville gave as examples *cajete* (as opposed to *baño*) for "tub" and *puela* (as opposed to *sartén*) for "frying pan."⁹

The Hispanos' Spanish surnames are also distinctive, but for reasons that are much less clear. Hispanos have surnames such as García, González(s), López, Martínez, and Sánchez that are among the most common in the Spanish-speaking world, yet they also have surnames like Abeyta, Archuleta, Barela, Maestas, and Tafoya that differentiate them from the larger southwestern minority, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans. The onomatologist Robert W. Buechley identified thirty-nine such "distinctively New Mexican names" (Table 1.1). It seems unlikely that these peculiar Hispano surnames are found only among Hispanos because a given source area in Spain was unique to them. Thirty-five of Buechley's thirty-nine names apparently either originated in or are most frequently found in some ten diverse parts of Spain. Rather, it is likely that families with these names converged in Mexico, whence some members joined the New Mexico colonization enterprise but not the subsequent Borderlands entradas.¹⁰ More easily explained

⁸ Aurelio M. Espinosa, *The Spanish Language in New Mexico and Southern Colorado*, Historical Society of New Mexico, no. 16: 8-9. Early colonization and subsequent isolation also preserved an archaic French in French Canada.

⁹ F. M. Kercheville and George E. McSpadden, *A Preliminary Glossary of New Mexican Spanish, together with Some Semantic and Philological Facts of the Spanish Spoken in Chiliti, New Mexico*, University of New Mexico Bulletin, Language Series, vol. 5, no. 3, whole no. 247: 17, 26, 43. *Truje* was also listed under words that have suffered phonetic changes (p. 39). McSpadden noted that *puela* may be an archaism (p. 99). The use of *puela*, Jacob Ornstein noted, is one of many examples separating Spanish spoken north of Socorro from that spoken south of it, linguistic evidence that the Homeland ends at about Socorro; Jacob Ornstein, "The Archaic and the Modern in the Spanish of New Mexico," *Hispania* 34 (1951): 137-38. See also Rubén Cobos, *A Dictionary of New Mexico and Southern Colorado Spanish*, 24, 139, 154.

¹⁰ Robert W. Buechley, "Characteristic Name Sets of Spanish Populations," *Names* 15 (1967): 58, and table 3. These names are low in abundance outside New Mexico,

Table 1.1 Distinctively Hispano Surnames

Abeyta	Archuleta	Bustos
Acuña	Armijo	Chávez
Anaya	Baca	Córdova
Apodaca	Barela	Durán
Aragón	Benavides	Gallegos
Griego	Madrid	Ortiz
Herrera	Maestas	Pacheco
Jaramillo	Mares	Padilla
Lucero	Montaño	Quintana
Luján	Montoya	Romero
Saavedra	Tapia	
Salazar	Trujillo	
Sandoval	Valdez	
Serna	Vigil	
Tafoya		

SOURCE: Robert W. Buechley, "Characteristic Name Sets of Spanish Populations," *Names* 15 (1967), table 3.

are the Hispanos' distinctive given names. Some, such as Esquipula, Secundino, Onofre, and Belarmino, are archaisms. Others, for example Miterio, Ologia, and Abrelío, derive from phonetic changes in New Mexico.¹¹

Most of the Hispanos' folklore—for example, their tales, ballads, riddles, proverbs, nursery rhymes, myths, and super-

West Texas, or Arizona, and they have a "specific locality base" in their "Spanish-American" rather than "Mexican" heritage" (p. 58). The thirty-nine-member name set is not exhaustive, as Buechley derived it from 306 Spanish surnames found in California. William W. Winnie, Jr., inferred that differences in Spanish source areas might explain regional variations in southwestern Spanish surnames; "The Spanish Surname Criterion for Identifying Hispanos in the Southwestern United States: A Preliminary Evaluation," *Social Forces* 38 (1959-60): 364. The Spanish source areas for thirty-five of Buechley's thirty-nine surnames were determined in Richard D. Woods and Grace Álvarez-Altman, *Spanish Surnames in the Southwestern United States: A Dictionary*, 1-152. No locational information was available for four of the surnames. As evidence that some remain in Mexico, Buechley found thirty-one of his thirty-nine Hispano surnames in some small number in the México, D.F., telephone directory, and twenty-five in the Guadalajara directory ("Characteristic Name Sets," table 1). The presence of Hispano surnames in the State of Chihuahua, where a Tafoya was once governor, may stem from the time following the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 when some Hispanos, forced to retreat to the Paso del Norte District, continued farther south into Chihuahua. Some of the Hispano surnames are also found in the Southwest; all thirty-nine exist in California.

¹¹ Arthur Leon Campa, *Spanish Folk-Poetry in New Mexico*, 10. Emitterio, Eulogia, and Aurelio are the root names; Espinosa, *Spanish Language*, 36.

stitutions—diffused from Iberia to New Mexico, where it was preserved in an oral tradition. Comparative studies undertaken by Aurelio M. Espinosa suggest that this Spanish peninsular folklore found among Hispanos is like that found elsewhere in Spanish America. In isolated New Mexico, however, certain indigenous folk materials developed. At least two folk plays are New Mexican in origin: *Los Comanches* and *Los Tejanos*, which celebrate Hispano victories over the dreaded Comanches in about 1777 and the hated Texans in 1841. Some of the more than two hundred alabados (religious hymns) collected by Juan B. Rael in New Mexico and Colorado were definitely composed by Hispanos, as were certain folk songs gathered by John David Robb. During the nineteenth century the *décima*, so named for its four ten-verse stanzas that follow a four-verse introduction, was at its height in popularity, and many were composed for all occasions and then sung in monotonous tone by the ubiquitous village *trovadores*. After the arrival of Anglos, some troubadours turned to writing bitter yet good-natured protest folk poetry, some if it in the form of the *décima*.¹²

The most celebrated of the Hispanos' folk arts, the carved and painted religious images known collectively as "*santos*," was neither some archaic craft that was preserved in New Mexico nor an indigenous creation. It stemmed instead from an attempt by local *santeros* in the century before the American takeover to satisfy a need for such icons by imitating seventeenth-century-style *santo* prototypes fashioned in Spain

¹² Aurelio M. Espinosa, *The Folklore of Spain in the American Southwest: Traditional Spanish Folk Literature in Northern New Mexico and Southern Colorado*, ed. J. Manuel Espinosa, 30, 63. At least 75 percent of the 518 folktales gathered by Juan B. Rael in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado were of Old World origin; *Cuentos Españoles de Colorado y Nuevo México* (Spanish Folk Tales from Colorado and New Mexico): Spanish Language Originals with English Summaries 1: 2. Aurelio M. Espinosa, *Los Comanches: A Spanish Heroic Play of the Year Seventeen Hundred and Eighty*, University of New Mexico Bulletin, Language Series, vol. 1, no. 1, whole no. 45: 1-46; and Aurelio M. Espinosa and J. Manuel Espinosa, "The Texans: A New Mexican Spanish Folk Play of the Middle Nineteenth Century," *New Mexico Quarterly Review* 13 (1943): 299-308; Juan B. Rael, *The New Mexican Alabado with Transcription of Music by Eleanor Hague*, Stanford University Publications, University Series, Language and Literature, vol. 9, no. 3: 18-19; John Donald Robb, *Hispanic Folk Music of New Mexico and the Southwest: A Self-Portrait of a People*, 7; Arthur L. Campa, *A Bibliography of Spanish Folk-Lore in New Mexico*, University of New Mexico Bulletin, Language Series, vol. 2, no. 3, whole no. 176: 5-8; Arthur L. Campa, "Protest Folk Poetry in the Spanish Southwest," *Colorado Quarterly* 20 (1971-72): 360.

and Mexico.¹³ However, because this art form flourished only in the New Mexico portion of the Borderlands, and because a growing literature on the topic associates Hispanos with the craft, *santos* may be regarded as another culturally distinctive Hispano attribute. In New Mexico *santos* were made as flat or modeled panels often used as altar pieces (*retablos*) and as free-standing statutes (*bultos*). Both were carved from pine or cottonwood, were coated with a white gesso made from native gypsum, and were painted in tempera colors.¹⁴ Many *santos* are now in private hands or in museums, yet some are still venerated in homes and churches and are carried in religious processions, including those of the Penitentes.

The Penitente Brotherhood, a lay Hispano society organized for penance and mutual aid, seems not to have been some archaic institution that was preserved in the upper Rio Grande basin, but whether it evolved in New Mexico about 1800 or diffused to New Mexico about that time is in dispute. Following Bishop Jean Baptiste Lamy's arrival in 1851, the prevailing thought among Catholic clergymen and others was that the Brotherhood derived from the Third Order of Saint Francis founded in 1221; Gaspar Pérez de Villagrà's report that Oñate had scourged himself en route to New Mexico in 1598 seemed to confirm the Third Order's long-standing existence in New Mexico, and it was thought that after the Third Order's introduction, its practices had degenerated into the "bloody flagellations and similar tortures" witnessed by Anglos (Fig. 1.1). Marta Weigle cautiously reaffirmed that Penitentes "likely" evolved from lay interpretations of Franciscanism, particularly the Third Order, in the late eighteenth century. However, this "Franciscan theory of origin" is rejected by Fray Angélico Chávez, who documented that the Brotherhood did not exist anywhere in New Mexico in 1776 yet did exist, at least in

¹³ José E. Espinosa, *Saints in the Valleys: Christian Sacred Images in the History, Life and Folk Art of Spanish New Mexico*, xii, 4, 61; and George Kubler, *Santos: An Exhibition of the Religious Folk Art of New Mexico*, 4, 6, 7. Although *santos* are not peculiar to New Mexico, archaic symbols nevertheless persist there. Mitchell A. Wilder, for example, pointed out that *santeros* represented images of the Holy Trinity as three identical personages, a Byzantine concept banned by Pope Benedict XIV in 1745; Mitchell A. Wilder and Edgar Breitenbach, *Santos: The Religious Folk Art of New Mexico*, text for plates 49 and 63.

¹⁴ E. Boyd, "The Literature of Santos," *Southwest Review* 35 (1950): 128-40; and José Espinosa's bibliography through 1960 in *Saints in the Valleys*, 101-107. The *santero's* technique is discussed in Wilder and Breitenbach, *Santos*, 24-31.



Fig. 1.1 Charles F. Lummis photographed a Penitente crucifixion at San Mateo in New Mexico's Valencia County on Good Friday (March 30) 1888. The man strapped to the cross did not die. Courtesy Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, California, whose glass plate negative 20,141 (SWM 3294/3292) has been cracked since the photograph was published in Lummis, *The Land of Poco Tiempo* (1893, reprint, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966), 101.

the Santa Cruz area, in 1833 and that after it came to exist, Penitente rites in New Mexico were strikingly similar to those practiced, even to this day, in Seville. From this he inferred that about 1800 the Seville-type institution was transported to New Mexico, probably by way of Mexico, where Penitente activities were undergoing a resurgence.¹⁵

If, on the one hand, Weigle and her like-minded "Third Order" predecessors are correct, then the Brotherhood is a relatively recent and, to some degree, indigenous development and is therefore a culturally distinctive Hispano attribute. If, on the other hand, Chávez's "late transplant" theory is correct, the Brotherhood, like *santos*, may still be considered as a culturally distinctive Hispano phenomenon, for in all the Borderlands, New Mexico was the "hotbed of penitente-ism," as John G. Bourke expressed it in 1896. Indeed, Lamy, as bishop and then archbishop, was unsuccessful in his attempts to suppress the Brotherhood. His successor, Archbishop Jean Baptiste Sal-

¹⁵ Fray Angélico Chávez, "The Penitentes of New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* 29 (1954): 97-99, 105, 108-12, 115, 117-23; Marta Weigle, *Brothers of Light, Brothers of Blood: The Penitentes of the Southwest*, 26, 37-47, 49.

pointe, finally ordered the society to disband in 1889.¹⁶ Yet the Brotherhood flourished well into the twentieth century before membership finally declined, extremist rites were abandoned or practiced covertly, and the Brotherhood was reinstated by the Catholic Church.¹⁷ Priests today willingly accept invitations to celebrate Mass in Penitente *moradas* (quarters) that are located on the outskirts of many villages.

Several additional attributes which appear to have originated on the indigenous side of the ledger differentiate Hispanos culturally (Table 1.2). For example, the patron saint for Hispanos, as for all persons of Spanish-Indian or Mexican descent, is Our Lady of Guadalupe, but for Hispanos, La Conquistadora, a wooden statue so named after being carved in Spain and taken to New Mexico in 1625, also has great importance. Another example is the heavy use of ground dried chili pepper in many Hispano dishes. Evon Z. Vogt, who was raised in Ramah, New Mexico, observed that he had sampled enough food in Mexico and in the Borderlands to know that Mexican cuisine becomes more *picante* the closer one gets to the international boundary in Mexico, and that it has its greatest chili content in New Mexico. The "extravagant" consumption of chili, noted Josiah Gregg in 1844, was already "truly proverbial." And as Munro S. Edmonson pointed out, the use of chili is an important symbol of Hispano identification. Finally, Hispanos, unlike their larger minority brethren, for the most part reject that which is Mexican, as seen in the nonobservance by many of Mexican Independence Day (September 16) as well as Mexico's Cinco de Mayo holiday and by the fact that most take umbrage at being called "Mexican Americans."¹⁸

¹⁶ John G. Bourke, "Notes on the Language and Folk-Usage of the Rio Grande Valley," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 9 (1896): 111. The Penitente Brotherhood did apparently exist in California. A letter and an editor's reply which appeared in the *Los Angeles Star* on March 20, 1852, report that people were "flogging" themselves in a church at San Gabriel in "penance preparatory to Passion week." Scotsman Hugo Reid, a resident of San Gabriel and a reliable source, wrote both the letter and the editor's reply; E. Boyd, "Penitentes in California," *El Palacio* 57 (1950): 372-73. The date and the place raise the possibility that Hispanos introduced the institution to California.

¹⁷ Aurelio M. Espinosa, "Penitentes, Los Hermanos," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 11: 636. Reinstatement occurred in 1947; Weigle, *Brothers of Light*, xix.

¹⁸ Fray Angélico Chávez, *La Conquistadora: The Autobiography of an Ancient Statue*, 10; Evon Z. Vogt, professor of anthropology at Harvard University, interview with author, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, October 29, 1970. Arthur L. Campa confirms the greater use of chili north of the Rio Grande in "Chile in New

Table 1.2 Hispano Cultural Distinctiveness

<i>Preserved Archaic Forms</i> (Early diffusion and preservation)	<i>Indigenous Attributes</i> (Independent invention or modification)	<i>Items Less Easily Classified</i> (Relative to the larger minority)
Spanish language	Spanish language	Spanish surnames
Spanish given names	Spanish given names	Santos
Folklore examples	Folklore examples	Penitente Brotherhood
		La Conquistadora
		Chili in food
		Nonobservance of Mexican holidays

SOURCES: See text.

SPANISH ETHNICITY

Why Hispanos reject their Mexican heritage and extoll their Spanishness on the surface seems easily explained. During the long Spanish period (1598–1821) these New Mexicans, noted Ramón A. Gutiérrez, considered themselves “Spaniards,” a racial designation that included the mestizo majority. In the Mexican period, Antonio Barreiro noted that the Pueblo Indians still called these New Mexicans “Spaniards.” In California, however, where frontier society appears to have been more stratified, only the elite were “Spaniards,” and to avoid the discrimination of the elite, the “mixed-bloods,” according to Manuel Patricio Servín, either late in the Spanish period or early in the Mexican period began to call themselves “Spaniards.”¹⁹ Being “Spaniards” in the eyes of other Spaniards may

Mexico,” *New Mexico Business Review* 3 (April 1934): 61–63. Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, ed. Max L. Moorhead, 110. Munro S. Edmonson, who spent a year studying three Hispano communities in west central New Mexico during 1949–50, “was asked rather anxiously whether [he] liked chili on every occasion of [his] first meal with a family, without exception!” Munro S. Edmonson, *Los Manitos: A Study of Institutional Values*, 21. Hispanos’ noncelebration of Mexican Independence Day and Cinco de Mayo is noted in Leo Grebler, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph C. Guzmán, *The Mexican-American People: The Nation’s Second Largest Minority*, 381. The former event commemorates the day Mexico declared herself free from Spain in 1810; Cinco de Mayo observes an important Mexican victory over the French at Puebla in 1862.

¹⁹ Ramón A. Gutiérrez, “Honor Ideology, Marriage Negotiation, and Class-Gender Domination in New Mexico, 1690–1846,” *Latin American Perspectives*, issue 44, vol. 12, no. 1 (Winter 1985): 84–85; Antonio Barreiro, *Ojeada . . .*, reprinted in Lansing B.

have played a role in the origin of the New Mexicans’ Spanish ethnicity, but if so, it appears to have been minor compared to being “Spanish” in the eyes of Anglos. In New Mexico, then, the concept of being Spanish seems not to be a holdover of “Spaniard” from the Spanish period, but instead stems from contact with Anglos. The evidence for this comes only in fragments, and what follows contains much conjecture and is at best only a tentative explanation.

In the relatively short but critically important Mexican period (1821–46), two processes were going on simultaneously. First, New Mexico’s Hispanos were accepting their being Mexican. They called themselves “Mexicans,” and they probably thought of themselves as not different from other Mexicans in Mexico or elsewhere in the Borderlands. Indeed, Antonio Barreiro, while on appointment as Mexico’s legal advisor in Santa Fe, promoted Mexican nationalism by organizing the Sixteenth of September celebration (in 1832) and by stating the revisionist Mexican view that earlier “Spaniards” were to be condemned for “oppressing” and “exterminating” the “Ancient Mexicans,” who in this case were the Pueblo Indians.²⁰ The second ongoing process was the arrival of Anglo men. A haughty lot, full of attitudes of self-importance and superiority, these Anglos were generally kind in their feelings toward the women, who they sometimes called “Spanish,” but almost universally they viewed the men with contempt and referred to them as “Mexicans.”²¹ To be Spanish was clearly preferable. Thus, in the brief Mexican period New Mexico’s Hispanos and their old-stock brethren elsewhere in the Borderlands faced a unique dilemma: whether to be “Mexican” in the eyes of their countrymen or to be “Spanish” in the eyes of an emerging Anglo elite. “Mexican” was the overwhelming choice.

Bloom, trans. and ed., “Barreiro’s Ojeada Sobre Nuevo-Mexico,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 3 (1928): 88; Manuel Patricio Servín, “California’s Hispanic Heritage: A View into the Spanish Myth,” in *New Spain’s Far Northern Frontier: Essays on Spain in the American West, 1540–1821*, ed. David J. Weber, 127.

²⁰ Barreiro, *Ojeada*, 73, 75–76, 89.

²¹ James M. Lacy, “New Mexican Women in Early American Writings,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 34 (1959): 41, 51; and Beverly Trulio, “Anglo-American Attitudes toward New Mexican Women,” *Journal of the West* 12 (1973): 229–30, 239. David J. Weber discussed the background of the unflattering Anglo attitudes in “Stereotyping of Mexico’s Far Northern Frontier,” in *An Awakened Minority: The Mexican-Americans*, 2d ed., ed. Manuel P. Servín, 18–26.

The American takeover (1846) initiated still a third process—that of becoming “American” politically. This new political label was combined rather quickly with Spanish as “Spanish-American.” In California, in an editorial in the Los Angeles newspaper *El Clamor Público*, Californio Francisco P. Ramírez used “Spanish-American” to refer to his fellow Californios in 1856. In New Mexico the same term had caught on at least by 1874. “Spanish-American” may also have been used by Tejanos in Texas. At this early point the Spanish-American label was probably less a real identity than simply a self-referent used by the old-stock population usually when speaking in English. The aim for those who used it was to escape from the subordinate status of being Mexican, and as larger numbers of Mexican immigrants arrived, the aim also became one of disassociating oneself from those who were generally of a lower socioeconomic class.²²

In New Mexico, the use of “Mexican” declined while that of “Spanish-American” gained momentum. By the 1920s “Spanish-American” was widely entrenched. By the twenties, moreover, “Spanish-American” or simply “Spanish” had come to be much more than a euphemism for avoiding “Mexican”; it was now a genuine ethnic identity with overtones that were cultural and racial. Ruth Laughlin Barker pointed out the irony of the situation: while New Mexicans were cultivating their Spanishness, Mexicans in Mexico were cultivating their Mexicanness, so by the 1920s it was no less insulting to call a Mexican “Spanish” than it was to call a Spanish-American “Mexican.”²³ “Spanish American” (with or without the hy-

²² Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846–1890*, 181. Frances Leon Swadesh cited use of “Spanish-American” by a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, who was referring to Hispanos; *Los Primeros Pobladores: Hispanic Americans of the Ute Frontier*, 89. The reasons for the use of the term are given in Manuel Gámio, *Mexican Immigration to the United States: A Study of Human Migration and Adjustment*, 129, 209; Carey McWilliams, *North from Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States*, The People of America Series, 79, 209.

²³ Erna Fergusson, “New Mexico’s Mexicans,” *Century Magazine* 116 (1928): 437; and Helen Zunker, “A New Mexican Village,” *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 48 (1935): 141. Aurelio M. Espinosa (1880–1958), a lifelong student of the language and folklore of his own Hispano people and a Stanford University professor from 1910 to 1947, wrote, “The Spanish inhabitants of New Mexico and Colorado are descendants of the old Spanish families . . . [that] very rarely intermarried with the native Indian population and are, therefore, in every sense of the word, Spanish”; “Speech Mixture

phen) remained the prevailing self-referent until the 1960s, when it began to lose ground, especially to “Chicano” (Fig. 1.2). However, it continues to be the Hispanos’ preferred self-referent and the basis for their ethnic identity. And the extreme to which it is carried is found in some circles where Spanish Americans of the middle and upper classes refer to Spanish Americans of the lower class as “Mexican.”²⁴ “Spanish American” is, of course, used by Hispanos when speaking in English. When speaking in Spanish, Hispanos call themselves *mexicanos*, a term that Arthur L. Campa explained does not mean Mexicans, for those people are *mexicanos de México*, but rather is a somewhat vague term for Hispanos themselves.²⁵

In California, meanwhile, the use of “Spanish American” or “Spanish” continued into the twentieth century. Joseph E. Spencer recalled that while he attended the Westside School in San Fernando in the 1920s, to call anyone, whether old stock or immigrant, a “Mexican” was to have a fight on your hands. Except among limited numbers of old-stock Californios in places like Santa Barbara, however, “Spanish” in California has all but disappeared, and the self-referents that prevail today among the descendants of Mexican immigrants are “Mexican American” and “Chicano.” In Texas “Spanish” seemingly persisted into the present century among a small pocket of old-stock Tejanos in Nacogdoches—possible evidence of a one-time use of “Spanish” in Texas. However, the prevailing self-referent among the immigrant-derived Texans, at least after World War II, was “Latin American,” and today, as in California, it is “Mexican American” or “Chicano.”²⁶ These two

in New Mexico: The Influence of the English Language on New Mexican Spanish,” in *The Pacific Ocean in History* ed. H. Morse Stephens and Herbert E. Bolton, 410, n. 1. Ruth Laughlin Barker, “Where Americans are ‘Anglos,’” *North American Review* 228 (1929): 569.

²⁴ In Albuquerque in 1972, Joseph V. Metzgar found that *Chicano* was gaining at the expense of *Spanish-American* among young male “Nativos”; “The Ethnic Sensitivity of Spanish New Mexicans: A Survey and Analysis,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 49 (1974): 55. Nancie L. González, *The Spanish-Americans of New Mexico: A Heritage of Pride*, 209.

²⁵ “*Mexicano* in Spanish expresses . . . [for the Hispano] a concept of culture that no other term, not even a translation of the same term, can convey”; Campa, *Spanish Folk-Poetry*, 15–16.

²⁶ Joseph E. Spencer, professor of geography at UCLA, interview with author, August 27, 1969; Richard L. Nostrand, “‘Mexican American’ and ‘Chicano’: Emerging Terms for a People Coming of Age,” *Pacific Historical Review* 42 (1973): 396, 397–99, 404–405.



Fig. 1.2 In the 1940s "Spanish-American" was the prevailing self-referent among Hispanos everywhere. These school children photographed by John Collier in Questa (Taos County) in January 1943, when speaking in English, would have called themselves "Spanish-Americans." Courtesy Library of Congress, photograph LC-USW 3-18139-E.

terms are also the preferred self-referents in Arizona. Throughout the Borderlands, then, the prevailing self-referents and the symbols of an ethnic identity among members of the sizable immigrant-derived population are "Mexican American" and "Chicano."

Thus the Spanish ethnicity of the Hispano is the exception in the Borderlands. And significantly its origin seems to be reactive instead of primordial. This Hispano concept of ethnicity is not easily justified because, although Hispanos are peculiarly Spanish culturally, given their preserved archaic

and indigenous cultural attributes, they are, as Arthur L. Campa pointed out, no *more* Spanish than anyone else, and they are certainly not Spaniards in a racial sense. Not surprisingly, the pretense of superiority that this Spanish ethnic identity implies offends some Mexican Americans, notably the more militant Chicano element, who declare that the Hispanos' Spanishness is a contrived fantasy heritage and a myth and who, with an eye to political unity, think of all Spanish-speaking people in the Borderlands as members of "La Raza"—one people and one culture.²⁷ But Hispanos, like any other people, have the right to determine their own philosophical outlook and to choose their own ethnic identity, however legitimate it may or may not be. What seems to have happened is that Hispanos not only exercised this right but also, unlike Californios and perhaps Tejanos, had the demographic "clout" to make it stick.

DEMOGRAPHIC CLOUT

The original census returns for 1850 plus estimates for several gaps in the census give 80,302 Mexican Americans in the Southwest. This is the number of Mexicans who, at least nominally, had just become Mexican Americans. Of this total, 54,394 (67.7 percent) were Hispanos who lived in New Mexico Territory north of the Socorro area (Table 1.3). The 54,394 Hispanos accounted for 90.9 percent of the population in their Homeland—a percentage that, given the steady decline in the number of Pueblo Indians to that point and the fact that the major influx of Anglos was yet to occur, was near the four-century high point. The Mexican American total in the 1850 census is definitely an undercount, and a more realistic figure would be at least 100,000.²⁸ Yet even an altogether accurate 1850 census would show that the old-stock Hispanos were far

²⁷ Sylvia Rodríguez makes the reactive-primordial distinction and has me coming down heavily on the primordial side in her "The Hispano Homeland Debate," SCCR Working Paper No. 17, Stanford Center for Chicano Research, Stanford University (1986), 9; Arthur L. Campa, *The Spanish Folksong in the Southwest*, University of New Mexico Bulletin, Modern Language Series, vol. 4, no. 1, whole no. 232: 32; Campa, *Spanish Folk-Poetry*, 12-13, 16. The view of Hispanos as members of La Raza is expounded by J. M. Blaut and Antonio Ríos-Bustamante, "Commentary on Nostrand's 'Hispanos' and their 'Homeland,'" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 74 (1984): 157-64.

²⁸ Nostrand, "Mexican Americans," 378-90, 393, n. 29.

Table 1.3 Homeland^a Population Composition, 1850

	Total	Percent
Hispanos ^b	54,394	90.9
Mexican Americans ^c	370	0.6
Pueblo Indians ^d	3,324	5.6
Nomad Indians ^e	164	0.3
Anglos ^f	1,578	2.6
Homeland	59,830 ^g	100.0

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Seventh Census [1850].

^a New Mexico Territory north of the Socorro area (1,600 people in Valencia County's Doña Ana, Las Cruces, and Mesilla were excluded in the analysis).

^b To facilitate their identity and to emphasize their cultural continuity, the modern term *Hispano* is used anachronistically. Hispanos were identified by their nativity (New Mexico Territory), their "color" (white), and their given names and surnames (Spanish).

^c Mexican Americans were identified by their nativity (Mexico) and their Spanish names, yet a few were born in Spain (10), Texas (4), and California (1). Of the 355 who were born in Mexico, 251 were men, and of that number 110 had formed unions with Hispanos.

^d Of the twenty Pueblo villages in 1850, only Zuñi, Laguna, Acoma, Santa Ana, San Ildefonso, Pojoaque, Tesuque, Nambe, and apparently Taos were enumerated. Pueblo Indians were identified by their village residences and sometimes by their "color" ("copper"). They were farmers, had Spanish names, and were born in New Mexico Territory. Most Pueblo Indians probably lived in their separate villages in 1850. Because of imprecise locational data, however, their villages were not removed from the Homeland as non-Homeland enclaves as they were in 1900. The inclusion of all enumerated Pueblo Indians in the Homeland in 1850 thus has yielded a Hispano percentage (90.9) that is low relative to 1900.

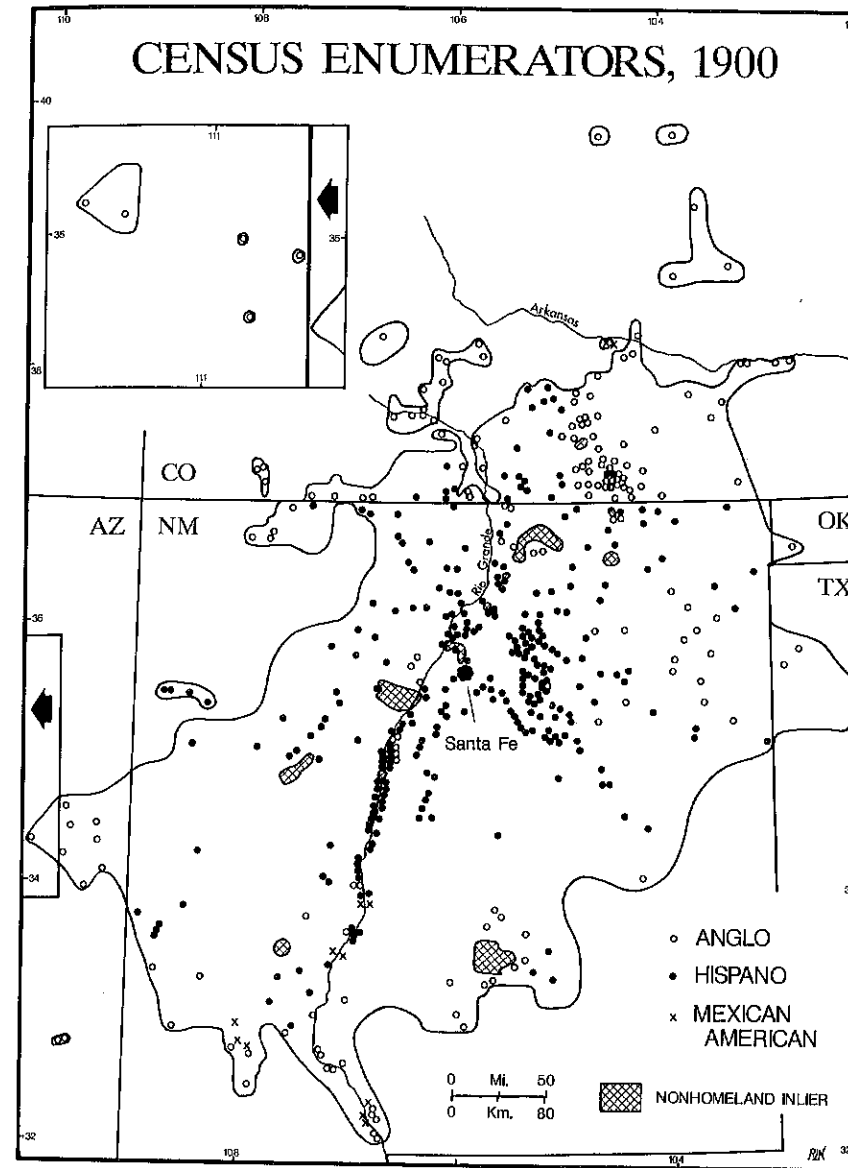
^e Only a relatively small number of nomad Indians who were living among Hispanos were enumerated in 1850. Called *genizaros*, most in 1850 were women who were servants in wealthy Hispano households. They were identified by their "color" or by their tribe ("Nabajoe," "Yutaw") under nativity.

^f Anglos include all non-Indians and persons who were not of Spanish-Indian or Mexican origin. They were identified by their "color," nativity, and names. Over half were military and ancillary military personnel. Most had come recently to New Mexico Territory from the eastern United States, French Canada, and Western Europe. They were largely males, and some of the nonmilitary had formed unions with Hispanos.

^g This Homeland total is an undercount; Nostrand, "Mexican Americans circa 1850," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 65 (1975): 383, 390. Discrepancies between data in this table and those published in 1975 result from the omission of 1,600 people in Valencia County and a careful reexamination in 1986 of the 1850 population schedules.

and away the largest single Spanish-speaking group in the Borderlands, with percentages in their local area that, unlike those in California and Texas, were uniformly high from county to county. Relative to Californios and Tejanos, Hispanos had clout.

The 1900 census, unlike its 1850 predecessor, at least for greater New Mexico appears to be extremely accurate, primarily because Hispanos rather than Anglos were now enumerating other Hispanos (Map 1.2). The original census returns for 1900 give 140,690 Hispanos in a Homeland that by then spread beyond New Mexico Territory to adjacent parts of Colorado,



Map 1.2 Census enumerators in 1900. A total 210 enumerators (115 Hispanos, 89 Anglos, and 6 Mexican Americans) took the census in the Homeland's 485 precincts (which were a minimum 10 percent Hispano). More than one-third enumerated precincts where they resided. Symbols are placed at approximate precinct demographic center points. Source: Population Schedules of the Twelfth Census [1900].

Table 1.4 Homeland^a Population Composition, 1900

	Total	Percent
Hispanos ^b	140,690 ^c	64.1
Mexican Americans ^d	10,176	4.6
Indians ^e	2,516	1.1
Anglos ^f	66,073	30.1
Homeland	219,455 ^g	99.9

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules of the Twelfth Census [1900].

^a A total 485 census precincts wherein Hispanos constituted a minimum 10 percent of the population in New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, Texas, and Oklahoma.

^b To facilitate their identity and to emphasize their cultural continuity, the modern term *Hispano* is used anachronistically. Hispanos were identified by their Spanish surnames and given names, their "color or race" (usually "W" for white, but occasionally "M" or "Mex" for Mexican), and by their nativity and parentage (with few exceptions, New Mexico- and Colorado-born or their Arizona-, Texas-, California-, and Oklahoma-born offspring). Anyone who was half or more Hispano was counted as Hispano.

^c An additional estimated 2,800 Hispanos lived outside the Homeland.

^d Mexican Americans were identified by their Spanish surnames and given names, their "color or race" (white or Mexican), and by their nativity. With the exception of the New Mexico-born of Mexican parentage in the Homeland's southwestern corner, all Mexican Americans were born outside the Homeland—in Mexico, Texas, Arizona, California, and a few even in Spain. Spaniards were counted as Mexican Americans only if they were living among Mexican Americans or Hispanos.

^e Indians were easily identified when they were recorded in the "Indian Population" schedules. In the regular schedules they were identified by an "I" or "In" under "color or race." In 1900 most Pueblo and nomad Indians lived alone on reservations, which, because of the absence of Hispanos, were non-Homeland enclaves. This explains the seemingly low Indian population total.

^f Anglos were non-Hispanos, non-Mexican Americans, and non-Indians.

^g This Homeland total appears to be highly accurate. Of the 210 Homeland census enumerators, 115 were Hispanos who for the most part were taking the census in their home and neighboring precincts and therefore were knowledgeable about those from whom they were gathering information.

Arizona, Texas, and Oklahoma. Largely because of an influx of Anglos, by 1900 the percentage of Hispanos in the Homeland had dropped to 64.1 percent (Table 1.4). Studies of the sizes of the old-stock Californio and Tejano populations in 1900 have not been made, precluding any comparisons with Hispanos. The sheer number of Hispanos and their relative strength within the New Mexico-centered Homeland, however, would suggest that in 1900 they had the demographic clout to sustain a subculture and to nurture an incipient Spanish ethnicity.

A seventy-two-year confidentiality policy adhered to by the Bureau of the Census will postpone for several decades examination of recent original census returns and the precise data they will contain. Fortunately, however, in 1980 the bureau for the first time asked a 19-percent sample of Americans to self-identify their ancestry or ethnicity, and the results give us some reasonably good up-to-date data (Appendix). By 1980

many Hispanos had left their Homeland and were scattered over much of the American West, but in the Homeland itself, which contained well over half of all Hispanos, 364,545 identified themselves as "Spanish," "Spanish American," and "Hispanic" or "Hispano(a)" (Table 1.5). This figure now represented only 20.0 percent of the total Homeland population. Compared to Mexican Americans, whose numbers in the larger Borderlands had swelled into the millions, the Hispano population in 1980 was indeed small. Compared to the 1,080 who in 1980 in the fifteen western states identified themselves as "Californio," Hispano numbers were impressive. Those who self-identified as "Tejanos" in 1980 were even fewer than Californios, although their exact number cannot be separated from the many entries with which they were coded (Table 1.5). All in all, then, in 1980, although Hispanos demographically were dwarfed by Mexican Americans, they in turn dwarfed the other old-stock populations, and within the Homeland their vitality continued to give them a measure of clout.

Table 1.5 Homeland^a Population Composition, 1980

	Total	Percent
Hispanos ^b	364,545 ^c	20.0
Mexican Americans ^d	200,991	11.0
Anglos and Indians ^e	1,260,300	69.0
Homeland	1,825,836 ^f	100.0

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Population Division, Census of Population and Housing, 1980, Summary Tape File (STF) 4 (data for long-form question 14 for fifteen states).

^a Census County Divisions (CCD) wherein, with one exception (Denver, 7.7 percent Hispano), Hispanos constituted a minimum 10 percent of the population (largely in New Mexico and Colorado).

^b Persons who reported at least one ancestry to be "Spanish" (code 205), "Spanish American" (code 206), and "Hispanic" or "Hispano(a)" (code 207) in response to question 14 in the long form of the 1980 census.

^c This number would appear to represent well over half the total Hispano population in the American West.

^d Persons who reported at least one ancestry to be "Californio" (code 208), "Mexican," "Mexicano(a)," or "Mexico" (code 209), "Mexican American" (code 210), "Nuevo Mexicano," "Tejano(a)," "Aguascalientes" or other states of Mexico (code 211), and "Chicano(a)" (code 212). The preponderance self-identified with labels coded 209 and 210. Very few used labels coded 208 (23 in all of New Mexico; 1,080 in the fifteen western states) and 211 (18 in all of New Mexico; 437 in the fifteen western states).

^e All others who were not Hispanos or Mexican Americans.

^f This Homeland total would appear to be based on the most reliable data available. In 1980, for the first time, Americans were asked about their ancestry. Question 14 in the long form, which was asked of 19 percent of the population, requested individuals to self-identify their ancestry or ethnicity regardless of the number of generations that person was removed from his or her country of origin. The Spanish categories were coded 200–43. For this study codes 200–12 were purchased for fifteen states.

GEOGRAPHICAL IMPLICATIONS

Who, then, is the Hispano today? Racially, he is by and large mestizo, different from Mexican Americans only because of a greater nomad Indian admixture. Politically, he is an American, and has been since the mid-nineteenth century, a claim only the descendants of the old-stock populations can make. Six or seven generations of Anglicization have made him bicultural and bilingual, like most other Mexican Americans. Yet culturally he is set apart from Mexican Americans by peculiar preserved and indigenous Spanish attributes—attributes that are different only in subtle ways much like the subtle differences that separate New Englanders or Southerners or Mormons from mainstream Anglo-American society.²⁹ Finally, in ethnicity the Hispano is different because he identifies with his Spanishness.

These items that set Hispanos apart have implications that are geographical. The Hispanos' identity with their Spanishness, for example, makes their area an "ethnic island." But ethnicity is a fluid sort of thing that is subject to change, and the likelihood that the Hispano area will endure as an ethnic island is low.³⁰ The Hispanos' sizable population, their distinctive culture, and their deep roots in New Mexico make their area a "cultural region," a concept that has wide acceptance among geographers. As a cultural region the Hispano area will surely endure. In this study I argue that the Hispano area is also their "Homeland." Hispanos adjusted to their natural environment, stamped it with their cultural impress, and created from their natural and cultural surroundings an identity with the land and a sense of place. These things are the ingredients of a "homeland." And the Hispano area as Homeland, like the Hispano area as a cultural region, will surely endure.

The fashioning of a homeland concept, something Hispanos did pretty much by themselves, is the geographical outcome

of four centuries of Hispano activity in greater New Mexico. This homeland concept is discussed in chapter 10. The bulk of the study, however, is devoted to the thesis that Hispanos, in interaction with Pueblo and nomad Indians, Anglos, and Mexican immigrants, created a geographical entity, which I call their "Homeland." The eight processes that shaped and reshaped this entity are developed in chapters 2–9. And the major outcomes of these processes are the three morphological zones into which the Hispano region is carved.

²⁹ Marc Simmons made a similar comparison: "The fact is, in spite of a shared language and a common religion, the Hispano is as different from the Mexican-American as an American is from a Canadian"; Buddy Mays and Marc Simmons, *People of the Sun: Some Out-of-Fashion Southwesterners*, 57.

³⁰ Ellen Churchill Semple identified "ethnic islands" in her *Influences of Geographic Environment*, 210, 224. D. W. Meinig, "Rejoinder" [to Nostrand's "Hispano Cultural Distinctiveness: A Reply"], *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 74 [1984]: 171.