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SANTA CRUZ: AUTHORITY AND COMMUNITY RESPONSE IN THE  
HISTORY OF A NEW MEXICO TOWN

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degree of

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BY

R. STEWART ELLIS

Norman, Oklahoma

1980

SANTA CRUZ: AUTHORITY AND COMMUNITY RESPONSE  
IN THE HISTORY OF A NEW MEXICO TOWN

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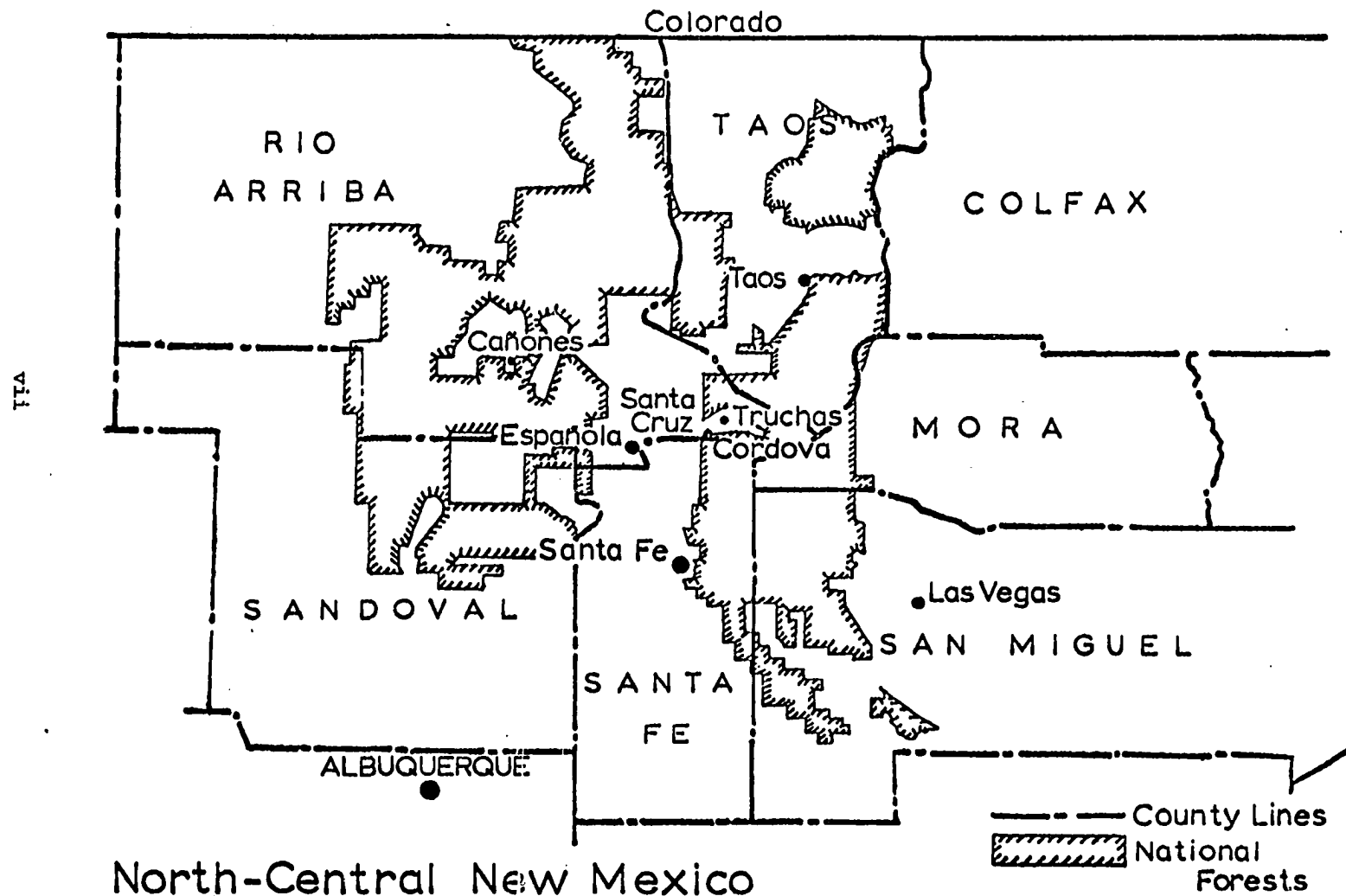
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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

An unsigned article appearing in the New Mexico Review and Legislative Journal for June, 1969 divided New Mexicans into three types, the "Good Ole Boys," "Los Primos," and the "Suburbanites," corresponding to three regions, the Southeast (or Little Texas), the North, and Albuquerque. Although the author conceded that he was glossing over some other groups within the state (most notably the Native Americans), he nonetheless felt that the three categories isolated salient characteristics of the style of politics found among the three main political subcultures of the state, as well as illustrating the images that each of the groups held of the others.

From the Anglo-American viewpoint, the culture type of the North is El Primo. He is at once your friend, your neighbor and your cousin.

Commenting on what people of the "North" did for entertainment, the author went on to state

(t)he Northern equivalent of the Southeastern general interest in high school sports is politics. . . . Stop at a general store in the rural North. . . . Los Primos are there, talking about politics and passing away an afternoon.

He continued suggesting a causal connection between poverty and the interest in politics,

(t)hey'd be at work if there were jobs--the decent, productive jobs that give you both pride and a living wage.

At an earlier point, the connection was stated in a slightly different way.

There is no measure of wealth where the basic fact of life is eternal poverty.

Power in the North rests, not in landownership, but in systems of political and familial loyalty. And the powers of the North continue to be the patrones. They're superprimos with new cars. Usually they've strong ties to the political machine of Senator Joseph Montoya.

[Anonymous 1969: 2-3].

The "North" that the author of the article continually refers to consists of the five counties of Santa Fe, Sandoval, Rio Arriba, Taos, Mora and San Miguel. These counties comprised the core area of both pre-Hispanic Indian and later Spanish Colonial settlement in what is now New Mexico. People with Spanish surnames continue to comprise a high proportion of the population of each of these counties, in some cases a majority, and the architectural and linguistic manifestations of both the Spanish and Indian heritages are still abundant.

The poverty that the author refers to is just as real as the exotic (to Anglo-Americans) cultural heritage. Measured by un-

employment figures, per capita income, the amount of industrial production, the proportion of people on welfare, or the percentage of land in private hands, northern New Mexico is an underdeveloped area. Its most saleable resource, its ability to attract tourist dollars and the money of wealthy Northeasterners, is to a large extent predicated on its perceived eighteenth- or nineteenth-century charm.

For example, northern New Mexico's land and timber resources are to a large extent managed by various agencies of the national bureaucracy, such as the Bureau of Land Management (BLM), the Forestry Service, and National Park Service. Similarly, the most significant sources of outside capital are various social welfare and national defense programs carried out by the United States government. Even the ability of the people to subsist through agriculture has been seriously undermined by the Hispanic pattern of partible land inheritance complicated by land swindles in the early Anglo period. The most common form of livelihood in northern New Mexico consists of either a government job or a government welfare check. Probably the only large-scale local organization of capital for the purpose of industrial production is by various Indian Pueblos and/or tribes, and even that is underwritten by special legal status and federal programs.

#### Latin Political Style in America and Europe

The imputed connection between poverty and the style of politics within the region probably runs much deeper than is immediately evident in the article (Anonymous 1969) or in the minds of many observers. The type of politics that is found in northern New Mexico has a great many similarities to Latin American politics (with the

obvious exception that New Mexico has not experienced any tendency in the last century to engage in military coups), or to the politics of Latin Europe. (There are also some similarities to the politics of the American South.) The key features of that political style are: 1) the presence of patrones or "bosses," and 2) the tendency for many (if not most) political relationships to be personalized, while at the same time most personal relationships are subject to becoming entangled with the accoutrements of friendship and kinship.

Eric Wolf (1966b) has noted that kinship, friendship, and patron-client relationships exist alongside most formal economic and political relationships as parallel or supplementary to the more formal framework, serving to fill the interstices of that framework. Since the relationships exist alongside (or outside) the formal charter of the complex society, Wolf speaks of them as informal groups, stating that

Sometimes such informal groups cling to the formal structure like barnacles to a rusty ship. At other times, informal social relations are responsible for the metabolic process required to keep the formal institution operating, as in the case of armies locked in combat. In still other cases we discover that the formal table of organization is elegant indeed but fails to work, unless informal mechanisms are found for its direct contravention, as in the network of blat relationships among Soviet industrial managers [Wolf 1966b: 2].

Such informal relationships are seen by Wolf to be characteristic of at least some spheres of activity in all complex societies. However, P. Schneider, J. Schneider, and Hansen (1972) indicate that such informal groups (which they call noncorporate groups) tend to be more characteristic of some societies than others. They were struck by two characteristics which were shared by Western Sicily and Catalonia, where they had done their respective fieldwork. First, they noted the pervasiveness of "noncorporate social structures (for the most part coalitions) which organized fundamental economic and political activities of a quite modern sort." Such groups were constantly reaffirmed in "an emergent bar culture" in Catalonia and by "the celebration of friendship, especially at banquets and feasts in both regions [Schneider, Schneider and Hansen 1973: 328-329]."

Second, they were impressed by the fact that though each region was integrated into its respective nation and had experienced a significant rise in the standard of living since World War II, there was not any associated increase in primary industry nor had agriculture been transformed over the same period of time. The failure to reform industrial and agricultural production was the subject of much talk within the regions. Although Western Sicily was "poorer and more backward," even Catalonia had "no preeminent claim to its own resources, human or material [Schneider, Schneider and Hansen 1972: 329]."

Attempts to explain the two characteristics as manifestations of the persistence of traditional features in a society that was becoming modern left them in the position of treating the centuries-old presence

of noncorporate groups in the Mediterranean as a remarkably long case of transition to a more modern, rational-legal, form of social structure. The alternative was to conclude that the Western Mediterranean was not in transit to modernity but had already achieved it, but that the modernity they witnessed alongside the erstwhile pre-industrial, traditional forms of social organization was of a different sort from that of the rational-legal and urban-industrial societies of northwestern Europe and large parts of North America. The type of change they were looking at in the Western Mediterranean they call modernization. The other type of outcome results from what they call development.

Modernization refers to the process by which an undeveloped region changes in response to inputs (ideologies, behavioral codes, commodities and institutional models) from already established industrial centers; a process which is based on that region's continued dependence upon the urban-industrial metropolis. Development refers to the process by which an underdeveloped region attempts to acquire an autonomous and diversified industrial economy on its own terms [Schneider, Schneider and Hansen 1972: 340].

#### Regional Dependence and World

##### Political Economy

Modernization is the result of a particular type of relationship within the realm of political economy. In the case of the Western

Mediterranean, industrial Europe has held both the balance of authority and power and the balance of economic productivity through industrial development. Dependent Europe, which includes much of the Mediterranean as well as other regions, on the other hand has provided raw materials, agricultural products, markets, and, particularly with the development of guest-worker opportunities in Germany in recent decades, labor power. In exchange for their contributions, the dependent people and regions have received the purchasing power to emulate metropolitan lifestyles, at least to some extent, but have not developed the capability to significantly alter the asymmetrical exercise of political and economic power on the part of the "metropolis."

The penetration of the metropolis into the satellite is incomplete, however; the dependent regions tend to be areas that were colonized by the metropolies prior to the development of industrial capitalism and the relationships that developed are based primarily on market activities, underwritten when necessary by the exercise of force by the developed metropolis. Generally in such regions the interactions between region and metropolis are controlled (to the extent that they can be controlled) at the local level by the promotion of noncorporate forms of association.

The elites which materialize in a modernizing region then, manage power and wealth as subordinates to those who actually control them. Since these elites derive what social power that they do possess as a result of their abilities in altering the flow of power from the superordinate region, their maneuvering serves to sustain a fragmentation of power in the local arena. Such manipulation supports



continued dependence and precludes the development of regional autonomy.

In contrast, development occurs in the context of the highly organized exercise of power at the local level. The elites which emerge under such conditions are instrumental in leading the withdrawal of the region from the metropolis in the interest of nurturing autonomous development.

Much of Schneider, Schneider and Hansen's discussion is based on the ideas of André Gunder Frank (1967), from whom the terms metropolis and satellite have been most generally borrowed. Their work represents an analytical elaboration of certain features of the interaction between metropolies and satellites with regard to another set of specific cases than are considered by Frank.

Immanuel Wallerstein (1974a; 1974b), while also concerned with the same issues, takes the analysis further. While the notions of metropolis and satellite are certainly useful in a discussion of the relationship between any two assymetrically related regions or other sociopolitical entities, Wallerstein enlarges the level of analysis to talk about a single world capitalist system with multiple levels of dependence. For Wallerstein, many of the features of dependence result from the specific type of articulation of the region under consideration within the system. Wallerstein's (1974a) book is an analysis of the origins of this single system. The second publication (Wallerstein 1974b) is concerned with the subsequent and more general ramifications of the emergence of the single economic order.

The origin of the capitalist world system is tied to the "crisis of feudalism," a set of internal trends, that, coupled with climatic and other conditions, promoted an increase in the division of labor through geographical and demographic expansion. This phase of emergence took place from 1450 to 1640 (Wallerstein 1974b: 406-407). (The emergence of this world system was another in a long line of what Harris (1977) has called intensifications, which have been necessary to preserve the standard of living, but which always have as their consequence that they change as much as they maintain.) The division of labor within a world system includes, in addition to the occupational specialization characteristic of political economy, a specialization of roles between the various parts of the system. Based on political power and real productivity (ability to produce profits from the investment of labor and materials) certain areas developed as the core of the system. Areas with less real productivity were relegated to high-cost low-profit or high-risk activities; they became the semi-periphery. Certain areas, because of distance, various social factors, and the availability of resources, became peripheral to the system, specializing in the provision of raw materials and agricultural staples (although these may have been luxury goods) (Wallerstein 1974b: 400-401,407).

#### Power and Interpersonal Relationships

"Although the world system is not a political system--there are many states in the system--it is the result of political as well as economic forces and contributes to a system of political relation-

ships in addition to the economic ones. The component polities can have short-term effects on market forces by imposing tariffs, embargos or blockades. Because power is concentrated in the core, however, it is more likely that elites at the core can have a real impact on the operation of the system. In the semi-periphery and periphery, the exercise and concentration of power are more weakly developed. Since corporate political actions are less likely to have any result, each person with any potential for forming noncorporate ties to the core does so. Likewise, because of the asymmetrical and unstable relationship to the sources of political and economic power the local and regional economic elites tend to engage in

real estate speculation, commerce appropriate to the new consumer markets which modernization engenders, and perhaps agricultural or light industrial production, cautiously capitalized because of its vulnerability to fluctuations on world markets. Such activities lend themselves well to organization by flexible, shifting and temporary noncorporate groups [Schneider, Schneider and Hansen 1972:344].

The fragmentation of power in such a system also affects those who are playing for lower stakes. Commenting still on the Mediterranean, the Schneiders and Hansen state

This is an area in which individuals at all levels are politicians: they calculate, wheel and deal, and intrude themselves into widely

divergent spheres of action. They are celebrated for their initiative and drive, notorious for their capacity to store information about political and social debits and credits, and remarkably skilled at interpersonal relations. . . .

In other words, in the Western Mediterranean, every man can be his own sovereign. To be sure the lower down the social scale we go, the less the probability of his resounding success. But even in the poorest towns of a latifundist region, there are wide varieties of resources and talents that are not tied down in corporate structures, that are available if only a person can make the right connection [Schneider, Schneider and Hansen 1972:336 ].

In other words, individual social actors can ameliorate the impact of their situation within the periphery or semi-periphery of the modern world system through noncorporate or informal means.

Since noncorporate ways of relating seem to be such an important part of the social systems of peripheral or semi-peripheral regions, a comment on the usage of the terms is called for at this point. Although the Schneiders and Hansen (1972: 335) make a distinction between the terms "noncorporate" and "informal," arguing that informal does not so clearly imply the presence of power within the relationship as does the term noncorporate, I do not see that either word precludes an interest in power. Power is simply a possible part of the context of the relation. Either term seems to

point to the fact that the relationship is outside of the officially chartered channels. Just as they have trouble with the string "informal organizations," I have some difficulty with the potential contradiction in the string "noncorporate group." I will use the terms interchangeably to refer to processes of interaction in which the actors maintain some ability to negotiate the terms of the interaction.

What the Schneiders and Hansen refer to as noncorporate groups at some points, they also refer to as coalitions at others. Eric Wolf (1966a: 80-96) provides the seminal analysis of coalition as a form of organization in process. Coalitions are alliances which develop out of self interest and autonomy. They provide for defense of the parties against various pressures such as the situational inability to meet basic subsistence needs. But they also provide a defense against pressures arising from participation in a political economy, such as taxes, demands for labor service, military conscription, access to markets or wage labor opportunities, or any of myriad other problems. They are analyzable in terms of three basic dimensions: the number of parties, whether dyadic (between two) or polyadic (between more than two); the number of interests or issues involved, single or multiple (adjectivally these become single-stranded and many-stranded); and the relative power, wealth or status of the parties, whether between equals (horizontal) or between actors of unequal status (vertical). These three pairs of attributes provide eight possible combinations. Some of the more important types would include: patron-client ties (dyadic, many-stranded, vertical),

voluntary associations (polyadic, single-stranded, horizontal), or friendship or neighborliness (dyadic, many-stranded, horizontal).

Wolf's intention is not to call our attention to attributes, however, but rather to provide us with guidelines for asking questions about the nature of relationships. The hallmark of coalitions is not their fixity but rather their flexibility; the parties to them are constantly engaged in defining and redefining their relationships. Even kinship in complex societies often exists more as potentiality than actuality. Kin-based coalitions are sometimes very important ways of responding to various kinds of situations. Other times kinsmen act as encumbrances to the aspirations of a person and the ties are deemphasized (Whitten 1965: 148-169; Wolf 1966b: 5-10). Coalitions, unlike formal relationships, exist as situational, as potential, and as process (cf. Whitecotton 1976: 132). Moreover, coalitions are types of situational responses and not things.

Just as coalitions can be seen in relationships between individuals, so can we see informal, negotiated arrangements between institutions within a society. Although institutions are sometimes established with formal charters or at least expectations, it can be useful to the extent that separate institutions cooperate in promoting their separate interests, to view those cooperative arrangements as being at least similar in nature to coalitions. This is particularly true if those arrangements serve to adapt outside agencies and/or forces to local ends.

In thinking of coalitions, it also needs to be kept in mind that some alliances for interest preclude others. Some ties have to be held in abeyance or even severed to form others. A person may, in promoting his segmental interests in one realm, be interfering with his own interests in another. Segmentation again like coalition, however, can be a situational response affecting either individuals or organizations when goals or interests conflict.

### New Mexico and the World Capitalist System

At the time that New Spain was settled, Spain was structurally near the core of the system. The encomienda system of labor coercion was the Spanish variant of a device used to profit from another important peripheral region, Eastern Europe. By the time that New Spain pushed into New Mexico, Spain had begun to decline to semi-peripheral status itself. When New Mexico was reconquered in 1692-1693, the world system was entering stage two of its development and England had begun to consolidate its position as the new core nation. After 1760 the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution ushered in the third stage of the world system (Wallerstein 1974b: 407-408).

The colonial revolutions of the Western Hemisphere were the responses of peripheral areas. The American Revolution was a manifestation of the sort of mercantilist withdrawal from the world system that allows development (or elevation in world-system division of labor) to proceed. The northern United States began a rise to true semi-peripheral status. The independence movement in Latin America simply "ended pockets of non-involvement in the world economy in the interior of Latin America [Wallerstein 1974b: 408]"

and temporarily halted the decline of frontier regions, such as New Mexico, to a status that would have been beyond the periphery.

As the United States rose in the world economy, it began to develop its own periphery, the West, which served at first, as it had served the French, as a source of luxury goods, largely furs, for the world's trade, as well as serving as a means for siphoning off excess population to create markets for its manufactures. As productivity in the United States rose, the already peripheral region of the Mexican Republic drew American capitalists from Missouri, through New Mexico which served as a port of entry, down into the interior of northern Mexico. New Mexico was now heavily involved in the world system for the first time. American conquest of New Mexico in 1846 did not significantly alter anything except the identity of the superordinate political power. The coming of the railroad around 1880 allowed the region of New Mexico to produce two cash crops for the world market, sheep and cattle, and attracted the outside technology and capital to effectively exploit her mineral resources for the first time.

Since the 1880s the United States has assumed core status, and the world economy has entered what Wallterstein (1974b: 411) calls stage four, a stage of consolidation for the economy as a system, but New Mexico remains a region that is somewhere between peripheral and semi-peripheral in status. As with Western Sicily and Catalonia (and other regions), northern New Mexico is a region whose "modernized" consumer patterns result as byproducts of growth and expansion at the core. Productivity in northern New Mexico is still low. Whereas



Catalonia has a number of industries which are organized outside its region (Krupp of Germany, Purina of the U.S., Fiat and Cinzano of Northern Italy), Western Sicily (Schneider, Schneider and Hansen 1972: 340-341; Schneider and Schneider 1976) and northern New Mexico have no significant industrialization at all.

In the absence of local productivity all three of these regions acquire the money to underwrite their "modern" standards of living from three main sources. For the two Mediterranean regions the sources are: 1) welfaristic capital investment (including price subsidies, land reform, unemployment, medical and retirement benefits, and grants and loans for agricultural improvements) administered by the home national government; 2) temporary migration for wage labor to the developed countries in Europe, where it is made difficult for the immigrants to stay permanently; and 3) tourism, which attracts foreign currency and provides local jobs (Schneider, Schneider and Hansen 1972: 341-342). In northern New Mexico the sources are essentially the same except for a slight difference in temporary wage labor. Whereas the semi-peripheral status of Spain and Italy makes it difficult for the nations themselves to provide jobs within their own borders, the fact that the U.S. is part of the core makes it possible for New Mexico wage-labor migrants to find work within their own country. It also makes it possible for the people to work in non-productive public sector industries such as defense and state government; they migrate to Albuquerque, Santa Fe or Los Alamos.

#### The Study of Santa Cruz

The present study is an investigation of the ways in which one town has been affected by and has responded to the exercise of authority,

or institutionalized power, by three successive regimes. The town is Santa Cruz, New Mexico. Santa Cruz lies in the heartland of the region referred to above as northern New Mexico. Research was conducted during the summer of 1969 (Diecker 1970; Ellis 1970; Hamon 1970; Whitecotton 1970), part of summer, 1970, and from February, 1972, through August, 1973.

Although Santa Cruz provides a convenient focal point for the issues investigated here, it was not chosen necessarily as a community representative of the region; in many ways it is not. It was chosen because it has a political history, first as the new administrative seat on the frontier of the Spanish colonies, devolving in the last fifty years to a focus for the irrigation district which serves it as well as a number of other settlements. Its Church also served until about the 1930s as one of the major foci of Hispano religious organization and sentiment and provides a number of documents. (See Whitecotton 1970, for a discussion of the selection of Santa Cruz as a research focus.)

If the community is not sample (in any sense of representativeness), neither is it precisely object (Arensberg and Kimball 1965: 6-47). Both of those concerns have to do mostly with the "what" of a community. Although attributes cannot be ignored, I am more concerned with "how," with processes of adaptation and response. Kenneth Weber (1976) makes a similar distinction between "locus" and "nexus." Firth's (1963: 41-79) distinction between "social structure" and "social organization" points to a similar distinction. Either "nexus" or "how" focuses on concatenations of relationships. In many instances in the pages to follow these relations lead beyond the community to the region and even to seats of

political and religious authority and economic power in distant places. Santa Cruz provides a convenient starting point.

In addition to focusing on the community, I have restricted the analysis to four major institutional spheres. After a chapter which serves as a general orientation to the geography and history of both the region and Santa Cruz, I will analyze the Church, education, livelihood, and power and its manipulation. Each of the institutional chapters will begin with the period of the founding of Santa Cruz and end with 1973.

The next chapter will start with a summary of the institutional analyses. Then I will point to some of the similarities and differences between Santa Cruz and some other New Mexico communities. The last chapter will consist of a brief, impressionistic discussion of events since I was last in Santa Cruz in August, 1973. These have been garnered from the local newspaper and from discussions with people who have visited Santa Cruz since I left. These events provide a sort of minimal guide to the future in progress and will be used as a basis for suggesting some possibilities concerning the future.

## CHAPTER II

### SETTING

Santa Cruz lies almost thirty miles north of Santa Fe, approximately one mile east of the main highway from Santa Fe to Taos. Two miles to the west, across the Rio Grande, is Española, the commercial and service center for the immediate area. The Santa Cruz River flows three hundred yards south of the plaza to join the Rio Grande just south of Española.

#### Water, Land, and Climate

There is relatively little surface water in northern New Mexico; much of the history of the state is, therefore, refractory of the relationship between humans and rivers, to the extent that two of the standard histories of the state take their names from the Rio Grande (Ferguson 1967; Horgan 1968). Although the Santa Cruz River is less dramatic than the Rio Grande it has nonetheless been an important focus of human settlement because it is one of few relatively permanent streams in the northern part of the state. The small river has its source in the Sangre de Cristo Mountains which rise to an elevation of 13,110 feet at Truchas Peak, approximately eighteen miles east of Santa Cruz. Two small streams, the Rito de los Frijoles and the Rio en Medio cascade out of the mountains to join nine miles upstream of the town at an altitude of 6,500 feet. From their confluence, the Santa Cruz River meanders around to the northwest to a small reservoir

built in the 1920s to insure and improve the centuries old practice of irrigation along the river. As the water is released from the dam, the river continues its northwesterly flow, more gently now, past the several placitas that comprise the village of Chimayo.

At the western edge of Chimayo, three miles from the dam, the river strikes a more westerly course as it traverses the less densely settled narrow plain that extends for most of the five miles separating Chimayo from the core settlement of Santa Cruz. By the time the river passes south of Santa Cruz the elevation of the streambed is 5,640 feet, falling to approximately 5,580 feet where the river finally flows into the Rio Grande. The plaza of Santa Cruz is at an elevation of 5,650 feet where the flood plain of the Santa Cruz River breaks out onto the much wider plain of the Rio Grande.

One reason for the importance of rivers in the settlement history of New Mexico, and particularly the north, is the character of the land. The portion of New Mexico which extends north from about sixty miles east and west of Santa Fe is part of the Southern Rocky Mountains physiographic province (Beck 1962: 6,8). This province is defined on the east by the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, on the west by the Jemez and San Juan Mountains and is roughly bisected by the southward flowing Rio Grande. The country is rugged and spectacular. The Sangre de Cristos soar as high as 7,500 feet above the valley floor, with the Jemez rising 2,000 feet less. In summer the snowcapped peaks and coniferous forests of the mountains contrast sharply with the faded earth and scrub vegetation of the lower elevations.

Not only is the region spectacular on a grand scale, the ruggedness of the terrain below 6,500 feet is almost equally awe-inspiring. Along most of the course of the Santa Cruz River bluffs and hills directly overlook the narrow plain from heights of one hundred to two hundred feet. Furthermore, the landscape is crosscut by numerous arroyos or dry streambeds. These literally could be characterized as rivers of sand. At least five named arroyos, as well as several other unnamed ones, intersect the river from the north side alone between Chimayo and Santa Cruz.

Since the arroyos do such a thorough job of rapidly draining the runoff from localized and intermittent summer cloudbursts in the broken foothills, they are unusable as croplands or building sites or directly for any other human purpose. Flash floods originating five or ten miles away while skies overhead remain essentially clear can deliver water with sufficient force to overturn and sweep downstream a camper-truck or large automobile. Except in rare cases arroyos pose a high risk to attempts at converting them to agricultural use.

As a consequence of the hills and arroyos, human settlement of the area around Santa Cruz effectively has been limited to the rather narrow valley of the Santa Cruz River. Chimayo, for example, is situated on the outside of a bend in the river where the valley has been widened by the shifting course of the river as well as by the action of a number of arroyos. La Puebla and Cuarteles, which are geographically halfway between Santa Cruz and Chimayo, are situated where the valley has been widened by the erosion of large arroyos. But if the rugged topography and unpredictable arroyos have constrained

human settlement, the geography also has contributed to the concentration of a rich alluvium. The conjunction of soil and water in the Santa Cruz Valley has supported agriculture for approximately 1000 years.

In addition to the problems posed by limited water and harsh landscape, agriculture and other human activities are affected by climate. Throughout the world climate is generally a function of latitude: world areas the same distance from the equator tend to be characterized by similar patterns of vegetation, rainfall and temperature. If latitude is held essentially constant on the other hand, as it is in northern New Mexico, topography has a considerable influence on climate and in turn on the vegetation. In a semiarid area this influence is even more pronounced than it is in an area with more normal precipitation.

If native vegetation is taken as a climatic index, Santa Cruz falls within the Upper Sonoran zone, as does three-fourths of the entire state. This zone continues from an elevation of 4,500 feet to between 7,000 and 8,500 feet. The Upper Sonoran vegetation consists largely of buffalo and blue grama grass, with piñon and juniper providing some scrubby tree cover (Beck 1962: 9-10; Beck and Haase 1960: 4). But even this vegetation is scanty around Santa Cruz except along water courses where cottonwood trees also flourish.

The mean annual precipitation at Santa Cruz, a second index of climate, is ten inches (New Mexico State Engineer 1964: 7). Average figures are somewhat misleading, however, because twice as much precipitation occurs from May through October as occurs in the other six

months. Nevertheless, the rainfall is insufficient for unirrigated cultivation even of pasturage.

Santa Cruz does possess a relatively good growing season, a third major index of climate. The average period without killing frost runs from May 6 to October 7 (New Mexico State Engineer 1964: 6). Thus the majority of the direct precipitation falls during the time that is beneficial for crops.

Since climate does change with altitude, all three indices vary as one ascends into the mountains either east or west of Santa Cruz. The scrub vegetation of the Upper Sonoran zone gives way first to Ponderosa pine, then to blue spruce, Douglas fir, and aspen, and finally above 11,000 feet to dwarf spruce and tundra vegetation (Beck 1962: 10; Beck and Haase 1969: 4). Precipitation increases with elevation so that at the uppermost elevations of both the Sangre de Cristo and Jemez ranges annual averages reach forty inches, a great proportion of this consisting of snowmelt (Beck and Haase 1969: 3). On the other hand, the frost-free period at the upper elevations is reduced to a period of 100 to 120 days, with the average daily temperature dropping approximately 5 degrees F for every 1000 feet of climb (Beck and Haase 1969: 7).

Some of the natural factors that, therefore, might seem to constrain human activities in and around Santa Cruz are balanced by other aspects of the natural environment. The relative paucity of surface water is offset by the concentration of that water into a few relatively reliable streams. The impact of the rugged terrain is ameliorated by water action that has provided narrow fertile strips along the streams. The lack of tree cover at lower elevations permitted the pasturing of



livestock on non-irrigated lands near the village in the past, while the mountains provided the trees necessary for firewood and roofbeams or vigas for the adobe dwellings which were built from the clay soil.

The mountains, although they contain almost no habitation sites above 9,000 feet, provide a number of other resources. Most important among these is the effect they have on the weather patterns of the region. The snow that accumulates in winter at higher elevations gradually melts through the spring and summer, providing in good years a relatively constant flow of water to lower areas. The presence of the mountains, the rugged terrain and the river also shelter much of the inhabited area around Santa Cruz; only the month of January presents average daily temperatures below freezing (New Mexico State Engineer 1964: 6). Finally, the mountains and generally rugged topography gave some defense in times past against nomadic Indians--the Ute, Navaho and Comanche.

#### Native New Mexicans

The same factors that ultimately facilitated the Spanish colonization of northern New Mexico also promoted the concentration of the Native American population in the same region at the close of the fourteenth century. This concentration followed the decline of the Anasazi tradition which had flourished largely to the northwest in the Four Corners region of New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona and Utah. As a consequence of some large-scale climatic changes in that original area, the ancestors of the present-day Pueblo Indians moved into the Rio Grande Valley and began to develop a more intensive form of agriculture

on tightly integrated villages and the practice of irrigation (Dozier 1970: 39-40).

When Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, the first Spaniard to have any real contact with the Rio Grande Pueblos, made his entrada in 1540, he did not find the "Seven Cities of Cibola" that he sought, but instead encountered a number of towns made from the light colored soil and clay of the region. These towns were called pueblos which literally means town in Spanish. In these towns along the northern Rio Grande and its tributaries, the native inhabitants grew crops by irrigation, diverting water from the rivers through communally maintained ditches. The crops included maize, beans, squash, cotton and tobacco, planted and cultivated largely with the digging stick.

There was a well-developed sexual division of labor, with the men assuming responsibility for all tasks directly associated with food production (including hunting), as well as the weaving of cloth. Women cared for children, prepared the food, made the pottery and plastered the houses which had been made by the men. This division may have been relaxed during the harvest, the construction and maintenance of ditches, and in the cleaning of the villages (Dozier 1970: 127-129).

The division of labor does not seem to have gone beyond sex and age and there was little craft specialization within or between villages; the only trade was with nomadic groups. Although the turkey and dog were domesticated, neither was important in the diet. Animal resources were obtained either in the trade with the nomads or through hunting (Dozier 1961: 101-103; 1970: 127-129). The social organization corresponds with Service's (1962) level of tribe, integrated through

village-level corporate ownership of land and a series of sodalities which cross-cut kin ties. Corporate kin groups were probably not present (Dozier 1961: 107-115).

### Conquest, Colonization, and Reconquest

In the next fifty years several additional expeditions entered New Mexico. None succeeded in finding riches, but by 1590 there were several individuals requesting permission to colonize New Mexico. The task of bringing New Mexico firmly under the Spanish Crown was ultimately given to Don Juan de Oñate, the son of a wealthy Zacatecas miner and an in-law to the heirs of Cortes.

In the fall of 1595 Oñate received a contract stipulating that he provide a force of two hundred men and equip them with livestock, implements and other merchandise sufficient for a full year. In return for this considerable expense he was to be named governor, receive a salary, be granted a temporary tax reduction, acquire the hereditary title hidalgo, and be granted other implied powers. Political intrigue following a change of viceroys in 1595 coupled with the problems of organizing the expedition delayed the colonization more than two years.

In January of 1598, Oñate embarked with 129 soldiers, ten religious brothers, probably 400 settlers with 130 wives and families, eighty-three wagons, 7,000 livestock and an unspecified number of Mexican Indians. That summer the capital of New Mexico was established west of the pueblo that is today called San Juan, five miles north and slightly west of the site where Santa Cruz was ultimately to be established. Oñate named his capital San Gabriel (Beck 1962: 52-55; Horgan 1968: 160-174).

Although the composition of Oñate's party indicates that the colony was to be predominantly agricultural, the hope for easily obtainable mineral riches was still a factor for both Oñate and his colonists. Before the end of the summer of 1598 some of the group wanted to return to Mexico but Oñate was able to stop them. It was more difficult to stop Oñate. As late as March, 1599 he wrote to the viceroy in glowing terms describing the as-yet-undiscovered wealth in gold, silver and even pearls that he would find when he discovered the bay that New Mexico surely had on its nearby western coast, all of this even after the Indians at Acoma had revolted (Beck 1962: 55-57).

The unrealistic expectations of the soldiers and settlers concerning worldly riches were compounded by the more immediate problem of survival: the Spaniards had arrived too late to plant crops. The native inhabitants were developed sufficiently sociopolitically to generate an economic surplus. But when the colonists began almost immediately to draw on these surpluses the tone was set for continued strained relations between colonizers and colonized.

The revolt at Acoma resulted in such carnage that the natives refrained from expressing their feelings of resentment openly. Instead the Indians relied on the clergy to press their claims through most of the seventeenth century. Their champions were perhaps not so concerned with worldly rewards or survival as with eternal salvation. Since the policy of the Spanish Crown was oriented toward accumulating treasures both in heaven and on earth, the stage was set for a long period of conflict between those who sought to use the Indians as a means to obtain wealth and those who saw the Indians as a means to less mercenary ends.

After Oñate was recalled to Mexico, the capital was moved to Santa Fe in 1610, and the colony was largely reconstructed as a mission-support operation. Governors and their supporters, however, still held rights to encomienda. In this system of tribute a group of encomenderos, not to exceed thirty-five citizen soldiers, were each given, in lieu of salary, the labor of a certain number of Indians who were to tend livestock and raise crops for the sole benefit of the encomendero.

Although there were clear proscriptions against the encomendero living on the land his charges worked, to prevent the kinds of abuses that had characterized the first century of Mexican colonization, the friars felt that the system undermined their own primary charge of converting the Indians. The Franciscan missionaries contended that many of the Spaniards also were setting poor examples of Christianity for the Indians to follow. The encomenderos predictably sided with the governors who appointed them in leveling counter-charges that the friars were using native labor to enrich the coffers of the Church rather than using Church moneys for the salvation of the Indians. The government authorities even accused the friars in turn of sexual misconduct with the Indians and complained that the friars were neglecting the spiritual needs of the Spanish settlers (Beck 1962: 64-73; Dozier 1970: 53-54; Horgan 1968: 245-247).

The conflict between the clergy and the governors was further exacerbated by disputes over control of the trade which the Franciscans managed through the mission supply service. Initially organized in 1609, the supply caravans operated until 1680. Every three years approximately thirty wagons were supposed to make a round trip from Mexico City

to Santa Fe, carrying mission supplies north and returning south with hides, goods woven by the natives for the friars, piñon nuts, and later sheep (Beck 1962: 62-64). Because the mission supplies sometimes contained luxury goods, including rich fabrics and objects used directly in the churches, it seemed to the officials and their supporters that the clergy were indeed gaining wealth through the Indians while complaining when others tried to do the same. The recriminations reached such an intense level that soldiers were arrested for singing in choirs, the Franciscans kidnapped one governor, and one governor shot at one leader of the friars (Beck 1962: 69-73; Dozier 1970: 54; Horgan 1968: 244-256).

In spite of all of the difficulties, Fray Alonzo de Benavides reported (probably with some exaggeration) that ninety chapels had been built in as many villages and that 60,000 Indians had been converted to Christianity. In 1680 in New Mexico there were approximately 2,800 Spaniards and an estimated 16,000 Christianized natives and thirty-two or thirty-three friars (Beck 1962: 73; Dozier 1970: 49,59,63).

The years of bitter controversy had taken their toll. By 1645 sporadic outbursts by the Indians against the domination by the Spaniards had begun. By the late 1670s significant numbers of the native population had lost their fear of and respect for the Spanish colonists. Not surprisingly Popé, a native religious leader, saw a weakness in Spanish control and was able to develop a wedge that would break their hold. Building on native belief and Spanish organizational tactics, he forged a revitalistic movement that would simultaneously remove the traces of Spanish dominion and restore, insofar as possible,

the ways of the ancestors to full importance. When rebel security was breached at least two days ahead of the appointed day for the revolt, the leaders had overcome the lack of interpueblo organization sufficiently that the timetable was moved up and the nativistic revolt succeeded anyway. The level of organizational competency of the rebels was indicated by their ability to kill twenty-one friars and probably 380 colonists without even the advantage of surprise. They did not emulate the Spaniards completely in brutality and violence; they did not pursue and kill the colonizers as they retreated south to El Paso. Their victory was consummated by destroying and/or defacing the churches and chapels and by performing native religious rites and dances in public without hindrance for the first time in many decades (Beck 1962: 74-80; Dozier 1970: 55-60; Horgan 1968: 274-293).

By the winter of 1681 the Spaniards had regrouped and an expedition led by Governor Otermín reentered the Santa Fe area. But the reconquest of the pueblos was not to be accomplished for thirteen years. Governors for New Mexico continued to be appointed throughout the period, however, and led several small expeditions into the north country. In late summer of 1692 one small coterie of soldiers led by the new governor Don Diego de Vargas took advantage of the disunity that had developed among the natives after the expulsion of the conquerors and gained the capitulation of twenty-three villages. De Vargas then returned to El Paso to lead the remaining Spanish refugees back to their homes in and around Santa Fe.

In September, 1693, eight hundred settlers with their livestock and their belongings headed north and by December were camped outside the

gates of Santa Fe. Contrary to the bloodless version of the Reconquest that is staged each year in the Santa Fe Fiesta, a brief battle ensued during which eleven of the Indians holding Santa Fe were killed. An additional seventy Indians were executed after surrender, and four hundred were seized as slaves. Twenty-one Spaniards perished. De Vargas almost literally had to go from pueblo to pueblo quelling local insurrections. The Reconquest was essentially won, although in June, 1696, another large-scale uprising occurred in which five friars and twenty-one soldiers and settlers lost their lives. By the end of 1696, New Mexico was rendered safe against the threat of internal disturbance although the Hopi and the nomads were never subjected to Spanish dominion (Beck 1962: 81-89; Dozier 1970: 60-62; Horgan 1968: 305-319).

#### The Establishment of Santa Cruz

While Fray Angélico Chávez (1973) notes, in his compilation of the settlers of New Mexico, that a few of the settlers of the period before 1680 lived in the area of La Cañada (later called Santa Cruz), the history of Santa Cruz as a significant settlement really begins only after Santa Fe was secured in 1695. In an effort to defend the frontier and to provide farm lands for the settlers who continued to come into Santa Fe, De Vargas toured the area north of Santa Fe. After determining that the area south and east of San Juan pueblo looked as though it could accomodate the 110 families already in Santa Fe or soon to arrive, he ordered his lieutenant-governor Colonel Luis Granillo and two others to conduct a detailed survey of the area (Twitchell 1914: 242-243). In this survey of the area that generally had been referred to as La Cañada



prior to the revolt, the party was to note the location, condition and size of the houses, haciendas (actually family farms), and ditches remaining from the earlier Spanish occupancy.

Granillo and his party set out on March 20, 1695 (Twitchell 1914: 247). In addition Granillo also was ordered to determine whether the Indians of the pueblos of San Lázaro and San Cristóbal could be re-located immediately at San Juan and another location, then uninhabited, at Chimayo. These Indians recently had been moved from near Galisteo and had built new homes on the abandoned Spanish farms (Twitchell 1914: 245-246).

On March 20 the governors of these two Tano (Southern Tewa) pueblos, on hearing of the intention of De Vargas to order their immediate removal presented a petition asking that they be allowed to remain on the presently occupied sites until harvest (Twitchell 1914: 252). De Vargas responded by decreeing that if the people of San Lázaro did not want immediately to join San Juan or to return to their ancestral lands south of Santa Fe, and if the lands of Chimayo were not really suited for immediate planting, they could join San Cristóbal and both groups could plant the lands of the latter. In the latter case both groups would have to carry their harvest to Chimayo in October, making way for the new group of settlers, already en route from Zacatecas, who would augment the resettlement of the La Cañada area (Twitchell 1914: 253-254). The pueblos acceded to this decree, but following the abortive revolt of 1696 the new pueblo fled Chimayo en masse to found Hano, the Hopi-Tewa pueblo in Arizona (Dozier 1966: 11; 1970: 64).

Having cleared the pueblo of San Lázaro, De Vargas published the grant establishing Santa Cruz on April 19, 1695 in Santa Fe. He established the new settlement as la Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz de los Españoles Mexicanos del Rey Nuestro Senor Don Carlos Segundo, or the New Town of the Exaltation of the Cross of the Spanish Mexicans of the King our Lord Don Carlos the Second. As a villa the new settlement would have a civil authority composed of an alcalde mayor, war captain and lieutenant, each with military rank. In addition there would be no more than four squad corporals. These officials were required to go out on scouting expeditions as a means of securing the frontier against hostile nomadic natives. Since the new villa was a frontier settlement, it did not enjoy the privilege reserved for the villa of Santa Fe of electing its officials; they were to be appointed by the governor.

The sixty-six and one-half families of settlers were to receive the abandoned pueblo, its houses, cleared lands, drains, ditches, dams, and any improvements the settlers might make, along with the woods, pastures, and valleys as far as the pueblos of Nambe, Pojoaque, Jacona, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, and San Juan. For any who desired separate farm- or ranchsteads (called haciendas), these would be granted within the general boundaries of the grant. Likewise those people returning to their haciendas from the pre-revolt period could reclaim them. Because the town was new and the lands were cleared, tilled and productive, settlement could proceed almost immediately. The settlers were to gather on Thursday, April 21, at 10 o'clock A.M. in the plaza of Santa Fe where De Vargas would provide packmules loaded

with rations of beef and corn, as well as seed corn, farming implements, and firearms with ammunition. This was proclaimed in Santa Fe in military style with band music (Twitchell 1914: 254-257).

On April 21, 1695, the settlers proceeded to Santa Cruz where they were joined the next day by the governor. De Vargas dismounted near the chapel which had served San Lázaro since the reconquest and ordered the settlers to form a half circle by his side. There he gave possession of the grant and invested a missionary preacher as their guardian and minister. After the formal ceremonies of possession, De Vargas led the assembled throng in an acclamation of the King, repeated three times, accompanied by hats being tossed into the air and the firing of three volleys (Twitchell 1915: 257-260).

On May 9, an additional group of forty-four families of settlers for Santa Cruz arrived in Santa Fe from Zacatecas. De Vargas housed them for the summer in dwellings in Santa Fe that had been vacated by the first settlers of Santa Cruz. In October more than twenty of these families would be settled at the site of San Cristóbal (Twitchell 1914: 263-264; Twitchell 1911-1917: vol. III, 518n).

All did not go as intended, however, for on September 25, 1695, the settlers of San Lázaro presented an urgent petition to the governor stating that because of a lack of supplies and the failure of their first year's crop they were going hungry, even after having divested themselves of clothing to acquire food and Indian agricultural labor. A lack of familiarity with the soil, the seasons, and the implements, compounded by a spring insect plague, had caused them to delay their planting so they had been caught by an early frost (Bailey 1940: 217-218).

That the plight was more general than in Santa Cruz is attested to by a petition from the settlers of Santa Fe to the Viceroy in which they complained that because of similar shortages "they could 'hardly be called settlers but souls from purgatory or fantastic bodies' [Bailey 1940: 219]."

Although De Vargas was under some pressure from Mexico City to get New Mexico on a self-sufficient footing, the Junta de Hacienda decided in February, 1696, to send immediate aid to the area (Bailey 1940: 225). De Vargas was not appointed to a second consecutive term, but was rather charged and later convicted of cruelty to Indians and profiteering (Beck 1962: 89). A new governor took office in January, 1697 (Horgan 1968: 319). By the time De Vargas had been exonerated and returned as governor in November, 1703 (Horgan 1968: 320), he found Santa Cruz "deserted and ruined, its inhabitants scattered, begging for lands and soliciting alms, everything haphazard and exposed to misfortune, the said town left to fall into decay [Twitchell 1911-1917: vol. III, 518-519n]."

#### Spanish Expansion

It might be too extreme to say, as did de Vargas' successor in 1706, that New Mexico had "attained the quiet, peace and tranquility which it now knows [in Horgan 1968: 329]." Nor would I agree with Bancroft's statement that

from 1700 New Mexico settled down into that monotonously  
uneventful career of inert and non-progressive existence  
which sooner or later is to be noted in the history of  
every Hispano-American province [1889: 225].

Nonetheless, the eighteenth century can probably be best characterized

as a period during which Santa Cruz and northern New Mexico underwent orderly demographic expansion largely through natural increase (See Table I).

TABLE I

## POPULATION OF NORTHERN NEW MEXICO IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Year	Total	<u>Hispano</u> <sup>a</sup>						<u>Indian</u> <sup>b</sup>
		Santa Fe	Santa Cruz	Chimayo, Quemado, Truchas	Santa Clara	San Juan	Abiquiu	Rio Grande Pueblos
1703	c.2,000		500					
1760	7,666	1,285 (1532)	1,515		277	575	617	6,296
1776		2,014	680	709	340	824	390	5,657
1788	17,153	2,244	1,076		452	1,566	1,181	
1790			2,500					
1793	16,156	2,419	1,650		452	2,173	1,147	
1799	18,826	4,194	7,351					

<sup>a</sup>See text for a discussion of the sources for Hispanic population figures.

<sup>b</sup>Dozier, 1970:122.

The Spanish population for New Mexico in 1700 can be approximated from De Vargas' 1703 report (Twitchell 1911-1917: vol. III, 517-519n) De Vargas estimated that there were about fifteen hundred persons in Santa Fe in December, 1693, consisting of soldiers, fathers and settlers and comprising all Spaniards north of El Paso. This figure may also have included Indians who fled the revolt in 1680 and returned with the Spaniards. To these were added in June, 1694, the sixty or so Mexican families, numbering over three hundred persons, who were settled in Santa Cruz in April, 1695, and the additional forty-four families from Zacatecas who arrived in May, 1695, probably numbering approximately two hundred persons. De Vargas also mentioned that additional people arrived until 1697, when he was not reappointed. However, since it would have been to De Vargas' advantage to enumerate all of the population he had brought into New Mexico, a slightly optimistic estimate for the year 1697 can be made by aggregating the hard figures he gives. The Spanish population of northern New Mexico in 1697 would thus have been approximately 2,000 people, with 500 being settled in Santa Cruz.

A set of reasonably good population figures for 1760 were reported to the King by Bishop Tamarón of Durango as a result of his visitation and inspection of the missions of the northern provinces (Adams 1954). From those figures, Bancroft (1889: 279) derived a Spanish population, including mestizos, of 7,666 for the northern District of New Mexico. According to Bishop Tamarón, Santa Fe had an official population of 379 families with 1,285 persons. Since he had confirmed 1,532 persons, however, he felt the true population must be at least twice the official figures (Adams 1954: 46).

Santa Cruz, called La Cañada again by this time, except for its large, little adorned church, showed no semblance to a town, but included 241 families with 1,515 persons (Adams 1954: 63). The Bishop also reported Spaniards or mestizos at the following places: San Juan-75 families and 575 persons; Abiquiu-104, 617; and Santa Clara-39, 277 (Adams 1954: 63-65). Clearly the first half-century of resettlement had resulted in a considerable expansion by the Spaniards north of Santa Fe, even though, in at least some cases, Bishop Tamarón seems to have regarded genízaros, or hispanicized non-Pueblo Indians, as mestizos.

Population figures for 1776 are provided by a much more far-reaching document: the report on the New Mexico missions compiled by Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez (Adams and Chavez 1956). Domínguez described missions, towns, placitas and pueblos and commented on customs and languages in addition to giving population figures. For Santa Fe he recorded 387 families with 2,014 persons (Adams and Chavez 1956: 43). Santa Cruz had in the villa proper 125 families with 680 persons and an additional 149 families with 709 persons lived in the two dispersed settlements of Chimayo and Quemado and in the nucleated settlement at Truchas (Adams and Chavez 1956: 84). Near San Juan there lived a number of settlers under the spiritual administration of the church at San Juan: 174 families with 824 members (Adams and Chavez 1956: 90-91). Counting both genízaros and settlers, Abiquiu had 105 families and 390 persons (Adams and Chavez 1956: 126). North of Santa Clara on the west side of the Rio Grande, residing in scattered ranchos, were an additional 69 families with 340 persons (Adams and Chavez 1956: 119).

Santa Fe and San Juan had shown significant population growth, while Santa Cruz and Abiquiu seem to have lost population. This probably reflects a problem which is central to this study: the problem of delimiting Santa Cruz. Each of the reporters may have been describing slightly different units. The tendency to settle on ranchos rather than in towns also contributes to the difficulties of enumeration and of boundary definition.

Bancroft (1889: 279) listed figures for both 1788 and 1793. If these are taken together, an approximation of the population at the end of another decade can be derived. For Santa Fe he presented figures of 2,244 inhabitants in 1788 and 2,419 in 1793. Santa Cruz was shown with 1,076 and 1,650. San Juan showed 1,566 and 2,173. For Abiquiu the figures were 1,181 and 1,147. There were 452 Spaniards living near Santa Clara in both years.

Again Santa Fe showed a picture of regular growth over the decade, as seems to have been the case for the area around Santa Clara. It might also be argued that San Juan was showing a regular rate of growth, although the rate of increase was much greater. The figures for Santa Cruz and Abiquiu are anomalous, however. Abiquiu seems really to have opened up, showing a three-fold increase in twelve years. According to Bancroft's figures for 1788, Santa Cruz showed an actual decrease from either 1760 or 1776. The 1788 figures may not have included Truchas or Quemado.

There is also a strong likelihood that by 1788 the Chama area (Abiquiu in particular) was exercising a parasitic draw on the population of Santa Cruz. Frances Swadesh (1966: 31) points out that until



very late in the eighteenth century practically all of the Chama settlers maintained lands at Santa Cruz to which they could return in times of stress. That the Chama settlements had become more stable by even 1776 is indicated by the description of the annual trade fair at Abiquiu which Fray Domínguez related (Adams and Chavez 1956: 252-253).

The specter of underenumeration is also suggested by a complete census of Santa Cruz for the year 1790 (SANM #1110b) in which there are 497 households listed, which includes a population in excess of 2200 persons. The totals for the Spanish population that Bancroft gives were 17,153 in 1788 and 16,156 for 1793, again indicating that there may have been problems in achieving accurate censuses.

By 1799, there were a total of 18,826 Spaniards in New Mexico north of El Paso. There were 4,194 in Santa Fe and 7,351 in Santa Cruz (Bancroft 1889: 279). Since there are no figures for San Juan, Abiquiu or Santa Clara, and because these are such significant increases over the 1788 and 1793 figures, these must be district totals. In slightly over 100 years, the number of people, "most of whom pass for Spaniards [Adams and Chavez 1956: 84]" had increased almost tenfold.

Dozier (1970: 85-86) points out that since immigration from Mexico was at a standstill in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the augmentation of the Spanish population must have occurred at the expense of both the nomadic and pueblo Indian populations. He cites figures from Jones (1966: 153), which differ from Bancroft's only in providing total figures for Spaniard and pueblo in 1750, to show that while the settlers increased more than 400 percent in the 50 years, the numbers of pueblo Indians decreased almost 25 percent from 12,142 to 9,732. Since the

tremendous epidemiological effects of initial European contact (Dozier 1970: 63) would have long since run their course, Dozier's explanation seems most reasonable. As in much of the rest of Latin America, cultural behavior rather than ancestry had become the major criterion for ascribing racial identity.

### A Century of Change

Following the quiet interlude of the eighteenth century, which was marked by a gradual expansion of Spanish cultural and political hegemony in New Mexico, the nineteenth century was characterized much more by a few significant occurrences than by demographic trends. Santa Cruz was centrally involved in two of these: the reaction of New Mexico to the administrative reforms wrought by an independent Mexico following the first Mexican Revolution in 1821, and the reaction to the conquest by the American Army in 1846. Santa Cruz was then bypassed by the railroad in 1880, which resulted in the growth of Española across the Rio Grande at the terminus of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad.

The large-scale changes of the nineteenth century were foreshadowed by the entrance into New Mexico of Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike in 1806. Although Spain had been able to avoid conflict with France over their common claim to much of the Rio Grande and its drainage throughout the preceding century, the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 brought the United States into the role formerly occupied by France (Horgan 1968: 399). Pike was dispatched for the ostensible purpose of charting the Red River, which was the southwestern boundary which the United States recognized for Louisiana. The course of his expedition indicates that the purposes were more far-reaching. He was evidently supposed to

gather as much evidence as possible concerning New Mexico, for what seems an almost obvious purpose in the light of subsequent westward expansion of the United States. He was arrested in the far north of New Mexico and was marched south to Santa Fe, passing through a number of villages and pueblos, including Santa Cruz which he characterized as a village of "more than two thousand souls [in Twitchell 1911-1917: vol. III, 531]."

The journal of his travels that Pike published after his return from interrogation in Mexico contributed much to the publicity that was to draw other Americans to New Mexico (Beck 1962: 102-104).

Wholesale encroachment of Americans was forestalled until after Mexico gained independence from Spain in 1821. Once Spain lost control of New Mexico, foreigners gained a much freer hand. The first influx consisted of the mountain men who came in search of beaver, whose pelts provided the raw material for the newest international fashion craze for men, the tall beaver hat. These men very often came alone, but there were sufficient numbers of them to have had a significant impact in Taos and up into southern Colorado. By 1840 fashions had changed and the era of mountain men was over (Beck 1962: 104-109).

The traders who followed the first trappers were to have a much larger impact, largely attributable to their greater numbers. These men, motivated by Pike's accounts of the level of deprivation he had witnessed, hoped to gain large profits by loading wagons with goods in Missouri, driving them to Santa Fe, selling the cargo and the wagons, and returning home on horses. One of the early expeditions realized a net profit of 300 percent on a \$35,000 investment, but because of the number of traders and the small and poor population of New Mexico,

profits were reduced to 10 to 40 percent after 1826. The Santa Fe wagon trade which continued until the railroads came in 1879 revolutionized New Mexico both by providing new wealth and consumer goods, and by attracting a new element to the population, an element which entertained expansive ideas (Beck 1962: 109-118). The novelist Elliot Arnold (1953) has aptly characterized this era as the "time of the gringo."

As indicated by the commercial invasion, Mexican control was even more peripheral than that of the Spaniards had been. The Mexican government did try to institute some reforms, such as the establishment of schools, but did not usually provide the money to carry them out. In 1837, in response to new taxes and other governmental reforms, a group of Indians and citizens gathered at Santa Cruz, from which they marched to Santo Domingo, where they routed a force of soldiers led by Governor Perez (Gregg 1954: 92-97). Although this insurrection accomplished little more than a change in personnel in the government, it did presage the later response to the imposition of American government.

On April 19, 1846, the Manifest Destiny of the United States in New Mexico was realized without conflict when Santa Fe was formally surrendered to General Kearny (Beck 1962: 133). By fall, undercurrents of dissatisfaction were developing. On January 19, 1847, another revolt rent New Mexico. In this one, Charles Bent, a trader and former mountain man who had been appointed American Governor, was murdered at his home by a group of Indians and Mexicans, who then vented additional rage on other Americans. Colonel Price in Santa Fe mustered 350 troops and marched north on January 23. The next day he encountered over 1,500 rebels at Santa Cruz. Using his cannon, he drove them north until they

were finally beseiged at Taos Pueblo, where the Americans finally won victory on February 4. Price lost fewer than ten men while the rebels lost at least one hundred and fifty. Armed resistance of the settled peoples of New Mexico against the new regime was over (Bancroft 1889: 416-437; Beck 1962: 134-138; Horgan 1968: 764-768).

Whatever influence and importance Santa Cruz had maintained under Mexican rule was now over. Santa Cruz received scant mention in the 1850 report of Colonel George A. McCall (Frazer 1968). The eclipse of Santa Cruz's fortunes as a place of importance was further signalled when the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad passed down the west side of the Rio Grande in 1880. At the initial terminus of the line, two miles west of the Santa Cruz plaza, the new town of Española developed (Gjevre 1969; Harrison 1885). How Santa Cruz has been able to survive these events of the past century without either being destroyed or being completely absorbed by its vigorous rival to the west will form the core question of the rest of this study.

#### The Modern Settlement of Santa Cruz

The 1970 population for the area that includes Santa Cruz, Española, Santa Clara and San Juan was approximately 22,000 (USDC-BC, PC(1)33A 1972: 15). Santa Cruz itself obviously comprises only a portion of this area and total; the difficulty lies in determining which portion. The traditional village site with its closely associated placitas and ranchos straddles the present-day boundary between Santa Fe and Rio Arriba counties; furthermore the area consists of parts of what are at present six census county divisions or CCDs (USDC-BC, PC(1) 33A 1972: 20).

An approximation of the present population of the traditional villa site can be derived by adding the population of the Santa Cruz CCD of Santa Fe County to the total for the Chimayo CCD of Rio Arriba County and dividing by two. The resulting figure of 3302 (USDC-BC, PC(1)33A 1972: 6, 15) accords relatively well with informants' statements concerning parish membership, post office service population, and telephone service population.

Although this procedure provides us with an idea of the scale of the population, it also exemplifies some of the severe problems in developing an understanding of what Santa Cruz is; its boundaries vary for almost every purpose. Parts of the town have been incorporated into Española. Membership in the Catholic parish or in one of the Protestant churches is not limited by residential location, although the presence of additional Catholic churches in San Juan, Española, Santa Clara and Chimayo tends to encourage some localization of Catholic church membership and attendance. The customers of the Santa Cruz post office include some people who actually live in Española, while some people who live near the plaza of Santa Cruz receive their mail either at Fairview, two miles to the north, or at Española.

In these manifestations and in others it will become clear that Santa Cruz is not an entity that can be delimited along any one or any pair of criteria. It is rather something that can be seen to emerge only as the result of the congruence of a series of social, economic, political and religious interactions.

If the boundaries of the community are unclear, its center is quite obvious. Like most Spanish settlements in the New World, but unlike

many in New Mexico, Santa Cruz possesses a central plaza. Although the eighteenth-century sources cited so far (Adams 1954; Adams and Chaves 1956) stated that it could hardly be called a true villa or town, the focal point of the villa even then was the church. As the number and density of dwellings increased, the area in front of the church assumed more of the character of a true plaza, but it is evident that the town did not result from the orderly planning that is associated with the Spanish ideal of the grid settlement. Nonetheless Santa Cruz is immediately distinguishable from the line villages that dot much of northern New Mexico.

The plaza lies one block (about 100 yards) north of the Chimayo road that runs eastward from the main federal highway through Española, through Chimayo, and on north to Truchas, Trampas and ultimately Taos. The rectangle of the plaza is oriented approximately 15 degrees off of a north-south axis. The church, which defines the western side, is actually slightly north of west when viewed from the center of the plaza. Several roads cross the plaza so that today it resembles a parking lot more than the image of a park that is presented by the modernized plaza of Santa Fe.

Two roads enter the plaza from the Chimayo highway, one at the southwest corner, the other at the southeast. Entering at the southwest, you pass in front of the church and continue north for about three miles past orchards, houses and the McCurdy School complex. The road from the southeast continues across the eastern limit of the plaza until it turns abruptly to the east a few hundred feet north of the plaza. There is no thoroughfare across the southern limit, but traffic does

cross the plaza diagonally in relationship to the two southern entrances. The northern boundary is traversed by a road that winds around on the north side of the church property until it connects with the Chimayo highway several hundred yards to the west.

As already indicated, a large adobe church dominates the western side of the plaza. Although it has been altered somewhat, the building is still basically the one that was constructed in the eighteenth century. The structure has been characterized as the largest and finest of the Spanish era (Forrest 1929: 72); its cruciform shape adds to the impression of size and grandeur. The entrance to the church is at the foot of the cross, facing east toward the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, with the altar at the west, while the arms are occupied by two chapels. Along the south side of the church are the rectory and the convent which houses nuns who teach at Holy Cross School which lies behind the church. Surrounding the church on the plaza side are a cemetery or Campo Santo and a low adobe wall. Standing in front of the church in the middle of the plaza, at the time of the fieldwork, was a large cement cross with a Sacred Heart in the middle of the arms.

On the north side of the plaza there are an irrigation district building and a feed store that is no longer in operation. Most activity in the plaza during weekdays consists of occasional visitors to the irrigation office which is the only semblance of a governing body actually present in the village.

Along the eastern perimeter of the plaza, going from north to south, are the ruins of a store that burned in the late 1960s, three houses, and a house that was converted, at least partially, to a con-



venience store between 1969 and 1972. This last store was only sporadically open during 1972 and 1973.

Across the plaza from the irrigation office is a rather large adobe house with a pitched tin roof and an attached smaller house.

In addition to the commercial, official, and ecclesiastical presence in the plaza, there are several businesses, the post office, four schools, and two additional churches dispersed away from the plaza. West of the Holy Cross Church is the site of the old post office and the site of the old high school. Heading north from the church there is a general store which served the community throughout most of this century until it closed in 1972. Nearby is a small candy store operated out of the residence of its owner. Farther north there is the United Methodist (formerly Evangelical United Brethren) McCurdy School for which this major road is named. Facing the school, across McCurdy Road, is the associated Methodist Church. East and north of the plaza on El Llano road is the site for the new regional high school. There is a bar slightly west of the center on the south side of the Chimayo highway. The new post office is nearby. Eastward along the highway are a liquor store, a trailer court, a small Baptist Church and, off of the highway in one of the named placitas, literally little plazas, the local public elementary school.

Almost all of the buildings near the plaza are of adobe construction, with either the so-called pueblo-style flat roof, or, in the case of the church and a number of the houses, the pitched corrugated tin roof that became popular after the coming of the railroad. Indeed, most of the small buildings in the whole of the northern New Mexico

region either are of adobe or are, even in the case of large commercial buildings, built in the adobe style but with frame or concrete block construction. Although the practice of plastering the buildings with adobe has largely given way to the use of cement stucco, the pronounced tendency to paint the cement with a color closely resembling the native soil results in a harmony between landscape and architecture that has stirred the souls of many artists and visitors, not only to Santa Cruz but to the entire region.

The use of adobe as an important building material, a practice already established in large parts of Spain prior to the conquest of the New World and refined in Mexico, is admirably suited to the economy of the region because of the possibility of obtaining the materials free of charge. However, the contemporary labor market has sometimes made it unprofitable for individuals to invest the necessary time. This point will be elaborated later on.

Adobe structures also are characterized by significant energy efficiency. Since adobe is a structurally weak material but can be obtained comparatively cheaply, the tendency is to make both outside and interior walls at least fourteen inches thick, the size of a standard adobe brick. Often the walls will be two or even three bricks in thickness. While adobe does not have a high insulation value, the thickness ensures that heat will penetrate or be lost relatively slowly. With weather-tight windows and doors, often quite small, such a building can be heated adequately with a small fireplace or space heater, and even on the hottest summer days the temperature inside remains comfortable.

In Santa Cruz there are some houses that clearly are of minimal standard or below, as well as some that are quite substantial. Nevertheless the houses of the richest and those of the poorest are made largely of the same material. The differences in the material circumstances of the inhabitants often become discernible only by looking at more subtle clues such as interior furnishings or less subtle clues such as type of automobile.

Although there is a concentration of dwellings near the plaza, the more dispersed settlement pattern of the past is still indicated by the clusterings of houses along a few main roads or in small knots away from the village center. The architectural features of some of the houses and the relationships between fields and houses also attest to the former pattern. Furthermore, many of the clusters of houses exist as named placitas, many of whose names go back at least as far as 1781 (Chavez 1957: 41-42).

Some of these placitas were established for defense against the degradations of hostile nomadic Indians, but others are inhabited today by a large percentage of families with the same surname. From this it can be inferred that some of the placitas developed as the result of the natural growth of some families, whose sons, and in some cases daughters, remained near their parents when they married, the same process being repeated in future generations. Construction details of many houses in the area also support the statement that succeeding generations tended to settle close to their parents. It is obvious that some of the oldest houses have been enlarged by stages, accomplished at widely separated times, as indicated by differences in the types and sizes of doors and

windows, and the ways in which the doors and windows are set. A hallmark of many, if not most, of those additions is that each one possesses its own outside entrance, often with no interior connection to the rest of the house. These "apartment" buildings are not the result of an effort to obtain rental fees but result instead from an effort to intensify the domestic economic unit across generational lines.

This same phenomenon is expressed in slightly different guise with some of the newer houses where expansion has involved the erection of free-standing houses occupying the same yard, thereby granting a modicum of additional autonomy to the separate nuclear families. In still other cases the auxiliary units have consisted in recent years of mobile homes instead of the more traditional adobe houses. Finally there has been a decline in such extended family propinquity; several suburban-type subdivisions, in varying price ranges, have been built on former agricultural lands near the town.

Although Santa Cruz probably can no longer be thought of as a predominantly agrarian village, its agrarian past is still quite evident from the presence of fields and orchards that surround it and still exist in many of the interstices of the core of the settlement. Despite the practice of dividing the property equally between sons and daughters (partible inheritance) that always has been characteristic in the region, most house sites still have some associated gardens or fruit trees and still are carried on the irrigation district rolls or were until very recently. The irrigation ditches still carry invaluable water from the Santa Cruz River through the community as they have since before the official founding of the villa in the seventeenth century. The in-

heritance practices have ensured, however, that many of these plots are of minimal size and that none of them is extensive by any definition.

### CHAPTER III

#### CHURCH

The Catholic Church and its earthly representatives were intimately involved in the earliest Spanish incursions into New Mexico, and when the first colony was established by Oñate in 1598, religious motivations were almost as important as pecuniary ones. Competition between those two sets of values was an important cause of the Revolt of 1680. The pervasiveness of the Church's role in the first century of colonization extended even to the commerce of the region--most imports reached the colony by way of the mission supply service. The Reconquest likewise was as much concerned with the souls of the Christian Indians as with more practical issues.

Despite a number of minor adjustments in the relationship between Church and State during the eighteenth century, Crown policy continued to be very much involved with religion until the end of Spanish rule. With the advent of the first Mexican Republic in 1821, the policy of the new state was much more secular, but the Catholic Church continued in its importance as the primary focus of religious sentiment and community-based ceremony at least among the descendants of the Spaniards.

After the American conquest, New Mexico became a mission field, particularly for the Presbyterian and United Brethren churches. These denominations introduced a different perspective both in belief and in ritual which resulted in an initial period of fierce rivalry between

Catholic and Protestant churches which has abated only in recent years as an age of mass culture has resulted in the emergence of new, largely secular, ceremonial activities for many of the people of Santa Cruz and the surrounding area. Nevertheless, an appreciation of the importance of the religious institutions of the community is still basic to any understanding of the community.

### Spanish Church and State in Santa Cruz

We have already seen that when De Vargas formally invested the Spanish Mexican settlers with the grant for the new villa, the Church, both in its physical and in its spiritual manifestations, played a major part. One of his first statements was that he gave the new settlement "the title and placed it under the protection of the Holy Cross [Twitchell 1914: 258]." He then ordered the settlers to form a half circle at his side near the chapel which the evacuated Indians had used as a church. Accompanying De Vargas were Fray Francisco de Vargas, the custodio of the Franciscans in New Mexico, and Fray Antonio Moreno whom Fray de Vargas had chosen as guardian and minister for the new villa (Twitchell 1914: 258-259). Governor de Vargas clearly shows the extent to which Church and State were alternate manifestations of the same reality in New Mexico when he

appointed and named him [Fray de Vargas] as their guardian and as such I gave him possession of the said chapel in order that until they rebuilt their church it might serve them as such, and thus I gave possession of the same to the said reverend father,

leading him into the same by the hand, and he arranged the altar, going in and out [Twitchell 1914: 259].

Ostensibly both the Church and the government were of great importance to the Crown. In reality they were of little importance beyond the maintenance of a meager presence in the north. By 1706 Santa Cruz no longer had a resident priest but depended instead on the one from San Juan (Adams and Chavez 1956: 73n). In reporting on his visitation of 1730, Benito Crespo, Bishop of Durango, noted that in the missions of the pueblos there were not even the number of missionaries which had been endowed by the King--seven positions had been vacant for some years (Adams, 1954: 95). He further stated, however, that if those present would do their work effectively there would still have been a surplus.

Crespo, therefore, recommended that the villas of Santa Fe, Santa Cruz and Albuquerque have their regular priests (those belonging to orders) removed to be replaced by secular priests (curates) who would draw their sustenance from the congregations rather than from the Crown and who would be directly under the control of the Bishop. If that were done he felt that the missionary for Santa Clara could then see to the affairs of Santa Clara alone instead of the affairs of the new Spanish settlements of the Santa Cruz area. He claimed that the people were strong in their support of this proposed change although he offered no documents to support that contention (Adams 1954: 95-96).

Adams (1954: 95) notes, by way of introducing Crespo's report, that the Bishop's recommendations ignored the shortage of priests out of political considerations. The Bishop's power over secular priests would have been direct, but to deal with regular clergy he had to deal with the officials of their orders who had developed a marked tenacity for hold-



ing on to their respective mission fields, either against the secular priests or against the other orders (cf. Ricard 1966).

By the time of Bishop Tamarón's visitation in 1760 the number of priests had increased to the point that there were priests at Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San Juan, and several other places which had been served by a single priest in 1730 (Adams 1954: 63-64). In spite of the Bishop's recommendations of 1730, twenty-four of twenty-five priests in the northern district of New Mexico in 1760 still were Franciscans and, therefore, regular clergy. The sole exception was the vicar, or bishop's delegate, of the villa of Santa Fe, who was not the parish priest (Adams 1954: 46, 77). To strengthen his own spiritual administration in New Mexico, Tamarón appointed two additional vicars (Adams 1954: 46), including the Franciscan missionary father of Santa Cruz (Adams 1954: 64).

Both of the aforementioned visitations were undertaken as more-or-less whirlwind tours, although Bishop Tamarón's resulting report is more complete and more carefully done than that of his predecessor. The next visitation of New Mexico differed from those two already mentioned in several important ways.

Fray Francisco Atanacio Dominguez, whose report provided census data cited in the preceding chapter, left Mexico in 1775 to make a detailed report on both the spiritual and economic status of the missions of New Mexico. He was to gather data on the geography and ethnology of the region as well as information pertaining directly to the work of the missionaries. He recognized that such an endeavor would serve "both Majesties." His orders to investigate the possibility of an overland route connecting the new settlement of Monterey in California with the

other northern provinces made his service of the two Majesties even more apparent (Adams and Chavez 1956: xiv-xv).

This clearly governmental aspect of his role was, then, one difference from his predecessors. A second difference was that he was not an episcopal visitor, but was rather a representative of the Province of the Holy Gospel, the Franciscan mission province for Mexico (Adams and Chavez 1956: xv). To the extent that Dominguez succeeded in carrying out his charge, the third difference was the thoroughness of his report: Adams' and Chavez' translation of his report, with lengthy annotations, runs to 265 large, double-column pages, in which he describes particulars having to do with all aspects of life on the frontier.

Regardless of the official attention and interest implied by Dominguez' visit, the general level of Church and state involvement in New Mexico had declined even from the somewhat marginal level of 1760. In 1776, Dominguez indicated there were only twenty friars in the part of New Mexico north of El Paso. The population had increased but there were fewer priests to serve them. Santa Fe evidently had been reduced to one priest, although there were still individual clerics at Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San Juan and Abiquiu. There still may have been a secular vicar at Santa Fe, but since Dominguez refers to him only as Don rather than Cura, it is difficult to determine (Adams and Chavez 1956: 36).

New Mexico continued to suffer from an inadequate number of priests throughout the Spanish period, the Mexican period and into the American period. In 1797, secular priests were finally sent to the Hispanic parishes, in accordance with the recommendations of both Crespo and

Tamarón. But they did not stay long and were replaced once more with friars (Horka-Follick 1969:83). In 1812, Don Pedro Bautista Pino, the New Mexico representative to the Spanish Cortes, reported that for the twenty-six pueblos and 102 villages in New Mexico there were only twenty-two priests, even though the population had again increased (Dozier, 1970: 89). Throughout this century and a quarter of declining fortunes for the Church in New Mexico, Santa Cruz evidently was one of the few places that managed to maintain a priest, largely because of its importance as the hub of settlement in the area north of Santa Fe.

One thing should be made clear at this point: if the Church was suffering declining fortunes during the eighteenth and first part of the nineteenth centuries, the fortunes of the government of New Mexico and of New Spain were declining as well, a statement that will be elaborated in a later chapter. Therefore, the understaffing of the mission enterprises should not be viewed until after the Mexican reforms of 1828 as the results of any effort on the part of government to interfere with the Church. There continued to be difficulties in attracting priests toward the close of the colonial period: in 1806 the governor of New Mexico appealed to the government in Mexico City requesting that the Provincial of the Franciscans, also in Mexico City, provide proper candidates to fill five vacant mission posts (Simmons 1968: 70).

A good portion of the problems can be attributed to the attitudes which young friars held toward the frontier. As Adams and Chaves (1956: xiv) point out:

after nearly two centuries of constant turmoil and frustration, the flaming ardor of earlier times had been all but extinguished in many of the latter-day

friars, who considered their assignment to the troubled and understaffed Custody of the Conversion of St. Paul a hopeless exile.

The same point was made in 1833, after the expulsion of the Franciscans, by the New Mexico deputy to the Mexican Congress, Antonio Barreiro:

There is a deficiency of ministers. The causes are that many ecclesiastics aspire to fat curacies to make a fortune or live in luxury. They subsist on scanty competence. They find themselves isolated in corners of the Republic. Disagreeable objects and dangers are near them. They are deprived of the pleasures of civilization. . . . The best years of a priest's life are spent in gloom and privation and the last days are without succor from poor parishes [in Horka-Follick, 1969: 84-85].

All of this is not to imply that there was no conflict between Church and state in New Mexico after the Reconquest, nor that the lack of success in recruiting priests was accounted for entirely by the decadence of the clergy, but merely to stress the point that the two Majesties were still engaged in a unified policy, at least at the official level. To a certain extent this also was true with the new Republican government in Mexico.

If there was a dearth of priests in New Mexico throughout the Spanish and Mexican periods that the citizens could do little to correct, they could construct churches. In 1760, Santa Fe had three churches: a principal church, dedicated to St. Francis which served as the parish church, a church dedicated to the archangel San Miguel, and a church

under construction which had been dedicated to Our Lady of Light, whose chief founder was the current governor (Adams 1954: 47). Fray Dominquez gave very complete descriptions of these churches for 1776, calling the latter two chapels (Adams and Chavez 1956: 12-39).

Santa Cruz had only one church, which still stands on the west side of the plaza, at the time of Dominquez' visit. As was the case for Santa Fe, his description was very complete, including a wealth of detail concerning the style, placement and materials of the furnishings and decorations. Attached to it, on the north side in front of the sanctuary and altar was a chapel dedicated to Our Lady of Carmel (Adams and Chavez 1956: 72-77). There had been a chapel in San Lázaro at the time of the founding of la Nueva Villa, as Santa Cruz was initially referred to, and Bishop Crespo reported a church in Santa Cruz in 1730, but the present church was built after Crespo's visit. In his characteristic fashion, Fray Dominquez reported how the church came to be built:

. . . in the year 1741 . . . a widow called Antonia Serna declared and stated that of her own free will she was giving the necessary land for the church which had already been started, since it was for the religious, and that for their protection and that of the church she was giving sufficient land in order that in all four directions the citizens might build the houses they liked in the form of streets, with the church in the middle [Adams and Chavez 1956: 248].

The construction was still in progress in 1744, with an observer describing it as sumptuous, and it was not finished before the late 1740s (Adams and Chavez 1956: 73n). In 1760 Bishop Tamarón described it as rather large but with little adornment and still with "no semblance of a town [Adams 1954: 63]."

Much of the lack of adornment had been remedied by 1776, but the altar screen and many other furnishings were of native materials (presumably cottonwood and pine), some of the paintings were on buffalo skins, and many of the objects had been made by one of the previous mission fathers. They obviously did not meet the standards of quality of the churches of Mexico City. Therefore the visitor seems to have been alternately struck by horror and pleasure as he witnessed the details of the rather large church (Adams and Chavez 1956: 72-80).

Priests and churches only tell part of the story of the formal aspects of the Church in the Spanish period, however. Only by looking at less obvious aspects of the Church's organization as it related to New Mexico can any real understanding of the social force of the Church be gained.

Governor De Vargas' right to install the priest for Santa Cruz descended in principle from formal concessions which the King of Spain had gained from the Pope. Under papal bulls issued in 1501 and 1508, Ferdinand I had gained the Patronato Real, or Royal Patronage, which granted a whole range of basic powers over the functioning of the Church in the New World. The powers included the right to appoint churchmen, the right to administer ecclesiastical jurisdictions including their revenues, and the right to veto papal bulls. The King also assumed

certain responsibilities with regard to the financing of the Church and its activities in the New World.

This special relationship, which lasted until the end of Spanish rule, gave the missionaries a certain security and authority in the face of the civil authorities, which probably contributed to the intensity of the conflict between the representatives of Church and state in seventeenth-century New Mexico (Gibson 1967: 76-77). Many of the basic issues had been resolved in Mexico prior to the establishment of the first colony in New Mexico, but potential for conflict obviously still existed.

The formal unity provided by the King as the source of authority over both state and church was accompanied by division at successively lower levels. The Church was subject to the delegates of royal authority such as the viceroy, in addition to its own several hierarchies of control in New Spain: there was the episcopal or secular hierarchy, and each of the orders had its own. Furthermore, there developed within each hierarchy a series of factions (Ricard 1966: 6-8, 239-263).

Since the portion of New Mexico with which we are concerned was penetrated in the colonial period only by the Order of the Friars Minor, or Franciscans, the relationships of authority between the episcopal hierarchy, the hierarchy of the order itself, and the civil government need to be clarified.

The basic dispute between the secular and regular clergy concerned the appropriate prerogatives of the two different kinds of clergy. The regular clergy were so-called because they lived en regla, by rule, to which they had taken a vow of chastity, poverty, and obedience. The

secular clergy received their appellation because they lived in the world, bound not by rules of an order but by the authority of the Pope. The traditional roles of the two had been distinct: regular clergy might assume a monastic life, preach, or live a life in witness to Christian ideals; secular clergy held the responsibility and right to administer sacraments and other aspects of parochial life.

Popes had, in mission areas, extended parochial prerogatives to the orders, however, and the episcopacy saw this as a challenge to its position. At the Council of Trent the position of the secular clergy was affirmed and the principle was established that all parish priests, even if they belonged to orders, had to operate under the direct command of the episcopal hierarchy. Pius V issued a new Bull in 1567, pointing to the inadequate numbers of secular clergy, and reaffirming the rights of the regular clergy to continue to administer the sacraments without authorization of the bishops (Ricard 1966: 245).

When Oñate established the first colony he was accompanied by friars operating under the Province of the Holy Gospel, the Franciscan organization for all of Mexico. Not too long afterwards--perhaps as late as 1617 (Miller 1962: 120; Dozier 1970: 47)--the New Mexico missions were elevated as the Custody (or mission organization) of the Conversion of St. Paul, which had some local autonomy even though it was still dependent on the mother Province. Although a period of ten years was often set as a limit for the Christianization of a place and for a transition to secular religious control, New Mexico, as well as a number of other frontier areas, continued to be staffed predominantly by regular clergy until the end of Spanish control (Gibson 1966: 81).



While the Franciscans continued to serve as parish priests in New Mexico, they came under the supervision of the Bishop of Durango early in the 1700s. The first official episcopal visit was made by Bishop Benito Crespo in 1730 and the third and last visit by a Spanish bishop was made by Pedro Tamarón in 1760 (Adams 1954). The fact that Fray Dominquez made almost no mention of either bishops or Durango in 1776 (Adams and Chavez, 1956), that there was a general neglect by the bishops after 1760, and that there was also difficulty in posting secular clergy in New Mexico indicate that the Franciscans were relatively unimpeded by the bishops after the Reconquest.

If the Franciscans were able to gain some measure of benign neglect from the bishops of Durango, they were in a more difficult position vis-à-vis the local representative of civil government, the governor. In the early decades after the Reconquest, the viceroy of Mexico held the vice-patronage or patronato over the affairs of the Church in Mexico, while in the northern provinces this authority was held by the Audiencia of Guadalajara (Simmons 1968: 68-69n). The right to exercise this patronage was then extended to the governors of New Mexico. Governor De Vargas, therefore, had the right to invest the priest for the villa of Santa Cruz (Twitchell 1914: 259). When the Bourbon reforms, otherwise known as the intendancy system, were instituted late in the eighteenth century, the vice-patronage of the Commandant General was likewise granted to the governor.

Although there were brief periods during which the patronato seems to have been suspended, the formal chain of authority in the last fifty years of Spanish rule worked in such a way that the governor again exer-

cised local control over the filling of vacant curacies and benefices, the dismissal of priests, and the right to transfer priests from one curacy to another. The governor chose new appointees from a list of nominees submitted by the See of Durango. Although it is not clear how Durango drew up its lists, Simmons suggests the possibility that a list was submitted to the Bishop by the Franciscan Provincial in Mexico City. Although there was no longer any requirement to seek the advice of the custodian of the Franciscans in New Mexico, the governors seem usually to have done so (Simmons 1968: 68-70). Even though contention developed between hierarchies on many occasions, civil officials had authority over Church officials at every level of the respective hierarchies.

Throughout the Spanish period then, the Church and state in New Mexico operated on the basis of a single authority, emanating as a single line from the Crown. Both the local officials and the parish priest of the villa of Santa Cruz were ultimately appointed by the governor. Since the objectives of the Crown had both temporal and spiritual dimensions, there was imposed a formal coalition between the two hierarchies, stemming from the common source of their authority.

While bickering between priests and governors continued throughout the second Spanish period, perhaps at a reduced scale from the previous century, more often than not the reason was disagreement over the proper prerogatives of the incumbents of positions within each formal institutional hierarchy. Attempts at resolving these conflicts were frequently made by appealing to one's own superiors to intervene with the superiors of the other party to the dispute. Because the powers of the two hierarchies were imbalanced in favor of the civil officials at each level

the governor could take limited direct action on his own behalf, but an aggrieved priest could only act through the custodio, or the bishop, or the provincial. But the disputes clearly were not over the validity of the ultimate and unilineal source of authority. Rather, they were over its delegation and implementation.

If the relationship between Church and state in New Mexico was unilineal at the source, the relationship was also unilineal at the level that the two powers imposed themselves upon the local community. Not only was the appointment of both civil officials and clergy outside the effective organizational control of the community, but the representatives of Church and state likewise made demands on the productivity of the villagers. With regard to the two basic taxes, the citizens of New Mexico were more likely to be exempt from the alcabala (sales tax), whereas they hardly ever were exempt from the diezmo (tithe). According to the Patronato Real, the King was responsible for Church finances in the New World, therefore tithes were always collected under government lease (Simmons 1968: 90-92, 107-110). This ten percent ecclesiastical tax on gross productivity, collected by representatives of civil authority, then served to underscore the unilineality of Church and state in the experience of the people. There were other civil taxes and other church fees (Simmons 1968: 92-107, 109-111), but the ways in which they were implemented were less obvious in demonstrating the coalition of authority between the two Majesties.

#### The Church and Mexico

With the eclipse of the fortunes of Spain marked by the ending of the first Mexican Revolution in 1821, the relationship between the

Church and the new state was significantly altered. While the new regime sought the same sort of coalition, that was not possible for at least two reasons. First, the Pope would have been reluctant to enter into such an arrangement with a temporal power of less importance than Fernando. Second, the new Mexican state, for all its pretensions, did not have the resources to carry out the obligations that were reciprocal to the rights of the patronato. Given dissensus rather than coalition between the two sources of authority it is not surprising that the fortunes of the Church in New Mexico declined more precipitously than had been the case even under Spain.

Following Independence some of the Spanish friars were recalled (or perhaps expelled), reducing the number of priests in New Mexico to seventeen, many of whom were quite old and incapable of carrying out their duties effectively (Dozier 1970: 89). By 1828, when the Mexican government ostensibly expelled the Spanish Franciscans, only two were left, and they remained until their deaths in the late 1830s (Weigle 1976: 22). In 1832 the shortage of priests was so acute that only five pueblos had missionary fathers and many people, both Indians and settlers, died without receiving sacraments, baptisms and burials had to be delayed, and many people could not attend mass because of the distances between their homes and chapels or churches where masses were held (Carroll and Haggard 1942: 53).

In 1833, New Mexico received her first visit from a bishop in sixty-three years when Antonio Zubiría, Bishop of Durango, inspected his parishes in the north. He appointed only one Franciscan in 1845, but the friar died in 1848 and the secularization of the missions was finally

complete (Weigle 1976: 22-23). But if the secular hierarchy within the Church had won the battle with the orders, it was a Pyrrhic victory, for by 1850, almost on the eve of the appointment of New Mexico's first bishop, Jean Baptiste Lamy, there were only ten priests in all of New Mexico (Horka-Follick 1969: 84).

The change in the fortunes of the Church in New Mexico also was signalled by the probable involvement of Padre José Antonio Martínez of Taos in the 1837 revolt that cost the life of the new governor from Mexico (Lamar 1970: 40). But neither Church nor state could control Padre Martínez until after Bishop Lamy was appointed in 1851 (Lamar 1970: 102).

The decline in Church power and civil authority in New Mexico suggests that the impact of either or both of them at the local level would have been lessened. In Santa Cruz actions of the new government conspired to insure that the former condition of Church and state as a single entity would be diminished. Dr. Myra Ellen Jenkins (Personal Communication) states that the jurisdictional seat was moved to Rio Arriba in the Mexican period to correspond with the residence of the alcalde mayor. As indicated in the preceding chapter, population had been shifting west and north toward the end of the previous century, and several of the alcaldes mayores had interests in the Rio Arriba country after the depredations of nomadic Indians had decreased. In 1844, after several reorganizations of governmental districts (Coan 1928: 170-171), Santa Cruz was placed under the cabecera Los Luceros (Bancroft 1889: 312).

Americans, Catholicism and Protestantism

Unlike the conquests of the Spaniards and the revolution of the Mexicans, the next change in regime had little to do with religious motivations. Although some of the American merchants made negative comments on the practice of religion in Catholic New Mexico, the real impetus for the conquest of 1846 was commercial and political.

New Mexico was simply engulfed by Manifest Destiny. The constitutionally established principle of separation between Church and state, itself partially growing out of the fact that the United States had developed from a diverse and divisive religious background, guaranteed that the sort of coalition between religion and politics that had characterized Spanish policy would not develop under the United States. The tendency toward segmentation between the two institutional spheres that had been developing under Mexico was now realized under law.

In 1848, American Catholic leaders petitioned the Pope for permission to organize New Mexico under their ecclesiastical jurisdiction (Beck 1962: 212). The American Catholic Church was not the subservient Church of Spain and independent Latin America, however (Vallier 1970: 23-39). When Juan Baptiste Lamy was appointed Vicar Apostolic for the Territory of New Mexico (including what is now Arizona) in 1851 he brought a new vision of the role of the Church, a different understanding of the relationship between Church and state, a much more direct access to Church resources, and a liberal perspective stemming from his native France as well as his experience as a minister in Ohio.

Lamy found it necessary to literally almost re-form the Catholic Church of New Mexico. He found priests living in debauchery, priests who were so disengaged from their flocks that they administered sacraments very infrequently and only for exorbitant fees, and other priests who were so involved in politics and the daily lives of their parishioners that they had lost their effectiveness as forces for piety (Beck 1962: 214-216). This was rather an extreme state of affairs considering that there were possibly as few as nine priests (Horgan 1968: 866) and at most fourteen (Beck 1962: 214).

Not surprisingly, Lamy met resistance from the local priests and their charges. Before his authority could be established he had to journey to Durango to obtain documents that would convince the New Mexico clergy that they were no longer subject to the Mexican bishop. Even with this increased authority following his consecration as a bishop in 1853, he ultimately had to excommunicate five of the clergy who had been present when he arrived in New Mexico (Beck 1962: 214-216; Miller 1962: 122).

Lamy restored the Catholic Church in New Mexico so that even Protestant Americans could respect it. In spite of his willingness to enter the crudest hovel to minister directly to his people, however, his cosmopolitan world-view prevented him from ever really knowing the native New Mexicans. He built a new cathedral literally around the old parish church of Sante Fe, and instituted a heavy-handed policy of tithe collection.

By 1866 he had 135 mission churches with schools and forty-eight priests, mostly of French rather than Spanish origin (Beck 1962: 214-

215; Bohme 1959: 100). In 1867 Italian Jesuits entered New Mexico and established colleges at Albuquerque and Las Vegas (Miller 1962: 122). Lamy became Archbishop in 1875 and died in 1888 (Miller 1962: 123).

Due to the political marginality of Santa Cruz both late in the Mexican period and after the Taos uprising against the Americans, the parish became the only local formal organization until the construction of the irrigation dam in the 1920s. Except for public education, which involved both the Church and state, the Church was the dominant vehicle for community organization until relatively recently. It might have remained the only focus in the Santa Cruz area if the railroad had not been built along the Rio Grande Valley. The railroad literally opened up the area around Santa Cruz, particularly to the west and north.

A steady trickle of Anglo-Americans and German-Americans, ultimately all referred to as Anglos, came to the new town of Española. Along with their entrepreneurial ideas many of them brought Protestantism. Although the Baptists had begun mission activities as early as 1849 (Beck 1962: 217), they seem never to have had much impact in the Santa Cruz or Española area.

Prior to 1890 the station agent Samuel Stauffer McBride was already holding Methodist services in the Denver and Rio Grande Railway depot in Española. The first Methodist church, of adobe, was built by McBride in 1890 (Gjevre 1969: 54). The Presbyterians had initiated missionary activities around Chimayo and Cordova by 1900. The first Presbyterian church in the area was organized in 1903, with two Anglo members (the sisters Clark who were the teachers for the mission school), and four Hispanos. A week later a church was organized in Truchas. As had been



the case with Bishop Lamy's Catholic churches, a school was an important component of the church at Chimayo (Rendón 1963: 92-95). But the Protestants were still only penetrating the fringes of Santa Cruz Parish.

The United Brethren Church was the denomination that finally became established in Santa Cruz. In 1912 Miss Mellie Perkins, after preparing herself by learning Spanish, went to Velarde, north of Española on the west side of the Rio Grande, to establish a new school and mission at a mission site that had been abandoned by the Baptists seven years earlier. In 1915, she moved to Santa Cruz, locating in a large rented house less than a half mile from the plaza. Within the year, to the north of the rented house, a mission building was dedicated to Edith McCurdy, Miss Perkins' Spanish teacher.

At first the mission functioned mostly as a school and Sunday School with occasional hymn singings and social gatherings. A Spanish-American pastor was appointed in 1916, but disappeared before 1917. Then in 1917 a chapel was built and church services could be held on a regular basis. Miss Perkins retired from McCurdy School and Mission in 1918 (Campbell 1968: 4-19).

Her work had resulted in the penetration of the formerly Catholic village by an active evangelical Protestant presence. Although the denomination merged with the Evangelical Church in 1929 to form the Evangelical and United Brethren (EUB) Church (Campbell 1968: 40), and then with the Methodists in the 1960s to form the United Methodist church, McCurdy Mission, and its associated church, has been continuously active in the community and surrounding area.

With three active Protestant denominations evenly distributed across the former reaches of the Parish, segmentation within the formal institutional sphere of religion became a possibility, and the Parish ceased to be a unitary religious organization in the early 1900s. Since 1935 (USDA-SCS 1939), a number of additional Protestant churches have been established around Santa Cruz and Española, but the (now) United Methodist Church is still the only one of major importance in Santa Cruz. In the last forty years the Catholic Parish organization also has been partitioned so that Española and Chimayo both have their own parishes instead of depending on priests sent out from Holy Cross Church.

#### Local Belief and Practice in Past Times

The formal institutional aspects of religion have undoubtedly played an important part as the people adapted to northern New Mexico. But the Church itself had to undergo adaptation both to the conditions of the frontier, as well as to the practice of power both within and beyond the local province. The formal representatives of the Church engaged in various informal strategies to ensure the effectiveness and viability of their own organizational domains, whether those strategies were applied within the order, between order and episcopal hierarchy or between the various levels of the Church and the representatives of civil authority. It should not be surprising that local religious practice was likewise characterized by noncorporate responses to local conditions and to the conditions of the external imposition of Church and state.

Robert Redfield (1960: 41ff) has pointed out that "little communities" and peasantries usually possess localized variants, which he

called "little traditions," of the more universally oriented religious "great traditions" of the cosmopolitan and political elites of the societies within which they are embedded. Eric Wolf (1966a: 100-106) has refined the concepts to emphasize process somewhat more than did Redfield. Little traditions are more concerned with concrete, everyday reality, whereas the great traditions are concerned more with essential or more transcendent issues. As a result of the divergent concerns of the carriers of the two traditions, the two traditions often are able to articulate fairly well but they are unlikely ever to become merged.

During the first two centuries of Hispanic settlement in New Mexico, however, there was at least one area of unanimity between the two levels of religious tradition. Because of the important role that Christianity (e.g., Catholicism) had played in the Reconquista of Spain and the expulsion of the Moors from Spain and the subsequent success of the Inquisition against the Jews in Spain, one thing was almost obvious: to be Spanish was to be Catholic. Furthermore, to be fully human one had to be Catholic; the sixteenth century debates over the humanness of the Indians of the New World were resolved when Las Casas prevailed and the Indians were accepted as Catholics. Spanish, Catholic and human were related almost as in a syllogism.

Therefore to be a member of an Hispanic parish served almost as *prima facie* evidence of Spanish identity. Among the residents of Santa Cruz in 1790 497 households were listed with information concerning age, marital status and ethnicity for all members and only one head of household was described as indio (SANM #1110b). Santa Clara and San Juan were nominally Catholic and had their own mission parishes after 1695,

and though there were Spaniards living nearby and attending those missions, Santa Cruz included almost no Indians. The facility with which the Catholic genízaros (settled non-Pueblo Indians) were ultimately absorbed either as Espanóles or as mestizos again underscores the essential syllogism of ethnicity and religion. The fact that the priests were all of Spanish or New World Spanish origin until after 1850 also served to reinforce this sense of identity and solidarity. Beyond the ethnic, national and communal identity provided by Catholic parish membership, the force of the Spanish great tradition in the local setting became progressively more diffuse.

While Catholicism may have been basically and generally unquestionable, the worldly representatives of the Church certainly were subject to question. The archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe (Chavez 1957) contain a number of charges and countercharges involving defamation of priests by citizens, sometimes by groups of citizens. Catholics in general tend to view priests as mediators between humans and God, a view which is supported by statements of formal doctrine. It is through the performance of the sacraments that humans have their most important contact with God (Corbishley 1964: 102-106). But a particularly well-developed trend in Latin Catholicism is to view the priest as patron. A patron is expected to provide for his clients a range of benefits, for which they return loyalty and support.

The priest who successfully fulfills the role of patron is sometimes sustained regardless of the formal position of the Church. Padre Martínez of Taos continued to play an important role in Taos even after he was excommunicated by Bishop Lamy. Likewise, a priest of Albuquerque,

who was also excommunicated by Lamy, refused to abide by the order and went so far as to issue a public challenge to the Bishop. The extent to which the patron-client coalition superseded the loyalty of his followers to the formal hierarchy of the Church is demonstrated by his subsequent election as New Mexico's territorial delegate to Congress in 1853 (Beck 1962: 216).

On the other hand, the priest who fails in his obligation as patron risks losing the support of his clients. Fray Dominguez was quite critical of the practice of the residents of Santa Fe of pledging one amount to the support of the priest and paying a smaller amount: "For not only do many say, I bet according to my hand, but some show their hands as unwillingly as they bet [Adams and Chavez 1956: 30]." However, when dealing with a representative of a formal hierarchy, withdrawal is not always an effective threat. In that case, less intensive informal sanctions such as gossip or defamation can be brought to bear. Anti-clericalism is still combined with devout Catholicism in the statements of some of the people of New Mexico. Jokes are made at the expense of the clergy concerning their possible lack of compliance with the vow of celibacy, or other shortcomings are held up for public ridicule or scrutiny.

In addition to the tendency to treat the immediate functionaries of the Church as patrons whose authority is subject to manipulation through informal means, Latin Catholics show a marked propensity to relate to supernatural beings in a similar manner. In the Latin Catholic little tradition there is much more day-to-day emphasis placed on Mary and the other saints than on God, or perhaps even than on Jesus.

Almost every Catholic house today contains a small shrine or altar. This may occupy the top of a dresser or other chest, it may be set in a niche in an adobe wall, or a shelf on the wall or on a small table. The shrine usually consists of various saint's images, both pictures and figurines, votive candles, and often but not always a mounted Crucifix. Most common are various manifestations of the Virgin Mary.

Although a description of a household shrine for the Spanish and Mexican periods is not available for Santa Cruz, the development of an indigenous tradition of saint-making, as both art and craft, argues for the importance of having saint's images readily available to place in the home. Cleofas Jaramillo (1972: 60-62) discusses some of the characteristics of both santos and santeros in the area around Taos for the time of her childhood in the late 1800s. Dickey (1970: 137-186), although working from secondary sources and more concerned with the artistic aspects of santos, reinforces most of what Jaramillo has to say. Dickey also states that the santeros began to abandon their craft in the 1880s, after commercially-produced images became readily available.

Each of these authors lends confirmation to the statement that saints are treated as patrons by their human clients.

Francis was depicted standing alone . . . rather than preaching to the birds. . . . The technical difficulties of reproducing a complex work of art may have required this simplicity of theme, but Mitchell Wilder has suggested that in a historic tableau, the saints are busy with matters of their own, and it would be impolite to interrupt the scene with one's private

petitions. The villager, therefore, preferred his santos singly in the attentive attitudes of listening to the beholder or addressing their thoughts to God [Dickey 1970: 143].

Jaramillo (1972: 60) states:

A special power has been attributed to each saint. The great favorite, San Antonio, is implored to find things lost. . . . Sometimes when a saint turns a deaf ear, after prayers and novenas, he is punished by having his picture or statue turned face to the wall, or locked in a trunk, until the request is granted.

The emphasis on the role of intermediary sponsorship expected of the saints can also be inferred from the inventory of saints' images that Fray Dominguez compiled in 1776 for the parroquia and chapels of Santa Fe and for the Santa Cruz church (Adams and Chavez 1956: 16-38, 73-77). Depending on how some cases of multiple representations and group paintings are enumerated, there were some 130 representations of God, twelve of Jesus, twenty-four of the Virgin and ninety-three of other, all-male saints. For Santa Cruz the split was slightly more even: there were six of Jesus, six of the Virgin, and five of other saints. In either case God emerges as unapproachable by direct means. Although the case for Santa Cruz is less clear, the aggregate totals reflect an order of approachability.

It is significant that the iconography of a religion that was founded on Jesus Christ should be so dominated by those members of the

supernatural order who stand below Him, between Him and humans. When the Christ is represented, it is not in His manifestations as a whole adult, or as triumphant Lord. Rather he is depicted as a child, or as He was after Pilate crowned Him King of the Jews with a crown of thorns, carrying the cross, crucified, or in the tomb. Under other circumstances He would be too exalted to supplicate directly. The risen Christ is encountered only in the Eucharist and through the mediation of the priest or the saints.

Although much of the interaction between humans and saints consists of personal devotional, certain saints and manifestations of Jesus and the Virgin who have been particularly efficacious in the lives of the people come in for special communal adoration. These community-level rituals are called feasts or fiestas, even though the only feasting may consist of the celebration of Mass with Communion. Certain fiestas, however, become the focus for visiting, when great amounts of food are redistributed within the community.

Aurora Lucero-White (1947: 25) describes the generalized fiesta pattern for northern New Mexico in past times:

Most New Mexico fiestas are religious in character and coincide with . . . Christmas, Easter, Holy Week, All Saints' Day, etc. . . . But the fiesta that holds the spotlight . . . is that of the santo patron in honor of whom the village chapel is named and to whom the village itself is dedicated.

El Día de Santa Cruz is May 3.



Each year the parish or visiting priest appoints mayordomos and a fiesta council to take charge of the preparations. . . . The council appoints collectors and these go from house to house soliciting contributions to defray the necessary expenses. . . . the mayordomos . . . have to make up the deficit from their own pockets [Lucero-White 1947: 24-26].

The preparation also included cleaning and repairing the church. The outside was plastered, the inside whitewashed, and the woodwork and furnishings were scrubbed. Most of the houses received the same treatment. On the eve of the fiesta vespers were held.

Luminarias (pitch wood fires) are built around the church and throughout the village. Salves (gunfire salutes) are given at regular intervals just before and just during the service, but there is no merry-making . . . as everyone has gone to confession in order to receive Communion the next day at the fiesta mass [Lucero-White 1947: 26-28].

The day of the celebration found the village truly festive. People donned new clothes or their best old ones, the women and girls adorned themselves with makeup, and men wore their best hats.

The mayordomos, with an air of earned importance, sit in the sanctuary holding lighted candles. It is an honor to be a mayordomo and all Hispanos . . . covet the honor even though it usually turns out to be an expensive affair [Lucero-White 1947: 28-29].

After Mass, the saint's image was often carried from the church and around the village. The mayordomos held open-house, serving dinner to invited guests only, but providing a table of sweets to all. Local musicians provided music, while ballads, both old and new, were sung. Following dinner, dances were held, and the shops and temporary booths did a lively business. Other entertainments included gambling, the corrida de gallo, and the performance of autos or miracle plays.

In the corrida two groups of riders faced each other from about 150 yards, and galloped toward each other, two at a time, and tried to snatch a rooster which had been buried up to the neck. When the bird had been seized, both teams fought for control of the hapless fowl (Lucero-White 1947: 29-30).

A number of autos also were performed in New Mexico, but the one associated with the Santa Cruz fiesta was Los Moros y Cristianos. Again two groups of riders faced each other, this time on the plaza, but with a more somber purpose, having donned costumes, memorized dialogue and gone through extensive rehearsals. This play was an abstract of events of the Reconquista of Spain in which the Moorish soldiers had captured a cross and the Spanish soldiers defeated the "infidels" and regained the cross.

Although Santa Cruz' saint's day was established as part of its political constitution and naming and although patron saints' days were a recognized and proper part of the great tradition of formal Catholicism, the people of the village effectively transformed official ritual into a local affirmation of their own community solidarity.

Saints other than the patron saints also were celebrated but in a somewhat different manner. At the time of Domínguez' visitation there were three lay religious brotherhoods in Santa Cruz Parish: the Third Order of Saint Francis, a lay auxiliary of the Order of the Friars Minor, the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, and the Confraternity of Our Lady of Carmel (the Carmelites). These cofradías sponsored four annual fiestas, as well as monthly processions for Saint Francis and Our Lady of Carmel. In the capital at Santa Fe other confraternities celebrated even more fiestas, but held fewer processions during the year (Adams and Chavez 1956).

The fiestas of the cofradías were, however, organized differently than the fiestas for the patron saint. In many cases confraternities did not include all the villagers as members, while in other cases the membership was drawn from a very large area. In 1776 the Third Order had only 127 members, a small proportion of the people of Santa Cruz. Each paid annual dues of three pesos. The Carmelites, on the other hand, counted over 700 members, from as far as El Paso, who paid dues of one peso (Adams and Chavez 1956: 75-77). The dues of the members rather than community and parish resources underwrote the expenses of the cofradía.

The cofradías of New Mexico for the most part were local chapters of organizations that had developed in Europe beginning in the Middle Ages. While these voluntary associations served to express neighborhood and occupational solidarities, their manifest purposes generally were religious devotion and mutual aid. In urban settings in Spain some cofradías underwent transformation into guilds, properly called gremios,

but retained the appellation of cofradia as they continued to revere a patron saint for whom they held fiestas. In the countryside the religious aspect predominated. In either case the provision of benefits in the form of burial, the sponsorship of memorial Masses, and aid to widows served as inducement to join.

Since they were religious sodalities the cofradias sought and usually gained formal recognition from the Church through formal charters. The charters or ordenanzas specified the obligations and privileges of the sodality and its members. In short, cofradias were formally legitimated corporate organizations. As such the membership ideally was more subject to Church supervision than were non-members. The mayordomo and other officials were responsible for the behavior of members. If these officials were incapable of disciplining shameless behavior, the entire organization became subject to sanctions by the priest who oversaw their activities. The priest might refuse to help in the celebration of their patron or in extreme cases might refuse church or chapel space for the image of the saint (Foster 1953: 10-19).

As with so many other formal institutions on the frontier, the cofradias of New Mexico had lost much of their ability to facilitate control by external authority. Dominguez commented at length concerning the irregularities in the charters and observances of the confraternities he inspected in Santa Cruz and Santa Fe. They constrained behavior by threats of dismissal or of the withdrawal of benefits, but not to the end of control by the priests and Church, but rather in the interest of local informal social control. The Indian pueblos did not adopt cofradias, but the still vital native religions operated in a similar manner. Again

the people of New Mexico had transformed corporate means to serve ends which were to some extent noncorporate.

An even more extreme example of semi-corporate religious organization is provided by the so-called Penitente brotherhood, which arose evidently after 1776 and became widespread by the end of the Mexican period.

La Hermandad (sometimes Cofradia or Confraternidad) de Nuestro Señor Jesús Nazareno developed not as a formally recognized association, but as a folk expression of religious devotion during the years of Franciscan decline.

The manifestation of the Christ that is referred to in the name, Jesús Nazareno, is not a reference to the village of Nazareth, but rather to the Old Testament practice of specially consecrating one's life to God in the tradition of Samuel, Samson, and John the Baptist who were Nazarites (Adams and Chavez 1956: 356). Similarly the Penitente brothers consecrate their lives by special acts of devotion, particularly during Holy Week, climaxing on Good Friday. During the rest of the year, the group operates, perhaps even more than official cofradias, as a mutual-aid society. Often, since there were few priests in the past, the brotherhood actually carried out all of the ritual associated with a burial rather than the more circumscribed aid provided by other confraternities.

Because the members emulated Jesus' suffering in their devotion a number of sensationalized accounts have been written concerning them, beginning in the period of early Anglo intrusion. In recent years serious and sensitive scholars have provided more balanced accounts (Beck 1962: 218-225; Chavez 1954; Horka-Follick 1969; Ottaway 1975; Weigle 1976). There is also an account by an Anglo, rather than Hispano, member (Tate

1967). The cofradia also was officially recognized by the Church in 1947, reversing the policy instituted almost a century earlier by Bishop Lamy.

It is still difficult to penetrate the reluctance and secrecy that grew out of years of misunderstanding. Although there was a morada (a Penitente chapel) not too far from Santa Cruz plaza in 1969-1973, no one would admit to membership, but instead talked about events in the 1930s and 1940s. A new morada has been built since 1973, however, even closer to the plaza and near the church, and both moradas seem to be active. La Hermandad stands as a good example of the transformation of elements of the official great tradition into something meaningful to and under the control of the members of the local community.

#### Religious Choice

Following the Anglo penetration of the area subsequent to the establishment of the railhead at Española, the growth of Protestantism provided a new set of possible religious responses by the people of Santa Cruz. The choice was no longer between being a good Catholic, or a Church Catholic, or a casual Catholic. Catholicism in its entirety could now be turned to the wall in favor of other forms of Christianity. Fierce competition developed between Catholics and Protestants. Rendón (1963: 94) reports on events that occurred in Chimayo in the early 1900s, right before the annual Presbyterian evangelical meetings:

One year a Roman Catholic bishop visited Chimayo just before our meetings began. He bitterly warned the people against us. We were heretics, he said, and if the people listened to us or sent their children to the mission school, they would surely be doomed

to hell-fire. Nevertheless, a crowd came to our first service to hear what we had to say.

Unfortunately, our preacher, a visiting English-speaking minister, took the same note. All who listened to the bishop, he said, were doomed to hell-fire. I had to translate his speech--and oh, how I hated to do it! The people began to leave the meeting. All we had tried to do seemed lost.

Campbell (1968: 18) in his small book about the McCurdy Mission at Santa Cruz recounts another example of hostility between Catholics and Protestants. During the first year Miss Perkins had given Bibles, but in 1917

A visiting priest was in Santa Cruz and he commanded that everybody bring their books for him to examine. Those not fit . . . would be burned. Two of our boys attended the burning and many Bibles were on the pile. Then when the worshippers went into the church, the boys picked out a book only scorched and brought it home. It was A Child's Story of the New Testament in Spanish.

But despite the intolerance of both sides, some converts were made among the local Hispanos. Some of them were no doubt attracted by a desire to escape the necessity of intermediation through priests and saints that characterized Catholicism and to seek the truth of Christianity on a personal basis, a motivation given by Rendón for his own conversion. Others were perhaps impelled by a desire to escape the re-

distributive demands of the Catholic ceremonial pattern, although those demands were not as onerous in New Mexico as they have been in other parts of Latin America where similar motives have been imputed. The bulk of the members of McCurdy church seem to have been Anglos, who continue to move into the area in the present, but by the late 1930s a sufficient number of Spanish-speaking members existed to form the Spanish Prayer Group, which still meets (Campbell 1968: 23-24).

Though the Catholic leaders who condemned the Protestants were probably not Hispano, the division between Catholic and Protestant might have developed into an ethnic segmentation except for two things. One was that not all of the Protestant leaders were as unsympathetic as some of the early Anglo zealots; Rendón and other Hispanos were more temperate, and the Anglo who became superintendent of McCurdy School was able to gain the respect and admiration of many of the Catholics, regardless of official Church feelings. The second was that some of the earliest Anglos in the Santa Cruz area were German Catholics, so that there were Anglos and Hispanos in both types of church.

In the modern period the Protestants and Catholics seem to have reached an accommodation on several fronts. Perhaps the ability of the Catholic church to continue to attract the most adherents has encouraged the Catholic leadership to soften its stance. The members and staff of McCurdy church and school also now are often members of the community rather than outsiders. Exposure to the outside world and to mass-media and other secular forces has probably also had an effect. Priests and preachers, as well as laymen of all faiths, belong to the Lion's Club, Rotary, Jaycees and other national and international voluntary associ-



ations. Priests and preachers also belong to the Española Ministerial Alliance, which sponsors ecumenical sunrise services each Easter near Santa Cruz, as well as ecumenical services held in conjunction with the Oñate Fiesta, a secular fiesta first held in Española in 1933 (Shuart 1933) to commemorate the founding of San Gabriel.

#### Locality and Ritual in Modern Times

The Oñate Fiesta is an interesting manifestation of some of the new forces active in the Española Valley. Sometime after its initial appearance in 1933--it was celebrated again in 1948--the fiesta lapsed. It was revived in 1969 and has continued as an annual event held in July. It incorporates elements of the traditional saint's fiesta with a number of specifically non-religious elements.

In mimicry of a traditional community fiesta, celebration is initiated with vespers on Friday night. A Sunday morning Mass is also prominently featured. But the religious components are distinguished from those of the patron saint's fiesta. First, vespers during the Oñate fiesta is followed by a night of revelry rather than the reverie that is observed in the saint's fiesta. Second, an entire day of secular activities is interjected between vespers and Mass. Third, an ecumenical field mass is held on Sunday evening. Finally, rather than emphasizing local chapel and parish, the services are held in various churches throughout the valley and attract a substantial number of people from parishes and denominations other than the host church.

Secular elements clearly seem to predominate in the area-wide celebration. An obvious point of departure is that Oñate was, regardless of a religious component to his conquest, a secular figure. Although there

were wordly entertainments associated with the religious festivals, diversions are emphasized over religious services in the new fiesta. Among the diversions which are provided one of the more visible is the competition for the honors of appearing as Oñate, his queen, and his court. Additionally, there are a carnival, food booths, parades, dances, games, boat races, beard contests, kangaroo courts, and public speeches.

The organization of the fiesta also is secular. The council is drawn largely from the Española business community, but it also involves people from the pueblos in the area, as well as from communities east, west, and north of Española. Although the ultimate honors of serving as Oñate, Fiesta Queen, or Oñate's court are restricted to Hispanos, some of the council and some of the most ardent boosters of the fiesta have been Anglos and sometimes Protestants. One chairman of the council has been the priest of the Española Sacred Heart Catholic Church, an Anglo, but he was chosen more because of his role as a community leader than because of his position in the Church.

In many ways the Oñate Fiesta resembles the pioneer days celebrations sponsored by many Chambers of Commerce in the western United States. The pioneer heritage harks back farther, but as with those others, the commercial aspects do seem preeminent. In the process many goals of a traditional fiesta--there is no doubt that traditional fiestas promoted xenophobic boosterism--are accomplished, but on a new higher level. The involvement of people from all parts of the Española Valley ensures that localocentrism extends to the entire area. Riegelhaupt (1973) notes a similar development of more secular town fiestas in Portugal in recent years. A major difference was the absence of Protestantism as an affiliational option for her villagers.

With the development of the secular fiesta in Española we might expect that other more restricted community religious celebrations might be in decline, something noted for Portugal by Riegelhaupt. That is not the case, however. At about the same time the Oñate Fiesta was being revived, the Día de Santa Cruz ceased to be celebrated in the traditional manner, but was transformed rather than terminated. Holy Cross Church now holds a bazaar on the Sunday closest to May 3. A queen is crowned at the last morning Mass and then everyone retires to the church school yard where booths offering various amusements, food, and a live band have been set up. These are organized and manned by volunteers from the parish under the direction and approval of the parish council. In 1973 the bazaar made several thousand dollars to contribute to the expenses of operating the parish grammar school.

In Riegelhaupt's case the decline of local saints' fiestas was attributable to disagreement between priests and parishioners over the disposition of the surpluses from the fiestas for the people felt that the priest was robbing them of their money. That is clearly not the case in Santa Cruz where some people have expressed the feeling that the priest instead robbed them of their fiesta while they speak proudly of the success of the bazaar. People still fondly recall the processions, the open-houses, and their parts in the enactment of Los Moros. Some continue to hold private open-houses on May 3, while others have transferred that custom to the day of the bazaar. The same priest, from Spain, who presided over the first bazaar, said Mass at a traditional fiesta cum procession in one of the hamlets of Santa Cruz within weeks of the revival of the Oñate Fiesta in 1969. The priests who replaced him, also

with Spanish surnames, while showing some sympathy for traditional religious practice, support the bazaar.

In the summer of 1973, the Holy Family Parish in Chimayo revived its more traditional Día de Santiago, or Feast of Saint James, for the patron saint of the Reconquest of Spain. Although there were a few modern elements such as a fiesta queen, the presence of a procession and the traditional enactment of Los Moros y Cristianos--which had not been performed for several years in New Mexico--served clearly to underscore the primarily religious and traditional nature of this fiesta.

Regardless of the vicissitudes of Church and state involvement in the lives of the people of Santa Cruz, the community has maintained its identity with respect to Española, which is still trying in various ways to engulf it, and with respect to the outside world. This has largely been accomplished through various informal or noncorporate means used within the sphere of religious belief and practice.

Therefore it is still in its guise as parish that Santa Cruz is most clearly recognizable, even though it has long since ceased to have any unique political status. The continued strength of the Catholic tradition remains a force for local integration and serves in some contexts as a shared force for regional integration. Although this level of integration restricts to a certain extent the possibility of aligning with more universalistic national or at least transregional elites, the regional traditions have come to be valued even by those whose interests might lie beyond the region.

The formal hierarchy of the Catholic Church has recognized the Penitentes, and the local Protestant and business elites have borrowed

heavily from tradition in establishing the Oñate Fiesta, which must be seen as an attempt at regional integration. But the value of local uniqueness is also recognized by many Protestants who are spectators and participants in some aspects of the Santa Cruz bazaar and El Día de Santiago. Regional interests rather than belief or ethnicity underwrite much of the continued strength of Catholicism in the community of Santa Cruz.

## CHAPTER IV

### EDUCATION

In contrast to religion, politics, and economics, education in New Mexico during the Spanish period did not, with few exceptions, entail any formal framework of its own. Education took place largely within the context of Church and family, and was more akin to what anthropologists simply call enculturation or socialization. During the Mexican period state policy favored the establishment of schools, but the efforts were sporadic in implementation and were generally unsuccessful. When Bishop Lamy took charge of the Church one of the key parts of his program was the development of a parochial school system as well as the development of church-related academies for secondary and higher education. By the end of the nineteenth century, public schools had been established, but by then Protestant mission schools had begun to develop a foothold in New Mexico. In Santa Cruz, since 1915, there have been three outside sources promoting education.

In the 1960s vocational education became possible in the immediate area and in the 1970s public academic higher education has been instituted in the Española vicinity. As has been the case with all small communities in the United States the mass media also have assumed increasing importance in recent years. With the availability of so many educational institutions in an area of relatively small population and with even fewer jobs, education has become extremely politicized.

Political parties and party factions enter slates in the school board elections, unlike the practice in many parts of the United States where there is at least a pretense of keeping education apolitical.

#### Socialization in Past Times

On the Spanish frontier there were indisputably some educated people--that we have historical records at all attests to that--but they seem to have been a distinct minority. The bulk of the populace were illiterate. In 1797, the new governor of New Mexico, Fernando de Chacón, reported to the commandant general that he was having some difficulty in finding qualified men to fill two vacant alcaldias mayores. When he asked the clergy and the alcalde mayor of Santa Fe to propose candidates they replied that there were none qualified. Even the majority of the self-proclaimed hacendados were incapable of reading or writing. His predecessor had similarly bemoaned the difficulty of finding suitable candidates, a situation which made it impossible to remove the incumbents. If the governors were critical of the educational attainments of their citizens, the clergy even accused the incumbent alcaldes of being uneducated and incapable of proper administration (Simmons 1968:172-173).

To a certain extent the blame for such a set of shortcomings has to be attributed to the Church and the state because of their inability to provide a systematic effort to overcome the educational deficiencies of the province. The argument could also be made, however, that there was little real need for much education prior to the Mexican period. Since New Mexico was a frontier area with no

particularly valuable resources to contribute to the Imperial economy, there was not even a great deal of trade within the region. In the same report cited above, Governor Chacón pointed out that the merchants were likewise not suitable candidates for the alcaldías because they were more like vagabonds or itinerants rather than respected businessmen, having to engage directly in agriculture as well as trade to make a living. Dominguez also reported the dismal character of the villas of Santa Cruz and Santa Fe, stating that they were not like towns at all as they lacked shops and other attributes of what he felt to be civilization (Adams and Chavez 1956). It seems to have been because of this general lack of commercial development that the government was so lenient in suspending the sales tax; there were essentially no sales. The tithes, obventions and confraternity dues, which were less likely to be suspended, were usually paid in kind. For conducting the mass of the patron saint, for instance, the mission father received fifty pesos in seed and chile (Adams and Chavez 1956: 77). A weakly developed cash economy provided little incentive to become literate for the purpose of keeping commercial records.

As in most preindustrial societies, the technoeconomic skills necessary for productive adulthood were learned in the process of performing the tasks, from those who had already learned them, usually parents or other adult relatives. Children observed and helped with many tasks. The principles of irrigation technology were learned by helping with the communal ditch cleaning and repair in the spring as well as routine repairs to the family's own ditches. If the young ditch engineer put too shallow a slope in the ditch the water moved



too slowly and evaporated or soaked into the ground before it reached the end of the ditch. If, on the other hand, the slope was too steep the water moved too rapidly and the ditches were damaged.

The proper time for planting corresponded with events of the Church ceremonial calendar, particularly in Santa Cruz since both Easter and the Día de Santa Cruz occurred in the spring around the time of the earliest possible planting. The farm implements were simple, even in comparison with Spain (cf. Foster 1960). The care of animals was straightforward and mostly involved preventing them from damaging crops and moving them from one seasonal pasture to another. The proper mixing and handling of the adobe mud for bricks or for stucco also was learned by participating in the repair and construction of buildings. As far as the domestic tasks of females were concerned, the girls observed and participated with their mothers, aunts and grandmothers in the care of younger siblings, as well as in preparing meals and engaging in the upkeep of the interior of the house. In short, education for routine adult life was acquired gradually as part of the inexorable process of becoming adult. There do not seem to have been any formal mechanisms or rituals (until late in the Spanish period) which had as their purpose the imparting of skills in a more formal manner.

The only major exception to this general pattern came in the sphere of religion. Even there, however, much of the ideology was inculcated informally by the adult kinsmen. Religion was never very far from the daily lives of the Spanish settlers. Prayers and promesas (vows) were routinely offered to the saints. Cleofas Jaramillo recalls several incantations in verse form that might be uttered under certain

circumstances. In the event of an approaching thunderstorm the following one might be spoken as a bit of salt was thrown into the air:

<u>Santa Barbara doncella</u>	Maiden Saint Barbara
<u>Libranos Senora del rayo,</u>	Protect us Lady,
<u>Y de la centella.</u>	From storm and lightning
	[1972:60].

Such day-to-day practices gave the child an introduction to religious knowledge.

More detailed information could be gleaned by observing communal rituals that were ancillary to official Church activities. The auto Los Moros y Cristianos has already been described. Additional miracle plays reenacted other events, whether from the Bible or involving themes in which religion played a part. One cycle of autos commemorated the Christmas season. Las posadas involved Joseph's search for an inn for Mary. Los pastores celebrated the adoration of the Christ child (Santo Niño) by the shepherds. The events involving the wise men were highlighted by Los reyes magos. The climax of this cycle came with El Niño perdido which depicted the twelve year old Christ getting lost and teaching the priests in the Temple (Jaramillo 1972:78-82). These still were performed at the folk level a generation ago. Where they had lapsed, they have sometimes been consciously revived in recent years. The Penitente observances of Holy Week also taught lessons concerning the nature of God, the nature of humans, and the relationship between God and humans.

But it was in the interest of the Church to instill some appreciation for official Catholic doctrine so that religion did not devolve completely

into a folk tradition. Although officially established schools were largely restricted to the missions of the Indian neophytes during the eighteenth century (see Adams and Chavez 1956: 314-315, for a description of the Jemez school), the priest at Santa Cruz explained Christian doctrine every Sunday, even when communion was not held (Adams and Chavez 1956: 81). Obviously a single weekly lesson could not obliterate the quotidien experience of the little tradition, but it did serve to impart at least some doctrinal aspects of the religious great tradition. The experience of the formal mass also provided an object lesson on the proper relationship between God and humanity, and between human and human.

Such was the education of the majority of New Mexicans throughout the Spanish period. There were some stirrings in the direction of a more formal educational system even then, however. Adams and Chavez (1956: 329), in an appendix to the Dominguez report, list a Franciscan who conducted a small school for boys at Santa Fe in the first years after De Vargas' Reconquest. Dominguez himself briefly discusses a school at Santa Cruz in 1776.

There is a very small school for children in the father's charge. Their parents give the master an annual sum, and the father gives him food, drink, and clothing within reason. At present it looks as if the school is about to come to an end, because the master is on the point of death [Adams and Chavez 1956: 80-81].

But later, in Dominguez' own appendix, he states

With regard to the former school, I state that it has come to an end because the schoolmaster died and it seems that there is no other available [Adams and Chavez 1956: 249].

Dominguez gives no other information concerning schools in the Spanish settlements. Judging from the general thoroughness of his report it is probably safe to conclude that there were none at the time of his visits.

The Establishment of Schools under  
Spain and Mexico

A royal charter in 1777 and a papal bull in 1779 were issued for the establishment of a seminary in Santa Fe. But, although buildings were constructed, it never opened because funds did not materialize, all local funds being diverted for defense against hostile nomads (Mayfield 1938: 101-102). In 1811 there were evidently two public schools--one at Santa Fe--financed from public funds. Nonetheless, the New Mexico delegate to the Spanish Cortes, Don Pedro Bautista Pino, reported in 1812 that

respecting primary schools it is reduced to the condition, that only those who have the means to contribute for the payment of a teacher can have their children taught. In the capital they have been unable to endow a teacher in order to make teaching common[in Mayfield 1938: 102].

A decree by the Cortes in 1813 to establish a seminary and separate bishopric at Santa Fe had as much effect as the royal charter of 1777 (Mayfield 1938: 103). Although not precisely a public school, the Santa Fe presidio in 1818 maintained a schoolmaster who taught

seventy-six children, fourteen the offspring of soldiers and the remainder those of civilians (Simmons 1968: 132).

New Mexico was too poor systematically to fund a school system. Even though there were occasional gestures of support for schools forthcoming from Crown and Church, they were having their own financial difficulties in the late Spanish period. A few people did obtain an education, but it was largely because of their families and their own family fortunes rather than because of the general availability of education; even where schools were available, such as at Santa Fe, they were open only sporadically and had little general impact. Pino was a literate man. So was the infamous Padre Martínez who grew up during this period. Padre Martínez received his primary education in Abiquiú around the turn of the century in a private school established for a very small number of students (Mayfield 1938: 102). He later attended seminary in Durango where he was ordained in 1822 (Sanchez 1940: 49).

With Mexican independence in 1821 came the potential at least for educational reform. On April 27, 1822 a resolution was passed by the provincial government.

Resolved, that the town councils (ayuntamientos) be officially notified to complete the formation of primary public schools as soon as possible according to the circumstances of each community [in Mayfield 1938: 104].

Because of the general poverty, this resolution was not effected. The plan asked for by the governor in 1825, therefore, was based not on taxes but on voluntary subscriptions. These contributions made

possible the opening of four public schools, including one at Santa Cruz (Coan 1928: 171).

There may be some confusion on this last point, however: a report of a visita by the vicar lists a parish school in Santa Cruz in 1826 (Chavez 1957: 191). Also in 1826 Padre Martínez turned one room of his house in Taos into a school, which produced, among its other students, twenty students who ultimately were ordained (Sanchez 1940: 50). Another school was opened by a priest in Santa Fe the same year, although this school may have had a more official standing than the one in Taos (Coan 1928: 171-172). The following year there were seventeen schools with a like number of teachers (Mayfield 1938: 104).

The new program for public schools seemed quite successful compared to the record for the previous era. Local government documents concerning Santa Cruz mention the affairs of the local school several times between 1828 and 1830 (Uncatalogued), but by 1832 the total number of schools was reduced by more than half. Only the major towns still had schools. That same year the lawyer Antonio Barreiro argued that nothing was better supported--the schoolmaster for Santa Cruz received a salary of 300 pesos--nor in worse shape than the schools because of the general inabilities of the teachers. His plea for reform did no good; the public schools were closed in October, 1834.

A few private schools were opened (Coan 1928: 172), but the new governor appointed by Mexico, Albino Perez, was a strong advocate of public education. He issued a proclamation in 1836 in which he called for the end of the situation which allowed school age children to run the streets of Santa Fe learning vice and corruption. There would be

two schools in Santa Fe run by masters who had passed examinations "in reading, writing, and counting." The schools organized by heads of families would be closed unless their masters also could pass the same exams. The heads of families would support the new schools financially. All children from five to twelve years of age would be in school or their parents would be in violation of the law, and youths of twelve and more years must be employed or apprenticed or they would be subject to charges of vagrancy (in Twitchell 1912: 57-59).

This plan, even restricted as it was to Santa Fe, was not put into effect, partially because of the assassination of Perez in 1837, but also because it would have cost more than it was worth to the citizens of Santa Fe. Education in New Mexico had reverted to a private endeavor. From the time of the Perez proclamation to 1844 there were seven private schools in different parts of New Mexico (Mayfield 1938:104), but the available documents do not clearly indicate whether there was one in Santa Cruz. In 1844, another new governor saw to the establishment of two public schools in Santa Fe by using his own money and influence to bring two teachers from Europe (Mayfield 1938:104-105).

If the end of the Mexican era found schools still not systematically established in New Mexico, education was more generally available than had been the case under Spain. Enterprising young men further expanded their educations by going to Mexico, or, as the trade with the United States expanded, they could go to Saint Louis. The vast majority of people remained involved in subsistence agriculture, with little absolute necessity for the products of a formal education. Even

the newly developed mercantilism associated with the Santa Fe Trail did not bring with it a need for literacy, for the control of most commercial ventures was in the hands of the Anglos. The few New Mexicans who were in titular control of the firms were educated after a fashion, but the majority of their customers would have profited little from the skills provided by the schools because the economy was politically out of their hands, anyway, as was the polity.

From a recreational standpoint, the ability to read would have been of limited usefulness because of the general unavailability of printed matter. The first printing press was not brought to New Mexico until 1834 by Barreiro, who sold it after a short time. The press belonged to Padre Martínez from 1835 to 1843 and was used by him to publish a very short-lived newspaper called El Crepusculo de la Libertad (The Dawn of Liberty), as well as to publish textbooks and other educational materials (Gregg 1954:142; Lamar 1970:40).

#### Public and Church Schools in American

##### New Mexico until 1940

When New Mexico finally came under the political and economic hegemony of the United States after 1846 some of the (now) native elite of New Mexico were imbued with a feeling that education, coupled with inclusion in the United States, would bring happiness and advancement to the region. Governor Donaciano Vigil, acting in the stead of the assassinated Charles Bent, addressed the first Legislative Assembly in 1847, calling for improved public education in order to foster responsible voting on the part of the new citizens of the American republic (in Sanchez 1940: 19-20). The legislature passed a school



law legally establishing a university as well, but little had changed --the American military took over the government and did not implement the legislation (Lamar 1970:71). It took most of the rest of the century before a public school system was in force.

Opposition by politicians was not the only problem. When New Mexico passed into civil control in 1851, a new Legislative Assembly passed school legislation. Successive years saw the passage of successive school bills. Another in a long line of school bills was passed in 1884, again to become a dead letter law. In 1890, Governor L. Bradford Prince declared that "not a public school had been open for a single day in the capital county of Santa Fe." The legislature finally passed an effective school bill which took effect in 1891 (Lamar 1970:89, 167-160,191).

Part of the difficulty in passing school legislation is traceable to the Spanish-American population. A popular referendum for educational taxes was defeated 5,016 to 37 in 1856 (Lamar 1970:89). Toward the end of the first forty years of American rule some of the Spanish-American legislators seem to have been acting against the school bills in an effort to sabotage efforts at achieving statehood; without public schools the national Congress would never vote to admit New Mexico (Lamar 1970: 186-187).

A significant impetus for opposition to a public school system came from the Church and the European clergy that had been imported by Bishop Lamy. Part of Lamy's reforms consisted of the establishment of parochial schools. In 1852, the Sisters of Loretto founded an academy for girls in Santa Fe that operated until the 1960s. Seven years

later the Christian Brothers founded St. Michael's school for boys, which today continues to operate as a high school. The same order opened the present College of Santa Fe in 1947. The Jesuits also opened schools, but these no longer operate in New Mexico. Schools were also promoted in association with the local parish churches (Beck 1962: 210-211).

Although the territorial government failed to develop a systematic and comprehensive school program, the number of public schools in all of New Mexico had increased from zero in 1870 to 138 in 1875. However, these passed into the control of the Church almost as soon as they opened. County school boards were organized, but the board members were often clergy or Church officials. The Jesuits printed the majority of the instructional materials. A number of purely parochial schools also utilized public funds. One of the leading Jesuits, Donato Gasparri, even became county school superintendant in Bernalillo County (Bohme 1959:102), and was a bitter, and successful, foe of an effort in 1875-1876 that would have made illegal the diversion of public funds into the parochial schools and that would have forbidden the use of clerics as public schoolteachers (Lamar 1970: 167-168).

In 1889, Lamy's successor, Archbishop, J.B. Salpointe, was still strongly opposed to public schools divorced from Church influence. He stated that nonsectarian education was "in reality either sectarian, non-religious, godless, or agnostic [in Lamar 1970: 189]." New Mexico's new, more generalized, school law did not divorce the public schools from the influence of the Church, however. Nuns, as well as some priests, continued to teach in many public schools until the 1950s.

Looking back from the turn of the twentieth century, progress had been made. A comprehensive public school system had been established, albeit in such a manner that the increasing number of Protestant Anglos still had complaints about Catholic involvement. A university had been established at Albuquerque, and an agricultueal college at Las Cruces. A school of mines, two normal schools and a state military school were scattered in other parts of the state, (Beck 1962: 212). By 1905 these schools had almost 1,000 students and seventy-eight faculty members (Sanchez 1940:22). There remained immense room for improvement. In 1889, of a population of almost 110,000, over half were illiterate, and only 12,000 of 44,000 school-aged children were in any school at all (Lamar 1970:187). In 1900, over twenty-four percent of adult native-white males remained illiterate, and more than half of the school-aged children still were not in school (Sanchez 1940:22).

It was in the context of widespread illiteracy and an inadequate school system that Protestant mission activities were initiated in the area around Santa Cruz. The Presbyterians came first, starting a school in Chimayo by 1900, and another school in Truchas in 1902 (Rendón 1963: 93-95). Protestantism penetrated the heart of Santa Cruz in 1915 when Miss Mellie Perkins moved from the United Brethren mission school at Velarde and founded a new mission school in Santa Cruz (Campbell 1968: 9-15).

Both in Chimayo and in Santa Cruz proper, mission schools preceded the establishment of churches. The keystone of the Protestant mission programs was teaching people to read. An expressed feeling of many

of the early Protestants was that if people could read the Bible for themselves they could more easily escape what the Protestants felt to be superstitious beliefs and practices associated with Catholicism. The priests countered by collecting religious tracts and Bibles distributed by the Protestants and burning them publicly (Campbell 1968: 18; Rendón 1963: 47). The classrooms of the respective denominations became battlegrounds in the campaign to affect people's beliefs and loyalties.

In 1935, both public and religious schools continued to operate in Santa Cruz and in Chimayo. Santa Cruz will serve as the major example. Santa Cruz public high school had 150 students, ninety of whom came from other communities in northern Santa Fe County, including Chimayo. The grade school, which only had students from Santa Cruz and the adjoining settlements of Sombrillo and Fairview, had 195 students. These students were taught by ten teachers, seven of whom were nuns. McCurdy School had 170 students including forty-five boarders and 125 from the contiguous settlements. These were taught by seven teachers. The two schools had a total local enrollment of 380 students. An F.E.R.A. project had just enlarged the public school to allow it to handle its 345 students. Of fifteen Anglo families in the community there were ten children enrolled in the public school, the majority of the Anglo children attending the Protestant school. A total number of fifty-seven students had graduated from high school. Thirteen of those had gone to college, although none had gone to the University of New Mexico (USDA-SCS 1939: 40-48).

Educational opportunities had increased considerably in the first decades of the twentieth century, whether for the state in general, or for Santa Cruz or other communities in particular. There were still a number of problems. Thirteen and three-tenths percent of the people of New Mexico remained illiterate in 1930, placing the state third from the bottom in comparison to the other states. Areas of the state with low percentages of Hispanos had low rates; the rates for the counties with high percentages of Hispanos were correspondingly higher.

The method of school financing was partially to blame. As is still the case in many parts of the United States, school funds were raised through county property taxes. Therefore, the counties of the north, with no cities, few towns, little industry and poor people--resulting in low property values--had less money to work with, even though the larger families characteristic of Hispanos had more children per family than was the case in counties with high proportions of Anglos. Already in 1930, large areas of those same counties were in national parks, forests, and reserves, removing much of the land from the tax rolls.

The school expenditures reflected these conditions. In Santa Fe County the budgetary allocation per classroom unit in 1938-1939 was \$1,506, half of the amount for the leading county; Rio Arriba allocated \$831. For the year 1939-1940 the four counties with the largest proportion of Hispanos received state equalization funds of \$50 per classroom unit while one of the counties lowest in Hispanos received \$160. The state average was \$90.

Compounding all of this was the fact that the language of instruction in the schools was English, even though many Hispano children

in the 1930s still entered school without any knowledge of that language. Public legal announcements and laws had to be published in both English and Spanish, but the schools were operated in such a way that many of the students became illiterate in two languages instead of only one. School drop-out and failure rates were both high. Of almost 60,000 Spanish-speaking children in school, over one-third were in the first grade. Fifty-five percent of the children in all higher grades were at least two years overage for their grade; one-half of all school-age children were Spanish speaking but only accounted for one-fifth of twelfth grade students (Sanchez 1940: 29-33, 72, 79).

Church-State Educational Coalition and the  
Community Interest

Had it not been for the coalition between state and Church for the operation of the public schools and for the presence of the Protestant mission schools, education in Santa Cruz--indeed in all of Hispanic New Mexico--would have been in a deplorable state in the latter part of the first half of the present century. For the state, the coalition with the Catholic Church provided considerable economies. Nuns were more qualified in general than were many of the lay public school teachers and they could be hired at lower salaries. Often, although this was not the case in Santa Cruz in the 1930s and later, the public schools were held in buildings that initially had been owned by the Church and had been turned over to the state or county.

The presence of the mission schools also resulted in economies for the government, but these were of a less obvious sort. If the 170 students at McCurdy School had been added to those at the Santa Cruz

public schools, five additional teachers would have had to have been hired to maintain the same teacher-student ratio of thirty-four and five-tenths to one. Even that ratio might be considered marginal or even inadequate. As it was, the parents of the McCurdy students were paying taxes for school support but allowing the benefits to accrue to the public school students.

From the perspective of the Church and the parents of the largely Hispano population of the public school there were also clear benefits from the state-Church educational coalition, in addition to the benefits provided by the presence of McCurdy School. The Church realized the savings from not having to provide a physical plant and consequent upkeep, while presence of the nuns on the faculty of the public school prevented the children from losing touch with their Catholic backgrounds. Public funds could be subverted for the purpose of combating the influence of the Protestants. This was a goal with which the majority of the Catholic parents seem to have been in agreement.

Even with the specter of religious indoctrination, which seems abhorrent to many in our society so steeped in the principle of church-state separation, the children probably received an education that was objectively better than would have been the case if teachers had been hired on an open market. Those parents who were repelled by the connection between the Catholic Church and the public schools could, without too much expense, send their children to McCurdy, which the Tewa Basin Study (USDA-SCS 1939: 48) praised as an excellent school. It was founded as a mission and the tuition today still reflects that.

The philosophical problem of the separation between church and state still persisted in that option, but, as is pointed out in the chapter on religion, the people of New Mexico are not so specifically irreligious as slightly anticlerical. One perhaps untoward side-effect of the presence of the McCurdy option was that many of the most sophisticated and universalistically oriented of the people were somewhat detached from the operation and policy making of the public schools, where they could have been an influence for progressive and modern programs.

Those might have blunted what little real effectiveness the Santa Cruz School did have, however. The Protestant elites would not have been a force for the implementation of the one set of public educational reforms that was really needed, a realistic appreciation of the importance of the Hispanic cultural and language background of the majority of the students. If the Church-state educational coalition did not bring the school system completely into the organizational sphere of the local community, it did at least bring it closer than an educational system organized by Anglo-Protestants would have been.

#### Present-day Schools

Coalition between the Catholic Church and the state in public education continued in New Mexico through the 1940s and into the 1950s. In the fall of 1951 a decision by the State Supreme Court ended a system that had been quite beneficial to at least some interests. The case grew out of a dispute between Protestants and the State Board of Education over the teaching of Catechism in the public schools of Dixon (originally Embudo), north of Española. A compromise solution by



the Archdiocese of Santa Fe had been ineffective. The case ended by being appealed to the State Supreme Court, which found that

certain defendants had violated the statute providing no teacher shall use any sectarian books in the schools or teach sectarian doctrine in (public) schools, (that they) should forever be barred from teaching in public schools that religious garb and religious insignia must not be worn by teachers in public schools and that a church cannot be permitted to operate a school system within the public school system [Zeller vs. Huff, in Embudo, 1961: 44].

The control and staffing of public schools fell back completely into the hands of the county school boards. The Catholic Church continued to provide some parochial schools, including one at Santa Cruz, but at a much reduced level due to the greater direct costs which would have to be born. The coalition was broken.

The Santa Cruz public schools were in Santa Fe County, so the modicum of local control inherent in the Catholic connection was lost. The people of Santa Cruz could have only slight impact on the decisions being made twenty-five miles away. Then in the early 1960s the school districts were reorganized. Instead of being organized in terms of counties, the new plan called for local districts wherever the population was sufficient. In August, 1962, a bare majority (51%) of property holders who were in the Santa Cruz, Santa Fe County School District voted to join the Española district, and the Española board consolidated the northern Santa Fe schools with Española (RGS 1977 [Aug. 11]: 22).

The consolidation eliminated the attendance boundary between the two high schools. Since that time high school students have had the option of attending either school, although a significant informal boundary existed throughout the next ten years. Because the new formal arrangement aligned the two communities as a unified school district, the existence of Santa Cruz High School became even more important as a symbol for the community as an entity distinct from Española than had been the case under the county districts. One of the strongest basketball rivalries in the area involved the Española Hornets and the Santa Cruz Crusaders. A side-effect was that Santa Cruz now became directly involved with Española in electoral politics concerning the schools, a point that will be elaborated later in this chapter.

The original intention may have been literally to consolidate the two schools, but the feeling for the school as a symbol of the community of Santa Cruz, coupled with population growth which ensured that Española High School would be filled even after a new junior high was built north of Española on the Santa Cruz side of the Rio Grande, resulted in Santa Cruz High School being kept open through the early 1970s. The practical consideration of the more proximate location of Santa Cruz to Chimayo, Cordova and Truchas also helped, as high school students from these villages had to be transported to school. During the 1960s a modern elementary school was built in Sombrillo, one of the hamlets of Santa Cruz, about a mile southeast of the plaza.

Enrollment in the Española school system in September, 1967, totalled 5,371. Of 2,834 students in public elementary schools, 670 were in the schools most closely associated with Santa Cruz, including 255 at

Sombrillo and an additional 51 who were in temporary quarters and would be moved to Sombrillo. Of 1,260 high school students, 353 were enrolled at Santa Cruz. The two junior high schools, neither of which is particularly associated with Santa Cruz, divided 1,664 students evenly (RGS 1967 [Sept. 7]: 1).

At the end of fall, 1972, enrollment in the Española School District was 5,854, an increase of almost 500 students in five years. Most of the total change had occurred in the Santa Cruz area elementary schools. Only Fairview and Sombrillo remained open. Sombrillo Elementary School accounted for most of this change, growing from 306 to 524 students. Santa Cruz High School had also grown, by 63 students, to 416. With about one-fourth of the total enrollment, the Santa Cruz schools accounted for over half the increase in public school enrollments in the Española area schools in five years (RGS 1972 [Sept. 21]: 1).

Besides the increase in the number of students in public schools, a number of other changes had taken place since 1940, including an expanded budgetary base and programs geared to the special language and other needs of local students. The budget for the Española district in 1972-1973 was \$4,625,227. The level of state support was \$645 per student, which compared reasonably with the state average of \$697 and with the averages of some other states in the region (NMSDE). In the 1960s and 1970s the U.S. Government was also providing money for local school systems under several programs.

One program granted funds from the government, called federal impact funds, to offset the additional expenses and the loss of local tax revenues caused by the presence of federal installations and of

children of federal employees. In the Española area the installation was Los Alamos. These funds amounted to \$51,203 in 1972, or slightly over one percent of the Española school budget. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which included Title I, provided various kinds of enrichment programs, including pre-school classes, for children from impoverished backgrounds. Title I provided \$374,811, or eight percent of the local budget. By 1972, Española, as well as most other local school systems in the United States, also was taking advantage of various other funds provided by the federal government. In Española these were \$426,616, or nine percent. The local and county resources amounted to \$354,552, or less than eight percent.

As the 1972 school year began the school board also was making plans to build a new high school to supercede both of the old ones. What might have been a blow to Santa Cruz was softened when negotiations were ended and the new site was announced as El Llano, another one of the hamlets of Santa Cruz, about one and one-half miles north and east of the plaza. Although many of the people realized the advantages of a more modern physical plant, there was considerable resistance on the part of them and of others to the closing of the old school. The selection of El Llano again put Santa Cruz on top in a figurative sense. Some of the implications of this situation will be expanded on in the conclusion of this chapter.

The growth of the locally based Española school system did not, however; result in the decline of the church-related schools in Santa Cruz. In the late spring of 1967, the state of New Mexico inspected the conditions of the non-public schools. McCurdy High School was rated

highly and was among a group of five accredited by the state out of a total of twenty-six private high schools. There were 146 students. McCurdy Grade School had 185 students in eight grades, and thirteen teachers. It was approved, but advised to remedy some very minor deficiencies. Holy Cross School was also approved, but was warned to take some remedial action. Among the problems was that for 303 students in eight grades there were only 10 teachers, resulting in two classes that were too large (RGS 1967 [July 6]: 1).

The strength of the local sentiment for church-related schools is indicated by the growth in enrollment at McCurdy School between 1967 and 1972. The fall, 1972, enrollment at McCurdy had risen to 530 students, with 285 in grade school and 245 in high school. Holy Cross enrollment had declined over the five year period to a total of 178, but this was an increase of twenty-eight over the previous year (RGS 1972 [Aug. 31]: 1).

The decline in students at Holy Cross was not really a good index of sentiment, however, but rather resulted from retrenchment for other reasons. For one thing there had been a reduction by two grades, the seventh and eighth, in an effort to build a more effective program for maintaining some parochial influence, even if the direct involvement of the children with the school would be shorter. The effectiveness of this solution was further enhanced by a landmark agreement by McCurdy School to hire a nun who would serve as a Catholic influence in the Protestant school. To gauge sentiment for religiously based education then, it is necessary to look at the combined enrollments for the two schools. Even with the cutbacks at Holy Cross, the two schools showed a net increase of seventy-four students in the five years. Catholic parents

were openly enthusiastic about the arrangement except for the fact that McCurdy lacked the resources adequately to accommodate all applicants. There have been waiting lists and the comments of some McCurdy staff have indicated a half-joking fear that the inability to expand has alienated more Catholic parents than anything they have ever done.

This is a far cry from the relationships between the two faiths during the first two decades of this century. They have moved from open conflict to near-coalition in striving for what is now a shared goal of preserving some sense of ethical grounding in the age of future shock. This sense of shared goals has helped to overcome what might otherwise have remained as an ethnic split between the proponents of each of the denominations. McCurdy now stands, for many, as another symbol of the community rather than just being situated in the town, even though, as with the high school, many of the students come from other places.

Education in modern times consists of much more than grade and high schools, however, other educational institutions have an impact in the Española and Santa Cruz area. Recent years have seen the expansion of opportunities for continued education. More so than in the past students go away to college. The tendency still is to go to the smaller colleges rather than to the University of New Mexico. But numbers of area students go to other state colleges and universities either for a full four years or for some shorter period. A few go out of state, particularly to Catholic schools in Colorado such as St. Regis or Loretto Heights Academy. Particularly among area educators, many have then gone to the University for graduate work.

Closer to home there is the McCurdy school for training practical nurses which opened early in 1969 at Alcalde. Northern New Mexico School at El Rito, thirty miles north of Española, established as a normal school in 1909, was reorganized in 1965 as a technical vocational school. In two years 120 of its 187 graduates had gained employment in the area of their training (RGS 1967 [Aug. 3]: 1). Action by the legislature in 1968 expanded the program to two locations, with an Española campus to open in 1969 with a total of 300 students. By 1973, the president of NMTVS stated that ninety percent of the graduates of the school had been placed in jobs in north central New Mexico, at an average starting salary of \$5,600. This compared favorably to the state average income of \$5,700. In addition to the 450 students in regular programs at the two campuses, there were almost 200 employed people enrolled in an evening program (SFNM 1973 [July 30]: B1).

Falling only slightly behind the pace of technical education in developing local programs were several colleges. The College of Santa Fe had a limited range of mostly non-credit course offerings in 1972. Fort Lewis State College, from Durango, Colorado, also offered a very limited selection of teacher education courses in Española at the same time. But an even more ambitious program was stirring as early as 1969. By 1972 the school districts of Española, Los Alamos, Chama Valley, Peñasco, Ojo Caliente, Questa and Pojoaque had agreed to band together to organize a branch college of the University of New Mexico. After some initial resistance on the part of Los Alamos, which wanted the branch in its town, Española was selected as the most feasible site.

A referendum was held February 6, 1973 to approve the property mill levy that would be necessary to raise \$100 per each of about 300 full-time equivalent students. The issue passed by a five-to-one margin, with Los Alamos approving it almost ten-to-one. Support fell to about two-to-one in the rest of the districts except in Española, where the measure passed by almost six-to-one. The school officials had expected only a two-to-one victory (RGS 1973 [Feb. 8]: 1). The UNM Branch would be a two-year rather than a four-year college, but with the academic program under the control of UNM it would provide easy transfer of credits for the students who could afford to go on to the university. At the same time the students could reduce the cost of four years of college by spending the first two at home.

#### Mass Media

The growth of formal educational opportunities in the area around Santa Cruz in recent years has been substantial. The growth and presence of other, informal, educational influences also needs to be considered. One set of major influences in informal education consists of the mass media. Here would be included newspapers, radio, movies and television.

The only local-area newspaper with any continuity of publication is the Rio Grande Sun which was initiated in November, 1956. Its editor and publisher is an Anglo who lives in Sombrillo. As with many weekly newspapers, the news is almost entirely local. Unlike a good many weeklies, the local news does not consist mainly of inconsequential local chatter. The focus is on politics, which is an indication of the importance of politics in the local area. Also unlike many newspapermen the editor has seemingly resisted alignment with any single political



faction in the area. This is not to say he is not political. The political news is reported straight, with editorial opinion and discriminating analyses confined pretty well to the editorial page. Although the paper sometimes incurs the wrath of local politicians, the editor is generally well thought of.

National and state-wide news is provided on a daily basis by the Santa Fe New Mexican, which was founded in the middle of the nineteenth century. The New Mexican maintains a bureau in Española and sometimes scoops the Sun on Española area news, but usually provides synopses of selected events and issues that are also covered by the local paper.

Several radio stations reach into the area from Santa Fe and Albuquerque. These provide various kinds of programming, including everything from classical music to country and western music. A local radio station broadcasts in Spanish and plays mariachi, Norteña and American country and western music, and was the subject of some controversy.

One opinion, held by a number of political and business leaders, was that the station could be a role model for correct (Mexican) Spanish usage. The station personnel were from Mexico or Texas and spoke Mexican Spanish, without the easy lapses into English phrases that riddle the Spanish of the local area. The supporters of the radio station saw the bilingual programs in the schools as ultimately reinforcing the same type of Spanish.

Another position was that the foreign Spanish of the radio had no real advantages over the local Spanish, that Mexican usage was somewhat pretentious, and that local people, speaking local Spanish on the radio

would lead to the realization of the more reasonable benefits of promoting the usage of New Mexican Spanish by young people who were not conversant in any kind of Spanish.

A third, more radical, position was voiced by some, both in reference to the radio station and to the bilingual education program. This position consisted of the feeling that the continued usage of Spanish interfered with the ability of people to make progress in American society. Only by becoming fully comfortable with the English language and losing the Spanish accent could a person overcome the prejudice of the Anglos who ultimately controlled the reward system of our society.

All three positions have merit. Some people have succeeded in the world outside of northern New Mexico precisely because of their bilingual, bicultural backgrounds. Others unquestionably have been denied opportunities because they have not conformed to someone's notion of "good Americans."

Motion pictures constitute another mass cultural influence in the area. In the past there had been an indoor theater in Española, but between 1969 and 1973 the only theater in the immediate area was a drive-in. This was open year round and showed a fairly wide range of recent films. Here too, Mexican culture intruded. Among the films that were shown there was a weekly double-feature of Mexican films featuring such stars as the Aguilar brothers and occasionally, Cantinflas, the Mexican clown.

Premier among the mass media reaching into the area, however, is the cyclops of American culture, television. All three national networks have stations broadcasting in northern New Mexico. But all three

commercial stations, as well as the only public station for New Mexico, broadcast from Albuquerque. Most homes have antennas, and, even though the stations are ninety miles away, receive the full range of television programming. In 1973, the commercial programs that were popular consisted of various situation comedies and crime-action dramas, with no great departure from the national trends shown by the viewer polling services. The public television station broadcast its current blend of high culture and educational programs, including at the time some Spanish-language programming that had been developed and produced in other regions, such as New York, Los Angeles, and south Texas.

Through television, moreso than through any other medium, the people of Santa Cruz and the rest of the area participated en masse in the larger American culture. The coming of the railroad and service in the armed forces had exposed some people to the outside world. With the florescence of television few people remained isolated from the experience of many different facets of life outside of northern New Mexico.

#### The Politics of Education in the Española Valley

If opportunities for learning about and experiencing and participating in the larger order of things have expanded since the 1930s, one aspect of education is probably more intensely local than ever before. The consolidation of the Santa Cruz schools into the Española system in 1962 has been accompanied by an intense politicization of education. Until that time educational districts were coterminous with the boundaries for other kinds of government services. In many ways the new system makes more sense, except that Santa Cruz is even less closely

linked with the source for many modern-day government services than it was under the consistent organization by counties.

While Santa Cruz remains segmented from Española with regard to various assistance programs such as food stamps, public health, police protection, and others, it is very closely drawn into the electoral politics of Rio Arriba County because of its membership in the school district which has more schools in that county than in Santa Fe. Although school board elections are not contested along party lines, it is probably more because of the weakness of the Republican Party than because education is seen as a non-partisan issue. Partisanship abounds in school board elections, but the partisans are not parties in the traditional sense but rather factions of the Democratic Party that has reigned supreme since the New Deal. For most of the time since the schools were consolidated, the board of education has consisted of two members of the faction that has been in control of the party in Rio Arriba County and three members of the opposition faction within the Rio Arriba County Democratic Party. Throughout most of the time that the county out-faction has controlled the school board, the chairman of the school board has been the man who was for a long time the second-in-command in that faction.

At issue in the factional politics of education are not differences of opinion concerning educational policy. Instead the issue is political control. The currency of political control in northern New Mexico is jobs. In 1971, the average annual unemployment rate for Rio Arriba was 20.5 percent. In 1972 the situation had improved slightly. For Sante Fe County the figures in both years generally stayed between five

and seven percent. Since separate statistics for the Española-Santa Cruz area are not readily available, a not unreasonable estimate for that area would be at least ten to twelve percent. Of the number of people employed in each county, approximately one-third were in government, including all levels from local to federal. Very few of the Santa Fe County jobs in government were in the northern part of the county, so the number of government jobs available in the Española area consisted mostly of those in Rio Arriba County, except for those of people commuting to Santa Fe or Los Alamos. The number of government jobs in Rio Arriba in 1972 was about 1700 (ESCNM).

A number of those jobs were under state and federal control, with a diminished (but still present) potential for local control over their allocation. The county Democratic organization generally controlled municipal government, the county commission, and the sheriff's office. Efforts to usurp the dominant faction in these spheres were, with few exceptions, doomed to failure. To maintain effectiveness the opposition faction needed control over some field that would provide jobs for its supporters; the school district had about 400 employees, more than any single agency controlled by the dominant faction. These ranged from custodians, through teachers and principals, to the superintendant. In addition to the jobs per se, there were also concessions to provide school bus service and various contracts to provide other services as well as equipment and supplies. These were sometimes, but not always, provided on the basis of competitive bids. The control over the pursestrings therefore involved the ability to contribute to, or even assure, the success of local businesses that were not directly employed by the board.

In this atmosphere the air was charged with accusations--both public and private--of abuse, corruption and nepotism. Board members have pointed out in open meetings that relatives of their fellows had bus contracts with the schools. The accusers have been countercharged with similar abuses. In at least one case a board member made a very public show of refusing to vote to approve one employee, his sister-in-law, because he said he did not want to be accused of nepotism. People in Santa Cruz have voiced the opinion that school board members, by engaging in business with the school board, have lined their pockets at the expense of the voters. When the balance between the two factions on the school board changed in 1973, almost forty non-teaching employees were not renewed for the following school year. Even when the balance of the board has not been altered, as many as twenty or more employees have been terminated without any explanation.

Principals and superintendents have not been immune either, although these cases do not seem to have been as closely correlated with changes in the composition of the board. One superintendant, who had been elevated from acting superintendant while his predecessor was on leave with a federal project, was later summarily dismissed. That the dismissal was essentially without due cause was demonstrated when the school board agreed to pay him one year's salary in an out-of-court settlement; they would probably not have won. A principal who was demoted to classroom teaching was ultimately reinstated as principal of another school.

Conversations with people in the area revealed that the complaints and accusations did not necessarily stem from any universal antipathy

toward such practices. The antipathy arose from much more particularistic considerations. Even the most progressive individuals are usually willing to accept the benefits that come from personalism. Only when personalism prevents them from acquiring benefits to which they otherwise feel entitled do most people seem to search for non-rational explanations for the success of others. That the stakes can be so high with regard to the Española School District ensures that those who do not benefit will attribute the success of those who do to politics.

Both the politicians and the populace seem at least nominally aware of this quid pro quo. The events surrounding the selection of the site for the new high school, alluded to earlier, seem to bear this out. Several sites were under consideration. One was on the west side, another in Sombrillo, and another was on Indian land in El Llano. The site that was ultimately selected in August, 1972, was none of those, but was on privately owned land in El Llano. The owner of the majority of the land was a local Anglo business man. The rest was owned by a young Hispano businessman who had recently begun to demonstrate an interest in seeking elective office. The original asking price--also the appraised value--was \$4,000 per acre, but the school board paid only \$2,000 for each of the eighty-five acres.

At the time of the deal the school board was controlled by the out-faction of the Rio Arriba Democratic Party. In the next school board election, in February, 1973, with one seat at stake, the candidate of the incumbent school board faction lost narrowly, by a margin of 124 votes, to the candidate of the organization Democrats. The vote in the El Llano and Santa Cruz precincts was 418 to 231, a margin of 187 in

favor of the school board faction candidate. The organization won the election in outlying parts of the west and north sides and in Chimayo, all areas that stood to profit least from the presence of the high school in El Llano-Santa Cruz.

Although the relationship is not as clear as it could be, the Santa Fe County precincts--particularly Santa Cruz--seem to exist as free-floating (cf. Eisenstadt 1969) or unencumbered political resources with regard to the struggle within the Rio Arriba County Democratic Party. Success in attracting the voters of Santa Fe County precincts results in increased patronage for the successful faction, which in turn results in increased chances of future success. Santa Fe precincts can spell success.

The Santa Fe County voters as a result gain an influence beyond all proportion to their actual numbers. They then can compete successfully for patronage in Rio Arriba, even though they do not take part in the general electoral politics of that county. This ability to affect the balance exists in addition to the constant shifts in factional alignment among those people who are more intimately involved in Rio Arriba County politics (See Barth 1959, for a discussion of factional politics in the Middle East). These points are elaborated in the chapter of this work that is more specifically concerned with politics.

Again the people of Santa Cruz have managed, through informal means, to exert some countervailing influence against the exercise of authority emanating from outside the organizational sphere of their local community.



## CHAPTER V

### LIVELIHOOD

The settlers who accompanied De Vargas back into New Mexico in 1693 harbored few illusions concerning the economic life that they would lead. In nearly a century of colonization they had learned that there was little mineral wealth, that the land was harsh, that the Pueblo Indians were potentially as hostile as the nomadic Ute, Comanche and Apache and that the distances to other areas of Spanish settlement were too great to permit the forging of effective linkages with the larger market system for either the disposal of their surplus goods or the acquisition of luxury and manufactured items. The economic pattern of New Mexico throughout the Spanish period involved a largely self-sufficient, peasant-like, agrarian subsistence adaptation with little opportunity for developing other alternatives.

This pattern underwent little modification until the Mexican period when Anglo-American trappers and traders began to make commercial inroads. Those inroads and the subsequent American conquest resulted in at least partial integration of Hispanic New Mexicans into the world market by the late 1800s. A number of changes, both endogenous and exogenous, continue to draw the people of communities such as Santa Cruz ever more thoroughly into dependence on worldwide economic forces.

Traditional Subsistence on the Periphery of the

World Economy

The type of agricultural practice that characterized northern New Mexico in Spanish and Mexican times is quite unfamiliar to the majority of Anglo-Americans. When De Vargas established the villa of Santa Cruz in April, 1695, the grant was to the assembled throng. Instead of consisting only of the sum of the private holdings of the grantees, the grant contained the ranchos and dwellings of the settlers, as well as additional open land held in communal tenure. As such the people held common use-right to the unoccupied lands of the villa, which extended as far as the boundaries of the common lands of the various Indian pueblos to the north, west and south.

Within the tract of the villa, people who were returning from pre-Revolt times could re-occupy their haciendas--better understood as farms--and new settlers who desired to be were given individual haciendas within the grant boundaries. All settlers were to receive lands on which to cultivate crops, regardless of whether they chose to live in a dispersed manner or to live in more concentrated hamlets within the confines of the villa. Irrigation works and other improvements, either from the earlier Spanish occupation or which had been made by the Indians of San Lázaro and San Cristóbal, also passed to the new inhabitants. With regard to the rights which they held in common use, a statement by De Vargas is illustrative.

[T]he pastures of the tract and limits of each of the said farms shall be in common and not for individuals, and. . . the stock which each may have in greater or

less number may feed on the same, and only in case of there being an equal number will it be permitted them to appear in order to petition that no one shall have more stock than another [Twitchell 1914: 243].

The basic land-tenure pattern for Santa Cruz, then, was for each family to grow crops on individual plots and to raise livestock by allowing them to pasture on the common lands. The right to occupy the crop lands seems to have been absolute and heritable rather than having been a right in usufruct which would have entailed periodic redistribution. A person could increase the size of his holdings, but generally only by petitioning the governor. Lands that were acquired through grant or petition could be alienated in any of a number of ways. Thus the widow Antonia Serna was able, in 1741, to donate land for the church, as well as donating land extending in all directions from the church so that the people could "build the houses they liked in the form of streets, with the church in the middle [Adams and Chavez 1956: 248]." Land also could be disposed of through sale, as indicated by papers reproduced in Adams and Chavez (1956: 318-321).

In addition to the villa grant some residents of Santa Cruz petitioned either for personal or joint grants outside of the villa, particularly to the west, up the Chama River. Many of the early requests were denied and some of those which were approved were not formally invested (Twitchell 1914: 299). Failure to cede possession properly was tantamount, under Spanish law, to a refusal of the request (Keleher 1929). The reasons for failing properly to invest these proprietary grants usually had to do either with problems of defense of the new site or

with problems of depopulation or fear of potential depopulation in the old location.

By the middle of the eighteenth century a number of large grants had been made in the Chama country (Jenkins n.d.), and the alcalde mayor of Santa Cruz held what was said to be the largest landgrant in the area, consisting of more than 172,000 acres (Swadesh 1966: 31). Expansion also occurred to the east, toward the mountains, resulting in the development of the villages of Chimayo (most of which fell within the Santa Cruz grant), Cordova, and Truchas. Truchas received its own grant, which continues for common use of the inhabitants even at present.

Over all occupied and unoccupied lands the Sovereign held ultimate or eminent domain. But in New Mexico the domain was theoretical and legal and was used largely for political rather than economic control; as has already been pointed out, taxes were not in general force. Therefore one aspect of what Eric Wolf (1966a) categorizes as funds of rent was relatively low for the New Mexico citizenry. An attempt in 1775 by the government in Mexico to assess a tax on the yearly trade with Chihuahua was opposed successfully by the governor and citizens of New Mexico (Simmons 1968: 90-91).

Without precise economic data it is hard to be certain, nevertheless indications are that Santa Cruz was not characterized by the sort of division between los ricos (the rich ones) and los pobres (the poor) that so many authors write of in Colonial New Mexico. Control of large amounts of land seems to have led to the development of a system of peonage in the Rio Abajo, near Albuquerque, and, perhaps in the far Rio Arriba near the present town of the same name, but in the near vicinity of Santa Cruz access to land seems to have been relatively

unencumbered by poverty or position. In the 1790 census of Santa Cruz only two men of almost 500 households were given the honorific Don (SANM, #1110b). Perhaps all in Santa Cruz were poor, but Santa Cruz still was a place of some importance in 1790.

In addition to the issue of land tenure, the issue of economic organization also commands consideration. The basic unit of production for Santa Cruz, both before and after the 1680-1695 hiatus, was the domestic economic unit. In its Greek origins the word economy refers specifically to the organization of the household (Finley 1973: 17), but modern usage of the term makes it necessary to distinguish economic units in general from those which are primarily domestic. Within the domestic economic unit the family is both producer and consumer, and the unit operates in such a way that its orientation is toward meeting basic needs for the members by employing all members, rather than being oriented toward production for profit (Franklin 1969). Therefore all members of the family are put to some productive tasks. Children begin at a relatively early age to assume some important responsibilities. The tasks themselves are a consequence of the specific local patterns, in this case of northern New Mexico and of Santa Cruz.

Josiah Gregg (1954: 103, 107-112) provides a relatively timely sketch of agricultural practice and other economic activities in New Mexico in the 1830s, though he does not specifically speak of them in Santa Cruz. For example Sante Fe was still quite dispersed, with houses scattered about the town, interspersed with stands of wheat and corn, the primary grain products of the province. Most farming was carried out with the hoe. The plows he describes were very crude in nature, con-

sisting essentially of one piece of a tree chosen for its approximation to the proper shape for a plow. The pointed large end of the trunk became the share, without benefit of an iron tip to increase either its effectiveness or its durability.

The fields of the villages were irrigated from streams, such as the Santa Cruz River, that originated as winter snowfall in the mountains. Gregg was quite impressed by the efficiency of irrigation practices. The main ditches were maintained by the community under the supervision of the alcalde. Additional ditches, feeding the individual plots, were maintained by the owners of the plots. The water was apportioned by allowing each cultivator to draw from the main ditch for a specified period of time. By judicious work with the hoe the farmer could distribute water over his five or six acres in the course of a single day.

In addition to the grains, other crops were chiles, and in very small quantities, cotton, punche (native tobacco), potatoes, and some fruit vines and trees. Wild plant foods, including piñon nuts and prickly pear also were collected.

Of equal importance were the domestic animals. Gregg (1954: 107, 126-136) was quite astonished that although animals were so important little was done to improve the stock. The domestic animals, in the order that he discusses them, were horses, mules, cattle, donkeys, sheep, goats and chickens. The horse was stylistically the most valued, while the mule and burro were the most useful, largely as pack animals. Sheep, on the other hand, were of the greatest economic importance.

Since animals were sometimes pastured on the edges of cultivated areas of the settlements, and the fields were almost never enclosed,

the animals had to be under the constant charge of herders. If animals damaged crops the owner of the animals was liable.

Because of its economic importance, it is best to look more closely at sheep herding. Sheep had one advantage over other domesticates in New Mexico, as they do in large parts of the Mediterranean: they can subsist on minimal amounts of water, acquiring most of their needed moisture from the plants they eat. The sheep were run on the most marginal lands, on the arid plains as far as a day or two from the nearest stream. Gregg reports that in former times there were some men who owned 250,000 to 500,000 sheep. These were given on shares or partido contracts to small rancheros who were expected to maintain the herd in its original composition and return to the owner twenty percent of the herd in marketable animals. Any additional increase was the profit of the herder or partidario. Between the owners' shares of their own herds and the animals they bought from smaller operators, as many as 200,000 or more sheep were sold in Chihuahua each year in the 1820s. In subsequent years, however, the nomadic Indians had preyed on the flocks, stealing thousands at a time.

In addition to raising crops and livestock, the New Mexicans also hunted and engaged in trade with some of the nomadic Indians. One of Gregg's (1954: 63-64) first encounters with a New Mexican was with a Cibolero or buffalo hunter with his leather clothing, bow and arrows, and lance. Earlier Fray Dominguez related accounts of two fairs where the settlers exchanged various of their products for bison skins, horses, mules, Indian captives, bison meat and other products brought by the Ute and Comanche (Adams and Chavez 1956: 252). Prior to 1762 the Ute had

gone as far as Santa Cruz to trade (Swadesh 1966: 54) but by 1776 they did not venture any farther east and south than Abiquiu. The Comanche descended from the plains onto Taos, where they at times were likely to beseige both the settlers and the settled Indians, but in good years brought not only products of the hunt and raid, but also guns, pistols, powder, balls, tobacco, hatchets and vessels of yellow tin. They acquired these manufactured items indirectly from the French who were operating in the Mississippi River Valley (Adams and Chavez 1956: 252).

There was some internal trade as well, but comments of Governor Chacon in 1797 have been taken as evidence not only for the lack of education but the relatively stagnant commerce within New Mexico as well (Simmons 1968: 172-173). In 1790 there were only thirteen carpenters in all of the province (Dickey 1970: 53). Presumably most people crafted their own wood products. Pottery was obtained from the Pueblo Indians. The work of the Hispanic santero adorned personal altars in most homes. A master weaver with his assistants came to New Mexico in 1805 to teach his craft and improve the quality of local cloth (Simmons 1968: 72).

Although a few villages gained special reputations for particular crafts--some New Mexico textiles of the last century were very highly praised--there did not develop the degree of societal division of labor that was noted even in pre-Hispanic times in many parts of Mexico. Instead there was a strong tendency for self-sufficiency in craft production.

While external trade, particularly with Chihuahua to the south, provided markets for some local products such as sheep, the balance of trade was not in New Mexico's favor. In 1812 Don Pedro Bautista Pino



reported an annual deficit of 52,000 pesos in the Chihuahua trade (Simmons 1968: 72-73). Mexico was providing more products to New Mexico, in monetary terms, than New Mexico was returning. Nonetheless there was a shortage of goods in the province of New Mexico. The settlers were acquiring a significant amount of goods, including firearms, indirectly from the French rather than from Chihuahua. As late as the 1830s New Mexicans still were likely to lack firearms and to depend for the most part on bows and arrows and lances (Gregg 1954: 149-156).

#### Economic Consequences of Anglo Penetration

The opening of the Santa Fe Trail from Missouri remedied the lack of some commodities. A few people realized considerable benefits from the trade--government officials, for example, collected customs duties and also were able to demand various additional gratuities. A few New Mexicans became involved more directly but few seem to have come from any place other than Santa Fe. Santa Fe itself was to ultimately become, as much as anything else, a port of entry for American goods bound for the interior of Mexico. Almost half of Gregg's (1954: 225-336) second volume is concerned with Chihuahua and other parts of the interior of northern Mexico which he visited on his trading expeditions.

Real changes in making a living or in the availability of goods did not occur for the majority of the common people, however, until after American control was consolidated in the years following the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. The treaty guaranteed the property rights of the Mexican citizens:

. . . property of every kind, now belonging to

Mexicans now established there, shall be inviolably

respected. The present owners, the heirs of these and all Mexicans who may hereafter acquire said property by contract, shall enjoy with respect to it guaranties equally ample as if the same belonged to citizens of the United States [Tate 1970: 14-15].

The relationship of the citizenry to the land nevertheless was changed. Whereas taxation of the land was uncommon under Spain and Mexico, the grants in many cases became subject to taxes under the United States (Tate 1970). A large holding often became a liability when taxes were levied on the basis of its aggregate value (Keleher 1929: 367-368). The multiplication of heirs through time, due to the partible inheritance practices, meant that even if most of the heirs paid their shares of the taxes a few delinquent taxpayers left the grant in arrears as the predominant orientation to subsistence farming sometimes made it impossible for the individual to meet his obligations. A few grants were seized and declared part of the public domain (Tate 1970: 20). A number of individuals were able to acquire land, both grants and individual holdings, in public sales. Other lands were ceded to lawyers by their owners as payment for the costs of adjudicating the title. The greatest land losses for the Hispanos seem to have been in the area of the upper Chama River (Knowlton 1967: 3-8).

The land problems, coupled with expansion of the number of Americans and American goods, increased the need for cash in rural New Mexico. At the same time traditional ways of earning a surplus were imperilled or even lost. Sheep, one of the more important traditional cash crops,

remained important, but the pattern for raising them was transformed. The major product of the sheep had been mutton, which Gregg (1954: 135) compared to the best venison. The Americans preferred beef or pork, however, and the Army never succeeded in feeding mutton to the troops. Wool gained in importance (Beck 1962: 256), but as New Mexican sheep were not particularly good wool producers (Gregg 1954: 134-135), pure-bred sheep were imported from Kentucky after 1859. With the improved stock and the growth of the market in the United States the wool clip grew from 32,000 pounds in 1850 to 4,000,000 pounds in 1880 (Beck 1962: 256-257).

Growth in the sheep industry was accompanied by the loss of ownership or control by the Hispanos of almost all factors of production. East of the Sangre de Cristos the dominant person in the wool trade came to be Charles Ilfeld (Parish 1961); west of the Sangre de Cristos, in the area around Santa Cruz, there were some small mercantile operations prior to 1880 but after 1883 the dominant person came to be Frank Bond (USDA-SCS 1939: 99-101). These traders at first bought both mutton and wool and later only wool in exchange for the extension of credit to the owners of the animals. The use of credit provided access to manufactured and processed goods, but the sheep-owners were locked into trading with one company which insured that there was little price competition. The rural people still had difficulty in meeting cash expenses.

Changes that took place around 1880 transformed both mercantilism and the ability of the agriculturalists to acquire cash. The first rail service in New Mexico opened in 1879, and the first train entered

Santa Fe in early 1880 (Miller 1962: 96-97). A narrow-gauge line, the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, completed its tracks from Denver to a point two miles west of Santa Cruz on December 31, 1880 (Gjevre 1969: 3), and, in addition to serving as the nucleus for the new town of Española, it provided easy access to external markets for the products, largely raw materials, that the region had to offer.

Lumbering was one of the first industries to develop in response to the railroad. Between 1884 and 1894, 60 million board feet of lumber were hauled by the D & RG from one operation near the Colorado line (Gjevre 1969: 28-29). A contract to cut ties for the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway resulted in a large amount of business for the Chili Line, as the D&RG was called, from 1909 into the 1920s (Gjevre 1969: 37-38), and another lumber company cut over 100 million board feet of lumber about thirty miles north of Española between 1915 and 1927 (Gjevre 1969: 41-48). The tie-cutting operation provided employment for 300 men in 1922, while a similar number were employed from 1915 to 1927 on the lumber contract.

Improved transportation also enlarged the market for sheep products, particularly wool, but instead of improving the position of the Hispano sheep-owner and herder, the new access to larger markets encouraged greater involvement in sheep on the part of the merchants. Whereas the merchants had served only as local outlets for the sheep and wool before the 1880s, after 1880 they increasingly became involved in the basic level of production. The partido system went back as far as the 1500s in New Spain (Parish 1961: 150), and partido contracts were mentioned by Domínguez (Adams and Chavez 1956: 241-243, 246). Gregg's

(1954: 134) description of partido arrangements in the 1830s has already been mentioned. The Territorial legislature did not recognize contracts for raising livestock on shares until 1882, however. Ilfeld company records show the first involvement of that company in such contracts in 1884 (Parish 1961: 153). Bond became involved in the partido system almost immediately after coming to Española in 1883.

Although the Ilfeld contracts showed substantial variability in their terms (Parish 1961: 159-161), Bond's contracts were not essentially different, even as late as 1937, from the one's reported by Gregg. Bond's partidario, or tenant, agreed to return twenty lambs, averaging fifty-five pounds, for each one hundred ewes in the flock. The tenant also agreed to rent rams from Bond, to sell all his products to Bond, to assume all expenses and losses, to feed the sheep if Bond felt they needed it, and to return the flock, unchanged in size and age, on demand of the owner. The partidario gained the right to all wool, all increase above twenty percent, and the right to graze all of his flock on Bond's land at an average cost of fifteen cents a head per season (USDA-SCA #37 1937: 3). The only factor of production over which the partidario maintained effective control was his own labor and skill.

It is unclear how large Bond's involvement was in the 1880s through the 1920s, although by 1935 he owned 32,000 of a total of 33,000 sheep in Española (USDA-SCS 1939: 109). Of twenty-five partidarios in the Cuba area, thirty miles west and south of Española, only fifteen had herds of their own in 1935, although all of them had their own sheep when they began their contracts, and had undoubtedly hoped to expand their operations through access to Bond's resources (USDA-SCS #37 1937:

3-4). One individual who had profited in the area above Española had tried to sever his ties with Bond but had been unable to obtain pasture on his own. He then sold his sheep to Bond who let them back to him on shares (USDA-SCS #37 1937: 5). Even if an individual succeeded by remaining with Bond, he did not gain cash but was instead given credit in exchange for his products. The involvement of people in Santa Cruz in sheep in 1935 was minimal (USDA-SCS, 1939: 48-49).

Expanded wagework opportunities within New Mexico managed to absorb most of the northern region's surplus labor until about 1900. After that date increasing numbers went, usually on a seasonal basis, into Colorado, Wyoming and other western states to work in mining, smelting, lumbering and even in ranching and farming. In 1915 sugar beet and smelting companies began actively to recruit labor in the region, and the majority of families came to depend on the seasonal labor as a major source of cash income to supplement the continuing practice of non-commercial agriculture. A survey of eleven villages in 1934 revealed that in each year for an unspecified number of years prior to 1930, 1,110 men from 1,202 families had left their villages for at least part of the year to find work. The social scientists who carried out the survey felt that results were generalizable to the entire region from a little south of Española north to the Colorado border, and concluded that probably more than two-thirds of the laborers had gone out of the state because of a shortage of opportunities within the state (USDA-SCS #47, 1937).

Although the figures in the report do not separate the area above Santa Fe from those areas below it, internal evidence allows an estimate

of the number of people from the northernmost area leaving the state for each of several types of employment in the years before 1930. Approximately 1,700 went to the beet fields of Colorado, Wyoming and Montana for six months. Work as sheepherders in the same states employed a similar number of men, also for six months. The D&RG Railroad employed 500 to 800 as section-gang hands in Colorado and Utah. Potato fields in southern Colorado provided opportunities for between 150 and 250 men, although for relatively short periods of time. Mines and smelters in Colorado drew another 250 to 350 men. Perhaps 200 found other out-of-state employment each year (USDA-SCS #47 1937: 2-8). Although the period of work and the pay varied between the different types of jobs, many families were obtaining as much as half of their total annual income from migrant work.

The growth of Española had effects apart from the growth of transportation and the growth of Frank Bond's enterprises. In October, 1881 Lieutenant John Bourke described Española as consisting of the station house, complete with eating room, and

a handful of low, one-storied, adobe houses where the natives listlessly dreamed their lives away and a row of canvas tents, bearing the signs 'D and R-G Saloon', 'O.K. Bar', 'Head-Quarters Saloon' etc. etc., where the 'highertoned' and more progressive American nightly shot to death his antagonist in the national game of 'draw' [Bloom 1937: 339-340].

In 1881, on another trip through Española, Bourke saw a bit more of the area and stopped at Becker's Forage Agency, a store in Santa Cruz proper,

run by a German merchant (Bloom 1936: 244). In 1885 artist Birge Harrison (1885) still found a preponderance of canvas buildings in the new town, although a few "board-shanties" had been erected.

The impetus for growth, however, had begun to shift away from Santa Cruz. Excerpts from gazetteers for the years 1884 and 1912 which were printed by the Rio Grande Sun in 1962 clearly illustrate this. In 1884 Española had a population of fifty. Establishments included the post office, two water-powered flour mills, a church, a school, two general stores, two saloons, a justice of the peace, two lawyers, a livestock broker, a blacksmith-carpenter, and (contrary to what Harrison said) a hotel. Santa Cruz was not listed for 1884.

By 1912 Española had 400 people, a post office, one flour mill, one church, four general stores, one saloon, two blacksmiths, two hotels, four physicians, a dentist, and one livery. Santa Cruz was listed in 1912 and had 400 people, a post office, and four general stores (RGS 1962 [Nov. 8]: D6). Most of the store owners and other businessmen in Española were Anglo while only one in Santa Cruz was, even though the listings are certainly partial. Largely due to the influx of Anglos Española was growing while Santa Cruz was staying more or less unchanged in size, and thereby losing out.

One unforeseen result of the Anglo immigration into the area was the fruition of a plan to dam the Santa Cruz River to intervene in the naturally governed availability of irrigation water. This project was remarkable for at least two reasons: one, the focus was away from Española; two, the proposed project would benefit many, if not most, of the Hispanos who were dependent on the river, unlike some of the other alterations in the factors of production that have been sketched above.



In 1925 Mr. John Block, who had settled in the area around 1890, undertook the task of organizing the people to promote the building of a dam and storage reservoir on the Santa Cruz River. Although discouraged by two lawyers, he obtained the signatures of 417 landholders, mostly from the downriver ditches. Seventy-five, mostly upriver around Chimayo, refused to sign and their ditches were excluded from the irrigation district. A state grant of \$5,000 paid for a survey for the scheme. A \$250,000 bond issue passed the membership of the district, and the bonds were sold in February, 1926. Beginning with almost immediate difficulty with the low bidder, three construction companies in succession went bankrupt on the project in thirty months.

Another bond issue, for \$225,000, was floated in 1928 and a fourth construction company finished the job in November, 1931. The dam was completed at the height of 131 feet, fifteen feet lower than the original plan, a change which reduced the storage capacity of the reservoir from a projected 18,000 acre feet to an actual 6,000 acre feet. Of the 8,000 acres that were supposed to benefit, only 5,200 were finally to receive water. The taxes also had gone up, from \$.69 per acre in 1926 to a high of \$8.36 in 1929 (USDA-SCS #45 1937: 2-7). Even with the increased per acre cost, the prospects looked good in early 1929, because a great number of the landholders could still afford the increased levies because of the abundant opportunities for wagework--even if the conditions and pay were not good--coupled with more reliable productivity which the dam would insure. Then the bottom fell out of the economy.

Regional and Local Effects of the  
World Depression

The onset of the Depression altered the balance of the cost-benefit ratio. In the years 1931 through 1934 no villagers worked in the beet fields or the mines and smelters in Colorado. Migrant sheep-herding jobs declined by almost one half. Work on section gangs was reduced by ninety percent. In 1934 only thirteen percent of families had a member working out of state, as opposed to ninety percent prior to 1929 (USDA-SCS #47 1937: 9). In the face of increased need for cash for the payment of dam taxes, sources of cash had effectively dried up. Irrigation tax delinquencies, which had risen above sixty percent before 1929, rose even higher, and despite the tax being fixed at \$6.00 per acre in 1930, the Santa Cruz Irrigation District (SCID) went into receivership in 1933.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation agreed to take over the district if all back taxes were cleared. The receiver and bondholders agreed to accept twenty-five cents on the dollar, and all but \$2,744.21 of \$125,000 in back taxes were cleared by the landowners. The lawyers for the district and the receiver's agent formed a real estate and loan company which advanced loans to many of the people unable to pay even at the reduced rates. That company thereby acquired, through foreclosure and default, ninety-two plots of land totaling 397 acres. By 1935 newcomers to the area had purchased 180 of those acres.

The holders of the bonds lost over \$323,000 principal, plus interest. The RFC cost to rescue the district was \$152,000, which was scheduled for amortization in thirty years. Although the RFC and the SCID levied taxes of only \$1 an acre in 1935 and \$2.40 in 1936, the

high rates of collection (between 90 and 100 percent) allowed the district to pay all interest and \$8,000 on the outstanding principle in August, 1937, six months ahead of schedule. From an initial estimate that the cost per acre would be \$30, the per acre costs had trebled to \$95 after the second issue. After the district was reorganized by the RFC the total costs of the irrigation project had fallen again to the more reasonable cost of \$40 per acre, even if the \$31,500 it had cost to clear the back taxes had placed a serious drain on local cash resources (USDA-SCS #45 1937: 7-12).

Intensification of the practice of agriculture through improvement in the availability of water for irrigation was initiated for the purpose of strengthening the agricultural component--both subsistence and cash-crop--of an economy that had become dependent on both agriculture and wagework. Ironically the dam was completed at just about the time that the wagework component collapsed. Instead of allowing growth in the commercial economy, the dam allowed the expansion of the subsistence component in the domestic economy. Not too surprisingly, the ameliorative effects of the irrigation district were not entirely adequate in the face of the dislocations caused by the Depression.

In 1935 and 1936 sixty percent of rural families in northern New Mexico received some form of relief. The seven agencies involved and the types of relief they administered were: the Works Progress Administration (WPA), which provided wages on projects; the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), which provided wages on projects and direct relief grants; the New Mexico Relief and Security Administration which made direct grants to dependent children, the aged and the blind; the

Rural Rehabilitation Division of the Resettlement Administration (RA-RRD), direct grants and loans; the Soil Conservation Service (SCS), wages on projects; the Forest Service, wages on projects; and the Indian Service, wages on projects. Although the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was active in the area, its programs did not involve cash payments and were not reported. For the area above Santa Fe the total federal expenditure in the two years was \$1,727,479. For the entire Upper Rio Grande Watershed the payments for those actually receiving relief averaged approximately \$330 per family (USDA-SCS #41 1937: 1-9). The amount received in relief replaced, not quite dollar for dollar, the money that had been earned from wagework in previous years.

Since agriculture had gained in importance as a result of the Depression, it merits a closer investigation. Of a per capita income of \$146.94 in 1936, land provided \$76.86 (52.3 percent), livestock provided \$27.55 (18.8 percent), relief accounted for \$17.02 (11.6 percent), and earnings from wages \$25.51 (17.4 percent). For the northern part of the state over 87 percent of families owned some land (USDA-SCS #44 1937: 6,13). In Santa Cruz, with a population of about 1,000, the percentage was essentially the same (USDA-SCS 1939: 40, 47, 51). The land generally was held as an inalienable resource--only five percent of the farms of the region were mortgaged, and the mortgages, except for the Santa Cruz Irrigation District, were under five dollars per acre.

The average size of a holding in the region was between six and eight acres (USDA-SCS #33 1936: 24, 30). For the Santa Cruz Irrigation District the average was 14.4 acres (Hamon 1970: 31), although there was a certain amount of concentration of larger holdings in the hands of

Anglos along some of the ditches (cf. USDA-SCS, 1939: 44). About one-half of the plots in the village of Santa Cruz itself were of one acre or less and served as house lots as well, even though many of these people had other plots (USDA-SCS 1939: 47).

Crops grown on the land of Santa Cruz, Cuarteles, and La Puebla included wheat, corn, apples, pears, cherries, chile and alfalfa. Of nearly 2,000 irrigated acres, 32 percent were planted in grain crops, of which 25 percent was in wheat. Orchards occupied another 25 percent and chile about 10 percent. These last two were the major commercial crops. Alfalfa and unimproved irrigated meadow took up 15 to 18 percent respectively (USDA-SCS 1939: 40-42, 51-55). The grains were processed for home consumption; there were mills in Cuarteles and La Puebla. Fruit usually suffered a 75 percent loss because of late spring frosts. Chile really had the most commercial potential, which will be taken up below. The alfalfa and meadow were used to feed the small number of livestock owned in the village: there was a total of 454 cattle (including 39 milk cows), 125 sheep, 555 pigs, and 112 horses. Each family had from 12 to 20 chickens. Only about 200 of the cattle were grazed outside the village (USDA-SCS 1939: 48-49, 56).

A single detailed study done of one family gives an interesting portrait of livelihood in Santa Cruz in the mid-1930s (USDA-SCS #44 1937: NOTE). The family consisted of two adults and two grandchildren living in a three room adobe house in Cuarteles. The family had fourteen acres, almost nine of which were marshy and suitable only for pasture. Of the five and one-quarter acres of arable land, one-fourth acre was in garden vegetables, one acre in chile, two in corn, and two

in orchard. The chile and orchard each contributed about one-half of the \$341 total cash sales of the family. If products used at home were converted to fair market value, chile contributed \$62, corn \$91, and the meadow provided graze for six lambs, raised for meat, and two work horses. The meat was worth \$107. Total use value, including \$34 in vegetables and fruit was \$293, for a total effective income of \$635, or \$159 per capita.

This was above the average of \$147 that has already been mentioned, and the family was considered by its neighbors to be slightly better off than most. Even so, expenditures of \$122 for food staples, \$83 for clothing, \$50 for household and farm equipment, and \$26 for taxes left only \$60 for miscellaneous purchases and expenses such as school supplies, church, medicines, and marketing trips. There were no expenses for the house or fuel.

The family was atypical in that it was not on relief but it still was living at the standard of tenants and sharecroppers in the South (USDA-SCS #44 1937: NOTE). The family also was very atypical in that it depended on only one real source of income. Eighty percent of local families with only one source of income earned less than \$300, while 70 percent of those with incomes between \$600 and \$2,000 earned it from three or four sources (USDA-SCS #44 1937: 12-13).

Both in terms of use value and of cash value, chile provided the highest return for the sample family. Although it occupied only one-fourteenth of their land it accounted for about one-third of the total income. The investigators for the Soil Conservation Service remarked on the tendency to put the majority of land under grain cultivation,

which provided a relatively low return and for which the land in Santa Cruz was not particularly well-suited. Chile production was analyzed to see if it should be promoted.

The bulk of the chile crop was dried on strings and sold by the string to the Bond store or to one of two other stores in Española. A first-grade string was five feet long, closely spaced and contained few rotten peppers. The price per string was \$1.00 in 1930, \$.50 in 1933 and \$.90 in 1935. These prices were set by the stores. Chile illustrates some of the same patterns that obtained with sheep. First, the price was paid in credit, not cash. This enabled the merchants to charge higher prices for the goods they sold. Second, there was some alienation of the factors of production because the chile was sold in strings. The farmer could obtain seed for the next year's crop only from the merchants, by unstringing the chile in the merchant's warehouse. Even though the merchants sold the chile largely in ground form, they only bought in strings of whole chiles.

Again, as with sheep, alternative marketing schemes on the part of the farmer were only sporadically successful. After the advent of motor trucks a system of exchange had developed whereby the farmers of the Española area bartered chile for the beans and potatoes of the San Luis Valley in Colorado. Action by the Colorado legislature to require commercial licenses, insurance, and the payment of road-use levies had rendered that option uneconomical for both the New Mexicans and the farmers of Colorado. Trucking was limited in the 1930s to a circuit through Santa Fe, Las Vegas, and Raton if the load did not sell along the way. But truckers had to compete with the price of their own chile

that had been processed and sold by the merchants. It was usually more economical to deal with the merchants, trucking only the lower grade produce the merchants would not buy (USDA-SCS #46 1937: 1-17).

During the Depression there were no really viable alternatives to agriculture and relief. Handicraft production was an option for only a few talented people, and the return was minimal: the wage averaged less than fifteen cents per hour. An excellent carved chest brought only \$7.50 profit for thirty hours work. Woodwork and weaving were taught in the high school to sixty-one students. The number of stores in Santa Cruz had declined to two, however, with a combined monthly turnover of \$390. Only fifteen men had found work out of state, in the smelters of Leadville, Colorado (USDA-SCS 1939: 43).

Española had grown to 1,241 people in 1935, but fifty-one percent of them were on relief. Twenty-six local establishments hired only eighty-six employees, seventeen of whom worked for Bond and Nohl. The FERA office employed thirty-two, and there were twenty professional people of all sorts. These accounted for 138 of the families. Of the remainder, 150 were on some sort of relief. Española was still important as the service and trade center of the region. There still were only four general stores, as well as auto dealers, hotels, a beauty shop, cafes and most of the other businesses that would be expected in a rural service town in the 1930s (USDA-SCS 1939: 103-108).

The economic prognosis in the area around Santa Cruz was poor in the late years of the Depression, as was the prognosis for the whole nation. The high rate of landownership provided some cushion, but not enough. Whereas the land had been sufficient to support the population



at a subsistence level prior to 1880, population growth and losses of common lands had forced New Mexicans into a dependent position in the world market. Control of the economy had passed out of their hands. The interests that came to operate in New Mexico were extractive, using the labor power of New Mexicans to provide raw materials and offering in return conditions approaching debt peonage. The people were separated not only from the factors of production but from the entire system of production. When the system was disturbed in the 1930s, the marginal involvement of New Mexicans proved to be quite fragile.

Various federal programs that had worked to rehabilitate areas in Iowa and Ohio simply did not work in New Mexico. Even a redistribution of public lands would not have provided enough land to put northern New Mexico back on its feet (USDA-SCS #28 1935: (part 1)7-8). By applying national standards aimed at commercial agriculture to an area characterized by subsistence agriculture, the programs became distorted and served not to rehabilitate but rather to increase dependency, as loans extended to rehabilitate farmers around Santa Cruz often were used to pay off debts at stores. Nevertheless the people were taken off of relief, but when they could not repay the loans at five percent interest--and they often could not as there was generally no surplus--their lands became subject to seizure by the government (USDA-SCS #28 1935: 1-5).

A solution proposed within the SCS was to collectivize production throughout the Santa Cruz Valley north to Truchas. Each sub-area would grow the crop it could grow best in predetermined amounts and the products would be exchanged internally at equitable rates of exchange

based on per-acre productivity (USDA-SCS #28 1935: (part 3) 1-16). The proposal was quite radical, but so was the problem. Already the lands were being overused and there was considerable danger that some of the grazing lands immediately around Santa Cruz would be permanently ruined with uncontrolled use (USDA-SCS #50 1935: 6-7). The nature of this proposal and others caused most copies of the reports to be confiscated during the McCarthy era. Only one nearly complete set may still exist, uncatalogued, in Santa Fe. The radical recommendations never were implemented, however.

### Economic Modernization and Increased

#### Dependence on the Public Sector

Since there was no industry in northern New Mexico, another symptom of dependency, the growth in the national economy in the years immediately prior to World War II did not have much local impact. But after the United States entered the War, things began to change. Large numbers of New Mexicans served in the armed forces. Others were able to migrate to areas where defense industries were gearing up. Cash again became available to some people who had been reduced to very mean circumstances during the 1930s.

Probably the largest permanent change in the economy of northern New Mexico occurred twenty miles southwest of Española in the Jemez Mountains. Because of its remote--even secret--location, Los Alamos Boys Ranch was chosen as the place to locate the bomb-building component of the Manhattan District of the Army Corps of Engineers. The center was established in 1942 (Beck 1962: 289-290; Hawkins 1966: 5; Holmes 1967a: 5). Everyone had a single address and birth certificates were issued to new

Los Alamos parents listing their babies' birthplace as a Post Office box in Santa Fe.

By 1960, the secrecy and severely limited access of Los Alamos were things of the past, and the population of Los Alamos, which had its own county carved from Sandoval and Santa Fe counties in 1949 (Beck and Haase 1969: 51-52), had reached 13,037 people (USDC-BC PC(1) 33B 1963: 15). A measure of its economic impact on the region can be taken by comparing the population to the number of jobs. The total employment in 1963 was 8,410, or two-thirds of the total population of the county, with 6,027 in defense-related employment (Walker 1966: 1). Since the families were young and averaged less than four members (USDC-BC PC(1)33B 1963: 15) there were several thousand jobs being held by people living out of the county.

The 1970 census showed 15,198 people, and, although the census figures on employment may be suspect, judging from the 1963 figures above, total employment was listed as 6,223. The census also provides another index of the impact of Los Alamos. The median family income of Los Alamos in 1970 was \$15,273, compared to \$8,018 for Santa Fe County, \$5,544 for Rio Arriba and a state average of \$7,849. Over half of the people employed in Los Alamos were professional, technical, and kindred workers (USDC-BC PC(1) 1973: 15, 99, 210).

Española had also changed. In 1960 the incorporated town had 1,976 people and the Española census division (CCD) in Rio Arriba County had 5,053, for a total of 7,029 people. By 1970 the city of Española had grown to 4,528 and the CCD had grown to 7,673 by annexing parts of several other census divisions, including part of Santa Cruz. The total was now 12,201. Within the incorporated city there were 1,299

people over the age of sixteen employed in the city. Of those, 677 were employed in the private sector, 515 were government employees and 100 were self-employed. Within government employment, 217 worked for local government. Although the categories are not consistently sampled in the same manner, more specific categorizations of the work force show that 247 were in educational services, with 119 elementary and secondary school teachers.

Income data for Española reveal a median family income of \$7,421, higher than the Rio Arriba County figure cited above. With regard to type of income, families with wages or salaries were four-fifths of the total and had a mean income of \$8,139. The self-employed had incomes of \$6,219. Only thirty-three of 996 families had any farm self-employment income and it contributed an average of \$938. Public assistance or public welfare contributed an average of \$1,561 to seventy-nine families, and 159 families received Social Security benefits averaging \$1,853. Two hundred and twenty families fell below the poverty level (USDC-BC PC(1) 1973: 11, 15-16, 195, 197).

Apart from the median income figures, Española does not show a particular divergence from the two counties it straddles, with the exception of the amount of income self-employed farmers derive from the land. In Santa Fe County, 233, or two percent, of families earn an average of \$3,516 from their farms. In Rio Arriba 306 families, or slightly over five percent, earn \$2,421 (USDC-BC PC(1) 1973: 216-217). Española, with three and three-tenths percent of families having income from their own farms, has a rate almost identical to the weighted mean for the two counties. The amount actually earned per family is considerably higher for either county than for the city.

From a situation wherein a majority of families depended on agriculture for anywhere between half and all of their income in the 1920s and 1930s, Española and its region have been transformed. In contrast, two to five percent today derive merely one-fourth to one-half of their income from agriculture. Although rates of dependency on some form of relief are still high--about twelve percent in Rio Arriba and seven percent in Santa Fe County (USDC-BC PC(1) 1973: 216-217)--the growth of government employment has taken up most of the slack resulting from the continued decline of agriculture.

This is not to say that agriculture is insignificant. There were 1,904 landholders in the Santa Cruz Irrigation District in 1969, but the size of the average holding had dropped below three acres. The average holding immediately around Santa Cruz had fallen below two and one-half acres, with an even greater drop to below one and eight-tenths acres along the ditch that feeds the village center. The land use pattern had also changed. A much larger portion of the land consisted of house plots due to the increase in population.

Allocations of the land for the growing of most crops had also changed for the district as a whole. Orchards were perhaps even more important on the whole in 1964 than in 1935, accounting for thirty-six percent. Corn and other grains, the basic subsistence crop in 1935, were now planted on only twelve percent of the land. Unimproved irrigated pasture had declined to eight percent, while alfalfa, an essential new crop, took up twenty-nine percent. Garden crops, including chile, took up only eight percent. Seven percent of all land

otherwise suitable for crops had been out of production for several years (New Mexico State Engineer 1964: 10).

The crop patterns indicate a shift away from subsistence farming but they do not really indicate a significant commercial intensification. Apples, peaches and apricots still failed a high percentage of the time because of late frosts. Apples had also lost their market advantage about 1960 when southern states started producing apples, beating New Mexico to the market by about two weeks. In an effort to regain a place in the market a number of the larger orchard owners initiated a program to organize a cooperative for storage and marketing. Cold storage would have allowed the apples to be marketed at times of high demand. A shed and other facilities were built, largely with federal loans and grants, near Chimayo. Then a severe frost in 1970 ruined the crops and a worse freeze killed many trees in 1971. Even with heavy capitalization for frost-fighting equipment and new trees the apple business was not making much improvement in 1973.

Chile was potentially the most lucrative crop, with possible profits of \$500 to \$1,000 per acre, but the amount of land devoted to it had actually declined, regardless of the presence of a local commercial processing operation that would buy all it could get. Alfalfa, to which so much of the land was given over, only produced about \$15 per acre as a cash crop. It was used primarily to feed cattle, but cattle were commercially important for only a few people. It was clearly no longer possible for, nor evidently desired by, the majority of landholders to make a living from the land.

Peter Hamon (1970), in an analysis of land-use strategies in Santa Cruz, points out that for the majority of landholders the land is useful only as a small adjunct to much more far-ranging attempts at making a livelihood. For the seventy-two percent of people with less than two acres, the land was used to provide only small amounts of the fresh produce consumed by the family, or the land often was used only as a yard. A number of the holdings of this size have been bought by recent Anglo immigrants who operate businesses in Española or who work in Los Alamos. Many Hispanos with holdings in this range also have migrated out of the area, or out of state to such places as Denver, Pueblo, Colorado, or even, for quite a number, Inglewood, California.

A second group, about twenty-five percent of the total, had holdings between two and ten acres. These plots were large enough to be minimally commercially feasible, particularly if used to grow chile. Plots of this size also were relatively economical to adjudicate title for--it often costs about the same to clear title regardless of size--and were more readily salable than many of the smaller holdings. In 1969 house plots of one-half or even one-quarter acre could be subdivided from one of these holdings and sold for a price of \$4,000 per acre. The money could then be spent or reinvested in other ventures.

Only twenty-one of the 682 landholders (3.08%) had more than ten acres. Three-fourths of these were Anglos, largely immigrants in the 1920s and 1930s, the reverse of the pattern with the previous group. Among this group agriculture could be a really viable occupation. Several in this group had no other livelihood. One particular farmer worked over thirty acres on which he produced a like number of crops.

Inheritance practices almost insure that the smaller plots will get smaller. The largest holdings, on the other hand, will probably not be divided. One of the "large" farmers in fact was working not only his own eighteen acres but also land belonging to several relatives. However, the larger holdings are held predominately by Anglos, who seem less subject to the Hispano pattern of partible inheritance that has led to much of the land fragmentation in the last forty years.

Agriculture has declined as a viable way of life for the vast majority, and with only a limited number of jobs available in the immediate area, many people have migrated out of the region. About twelve percent of the landholders in the irrigation district had non-local addresses, with two and one-half percent out of state. Many people without land must also have migrated. For those with land, however, migration, even to work in the aircraft industry in California for high wages, is a strategy that had limited returns. A person with land could build a house very cheaply and, though local jobs did not pay as well, the relative standard of living could be quite high. Many have rejected the old-fashioned ways though, including adobe houses and working in gardens, and for them the costs of staying behind were relatively greater.

For many of those wanting to stay behind the economies associated with living rent-free gave them an incentive to commute relatively long distances. Either Los Alamos, or Santa Fe with its many jobs in state and federal government, was about twenty-five miles away. A traffic study in the early 1970s counted 2,000 cars going from the Española area to Los Alamos every day. An analysis of census data



showed that half of the people in Rio Arriba County worked out of the county and that sixty percent of that half, or 1067, worked in Los Alamos. Only twenty percent of the people in Santa Fe County worked outside the county, but again fifty-two percent, or 768, worked in Los Alamos. Santa Fe attracted 523 commuters from Rio Arriba. Even more interesting, sixty-four people from Rio Arriba and a full twenty percent of the employed in Santa Fe went to Bernalillo County, presumably to Albuquerque (Renner 1973). Another study showed over fifty people willing to commute over ninety minutes one way from Española and Santa Cruz for a wage of \$1.60 an hour. By raising the reward to \$4.00 an hour, 243 people could be induced to commute (Carruthers, Renner, and Urquhart 1973: 23, 28).

For those who neither migrate nor commute, as well as for those who do, relative success in gaining a livelihood can be gained only by engaging in several enterprises. The ability to operate and succeed in traditional businesses has been undermined by large franchise and chain operations in Española. Only large locally-owned businesses can meet that kind of competition.

The owner of the general store in Santa Cruz, after having sold insurance and worked in demolitions in a mine was in the late 1960s operating the store which was attached to his house, serving as a justice of the peace and was acting as a notary public. By 1971 he had secured a job with the state government in Santa Fe while his family continued to operate the store. In 1972 he closed the store. People who had been his customers could buy goods in Española almost as cheaply as he could get them in small wholesale lots. Even a relaxed credit

policy could not attract enough customers. Mounting government paperwork also took its toll of his resources.

Other cases of multiple entrepreneurship would include the part-farmers mentioned above, or people who ran trailer parks, farmed, and held down regular jobs. Several men had jobs or businesses and were state legislators. At the most successful end of the spectrum were found some of the families who entered the area around the turn of the century. Although these families tended to avoid direct involvement in politics and the entrepreneurial possibilities present there, most of them had diversified business interests including various kinds of stores, a funeral parlor and real estate operations. One young Hispano businessman from Santa Cruz had two successful stores, but not in Santa Cruz, and was actively engaged in real estate speculation, using the economic freedom allowed him by Small Business Administration loans. One of the more intrinsically interesting cases involved the chairman of the Rio Arriba County Democratic Party. He had held a succession of jobs, including being a U.S. Marshal. In 1973 he was a county commissioner, sheriff, and he owned a restaurant.

With so much of the regional economy dependent on government at its several different levels, the ability to get and hold a job was often the result of politics. This point has already been demonstrated in the discussion of education and politics in the previous chapter. It is now time to turn to a more systematic investigation of political authority, the manipulation of power, and the acquisition of social honor.

## CHAPTER VI

### POWER, PATRONAGE, AND PRESTIGE

#### Formal Spanish Government

When Governor de Vargas issued the proclamation founding the Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz it is significant to note that he reserved the right to appoint the members of the council of the new town in the following words:

and I constitute and grade it as the first new settlement, and as such it shall enjoy priority of settlement, with the understanding that that of this city of Santa Fe is the first, and in it [Santa Fe] only shall be held the election of the members of the illustrious council, but each shall have its civil authority, which shall be composed of an alcalde mayor and war captain and lieutenant, with the title of captain of militia, alferez, and sergeant, . . . and they shall have this style and form of government because of being on the frontier . . . [in Twitchell 1914: 255].

At issue in the reservation was governmental authority. De Vargas, acting as the terminus of a long chain of delegations of the ultimate, supernaturally sanctioned, authority of the King of Spain, acted to halt the further delegation of that authority.

Authority is the foundation stone of the type of polity that is usually referred to as a state. Authority is what transcends the economy-for-use, characteristic of the egalitarian society, and transforms a society into one characterized instead by political economy. In a political economy the authority of the state is signalled by two primary manifestations. First a monopoly is held over access to basic production through the claim to the land and its products, or eminent domain. All of this is underwritten by the second manifestation, a similar monopoly over the use of coercion and violence. In the case of the Spanish monarchs after the early 1500s, these basic monopolies were augmented by the Ultimate Authority of religion when the Popes granted to the Spanish Crown the right to claim most of the New World and administer the affairs of God's representatives under the Patronato Real.

In the seventeenth and for most of the eighteenth century the royal authority in civil matters in the New World was administered by the Council of the Indies in Seville, the viceroys, and the various audiencias. In true bureaucratic fashion the duties and rights of these three types of administration overlapped and each was directly appointed by and responsible to the King. The viceroy for New Mexico was in Mexico City, the seat of New Spain. For most of this same period the audiencia for New Mexico, which served largely as a court of appeals, was in Guadalajara. For a number of reasons having to do with events in Europe as well as for military and other reasons along the northern frontier, a series of reforms were instituted in the 1760s and 1770s. The most important of these Bourbon Reforms in its impact on New Mexico was the establishment of the Commandancy General of the Internal Provinces,

whose capital was initially at Arizpe, Sonora, but was moved to Chihuahua, then to Durango and back to Chihuahua before Mexican Independence. The Commandant General was theoretically subordinate to both the Viceroy of New Spain and the Audiencia of Guadalajara, but actually reported directly to the King through the Minister of the Indies (Gibson 1966: 90-100; Simmons 1968: xi-xiv, 3-24).

Another component of the Bourbon Reforms, the Ordinance of Intendants of 1786, was designed to streamline colonial government (see Fisher 1929), but did not have much of an effect in New Mexico. One reason was that New Mexico remained a military department and continued to require the services of a governor who could run both military and civil affairs. Another reason was that the Intendant was an officer whose primary responsibilities were fiscal; the poverty of New Mexico precluded the necessity for the execution of many of the Intendant's duties (Simmons 1968: 33-40).

The authority of the governor of New Mexico extended, then, over all matters within his domain, keeping in mind the limitations implied by his subordination to the various higher levels of government. He was military ruler, Indian agent, chief civil officer, appeals judge, chief fiscal officer, and vice-patron of the Church. He could issue ordinances and decrees, appoint civil officials, nominate military officials as well as clerics, found new settlements, assign lands and regulate public travel within the province (Simmons 1968: 54-55). In the words of the historian France V. Scholes,

A governor's powers were wide enough to permit an  
honest and energetic man to maintain discipline and

secure justice, or to make it possible for a self-seeking official to become a local tyrant [in Simmons 1968: 53].

The power that accompanied the authority of the office was such that some men went to extraordinary lengths to obtain the office. One governor in 1705 paid 4,000 pesos for his appointment, despite terms that tended to be only five years in the eighteenth century, and a salary of only 4,000 pesos a year, of which the media anata or appointment fee took 1,000 the first year. Since he also had to pay his own expenses to and from New Mexico, it is clear he expected to profit from his position of power rather than from his officially authorized duties (Simmons 1968: 58-59).

Because of the general lack of economic resources within New Mexico and the lack of access to any real sources of outside power or wealth for the other citizens, the polity was dominated by the governor. The only elected body in Spanish New Mexico after the Reconquest was the cabildo of Santa Fe. Politics under Spain, and even under Mexico, consisted of competition for patronage and had none of the modern connotations of the public manipulation of symbols for the acquisition of political office. At least within New Mexico, power flowed in a linear and vertical fashion from the authority of the governor. Below the governor were the alcaldes mayores of the major areas of population concentration, including the Indian pueblos as well as the villas of Santa Fe, Santa Cruz and Albuquerque.

As has been seen in the founding of Santa Cruz, alcaldes were appointed by the governor. The term was supposed to be for three years,

but in New Mexico they often served for life because of the difficulty, mentioned in the chapter on education, of finding qualified applicants to take their place; although he could remove them, the governor was constrained from doing so. Governors came and went more frequently than alcaldes mayores , but the alcaldes were generally reported as being the loyal and obedient servants of their superior officers. Regardless of the potentially heavy hand of the governor and of the lack of a salary or any other significant opportunities to collect monetary compensation, citizens actively sought appointment to the post. The compensation for the alcalde consisted chiefly of the prestige the office conferred and the ability to exploit the labor of the Indians. The last-named privilege only applied to the alcaldes mayores of the Indian jurisdictions, however (Simmons 1968: 170-175, 187-188). Occasionally an alcalde could gain other benefits such as the 170,000 acre grant in the Chama region, alluded to in the last chapter, held by Juan José Lobato, Alcalde Mayor de Santa Cruz for a number of years around the middle of the eighteenth century.

In exchange for no salary and with only a small chance of accruing some other type of benefit, the alcalde mayor had a number of clear duties and responsibilities, with only a limited capability for further delegation. He served as a magistrate, actually hearing minor civil and criminal cases in which the penalties would be limited to reparations. In more serious matters the alcalde collected evidence and presented charges to the governor, who then became the court of first instance. If the accused were found guilty of a serious crime, even a capital crime, and the verdict was upheld on appeal to Guadalajara, it again

devolved on the alcalde mayor to execute the sentence (Simmons 1968: 176-178). Marc Simmons (1968: 178) reports a case in which two convicted murderers were executed in the jail in Santa Fe by the alcalde mayor of Santa Cruz. Death sentences were rare, however. Other judicial duties included notarizing documents and handling most land grants.

Alcaldes mayores also had military and police duties. In 1716 vecinos and the alcalde mayor of Santa Cruz accompanied the governor on a campaign against the Moqui (Hopi) pueblos (Bancroft 1889: 234; Jenkins n.d.). He had, as war captain, to maintain a local militia and ensure that all citizens were armed when away from their homes. His police duties included arresting lawbreakers and fugitives, enforcing the tobacco monopoly and granting permits for internal travel. In addition he had to proclaim all edicts and decrees and carry out the census (Simmons 1968: 180-187). For executing his duties the alcalde mayor had the aid of deputies, tenientes alcaldes, who also were appointed by the governor (Simmons 1968: 191-192).

Following the capture of Spain and its King, Ferdinand VII, by Napoleon in 1808, the Spanish Cortes was convened in 1810 by the Junta acting as regent. Each provincial capital was to choose a representative. The representative from New Mexico was Pedro Bautista Pino, whose Exposición of 1812 has proved such a good source of information on the late colonial period. Pino left in October, 1811. The Cortes issued a constitution in 1812. Among other things the constitution mandated the establishment of municipal ayuntamientos and the dissolution of the old system of alcaldes mayores which had been outside of the old law anyway. By 1814 Santa Cruz, along with other larger towns in New Mexico, had



established these elected municipal bodies. Before the constitution was fully in effect, however, Ferdinand was restored to the throne and ordered a return to the previous system in the summer of the same year. The constitution was reestablished in 1820 and ayuntamientos were also resurrected. But before the new provincial deputy--Don Pedro again--could reach the Cortes, the Plan of Iguala was adopted in Mexico and the Old Regime in New Spain was no more (Simmons 1968: 201-212, 49-50).

#### Mexican Government in New Mexico

Iturbides' triumphal march into Mexico City produced a public affirmation in Santa Fe, although the source of the report of the jubilation was New Mexico's governor, who Bancroft (1889: 308-309) suggests may have had opportunistic motives for exaggerating the scope of local sentiment. Indeed opportunities did increase--to be removed from office. From 1823 to 1837 there were eleven or more governors, who bore the title in this period of jefe político. From 1838 to Kearney's arrival in 1846 there was only one governor, whose title was changed back to governor, Manuel Armijo. During Armijo's lengthy incumbency, however, there were also four acting governors whose terms ranged from one month to a little over a year (Bancroft 1889: 310n).

The state had changed hands and now consisted only of a part of what had been the Spanish State. The governor of New Mexico continued as an appointed officer. He continued to administer the several branches of government, except for some vacillation with regard to the control of the military; at times the governor was also the commandant of the military, at others not (Bancroft 1889: 313). As successful as

the Spanish governors had been at abrogating state policy, the Mexican governors may have been even more free-handed.

The system of checks on the governor's power, as ineffective as it sometimes was under Spain, underwent relatively constant flux under Mexico. An attempt to make New Mexico part of a single state with Durango and Chihuahua in 1824 was rescinded by summer, the two southern states remained separate, and New Mexico was remanded once again to the frontier status of a territory. New Mexico was changed to a department in 1836, but this was still a frontier status, which lasted until the end of Mexican rule. One means Spain had used to check the power of the governor had been to appoint peninsular Spaniards, or at least people from Mexico City (Simmons 1968: 56). Mexico appointed two governors to two terms, indicating either that the governors were from New Mexico or that they tended to stay after they left office; Armijo's two terms were separated by ten years (Bancroft 1889: 310n). The one governor who was definitely a foreigner to New Mexico was Albino Perez and his non-native origins seem to have been part of the reason for the revolt which cost his life in 1837 (Gregg 1954: 92-93).

The provincial legislature or deputation of four or six members was said by Barreiro to have been without effect, and there were no lawyers to ensure justice (Bancroft 1889: 311, 312n). If the only serious check on the governor was hasty and frequent removal from office, a short term was potentially more lucrative than a longer term had been under Spain. With the growth of the American trade, customs duties and other taxes levied against these foreigners were whatever the traffic would bear and, even for the Mexicans, justice was dispensed for monetary consideration (Gregg 1954: 64, 158-167).

Local government may have been altered even less than at the state level. Uncatalogued documents concerning the affairs of the ayuntamiento of Santa Cruz, which include its proceedings for 1820 and 1821 and other documents from the period on into the 1830s, indicate that the ayuntamiento conceived its role to be little changed by the Revolution. The duties seem to have been more or less the same as before with it serving as the tribunal of first instance, and having responsibility for the police and the militia. One new responsibility was for the local schools. Although the ayuntamientos were elected, their autonomy was outpaced by that of the governor. The uncatalogued documents show little involvement of the jurisdiction of Santa Cruz in land matters except for sales and wills.

With regard to the organization into local political units, after El Paso was ceded to Chihuahua in 1824, the territory was divided into three partidos, Santa Fe, Santa Cruz and Albuquerque (Bancroft 1889: 311-312; Coan 1928: 170-171). The departmental plan of 1836 resulted in the division into two districts, each with two partidos (Coan 1928: 171). It is unclear what the partidos of the northern district were but Santa Cruz and Taos continued to have local officials in 1837 (MANM 1837: Roll 23, frame 915). It was probably around this time that the jurisdiction seat began a de facto move into the Chama country to coincide with the residence of the alcalde mayor. In 1844 there was a repartition into three districts and seven partidos. Santa Fe district contained the partidos of Santa Fe, Algodones (later Santa Ana), and San Miguel. The partidos of the district of Rio Arriba were Rio Arriba--including Santa Cruz--with its capital at Los Luceros, and

Taos. The southern district consisted of Valencia, the capital, and Bernalillo (Bancroft 1889: 311-312; Coan 1928: 171). These county names, with altered boundaries, continue in use today. Clearly Santa Cruz had lost out politically and had become just another--albeit larger than some--town.

One interesting incident of local politics was the revolt of 1837, which was briefly characterized in the chapter sketching the historical background. At the time of the revolt Josiah Gregg was in Santa Fe and provided an account which has been basic to all later discussions of the incidents (Gregg 1954: 92-97). As part of a plan to centralize all governmental authority, Santa Anna promulgated the departmental plan in 1835, depriving all Mexican states of their autonomy. Since New Mexico had limited autonomy anyway there was little political change except the appointment of a governor from Mexico City, Albino Perez, who exacerbated matters with his excessive zeal, as exemplified by the school decree which was cited in an earlier chapter. When the national government introduced direct taxation to support the new centralist programs, it was met by considerable discontent, although Bancroft (1889: 316) questions taxes as the primary cause. Dozier (1970: 100) points to the disbanding of the troops of Indian warriors as an additional cause.

The precipitating event was the arrest of a popular alcalde, who was quickly freed. A mob of Pueblo Indians, Genízaros, and Hispanos gathered at Santa Cruz where they issued a plan on August 3, vowing to "'spill every drop of blood' 'not to admit the departmental plan'" nor "'to admit any tax'" (Bancroft 1889: 317). Perez raised 150 militia and marched to meet the rebels, who ambushed his force near

Santa Cruz. His troops defected to the insurgents, leaving him with only twenty-five friends. Perez was killed on the outskirts of Santa Fe and the other officials also were killed and dismembered. The rebel force of 2,000 camped outside the capital on August 9 and José Gonzáles of Taos, a Genízaro, was elected governor.

Manuel Armijo, bridled somewhat by the refusal of the mob to name him governor, went home to Albuquerque. Accompanied by a force from the Rio Abajo and later met at Santa Fe by a squad of 200 dragoons from Zacatecas, Armijo caused Gonzalez to flee and met and defeated the remaining rebels at Santa Cruz. Failing to profit from the insurrection directly, Armijo, former governor and former customs officer, turned himself into a hero of the national government, for which he was confirmed in his self-proclaimed title as Governor and Commandant General. His appointment was to be for eight years, although it has already been pointed out that he was temporarily replaced by four different men in the years that remained of the Mexican period.

### United States Conquest and Politics in Territorial New Mexico

When General Stephen Watts Kearny marched through Glorieta Pass and into Santa Fe on August 6, 1846, Armijo, opportunist that he was, had abandoned the governorship. No blood was shed. Kearny immediately announced his intention to give New Mexico a free civil government, and on September 22 he announced the officers of the government, a mixture of Americans and Hispanos, and published a code of law, again a mixture of the two legal systems.

Even with this enlightened approach to conquest, discontent grew and in December two New Mexicans were arrested for plotting revolt. On January 14, Governor Charles Bent, thinking everything secure, went to his home in Taos, where he was killed on the nineteenth by a group of Taos Indians who had come seeking the release of some prisoners. News reached Santa Fe through an intercepted rebel letter the next day. On the twenty-third, over 350 soldiers marched northward and met the rebel force of 1,500 at Santa Cruz. Losing thirty-six men at Santa Cruz, the rebels retreated up the Rio Grande step by step until they were defeated at Taos on February 5. Scattered incidents of resistance continued throughout the summer. After that the major problem of order had to do with various nomadic Indians (Bancroft 1889: 416-437).

The revolt actually strengthened the military component in the government. Regardless of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which granted full citizenship to all New Mexicans who desired it (Tate 1970: 14-21), New Mexico did not receive a government free of control by the military until March, 1851 (Bancroft 1889: 458). The territorial governor was to be appointed by the President, as were a secretary, marshal, supreme court and attorney. A bicameral legislature was to consist of an upper house with thirteen members elected for two years and a lower house with twenty-six serving one-year terms. All laws had to be submitted to Congress for approval. The legislators were listed as being from the counties, but the counties did not have equal representation. Names and limits of the counties were carried over from the Mexican partidos, with new ones added and boundaries changed as the need arose. The overwhelming majority of the legislators for the first thirty years of the territory were Hispanos (Bancroft 1889: 629-636, 706-709n).

New Mexicans for the first time had a system in which politics could go beyond simply being interpersonal. Authority was still imposed, but with a legislative assembly and many other jobs in the new form of civil government, avenues of access to power were both more plentiful and more open to competition. Whereas political interaction in the past had been based on the patronage of the King or the Mexican executive leader, patronage now became a tool for which an able person could compete by building his support from below rather than above. Such men as the famous priest, José A. Martínez of Taos, who had had some power previously, could be elected to office to further their own goals and perhaps even the goals of their supporters. One governor wrote, "There is much the same system of log-rolling practiced here as elsewhere, and the Mexicans show themselves keen, cunning men in politics--quite a match for the Americans [in Lamar 1970: 90]."

The old families managed to retain their hold on things, however, and acted to maintain the status quo. We have already seen the problem with enacting an effective school bill. As will be seen to be characteristic of later periods, New Mexico had political parties early on, but even in the 1850s cliques, often led by one man and organized specifically for one election or for the control of patronage, were really more important (Lamar 1970: 100-101).

By the late 1860s the situation had coalesced somewhat with the formation of the Santa Fe Ring. The major issue was land at first, then later mining and cattle. Ostensibly Republican, the Ring counted the state Democratic chairman among its members in the late 1880s.

Governor L.B. Prince observed "A wellformed Ring embraces members of both parties and the New Mexican one is very well formed [in Lamar 1970: 148]." Whichever party won nationally, the Ring could claim favors and patronage. Regardless of who was appointed governor he would be brought into the Ring. Politics, agrarian capitalism and late nineteenth century big business were all brought together. The Santa Fe Ring was intimately involved in troubles and violence in Colfax County, in the northeast, in the late 1870s, as well as in the more famous Lincoln County War that started in 1878 (Lamar 1970: 151-162). By deft maneuvering, the Ring managed to avoid incrimination and emerged stronger than ever in 1881.

Bitter infighting in 1883 and 1884 over such things as relocating the capital from Santa Fe to Albuquerque left a crack into which the Democrats, both within the Ring and without, drove a wedge, following the national trend of Cleveland's victory. But the Ring, if divided, was not broken. County government had been changed from control by probate judges to a commission form in 1876, and local bosses, acting from a base of family alliances and patronage, controlled the votes of their constituents (Lamar 1970: 163-170).

The coming of the railroads around 1880 had raised the stakes considerably. Property values in the state rose from \$41,000,000 in 1880 to \$231,000,000 in 1890. Cattle quadrupled to 1,630,000 animals. Banks grew from two in 1878 to more than fifty twenty years later (Lamar 1970: 175). With a Republican Presidential victory in 1880, the Republican dominated Ring reconsolidated its control and began a push for statehood, to which the Hispano políticos were opposed because they



felt it would diminish their political position (Lamar 1970: 186-187). To demonstrate, although the Ring was Republican and two-thirds of its members were Hispano, and three-fourths of the Democrats were from the southern and eastern parts of the state and were Anglos, both Hispanos and "Texans" opposed statehood in 1890, resulting in a two-to-one defeat for the proposed constitution (Lamar 1970: 190-191).

The appointment of an Hispano governor, the first since 1851, who served from 1897-1906, paved the way for overcoming the mistrust of the Hispano population for statehood (Lamar 1970: 197-200). After twelve percent of New Mexico was set aside as national forests and other federal lands under Roosevelt, New Mexico was admitted to the Union by Taft on January 6, 1912 (Lamar 1970: 486-501). During the last decade as a territory, the boundary between Rio Arriba and Santa Fe counties had been gerrymandered to include Española in Rio Arriba County (Beck and Haase 1969: 49).

#### From Statehood to a Democratic Majority

In the 1911 elections for state officers and representatives to Congress the Republicans and Democrats split the elective officers statewide. In Rio Arriba and Santa Fe counties, however, there was a Republican sweep, with all Republican candidates in the former winning about 2,000 to 1,100, and in the latter county about 1,750 to 1,350. All counties showed heavily controlled voting patterns. On the issue of accepting the constitution for statehood, however, there was a slight swing vote against in the heavily Hispanic counties of Dona Ana, Rio Arriba, Sandoval, San Miguel, Santa Fe, Taos, and Valencia, where the constitution lost (NMSS 1911). Except for Dona Ana in the south, these

counties are still considered the core of Hispanic New Mexico. Even Dona Ana, as the county north of El Paso, Texas, is and has always been heavily Spanish-speaking.

Through the general election of 1930, Santa Fe and Rio Arriba counties continued to deliver solid majorities of approximately sixty percent to all Republican candidates for statewide or national office, with two exceptions, both in 1930. In that year Rio Arriba went fifty-four percent for Democrat Dennis Chavez against an Anglo Republican, and Santa Fe delivered a slight majority to Arthur Seligman, the Democratic candidate for governor (NMSS 1912-1930). Both of those men had been tireless in their efforts to build an Hispanic constituency for the Democratic Party. During the same period, the Republicans had also managed, although not quite so spectacularly, to control the majority of offices. Statewide in 1930, the Democrats made a close sweep of the major offices.

Republican control of state politics throughout this time had been rather fragile and had been based on the majority of the state's population, which was Hispano; in 1917 fifty-seven percent was still Hispano, with much higher percentages in the northern counties (Holmes 1967b: 10). In 1938 the percentage had fallen to an estimated fifty-two percent (Sanchez 1940: 30). But Sanchez's 1938 figures seem to include Mexicans in the south, a group which did not fit into the political equation in the same way. The Republicans had given thirty-five percent of their convention nominations to Hispanos between 1910 and 1930. The Democrats had been close behind in percentage terms, but had offered only one-third as many total candidates. A real difference

surfaced in the types of nominations as well. For senator, congressman, and governor the Republicans had nominated twelve Hispanos, while the Democrats had only nominated six (Holmes 1967b: 156). The Democratic Party was also dominated by the area often called Little Texas, where Holmes (1967b: 155) states that the attitudes of the Anglos were "always apt to be tinged by folk memories of the Alamo." The Democrats were always on the brink of totally alienating the Hispano delegates to the state conventions.

By playing up to the Hispanic electorate, and maintaining a set of gerrymandered state legislative districts, the Republicans maintained control of sixteen of the seats in the senate. (For example San Miguel County dominated the selection of three of twenty-four senators, each of the three in a separate district; Rio Arriba had a similar influence on two.) The advantage in the house was of similar magnitude through 1930 (Holmes 1967b: 181-183).

One major factor in the victory of Seligman was the support of Senator Bronson Cutting, the leader of the Progressive Republican faction and a supporter of the programs of Robert La Follette, Jr. of Wisconsin. Practical man that he was, Cutting had generally worked within the Republican Party, but he had a large contingent of Independent followers who made the difference in many close elections through the 1920s. The Independent Republicans were said to control 900 votes in Taos County in 1922, and five Democrats won with majorities of up to 800. Between 1911 and 1934 only one candidate won the governorship who did not have Cutting's support, and governors were elected every two years. By using his swing vote Cutting was able to influence

both nominations and general elections. Not until 1934, however, did he gain actual control of either party (Holmes 1967b: 157-162).

Cutting used several means to gain and maintain influence. Cutting was a man of considerable wealth, with which he could be quite open-handed. One Hispano in Santa Cruz tells the story of how Cutting was visiting his father, a Democratic politician, in the early 1930s. The man's sister, in her early teens, was in the room and Cutting asked if he could adopt her, providing her with opportunities her father, a man of above average means for the area, could not. The father treated the suggestion as a friendly joke and Cutting laughed along. The brother is still convinced that Cutting was at least partially serious. The probate proceeding at Cutting's death in 1935 provides additional evidence. The Santa Fe New Mexican, which Cutting owned, owed him forty-six notes totalling \$265,622. It evidently operated at an annual deficit of over \$12,000 for over twenty years. There were an additional 500 personal notes, totalling \$500,000. These ranged from \$25 to \$36,000 but were typically from \$350-1000. Almost all were behind in payment. He left \$1,100,000 to 183 legatees (Holmes 1967b: 162-166).

General elections in November, 1932 saw the national and state offices, from Presidential Electors to Corporation Commissioner, swept by the Democrats. Rio Arriba and Santa Fe both outdid the narrow state margins, going about sixty percent Democratic (NMSS 1932). The Depression and FDR have to account for some of that margin, but Cutting looms. Cutting had been elected Senator as a Republican in 1923. By 1930 he had supported Seligman. In 1932 he supported Roosevelt (Holmes 1967b: 162).

Since 1932 the local Republicans in the north have in general been weak, and have only been able to elect an occasional candidate except at the local level. Cutting's Senate victory in 1934 was the only major victory of a Republican up until 1940, and he only won by 1,284 votes. Even he won Santa Fe County by only fifty-two votes and he lost Rio Arriba as badly as the rest of the Republicans (NMSS 1928-1940). The two-party system was recumbent in New Mexico and essentially dead in the northern counties except for local elections and special cases such as the Eisenhower victory of 1956 (NMSS 1956).

#### Party and Faction in the Modern Española Valley

Party politics in Rio Arriba and Santa Fe today consists mostly of factional politics within the Democratic Party. There is no longer much question whether a Democrat will win; margins are generally on the order of two-to-one. The elections that count, the arena of factional politics, are the primaries, in which the standard bearers of the factions may be chosen to represent the party. This is particularly true for national and important statewide offices. Local elections also take on an inordinate amount of importance in the factional struggle, and, since municipal and school board elections are, at least on the surface, nonpartisan, slates with high-sounding names are often offered to the voters.

The Central Committee faction and the out faction (which has usually controlled the school board) have already been introduced in the chapter on education. The man who leads the Central Committee faction was first elected Rio Arriba County Democratic Party chairman in 1954. During the 1950s he worked in various state-level non-elective jobs

while continuing to serve as county chairman and was elected county sheriff in 1960. In 1963 he was appointed U.S. Marshal for New Mexico under the Kennedy administration and served in the position until 1968, when Nixon won the Presidency. During that time he was constrained from working as actively in electoral politics as he had before 1963, but his son served in his stead as both sheriff and county chairman until his father returned to Española from Albuquerque where he had lived as Marshal.

According to the publisher and editor of the Española newspaper, The Rio Grande Sun, the Democrats in Rio Arriba had been somewhat reduced locally compared to their New Deal vigor, because of the leadership of a particularly strong Republican chairman. Although other events were also involved, in 1956 the newly invigorated Democratic Party was overwhelming in the county elections. Only two Republicans gained office that year, and they were defeated in 1958. Interestingly enough, one of those men was elected as school superintendant under the old system of county schools. The schools, although reorganized, remain an area of difficulty for the dominant faction of the Democrats today. Since 1958 the county offices have been firmly controlled by the Democrats, if not always by the Central Committee faction (RGS 1977 [Oct. 20]: A2).

The one person who consistently got elected despite his opposition to the chairman and his faction was still a staunch Democrat. Once the primaries were over, these two foes generally supported the Democrat, although the county chairman did occasionally support a Republican for one office or another. This erstwhile leader of the opposition faction

was elected to the state house of representatives before the chairman gained control of the party. He was not successful in getting other opposition candidates into office until after the reorganization of the school board in 1962, although he continued to be successful in his own bids for election. With the school district reorganized across county lines, another man opposed to the chairman of the party was able to gain the chairmanship of the school board and keep it for several years. The presence of two opponents to the dominant faction in positions of some influence finally gave dissident Democrats a core around which to begin to build a strong opposition faction.

As has already been suggested in a previous chapter, the greater part of Santa Cruz that lies in Santa Fe county was finally integrated into Española electoral politics---albeit in an indirect way---because of its otherwise unattached status (with regard to normal Rio Arriba County electoral politics) and its ability to affect the balance of control on the school board. The school board elections themselves have already been discussed. There are also some other situations in which the relative independence of the Santa Cruz vote vis-à-vis the Democratic organization in Rio Arriba can be tested.

The 1970 governor's race provides one such case. There were three candidates for the Democratic nomination, but only two of them had any real hope. The organization backed Jack Daniels and the other faction backed Bruce King, a rancher-businessman from Little Texas. In the Rio Arriba Democratic primary of June, Daniels got 2,232 votes to King's 1,866. The Santa Fe County totals were 2,258 to 6,646. Four precincts in Santa Fe County that included Santa Cruz proper and Sombrillo voted

84 for Daniels and 341 for King, much closer to the pattern for Santa Fe County than for Rio Arriba. Española per se followed its county. In the general election King defeated his Republican opponent by about the same sixty percent majority in either county or in the Santa Cruz precincts (NMSS 1970).

Another case is provided by the Presidential election of 1972. The two main candidates in the primary were George McGovern, backed by the out faction, and Hubert Humphrey, backed by the county chairman. In Rio Arriba McGovern garnered 2,628 to 2,147 for Humphrey. Santa Fe County provided a more decisive victory of 5,207 for McGovern to 2,691 for Humphrey. Again Santa Cruz followed Santa Fe County with a tally of 197 to 95, while Española followed its county quite closely. In the general election McGovern carried Rio Arriba, 5,642 to 4,351 for Nixon. McGovern lost Santa Fe County, with 10,761 to Nixon's 12,211. The Santa Cruz precincts showed a much more stable Democratic trend than their county, giving McGovern 878 votes and Nixon only 520. (Other rural Santa Fe precincts showed this same trend). The Española precincts were staunchly loyal to the Democrats as well. McGovern lost the state, however, winning only San Miguel besides Rio Arriba (NMSS 1972).

The Democratic solidarity of Santa Cruz in the general election is one of the more immediately striking features in all this. That can probably be accounted for by the variables of socioeconomic level and the relative dependence of the area on the programs of big government supported by the Democrats.

Holmes (1967b: 21-27) warns that stability of voting patterns is not the best index of controlled voting or bossism. A better indicator



is voting patterns that show marked but regular flexibility. The comparison of primary and general election results seems to show this for Santa Cruz, which swung one way in the gubernatorial race and another in the Presidential race. We also saw this less clearly in the school board election analyzed earlier. Rather than explain the Santa Cruz swings as the results of controlled voting, it would seem more appropriate to interpret those swings as the result of a shared perception by the voters of what short-term goals might be gained by one vote as against another. At the time of these elections the subordinate faction, though influential in the community, did not seem to have any real control. Neither did the chairman seem to have so much control across the county line--as influence.

Within Rio Arriba the potential for control is obviously greater. In the last century and the early part of this century there were accusations that políticos "voted the sheep" in close elections. Sheep are no longer as important but, as with political leaders in some other parts of the country, the chairman is accused of voting tombstones. A regular purge after the 1968 general elections removed one-third of voter's names in Rio Arriba but only about one-fifth of registrations statewide (SFNM 1969 [Oct. 26]: A5).

In most elections ballot boxes from some outlying precinct or another are conspicuously late in arriving at the courthouse. In particularly close elections, boxes may be lost for as much as a day or two. Other irregularities in handling the boxes are common. Contrary to law, supporters of various candidates electioneer almost to the curtains of the polling stations. Another opportunity for abuse is

provided by the practice of entering the booth with the voter to render assistance, ostensibly to people who are illiterate or disabled. Rates of illiteracy and disability in some of the upcountry precincts are high, but not as high as the rates of voter assistance would seem to indicate.

Because elections are supervised by the county commission and since county government also is responsible for voter registration and certification, the county chairman, by maintaining control of county offices, has had a certain margin of control over votes and voting. The other faction has also electioneered and taken advantage of opportunities for voter assistance. When margins of victory are close, however, charges and countercharges of election abuse and demands for recount are almost certain, as, for example, occurred in the hotly contested school board election of 1973.

More subtle, less obvious techniques are also used by the county chairman within his domain. One ploy is to offer, at some point leading up to the primary or local election, two candidates from the dominant faction. This seems to accomplish at least two things. One, it keeps the vote from solidifying around a field of two candidates: as long as the gossip continues concerning what sort of split-up is about to happen within the chairman's ranks, people are not inclined to commit themselves to the person who may lose. Second, to the extent that votes do begin to coalesce around three candidates (one from the dissident faction), each candidate has a potentially equal draw; when one drops out, those who were solidly for him have now committed themselves to the point where they will support the chairman's remaining candidate.

These seem to be the theories. There are more elaborate etic (outside observer's) theories that could be adduced, but the simpler theories seem sufficient to explain the strategem. Whether the strategem works or not is not easily determinable, but it is interesting to observe it in action. The entertainment value of the process may itself be an adequate and sufficient theory. When the spurious candidate drops out it is often amid great show of ritual and symbolism (e.g., going back into the fold, illness in the family, a new job in Albuquerque, etc.). There may be some cases in which the motivation to enter was the candidate's rather than the chairman's, but it is usually the chairman who provides the motivation to withdraw.

Both the chairman and the out faction have been willing to attract votes and voters through another strategem. This time the cases come from the arena of Española city politics. Both factions have here demonstrated the flexibility of alignment and voting that was alluded to earlier. Let us look at the chairman's case first. In 1967 the city council consisted of a majority of Democrats and two Republicans. One of the Republican, an affable young Hispano businessman and youth leader, seemed to have quite a bit of personal support and announced his candidacy for the mayoralty. He gained the chairman's support, despite party affiliation, led a victorious slate in February, 1968, and continued in the office into the early 1970s. When he began to show some independence he lost support and ultimately lost the office. The case having to do with the other faction is less spectacular, but shows a similar pattern: the other Republican has tended to align

himself with the Democratic opposition faction on some issues, but more importantly he has run on a slate with them.

### Patronage and Personal Relationships

Politics in the area around Santa Cruz clearly involves personal relationships. Success in the quest for power has been dependent on the ability of the powerseekers to forge personal or dyadic ties with others. In the past these dyads were often undergirded by ties of fictive kinship. One type of fictive kinship is adoption. The case of Bronson Cutting's offer to adopt the Santa Cruz teenager has already been referred to. Another case from the same era involved the Anglo businessman who was instrumental in organizing the irrigation dam. He adopted a son of another Hispano who seems to have been in less of a position to refuse than the girl's father. There was never any effort to conceal the arrangement. Today the boy's ex-father has a relatively important job in the adoptive family's business. The boy's actual brothers and sisters are fairly prominent and active in the area and sometimes successful in area politics.

Another, and more ritualistic, type of fictive kinship involved the Catholic practice of selecting sponsors, called godparents in English, for the important life crises such as baptism, confirmation and marriage. According to Catholic doctrine the people involved are subject afterward to incest taboos and other restrictions characteristic of relationship between actual kin. In Latin America the important tie is between co-parents or compadres, and the compadrazgo complex has been very greatly elaborated (Mintz and Wolf 1950). In Spain the tie between child (ajihado) and godparent (padrino) is much more important and the system

is much simpler (Foster 1953). New Mexico resembled Spain much more than Mexico in this regard. Baptismal records for Santa Cruz for the period between the late 1800s and the 1940s indicate that among the elite there was a tendency to choose as padrinos people who were actual kin, reinforcing the ties that already existed. People from less powerful or wealthy backgrounds, on the other hand, tended to try to gain members of the elite as sponsors, thereby hoping to profit from attachment to those with more influence and wealth than themselves (Whitcotton 1970: 10).

Another type of acquired kin relationship, although definitely not fictive, is marriage. A strategic marriage can also be seen as a political dyad. There are some marriages between local people, both of whom are native to the area, that seem to have been motivated by such practical considerations. Marriage has been used in the past, throughout northern New Mexico, as a means for outsiders to become integrated into local society. It would be unfair to totally discount romantic attachment, but a few Anglos active in local politics are married to Hispano women from influential families.

Extension of the idioms of kinship is no longer as important as it once was. Although the two adoptions already discussed were not seen as unreasonable arrangements, this device does not seem to be as widely used as in the past. The Democratic chairman has an unusually large (even by Catholic standards) number of children, but they all seem to be his natural children. Influential people do not seem to be chosen as frequently as padrinos as would be expected if padrinazgo were still important in politics. Padrinos are chosen on the basis of kinship or

friendship, but not as much is expected from them as in the past. Marriage padrinos are in most ways identical to the best man and maid of honor of Anglo mass-society. Marriages may still be strategic, but they are decided between the actual partners, not their parents. Even actual kinship may not be as important as in the past. Everyone is "primo," which glosses to first cousin, but this term is not even necessarily used as though it has anything to do with kinship. A car salesman is as likely to use it with a relative stranger as with an actual relative.

Whether interwoven with kinship or not, the personal ties that are being discussed are of the type that Foster (1967: 213-231) would call dyadic contracts and Wolf (1966a: 81-87) would call dyadic many-stranded coalitions. To the extent that the relationship is between people of unequal power or wealth Wolf would add the modifier, "vertical," but would also agree to Foster's subtype of the patron-client contract (coalition). What is important about this type of coalition is that both parties bring to it an expectation of gain, the relationship involves multiple or diffuse interests for both parties, and, though it can be broken, the tie usually has some stability through time, as long as both parties' expectations are met. The client receives, in return for his support and often the support of his family, access to greater opportunities for livelihood, influence and prestige. The patron may hold the balance of control in the relationship, but he often needs the support of followers to use as social capital in his own efforts to articulate with higher levels of the political and/or economic system; patrons at one level are usually clients themselves in other contexts.

In situations where local resources are scarce, inequitably distributed, or otherwise beyond the organizational realm of the local social system, patrons, as links to those scarce resources, become one of the most salient features of the local scene. Witness the so-called underdeveloped countries, such as Mexico, southern Italy, Spain, or most of Asia.

But in an area such as northern New Mexico, where there is a shortage of resources or linkages to resources and where there has been growth in government, patterns of patronage tend to undergo change. The more diffuse, or many-stranded, ties of the traditional patron-client coalition give way to more focused ties in which the quid pro quo is an immediate concern, rather than being a more open expectation of reciprocity over the long term. Weingrod (1968) has characterized the new type of patron in Sardinia as a "party patron", and the new type of system as "party patronage," to distinguish them from the first type of patronage characteristic of situations in which the state penetrates local systems even more poorly. As stated in the discussion of education, jobs become the currency of the new political order in places such as Española and Santa Cruz.

Party patrons may occasionally demonstrate behavior reminiscent of the older type of patron, but where the patron's power formerly was an outgrowth of his wealth (however he acquired it), the new patron's power is built on a political foundation, and any wealth that he gains may be a result of his politics rather than the obverse. Another difference between the two types of patron also follows from this

acknowledgment: whereas the older type of patron often controlled his clients as voters, the new patron is much more subject to control by his supporters. This was implicit in the discussion earlier about whether the Democratic chairman and other leaders were controlling votes or attracting them. The high proportion of local jobs that are controlled by the winning faction are used as much for bait as for a real reward. Patronage resources are not sufficient to reward all supporters, but people are willing, with few real alternatives, to gamble that they will benefit.

The factions have to gamble also. The Democratic chairman made wrong choices in both of the primaries for major elections that were analyzed above. In both cases he was able to salvage some credit for the candidates' victories in his county. Even though McGovern had been supported by the opposition faction and had won Rio Arriba County in spite of rather than because of the chairman, the chairman put his influence behind McGovern. When it was announced that McGovern was going to hold a barbecue-rally in Española, it was the chairman who was in charge of the affair rather than the faction that had supported McGovern in his primary victory. At the rally McGovern spoke of "my good friend" in reference to the chairman, and several speakers, including Governor Bruce King and Senator Joe Montoya, spoke in glowing terms of the chairman's accomplishments and the loyalty of Rio Arriba County Democrats.

The other case involved Governor King. During King's governorship one of the three seats on the Rio Arriba County Commission became vacant. At the time the balance had been in favor of the dominant



faction, and the two remaining commissioners were split between the two factions. It fell to the governor to appoint someone to fill the vacancy. Because of their support of King in the primary election, the subordinate faction felt certain that they would be remembered and would gain control of the commission. When the appointment was announced, however, the commission had been returned to the chairman. King was excoriated by the adherents of the out faction and scolded by the local newspaper. The chairman had again succeeded in consolidating his position.

Through personal ties of his own to the higher echelons of power this chairman and others of his sort from the predominantly Hispano counties of the state were able to do quite well by their supporters. In the mid-1960s Hispanos constituted only 28 percent of the state population, but they held 70 percent of the jobs in the state highway department and bureau of revenue, 72 percent in the department of motor vehicles, almost all of the jobs in the penitentiary and mental hospital and smaller but still significant percentages in every other state agency (Holmes 1967b: 287).

Even though many of those jobs subsequently came under the merit system, those with good political connections still seem to have a slightly better chance of getting the positions. For those who are truly dependent on the government, most of the programs, such as food stamps, welfare, subsidized housing and others, are at least partially under the control of the system of party-controlled county government. Even for jobs with the Forest Service or in Los Alamos, which are formally outside of politics, people who are spoken for by those who

already have jobs in those places are felt to have better chances in getting jobs themselves.

### Prestige

Life chances (class) depend to a large extent on the manipulation of power (through the game of politics in the modern period), and patronage ties the two dimensions of class and power together. Patronage can be used to convert relative success in one sphere into success in the other. But if that were all that there was to the equation of social evaluation in the area the society would, as a result of the posited feed-back between the two dimensions, experience a continuous widening in the gap between those with wealth and power and those with relatively little of those social goods.

Max Weber (1958: 180-195) has pointed out that social relations in complex societies are phrased not only in terms of class and party, but estate as well. By class he means shared life chances, which can be inferred from relative wealth. Party refers to the exercise of power. Estate is usually translated from the German stande as status, but what Weber means seems to be a group. Estate seems to stress, in addition to group orientation, a concern with social evaluation in terms of the proper use of symbols. This social evaluation takes the form of prestige.

E.A. Hammel (1969) and Norman Whitten (1965) have put these three dimensions of social position to effective use in investigating, respectively, the social history of a Peruvian valley, and lower-class black adaptations in a coastal region of Ecuador. By looking at the dynamic interplay between wealth, power and prestige it will, it is

hoped, be possible to gain a better understanding of the society of Santa Cruz-Española that is under investigation here.

Each society has its own grammar of the proper relationship between the three terms. In Weber's Europe of the last century estates had only recently ceased to be legally defined. Money was not necessarily correlated with social standing, and the party interests of groups tended to align them along lines of estate or of class. In twentieth-century-American-mass-society the important connection has been between wealth and prestige and wealth and power; one source and two outcomes. Regardless of the assumptions of a number of social scientists, it is not safe to assume that the correspondences will hold in analyzing the social systems of all segments of American society.

In trying to assess the system of social relationships in Santa Cruz, the discrepancies become irksome even to the casual observer (see Ellis 1970). Indicators such as dwelling type, occupation, type of automobile and others that have been applied in other communities in America (Warner 1960), do not provide reliable indications of a person's wealth, power, or prestige. For example, houses in Santa Cruz are all quite similar in their essentials. Adobe has positive values from a number of different standpoints. It is potentially both the most expensive and the cheapest building material in the area, depending on who does the labor. Symbols of consumption are not the best guide to wealth, power, or prestige. Prestige is adjudged instead on the basis of symbols that are used in interpersonal behavior. Power can be converted into prestige, as can wealth, but only if put to work in the proper manner. The wealthiest man in the area has no prestige. Some of the more powerful have little prestige. Those who are wealthy

or powerful and who have relatively high prestige have it because of the way in which they relate to others.

The son of the Democratic chairman, who is a lawyer and has obvious ties to his father's wealth and power, has low prestige compared to his father. The man who was adopted by the Anglo "father" probably has more wealth than his actual father. The same man at one time had political power as well, but now has less prestige than his actual father even though his father no longer has as much power as he once did.

A man of moderate means can gain prestige out of all proportion to his wealth or initial power. One Hispano man of Santa Cruz who worked at an intermediate-level job in Los Alamos had to be considered a community force in Santa Cruz and Española even though he had not risen much beyond the level of precinct chairman in the Santa Fe County Democratic Party. He had been active in voluntary organizations, church affairs, the electric coop and the board of the vocational school. One friend estimated that he belonged to at least thirty organizations. His wealth and actual power were moderate, but his social honor was high. His standing in the community could not even be explained by family ties; he had moved into the area as an adult. Another Hispano "immigrant" had relatively high prestige even though his job only paid about \$100 a week. His wife's family was from Santa Cruz, but he seems to have been evaluated on his own terms. One of the most prestigious men in the valley was an Anglo associated for a long time with McCurdy School. He had not been involved with politics at all and was not in the position to use wealth politically.

Prestige is accorded with respect to the way in which a person deals with others on an interpersonal level. People who are friendly and remember who their friends are have potential for prestige. Beyond having a large number of friends a person actively has to promote either the general welfare or the specific interests of his friends. Openness and open-handedness, with regard to hospitality and other expectations, combined with perceived level of "community activity" are the sine qua non of respect. Friends who forget lose respect. Even enemies who remember their friends and do not take undue advantage of personal relationships are given respect. The acquisition and evaluation of prestige occur in public settings such as bars, barber shops, fiestas, and chance encounters as well as in the private settings of homes.

As the result of its involvement within a political economy, Santa Cruz has always been subject to both market forces and authority from the outside. First through patronage and later through politics and party patronage people have been able to turn those outside forces to their own local ends. Growth in local manifestations of governance and government coupled with a weakly-developed private economic sector led to the possibility that power and wealth would become nakedly aligned. Through the imposition of community standards for according prestige, such a correlation has failed to take place. If politics is essential for controlling the impact of the larger social system, social evaluation in terms of prestige has been crucial in controlling the local politicians.

## CHAPTER VII

### SUMMARY AND COMPARISONS

#### Summary

In this study I have investigated some of the ways in which Santa Cruz, a town in northern New Mexico, has coped with the pressures of its integration within three successive political economic regimes. As part of this exercise I have also considered the place of the town within the northern New Mexico region consisting of the five counties of Santa Fe, Sandoval, Rio Arriba, Taos, Mora, and San Miguel.

Schneider, Schneider, and Hansen (1972) in analyzing the relationship between modernization and the prevalence of noncorporate groups as a form of social organization in two regions in the Western Mediterranean, make a distinction between what they call modernization and what they call development. Development is seen as the process through which a region achieves industrial economic autonomy on its own terms. Modernization is a process by which a region changes in response to inputs from already developed or industrialized centers, and is based on continued dependence of the modernizing region on the urban-industrial center. In their view the two processes are almost mutually exclusive, calling on different forms of social organization. Whereas development depends on a highly organized power field, modernization is seen as an outgrowth of a highly fragmented power field in a region. That fragmentation, furthermore, is seen as a characteristic of the prior preindustrial

political economy of the region. Wallerstein (1974a, 1974b) has shown how nation-states at the core of the world capitalist economic system have developed less powerful regions to serve peripheral and semi-peripheral roles in the world system. Modernization of the peripheral and semi-peripheral regions is accompanied by the persistence of elites which utilize noncorporate means for organizing the various power inputs into the region. Development elites, on the other hand, mobilize regional support and capital for withdrawal from the influence of other urban-industrial centers in an effort to concentrate on the formation of viable regional industry.

The concept of dependent modernization is extremely useful in understanding some of the seemingly traditional or transitional features of the social structure of northern New Mexico. Although I have concentrated on a particular town or village, it is not completely unlike others in the region. Because of certain features of its history and present position among the villages of the North, the case of Santa Cruz will, I hope, stimulate fruitful discussion concerning community organization and identity under conditions of political and economic dependence.

Santa Cruz, like so many villages and small towns in marginal regions around the world, has become enmeshed within a complex national, and even world, political and economic system over which it has very little objective control. From the founding of the villa in 1695 until the present day, the history of the local community has consisted of adaptation to a succession of events and circumstances emanating from some higher level or another. Even the establishment of the village by

Don Diego de Vargas, governor of New Mexico, was phrased in terms of protecting and preserving the land for the King and the settlers were required to take an oath demonstrating their willingness to carry out those responsibilities. The location of the settlement was calculated to serve as a regional defense against hostile nomadic Indians.

Although the present-day residents of Santa Cruz have not sworn to preserve their land to the glory of a king, they still are subject to certain structural demands and problems that result from their participation in a complex modern nation-state. Northern New Mexico serves as a source of raw materials and labor and a market through which money can be obtained in exchange for manufactured goods produced largely outside the region. Wealth and power within the region become the property of those who directly administer the local policy of the supraregional forces, or alternatively of those from within the region who are most successful in organizing the distribution of local resources to the outside markets or the distribution of outside goods to local markets. A number of factors contribute to this state of affairs. Within the private sector these include: a lack of outside interest in industrial development within the region, the distance and lack of access between northern New Mexico and the markets for industrial products, the lack of adequate water resources for large-scale industrialization, the low proportion of land and resources controlled by private interests, and the lack of incentive on the part of local groups which possess the capital to build local industry. These factors are exacerbated by the interests of the federal government in land, forests, recreation areas, and the atomic research installations at



Los Alamos and Albuquerque. It is not surprising that access to the distribution networks for jobs and goods is pervaded by the presence of coalitions and other noncorporate groups.

Structurally dependent regions and communities are not related to metropolitan centers solely through dependence. They adapt to the forces and demands emanating from those centers, but they also adapt the features of metropolitan style to the regional pattern, or exert pressure for such adaptation. Thus northern New Mexico has Kentucky Fried Chicken, Dairy Queen, Tastee Freeze and McDonald's. But each of these mass influences has been adapted to some extent to regional food tastes: Colonel Sander's sells rolled chicken tacos, Dairy Queen and Tastee Freeze sell green chile hamburgers, tamales, and tacos, and McDonald's sells little cups of green chile to put on your Big Mac. The adaptation of metropolitan influences does not end at the surface level of culture content, however.

More fundamentally, the institutional arrangements that are imposed or introduced by the metropolitan powers are altered in whatever way possible to ameliorate their impact on the local and regional society. Just as access to jobs is primarily dependent on political skill, any new program or institutional variation introduced from outside becomes submerged within the net of political relationships. A recapitulation of the institutional analysis which comprises the bulk of this work will highlight the ways in which Santa Cruz both adapts to and has adapted local representations of those institutions. The institutional sectors that have been discussed are: the Church, education, livelihood, and politics.

The propensity for coalition formation in northern New Mexico is one major issue in this study. The coalition concept has been applied not only to relations between persons, but also to relations between groups and even between institutions. The purpose of this procedure has been to point out the noncorporate side of such corporate entities as the Church and the schools, as well as the noncorporate-like relationships between those entities.

When discussing noncorporate relationships, it is just as important to point out the groups, persons, and/or interests that do not form ties as it is to point out those that do. When noncorporate ties are formed, they are usually formed to insure the interests of the parties to those ties against some structural threat. The conflicts inherent in social existence demand that some ties be severed to form others. Therefore the term segmentation has been used to denote the organizational expression of conflict of interests between coalitions and other groups.

#### The Church

The Church at one time constituted the main focus for feelings of community, national and ethnic solidarity. The Parish of Santa Cruz was coterminous with the village in the Colonial period. To be Spanish was to be Catholic and to be Catholic or Christian was to be human. There was a very definite coalition of interests between the Spanish Crown and the Holy Church. But Spanish Catholics, in common with other Latin Catholics, have a tendency to view the functionaries and Saints of the Church as patrons who mediate between humans and God. The Church may have been unquestionable, but the various mediators who

represented the Church could either be ignored or turned to the wall if they failed successfully to intercede.

One notable impact of Anglo penetration into northern New Mexico was the segmentation of affiliational possibilities in the area of religion. Some of the Anglos in the Santa Cruz area turned out to be German Catholics. But some of the Anglos brought various Protestant beliefs with them. The choice was no longer between being a devout Catholic or a casual Catholic. The whole Catholic faith could be turned to the wall in favor of a different form of Christianity. Gabino Rendón (1963) spoke of a new Reformation in New Mexico in the latter years of the nineteenth century. The problem for the Reverend Rendón was access to the truth of Christianity. In seeking truth, he was faced with the segmentation of his own interests from those of most of the people he had known who remained Catholics.

The Evangelical United Brethren (now part of the United Methodist denomination) penetrated the Rio Grande Valley in 1912 and by 1915 had established a mission and school less than a mile from the plaza and Catholic church of Santa Cruz (Campbell 1968). In the early period both churches believed that the other was doing the work of the Devil. Had it not been for the presence of the German Catholic storekeepers, the segmentation between Catholicism and Protestantism might have developed into a focus for ethnic bifurcation.

Today, however, the relationship between Protestant and Catholic seems to be much easier. Priests and preachers all participate in the ministerial alliance of Española. Ecumenical services are cooperatively held each year as part of the celebration

of the secular fiesta carried by nearby Española to commemorate the Spanish colonization of the area. This new relationship between the churches can be seen as a coalition of interest based on a shared goal of saving the souls of mankind and is probably a local manifestation of the ecumenical movement in general. Converts to Protestantism, however, still express concern with religious truth as one of the reasons for conversion.

Another reason that was posited for conversion is the tendency noted in some areas of Mexico for individuals to convert to escape the redistributive demands of the Catholic ceremonial pattern, even though the ceremonial pattern in New Mexico is much less developed than it is in some areas of Mexico. Continued affiliation with the Catholic Church can be seen as a force for local and regional integration, restricting to a certain extent the possibility of breaking loose to align with national or at least transregional interests (or elites). The willingness of both churches to cooperate may be a result of a desire by each to coopt the program and goals of the other.

Regardless of these suggestions, the Catholic church of Santa Cruz still serves as a focus for community identity. The formerly large Parish of Santa Cruz has been segmented into three new parishes in the last thirty years. The annual bazaar at Santa Cruz held in lieu of a traditional fiesta cum procession in the last few years, serves as the clearest indicator of community boundaries. Chimayo, a demographically less amorphous village to the east, has recently resurrected a more traditional celebration to honor its patron saint.

This fiesta also dramatically asserts village boundaries. The third parish, centered in the booming trade center of Española to the west, seems not to have a big saint's day celebration. The community interests of the town are expressed very well by the Oñate fiesta which serves as an expression of the paramount commercial and political position of the town in the area.

#### Education

Traditional education in northern New Mexico was the simple process by which children were prepared for adult membership in the society and the Church. There was little need for literacy or the other results that are expected of modern education. There was even some difficulty in finding literate persons who could serve as scribes or even as alcaldes mayores (Simmons 1968: 172). As in most preindustrial societies, the technoeconomic skills necessary for productive adulthood were learned from parents or other adult relatives. The fundamentals of religion were learned either from the same persons or from the priests. The ability to read was not considered necessary and the Church actively discouraged people from reading the Bible (Rendón 1963: 47).

Toward the end of the eighteenth century there were a few short-lived attempts to inaugurate schools in New Mexico. It was not until the Mexican period that any concerted effort was made to establish schools by the Republic of Mexico, however. These schools did not have much effect on the local communities, though. The well-to-do went abroad for school and the poor could not afford education at any rate

(Mayfield 1938). Public education in New Mexico did not begin to develop strongly until 1891 (Miller 1962), well into the Anglo period. By this time, however, the Catholic Church had developed viable schools, and the Protestants (especially Presbyterian and EUB) had begun to establish mission schools.

In Santa Cruz the presence of three educational sources did not result in as much segmentation of effort as might have been expected however. Although the date of the beginning of the coalition is unclear, public schools in Santa Cruz were staffed largely by nuns until the 1950s. In 1935, the public school served 345 students with 10 teachers, seven of whom were nuns (USDA-SCS 1939: 48). Such a relationship benefited both the Catholic Church and local Catholics as well as the state and county school systems. The nuns could combat the influence of the EUB mission by teaching Catechism to the students in public buildings. The public school systems got qualified teachers at a modest price. The EUB school down the road also taught religion as well as the other subjects and had 170 students (USDA-SCS 1939: 48).

Although the practice of staffing public schools and teaching religious doctrine to the students was halted by the courts in 1951 (Zeller vs. Huff), the Church still operates a grade school near the plaza of the village. In a remarkable development of the 1960s, the Catholic church and the United Methodist Church (EUB) carried out their programs in a manner that informally divided the labor of private education. The Catholic school taught the primary grades and the Methodist school hired a nun to teach catechism to Catholics in the junior and senior high. The students in both schools received instruction

in their own faiths. This helped to insure the survival of both religious schools in spite of increasing financial difficulty for religious education in most parts of the United States.

The village also still had a public high school serving Santa Cruz and several other villages farther up in the mountains to the east. There is a relatively new public grade school about two miles southeast of the plaza. The political organization of public education was altered after 1962, however. Since then school districts have been organized according to more sensible geographic and demographic criteria. Now the Santa Cruz public schools are under the Española school board which crosscuts county boundaries. It is now easier for villagers to attend board meetings than it was, but there has been a rather extreme politicization of the school system, related in turn to the electoral politics of Española. This tends to draw Santa Cruz into the party politics of Española and its county and away from the politics of the county to which the village belongs.

The school board is one of the largest employers in the area. In addition to the people who are employed by the schools, contracts for equipment and supplies contribute to the survival of many local businesses. The ability to use jobs and purchase contracts as political rewards makes the school board a battleground for the factional disputes that characterize local politics. In much of the recent past, the school board has been controlled by one faction of the Democratic party, while the County Commission, the Sheriff's office, municipal politics, and control of the central committee of the county Democratic party have been controlled by the other. Because of efforts by the factions to

consolidate power the system discharged three different school superintendents between 1967 and 1973. It should be remembered that the superintendents were maneuvering for political advantage as well.

A 1972 decision to build a new high school and close the old one in Santa Cruz produced an interesting outcome. The local high school was important as a focus for community identity and there was a predictable outcry on the part of the local people. Indications are that the faction controlling the school board has depended on votes from Santa Cruz for its balance of power. Ultimately the site for the new high school was located in one of the hamlets of Santa Cruz, northeast of the plaza and away from Española. The school board also made an informal promise to use the old high school for administrative offices. The Española city high school was to become a junior high.

#### Livelihood

To a certain extent the ability to gain a living in northern New Mexico has always been dependent on the strength of one's political connections. The rights to own and/or use land were controlled by the King, governor, and alcalde mayor in Spanish times. The right to move around in the state as a trader or hunter also demanded government permission. In the past, however, there was always open land, whereas there are not too many open jobs at the present. Since New Mexico did not produce the mineral resources that were expected by the Crown, and since the distance between New Mexico and important markets was too great for extensive trade in cash crops, the main economic pattern in the region developed along the lines of irrigation-based subsistence



agriculture and stock raising on the community lands. In addition to agriculture, most men hunted a little and engaged in trade with nomadic Indians.

A few people were able to accumulate a moderate amount of wealth by holding government positions or by engaging in the Chihuahua trade. Official salaries and tax revenues both were low. Even the trade with Chihuahua resulted in a deficit of 52,000 pesos a year as late as 1812 (Simmons 1968: 57-9, 72- 90). New Mexico was in most ways poorer than it is today. Even the ricos possessed very little in the way of luxury goods. The development of trade along the Santa Fe Trail served to enrich only the Anglo traders and a few ricos and officials. There was little change in livelihood for the majority of the people.

The coming of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad in the 1880s promoted changed patterns of livelihood. With the railroad, Anglos engaged in land grabs to acquire land to raise livestock for market. When they fenced the former open lands restricting the livestock pasture of the Hispanos, the Hispanos could turn to work in the mines, migrant work, and work on the railroads (USDA-SCS #44 1937: 2). Others turned to tenant herding for the big land and stock owners (USDA-SCS #37 1937). The dependence on migratory labor was illustrated by the fact that 1,110 men from a sample 1,202 families did some migratory work in each year prior to 1930. The Depression restricted the job market so that only 157 men in the sample could find such work in 1934 (USDA-SCS #47 1937: 5). In 1935-36, sixty percent of rural Northern New Mexico families received some form of federal relief (USDA-SCS #41 1937: 2).

Española had 1,512 residents in 1935, and provided only 118 individuals with work. The Federal Emergency Relief Act (FERA) office employed 32 of these. Twenty people were professionals (USDA-SCS 1939: 43). It is both ironic and fortunate that an irrigation dam on the Rio de Santa Cruz was completed above Chimayo in 1931 (USDA-SCS #45 1937). At the time the project was started (in the 1920s), many people had become dependent on wages. In 1934, when very little work was available, the presence of the dam saved the garden and chile crops (USDA-SCS #45 1937: 11-12).

Although there were a number of economic changes after World War II, the dam and irrigation district have provided a reliable source of water for raising garden crops on the small parcels of land that remain. The ability to raise a garden has provided a critical subsistence margin for many of the people of Santa Cruz, or if planted in chile, an acre could yield a profit of \$1,000 in the early 1970s. However, very few families were able to subsist and pay bills through agricultural activity alone.

Most of the village-based enterprises (two bars, three stores that were seldom open, the post office, and the irrigation district office) had no need for more than one or two workers, usually the owners. People turned to Española which offered a number of jobs in small service and trade establishments, but virtually no large labor intensive enterprises. If a person had the right connections, he could obtain one of the jobs controlled by one of the political factions. If not, he could try for one of the low-level technical or maintenance jobs in Los Alamos, a significant change from the economic possibilities that

existed prior to World War II. In 1973 the government, through the Atomic Energy Commission, conducted a large portion of its weapons and pure research in this city that lies twenty-five miles to the southwest. In such a place fully rational-legal hiring methods might be expected, but some people from the valley seem to have acquired jobs through ties with people who already had jobs on "The Hill".

There were other sources of jobs in the region also. Quite a few people commuted to Santa Fe where they worked as clerks or laborers; some even got positions with the state. Although many state jobs are subject to merit examinations, frequently the qualified candidate with the best political connections prevailed in getting the job. Some people moved out of the area entirely to work in Albuquerque, Denver, or Inglewood, California.

The most successful strategy for ensuring a livelihood seems to have been one of multiple entrepreneurship. In its simplest form this pattern would be to hold two jobs and raise a garden, or for husband and wife to both work and to raise a garden. In more developed forms, this pattern might include holding a political office in addition to carrying on some other occupation(s).

One of the best examples of this is the Democratic county chairman mentioned earlier. He was county commissioner (generally a lucrative position), county sheriff (a salaried position), and in addition he owned a restaurant. The descendents of the early German settlers all engaged in multiple activities. They continued to operate several stores, and a funeral home, and were involved in construction and real estate development. Although some of these people dabbled in politics, it was

mostly on a local level. One young Hispano businessman had parlayed noncorporate ties into a series of Small Business Administration (SBA) loans. He had two successful stores and was rumored to have made \$160,000 profit on real estate speculation he financed with the SBA loans. It looked as though he was preparing to apply his economic position to a search for public office.

#### Power, Politics, and Patronage

Santa Cruz has always been on the receiving end of the formal exercise of power. The town was established as the second villa in New Mexico, but the governor was able to maintain an extraordinary amount of control over local government throughout most of the Spanish period. Political reforms emanating from Spain, while usually acted out in New Mexico, were frustrated by the governors who seized every opportunity at their disposal to forestall the effectiveness of those reforms (Simmons 1968: 159-210).

By the beginning of United States domination in 1846, there was no evidence of any form of local government at all in Santa Cruz. Whatever political mediation may have existed between the populace and the governor must have been through local patrones who had some influence other than formal power.

In 1973 Santa Cruz remained unincorporated and was in some danger of being annexed to the six to ten thousand souls that comprised Española. The political status of the town was at best anomalous. For almost every jurisdictional purpose, Santa Cruz was grouped under a different unit. In terms of state and county politics, the town was

grouped with the state capital, twenty miles to the south. School board politics crosscut the corners of two adjacent counties, grouping Santa Cruz with Española city. The administration of social welfare programs was on an ad hoc basis, with a tendency toward either county or regional delimitation. Even the irrigation district, the only village-based corporate political entity, incorporated Santa Cruz with other villages from which it was separated in other situations. The post office was the only outpost of political identity which the village shared with no other local segments, but many Santa Cruz postal patrons received mail in Española or Fairview.

Modernization in New Mexico not only produced a profusion of political divisions, but was also accompanied by the growth of party politics. The party politics of New Mexico have often been compared to Latin American politics in general and have served as a thorn in the flesh of many metropolitan, universalistically-oriented visitors and immigrants. Although there is a great temptation to attribute the noncorporate aspects of New Mexico sociopolitical organization to the force of cultural tradition, it is more instructive to point once again to similar patterns in areas such as the American South which do not have a shared tradition. We are then in a position to look for structural features and processes which impede the development of rational-legal (modern?) systems for the allocation of social goods.

The political process not only provides entertainment for a large number of people, it is the way in which people communicate their demands to the political authorities. When a social segment is threatened by outside interests, the members of the segment can either submit to the

threats and become lost in the larger social order, or they can constantly jockey for position to further what they see as their immediate personal and segmental interests. There is a direct relationship between the ability of a politician to attract supporters, and to provide benefits, therefore people tend to gravitate to a person who can deliver jobs, or concessions, or federal projects or whatever. Weingrod (1968) has noted a similar trend for Sardinian patronage to become increasingly concentrated in the hands of the political parties in contrast to the more diffuse (many-stranded) traditional forms of patron-client ties. Such a shift in Santa Cruz was impeded by the segmentation of political fields in comparison to Española where the county Democratic chairman was able more effectively to consolidate the impact of outside forces. Even in Española politics, the power (and consequent control over patronage) of the chairman did not go unchallenged. The school board faction routinely offered a slate in primary elections even though they had rarely been successful. Officeholders from the main clique who had aligned themselves with the school board faction generally failed to be reelected. The former leader of the intraparty opposition was reelected to the state senate in 1972, but was one of the few examples of successful electoral bids by persons not of the main faction. It was said that the county chairman "never forgets".

The 1972 presidential campaign was also an interesting case. The central committee faction was supporting Humphrey. The other faction supported McGovern. Even with the supposed ability of the chairman to vote tombstones, Humphrey lost the primary to McGovern. When McGovern

appeared at a barbeque rally at the junior high school grounds, the county chairman seemed to claim responsibility for the victory. In the general election, the county delivered McGovern 5,642 votes to 4,351 for Nixon. Nixon prevailed in all other counties of the state except one other in the North (NMSS 1972). The county chairman may never have forgotten; he also never missed an opportunity to consolidate his position.

In Santa Cruz, due to the fragmented nature of outside power influences, community elites tended to emerge in a combination of contexts. The same people tended to serve on the Parish Council, as precinct leaders, as officers of the Knights of Columbus, on the irrigation district commission, and in other ad hoc leadership positions. But none of these bodies was very powerful in and of itself. These people had good connections with the powerholders, however, and were able to gain benefits for Santa Cruz and its residents. When several villagers were asked to rank-order a group of index cards with people's names on them, the high ranked names were of those people who were seen to be most active in furthering the community or at least the region against the interests of other communities or regions. Several people who had acquired wealth or political position but had failed to use their resources to help their neighbors and community were ranked much lower in prestige than would have been expected by the outside observer.

The interests of the community are not always apparent, though. People tended alternately to praise and damn influential groups and persons. Sometimes Santa Cruz fell in behind the political machine in Española. Sometimes even the groups that were most closely associated

with the machine rebelled against the wishes of the county chairman as when Humphrey lost the primary. Political issues and outcomes in Santa Cruz can be characterized as issue-oriented rather than being oriented towards state or national party policies. Those issues can be seen as series of assessments by the people of what their best interests are. Although loyalty to the Democratic party has been strong since the middle 1930s, the presence of factional alternatives in local Democratic politics has been both a result of and a source for specifically local and regional ways of acting out that party loyalty.

The nature of "community" in Santa Cruz becomes apparent only when local affairs are looked at as a series of responses to the imposition of outside authority. If we try to describe the town without reference to its external relationships, it is difficult to even decide what its physical boundaries are. If we look instead at the ways in which Santa Cruz articulates with some of the institutions that have a great impact on the lives of the residents, the local community emerges as something distinct from the other local communities among which it is located.

### Comparisons

Since I have concentrated so far on depicting the exercise of outside authority and economic forces as they have impinged upon Santa Cruz and the local response to those pressures, I have not cited studies concerning other communities or areas in the region except insofar as they provided information or insights that were directly relevant. There is an extensive ethnographic and ethnological literature on Spanish New Mexico. Saunders (1944) provides a comprehensive guide to materials available through 1943, including a number of community



studies done as master's and doctoral theses. Gonzalez' (1969) list of references, although not comprehensive, contains a number of works written between 1944 and 1969. Weigle (1975) has brought the Tewa Basin Study and one other Soil Conservation Service report from the 1930s together with an even more updated and comprehensive bibliography than Gonzalez'. Gonzalez (1969) has also provided an interesting synthesis of the materials available on the Spanish-Americans of New Mexico. Additional works have appeared since 1975.

Out of all this, two major questions of the comparison between Santa Cruz and other parts and places of New Mexico have impressed me. One has to do with the nature and history of the patron. The second has to do with the nature of community adaptations to the modern world. A brief discussion of each of these related issues will, I hope, prove illuminating both with regard to the nature of the articulation of the region and its sub-areas with the world system and with regard to the differences in communities that lead to different kinds of adaptations to the world system.

#### The Nature of the Patron

Numerous authors have discussed the patron as a traditional and typical feature of Hispano society (see, for example, Edmonson 1957; Knowlton 1962; Leonard 1970; Mead 1955; Vogt and Albert 1970). Since only one of the studies cited above (Leonard 1970) deals with history as a major aspect of the study there is some problem with discerning the meaning of the term traditional. Even Leonard's village was probably not settled until after 1844 (Leonard 1970: 104-105). Does traditional mean old or does it mean Spanish Colonial or something else

entirely? Is it typical because it is part of "traditional" Hispano culture or because of political economy? It is also unclear what is meant by typical.

Edmonson (1957) more than others, but Mead (1955) and some of Edmonson's fellow researchers on the Ramah Project who contributed to the Vogt and Albert (1970) volume state that the patron pattern is not only typical but suggest that it is the result of values inculcated during childrearing and that the patron serves as the societal representation of the authoritarian paterfamilias. These three studies all depend largely on the Harvard Ramah or Value Studies Project, carried out in the late 1940s in the area south and east of Gallup, in west-central New Mexico. Of a population of about 5,000 in the area, only 750 or so were Hispanos who had moved into the area only after 1863 and who depended very largely on sheepherding supplemented by some farming. This seems a very odd sample from which to draw generalizations about the core area of Hispanic settlement.

Gonzalez (1969) and Knowlton (1962) are at least dealing with the Hispanic core area in their discussions. They also offer much more sophisticated analyses. Although some of the former studies recognized the distinction between a patron and a jefe político (Weingrod's patron and party patron), Gonzalez and Knowlton recognize a distinction between two different types of traditional patron, the large landholder and the village man of influence. Although both were called patron, the control of the first type was much greater. The second type was much more prevalent. The control of the landholder was not only over land but over sheep and shepherds (partidarios). Both the Ramah area and

the San Miguel del Bado Grant which Leonard was studying were important sheep areas. Even though the settlements were not based on proprietary grants, in their heyday there were considerable differences in the sizes of the herds of some villagers compared to others. Even though men who owned the large herds did not own the land, they used the sheep and partido system to control their fellow villagers and assumed effective control of the land, becoming more like landowners. The ties were often many-stranded (Wolf 1966a) in either case, but vertical social distance was greater when sheep were involved.

Land grants in the Reconquest of New Mexico were predominantly of the community type (Knowlton 1967; Leonard 1970: 92-98). Santa Cruz was one of those. Proprietary grants were more common before 1680 (Leonard 1970: 96) and after 1750 (Swadesh 1966: 31ff). It is more than coincidence that those years span most of a world-wide recession (Wallerstein 1974b: 407). When the large grants in New Mexico began to be made in the 1790s, there was a resurgence of mining activity in northern Mexico, for which the involuted hacienda complex of that region could not provide enough meat (Chevalier 1970: 314). The Chihuahua trade from New Mexico discussed earlier helped fill that need even if New Mexico experienced a significant balance of payments problem. The classic patron of many observers is then best seen as an agrarian capitalist responding to the world system rather than as a traditional peasant leader. Swadesh (1966) recognizes the importance of the entrepreneurial orientation and Leonard does recognize the difference between the seventeenth century grandée (of which he makes too much) and the nineteenth century sheep- or landowner. The SCS report

on the partido system clearly saw Bond's role as a sheep owner not as the result of some feudal cultural survival, but as an entrepreneurial activity for him and for the partidario (USDA-SCS #37 1937).

But the people of Santa Cruz seem never to have been very much involved in livestock; they have almost no grazing permits for the National Forests now and the same was true in the 1930s. The reasons for this are twofold. In the first place, Santa Cruz was probably already near its population limit by the late 1700s. Secondly, Santa Cruz became stabilized as a crop-growing community early in its history and those with more far-flung ambitions used it as a base from which they moved up into the Chama country beginning late in the eighteenth century (Swadesh 1966: 31-33). Therefore the census lists only two people to whom the honorific Don was given in 1790, and one of them had gained his distinction as a soldier (SANM #1110b). By the 1830s, as we have seen, regional leadership was centered farther up in the Rio Arriba. Even in the early 1900s, the Dons (one each from the Republican and Democratic parties) were more like jéfes políticos, although they did both operate stores in the community.

#### Community Survival

If leadership had passed out of the community by the 1830s, how has Santa Cruz managed to survive as any kind of entity in the face of burgeoning Española? I suspect that the early stabilization of the community around irrigation-based subsistence agriculture has had something to do with it. Even in the 1930s the average-sized holding was two and one-half times as large as the average for the region.

Although land fragmentation has proceeded apace, there is still not excessive concentration of productive land around Santa Cruz. The Parish prior to 1930 and the irrigation district since that time have also served as regional foci, somewhat tempering the commercial pre-eminence of Española in the area.

In general, the villages in the upland valleys seem to have survived better than the late sheep villages. But their isolation prevents the sort of problem posed in Santa Cruz. By commuting to Los Alamos or Santa Fe the people of Cordova and nearby Cundiyo, respectively, have been able to maintain at least some of their population at the same time that they have been able to resist encroachment by Anglo hippies and other immigrants, although Diecker (1971) seems to feel that Cordova has been somewhat more successful than Truchas and other communities in warding off outsiders. Cañones and many other small communities in the Chama country continue to exist with the capability to organize as communities for specific ends as was illustrated during a recent school crisis in Cañones (Kutsche 1976). All of these communities are considerably smaller than Santa Cruz. Pecos, south and east of Santa Fe by about the same distance as Santa Cruz is north, has about 1,000 people in three hamlets. Founded at about the same time as El Cerrito (Leonard's community), Pecos became involved in railroad work, mining and lumbering in the late 1800s. Today about two-thirds of its people work for the federal government or for the public schools. A few commute to Santa Fe. Although the village shows a high median age, indicating a high rate of emigration among young adults, it is growing slowly. Again there are relatively few Anglos (Weber 1972).

The sheep villages have fared less well. El Cerrito was already losing population in 1940. Part of this was because it lost all of its grazing lands, making it impossible to support the number of people who lived there. By 1959 only one-fourth of the twenty-six families living there in 1940 remained. By 1970 only two remained (Leonard 1970; Loomis 1959). The Ramah area also was losing Hispano population at the time it was studied in the late 1940s (Edmonson 1957).

The alternative case, where autonomous settlements are close to, rather than isolated from, a growing city, is represented by Albuquerque. A number of towns were absorbed by Albuquerque in the period since World War I. Although they remain as somewhat distinct entities, the distinctiveness resembles more what might be expected if ethnics had migrated into a city, forming enclaves with co-ethnics. To a certain extent this has been the case in Albuquerque.

But Santa Cruz is neither isolated nor is it necessarily all that ethnically distinct from Española. One result of the presence of Los Alamos is that a lot of the technicians and scientists have been captivated by New Mexico. A number of these Anglos have settled in Pojoaque, half-way between Española and Santa Fe, or in Santa Cruz, because of their greater charm compared to Española or Los Alamos. Many of the other Anglos also live in Santa Cruz. Parish and irrigation district help define the community, but the privileged position Santa Cruz enjoys in local political contests because of its location in Santa Fe County helps as well. Even though Santa Cruz was being municipally eaten away in 1973, it probably enjoys as much viability at present as it did then.

## EPILOGUE

I have not returned to Santa Cruz since 1973 but I continue to subscribe to the Rio Grande Sun and have been able to keep abreast of a number of developments that show the continued vitality and adaptability of the community.

One development has to do with schools. The new high school opened after I left the field. Old Santa Cruz High, instead of becoming administrative offices for the school district has served as classrooms and offices for the UNM Branch Campus. The ties with UNM were severed in 1977 and the academic component was joined with the Northern New Mexico Technical-Vocational School to form an autonomous locally-based and comprehensive community college, still with some of its programs in Santa Cruz, a rather bold move. With regard to private education, McCurdy lost its nun a couple of years ago and was not able to replace her. But Holy Cross School, responding to pleas from local parents, will resume seventh grade classes in fall, 1978 and eighth grade in 1979 or 1980.

In the political arena a number of interesting developments have taken place. For one, Española annexed the plaza and large parts of the rest of Santa Cruz in late 1976 or early 1977. The plaza also won recognition as a national historic landmark. In February, 1977 the school board chairman and another opposition faction candidate for the school board won by overwhelming margins over the organization, winning by a two-to-one margin in both Santa Cruz and Española precincts

(RGS 1977 [Feb. 3 ]: 1). In the same month the other leader of the opposition faction, the state senator from Rio Arriba County, died (RGS 1977 [Feb. 24 ]:1). The county chairman was appointed to fill his unexpired term (RGS 1977 [Mar. 3 ]: 1), and the new sheriff and county assessor each fired loyal organization men including the new senator's son, thus breaking with the organization (RGS 1977 [Mar. 10]:1).

With Santa Cruz now in the city of Española and with some disaffection in the ranks of the central committee faction, the city council election in March, 1978, proves an interesting test of my contention that much of Santa Cruz' strength in the area has come from the situation that has made Santa Cruz an important and unencumbered force in Rio Arriba County politics. Four city council seats, the mayor's office and the municipal judge's office were being contested. Except for one council seat with three candidates, each faction had one candidate. With all precincts voting for all offices, the only candidate from the organization who won was the judge, who had served for twenty years. Citywide the school board faction received approximately 1,000 votes for every other position to the approximately 750 votes for each of the organization candidates. In Santa Cruz proper the margins were on the order of 160 to 60, almost three to one for the opposition candidates. One candidate, the Republican "member" of the faction, received 162 votes to 54 for his opponent, exactly three to one. In El Llano and Fairview the margins were two to one. In Española precincts the vote approximated one to one, with some candidates of both factions receiving slight majorities.

Both the "school board" Republican and the Democratic son of the deceased senator were preparing to run against the "organization"



chairman in the general and primary elections of 1978. The process and outcome promised to be fascinating (RGS 1978 [Mar. 9]: A1,2,16,19,22). If the chairman were defeated in the primary, would the two "school board" candidates run head to head or would one of them drop out so that the other one would be elected unopposed?

As has been usual in the area, economics have not been as entertaining as politics. Although the relative paucity of private sector industrial jobs insulated the area from the effects of the recession--government jobs are relatively recession proof--the apple crops have continued to fail. The apple coop has gone bankrupt. Even where market forces had the potential of being brought somewhat under control, nature did not cooperate. New Mexico remains a harsh land from which to wrest a living.

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