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NOOSE THAT BUILDS THE NATION - RODRIGUEZ

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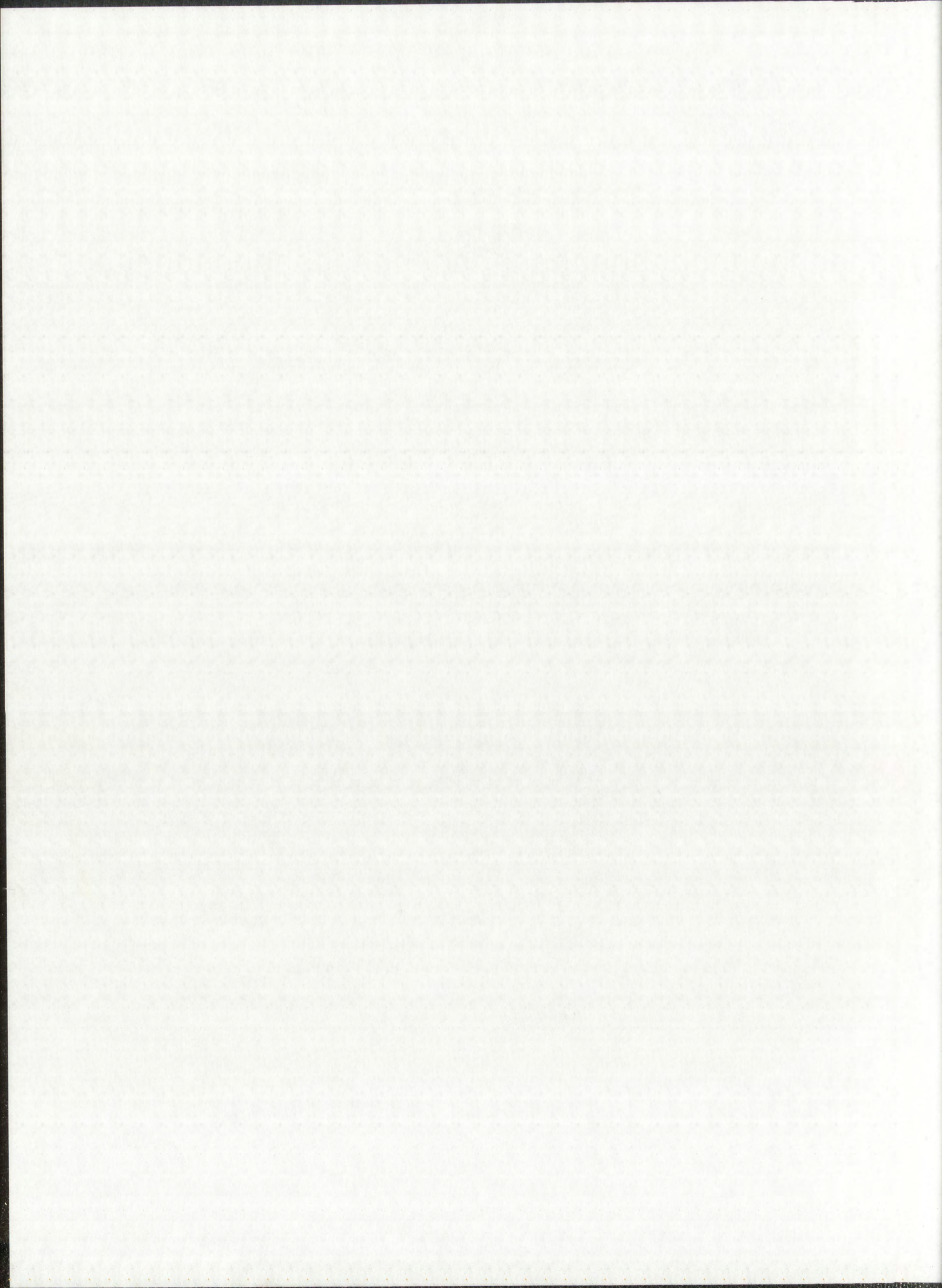

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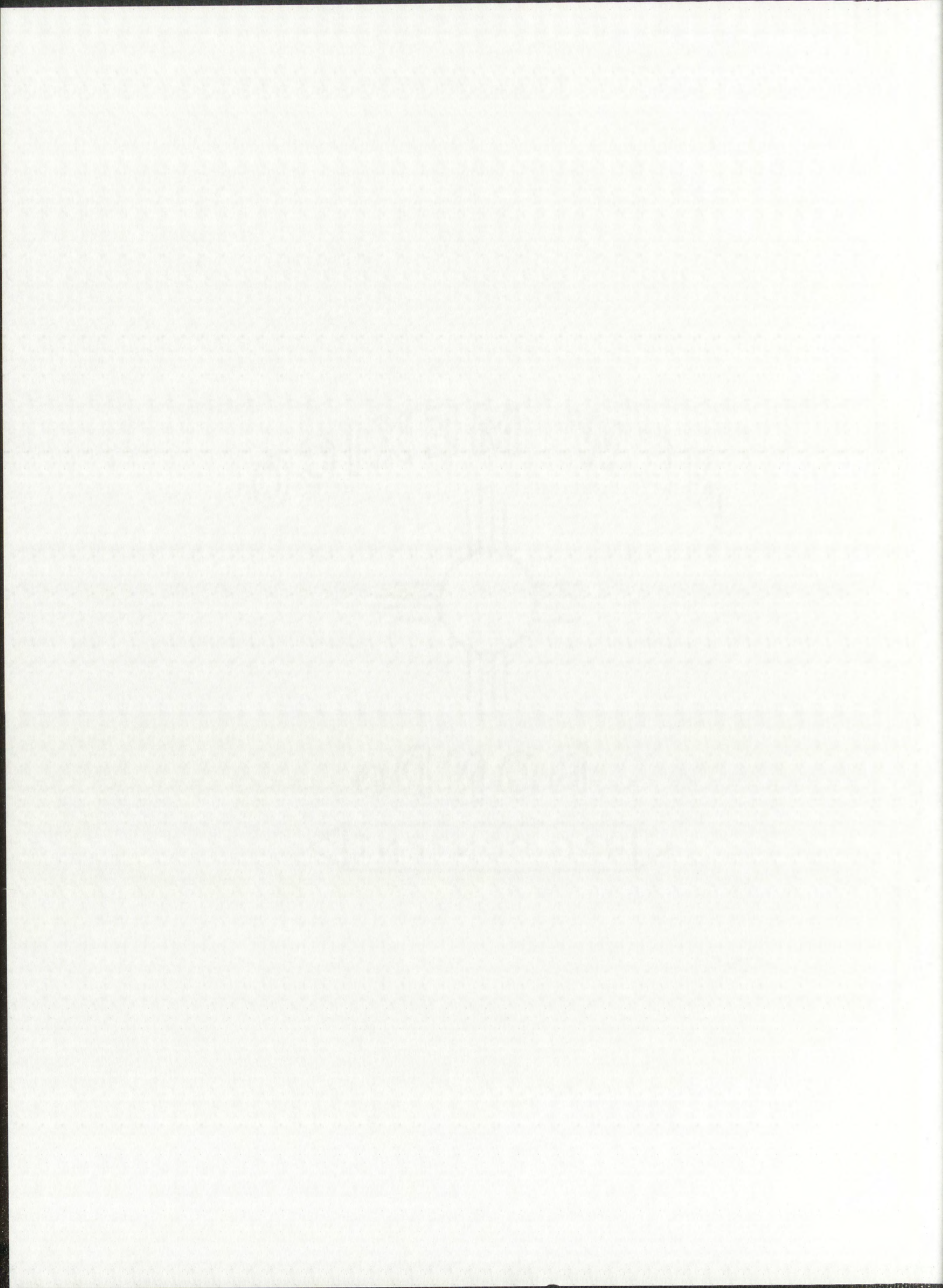

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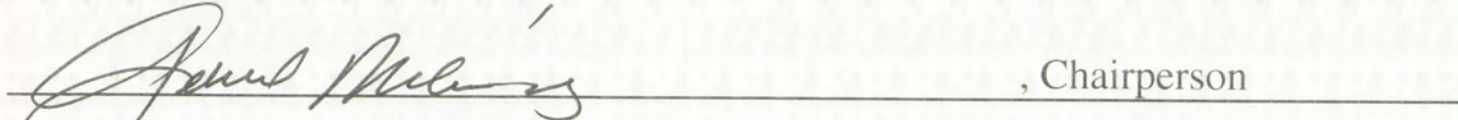

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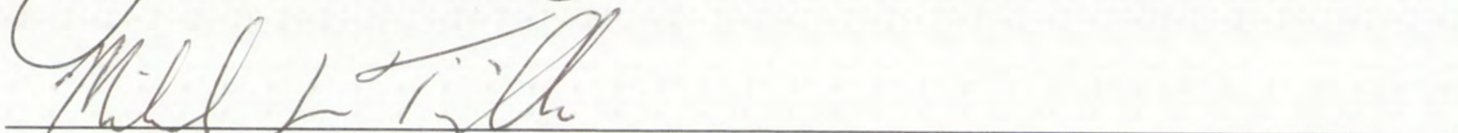
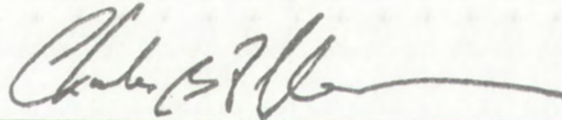


Accepted: 

Dean, Graduate School

JUL 15 2008

Date

THE NOOSE THAT BUILDS THE NATION: MEXICAN LYNCHING IN THE SOUTHWEST

BY

ANNETTE M. RODRIGUEZ

BACHELOR OF ARTS,
DEPARTMENT OF AMERICAN STUDIES,
UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO, 2005

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

Department of American Studies

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

July 15, 2008

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DEDICATION

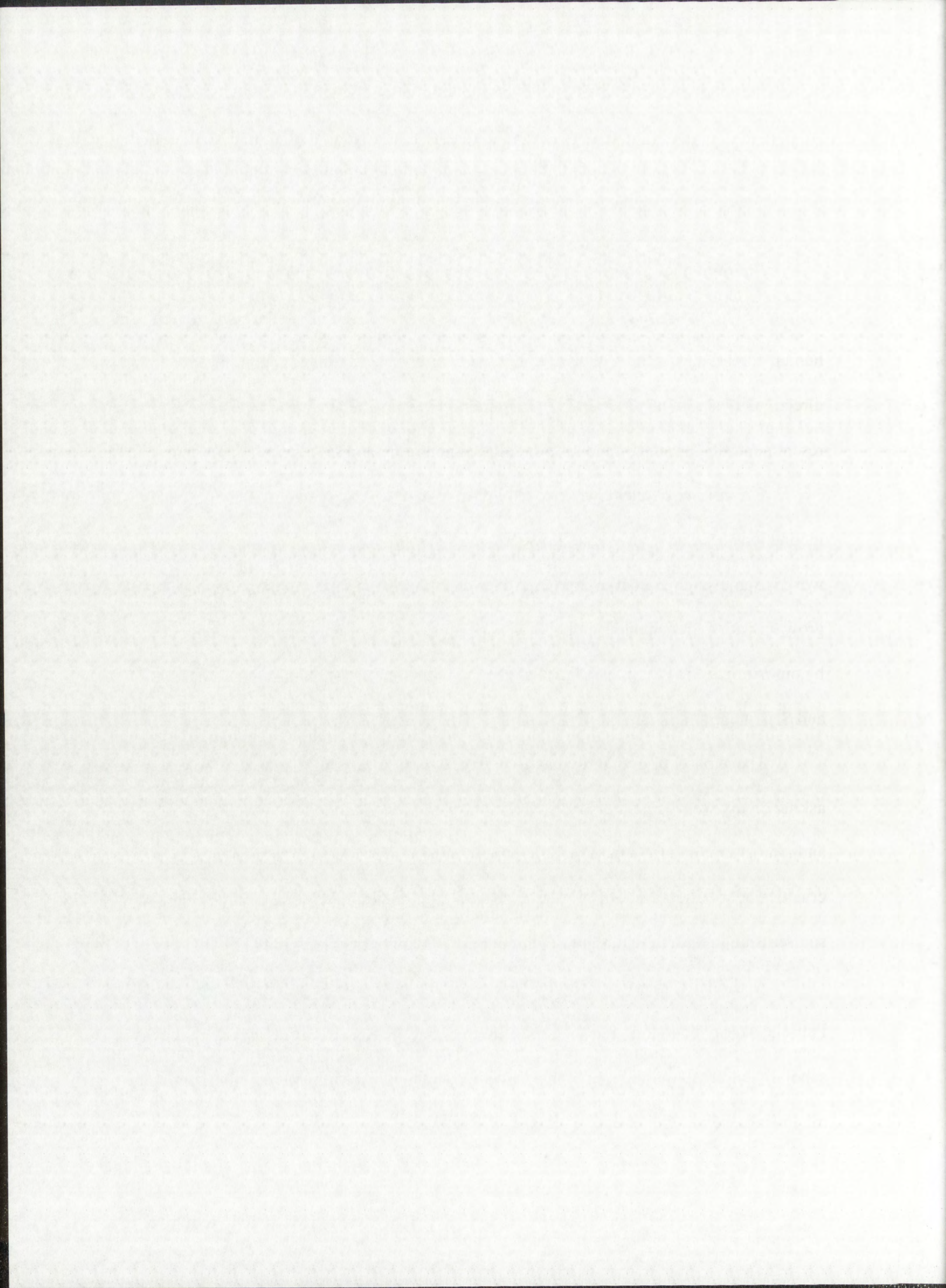
Por mi familia.

For my father, who spent dusty New Mexico afternoons playing the *Lone Ranger*, then traded his tree-branch gun for an M-16 to discover new colors in the spectrum of human cruelty during the Vietnam War. For my mother, who moved my family bi-directionally across the México-U.S. border and negotiated language and place without resentment. She has taught me love of culture and family and history.

For my sister Janette whose deep love and daily encouragement of my scholarly inclinations have never wavered. I owe my big sister my life, and it's my hope that my work is some small validation for her efforts. For my sister Camille—the third of us to grow up with a French name and a Mexican history. May she embrace and be embraced by our *historias de* Parral, Delicias, Palomas, Casas Grandes, Williamsburg, Santa Rita, and San Diego.

The support of my family has come in the form of offerings at my door, messages asking on my well-being, hot meals, and in the case of my Auntie Polly, typing, editing, and—most importantly—talking. Polly was the first to welcome discussions on grim cruelties over coffee. Her willingness to share the burden of information mitigated the soul-crushing research that regularly threatened to paralyze me.

And finally, to my comfort on dark roads and my guide toward brighter paths, Patricia. To say that I am grateful diminishes my deep debt. Patricia has accompanied my scholarly explorations and shared my sadnesses and joys; most importantly she has taught me to embrace our ghosts and to bless our hauntings.



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I appreciate deeply my advisor and thesis chair, Dr. A. Gabriel Meléndez who has always warmly encouraged my half-formed scholarly intuitions and has provided the solid ground from which to begin my explorations. I also wish to thank my committee members, Dr. Kirsten Pai Buick and Dr. Michael Léon Trujillo. In my earliest stages, Dr. Buick provided much needed guidance, a pages long book list and crucial connections for my project. In the latter stages, Dr. Trujillo generously came on board to help me unravel what I thought I might be trying to do and shared crucial anthropological insights.

My gratitude is extended to the Dr. Estévan Rael-Galvez, New Mexico State Historian and Dr. Dennis Trujillo, New Mexico Assistant State Historian for their encouragement in my research, and for instilling a new appreciation for the *historias* of the Southwest. My deep thanks goes to Beth Siebergliet at the Center for Southwest Research. I was fortunate to work under her guidance throughout my program and she pointed me to new archival materials while also being patient by allowing me research and writing time.

I offer my appreciation to Dr. Laura Gómez. This thesis began as a footnote for her Race and Law class, and her instruction in sociolegal and critical race theory greatly inform this work. I have also looked to Dr. Gómez—a fellow daughter of Southern New Mexico—as an embodiment of the very promise and possibility of sustained Southwest scholarship.

To my valued colleagues and readers: Charlene Johnson, Kate Loewe and Patricia Perea I owe a profound debt. Thank you all.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I appreciate deeply my advisor and dissertation chair, Dr. [illegible] Meléndez, who has always warmly encouraged my unorthodox scholarly intuitions and has provided the solid ground from which to begin my explorations. I also wish to thank my committee members, Dr. [illegible] Faulhaber and Dr. Michael [illegible], for their insightful suggestions. Dr. Faulhaber provided my [illegible] with a great deal of [illegible] and crucial corrections for what I thought I might be trying to do and shared crucial anthropological insights.

My gratitude is extended to the Dr. [illegible] Karl Gallo, New Mexico State Historian and Dr. Dennis Trujillo, New Mexico Assistant State Historian for their encouragement in my research, and for instilling a new appreciation, of the history of the Southwest. My deep thanks goes to Beth Silbergleit at the Center for Southwest Research. I was fortunate to work with her guidance throughout my program and she pointed me to new archival sources while also being patient by allowing me research and writing time.

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To my mother and [illegible] and my sisters, Kate Lorette and Patricia. Thanks [illegible] with profound love. Thank you all.

THE NOOSE THAT BUILDS THE NATION: MEXICAN LYNCHING IN THE SOUTHWEST

BY

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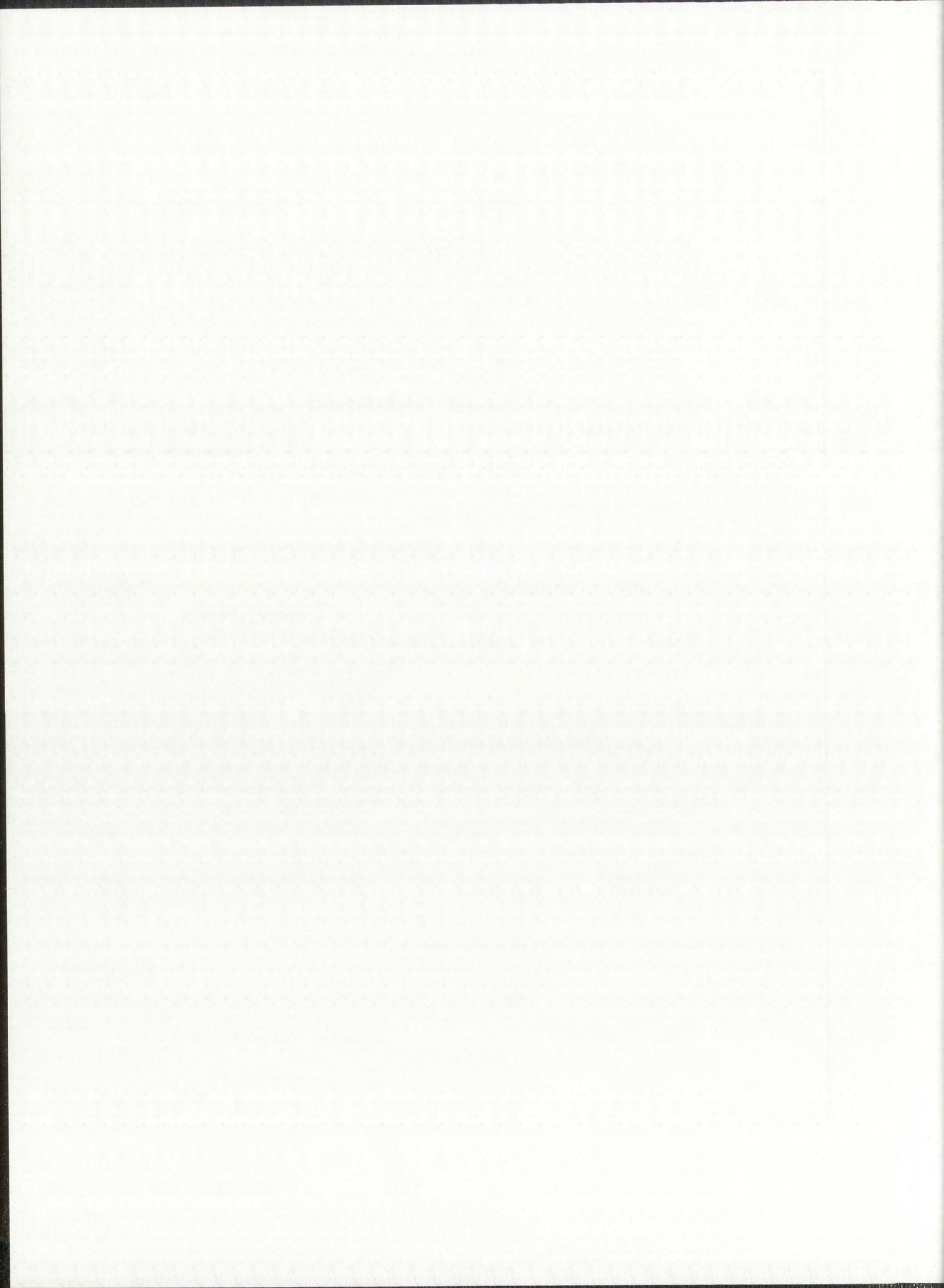

THE NOOSE THAT BUILDS THE NATION:
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by
Annette M. Rodríguez

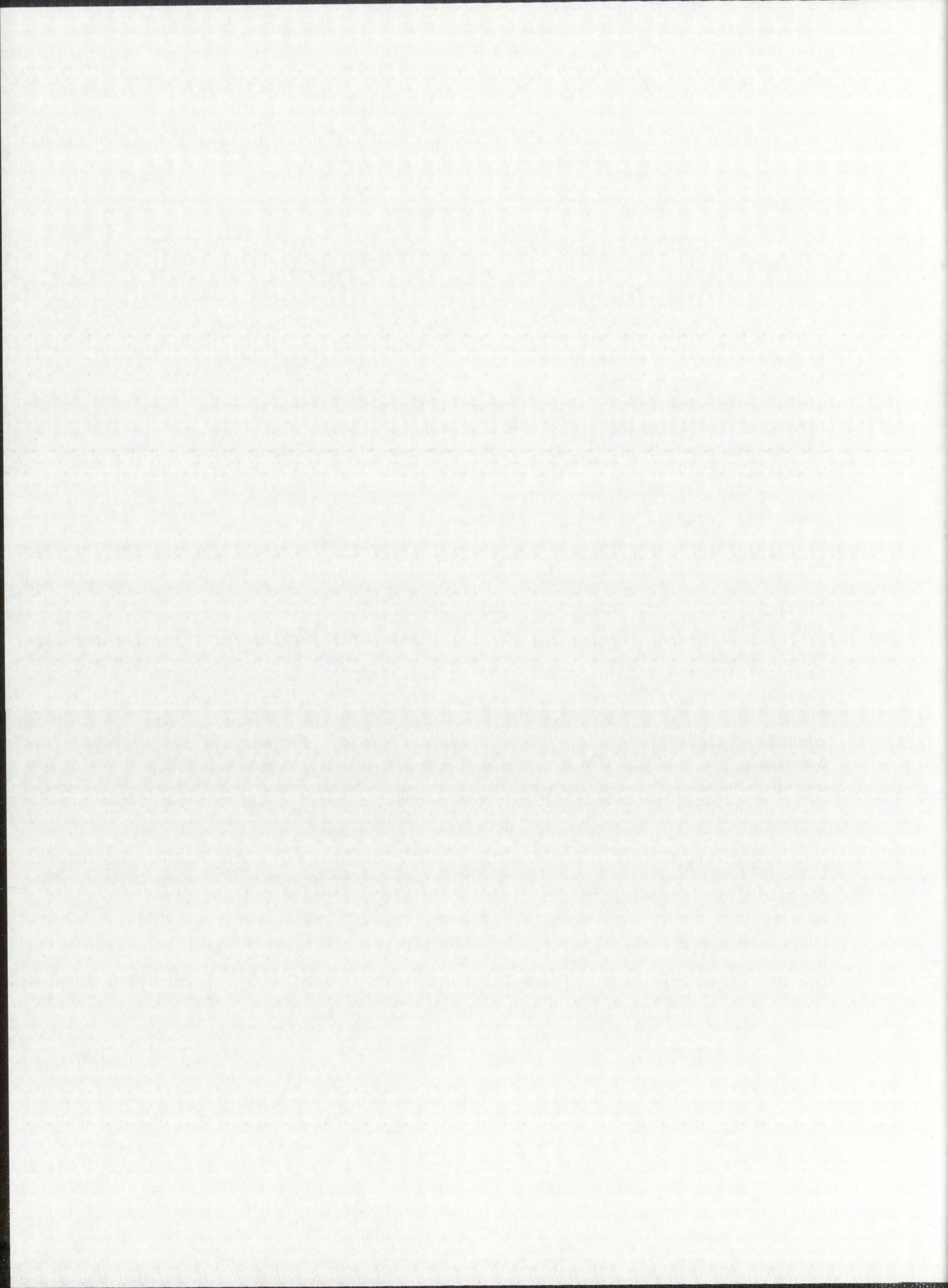
B.A., American Studies, University of New Mexico, 2005

ABSTRACT

In *North from Mexico: the Spanish Speaking People of the United States* Carey McWilliams asserts that "more Mexicans were lynched in the Southwest between 1865 and 1920 than blacks in other parts of the south." The hundreds of unrestrained murders of Mexicans throughout the Southwest have gone largely unrecognized in U.S. and Chicano/a histories. Previous work on lynching has focused on the murders of African Americans in the South. Those works that have discussed violence against Mexicans in the Southwest in this period conflate lynching murders with generalized stories on "frontier violence" and "vigilantism." In addition, no work has been published that considers "modern" southwestern lynchings of Mexican. Why has the lynching of Mexicans been largely unwritten and the losses of these lynching victims unvalued?

My project is an experimental genre bending attempt at both counternarrative and anthropological analysis. I do not mean to recover every Mexican lynching victim that has been expunged from written histories; rather, I will reconsider the features of U.S. racialized terror as not solely concerned with the black object. This thesis is in conversation with U.S. histories, American Studies, Africana Studies and Chicano Studies, using interpretive anthropological methodology. I draw upon these disciplines while also critiquing their collusion with the historical silence regarding the lynching of Mexicans in the Southwest. This historical and analytical landscape examined includes not only dominant U.S. narratives. I also believe revisionist histories have obscured Mexican victims in a similar fashion; thus, the historical silence regarding the lynching of Mexicans is also critically concerned with Chicano historiography.

I examine how nation building and the consolidation of national belonging have been constructed through ritualized, performative violence. Brutal murders of Mexicans have been replicated for over a century in the southwest—today by vigilante groups in San Diego County, at the Arizona state border, and throughout the Southwest. I suggest a larger look at the lynching of Mexicans in the Southwest as coupled with expansionism and colonialism—historically and in the present.



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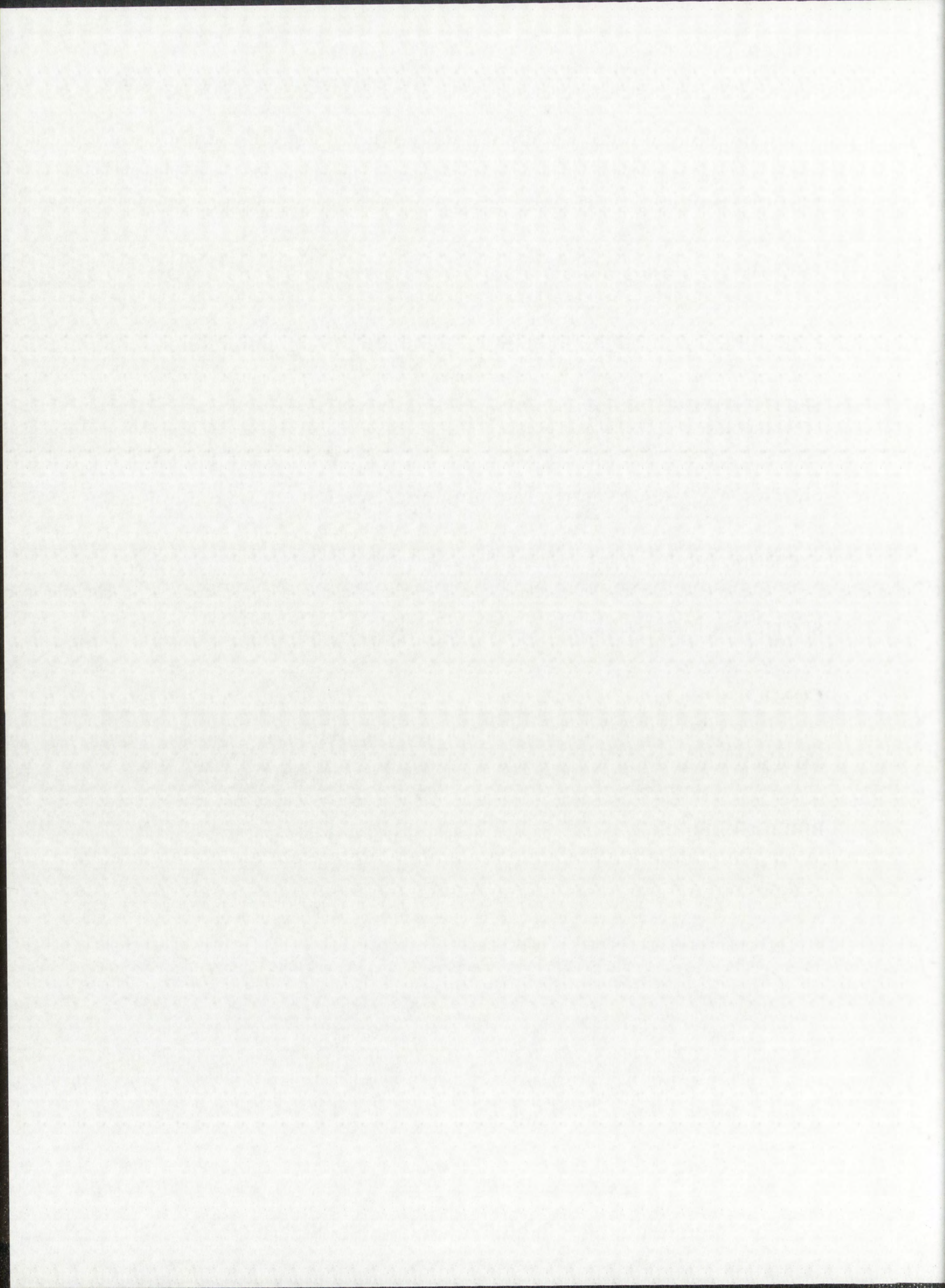

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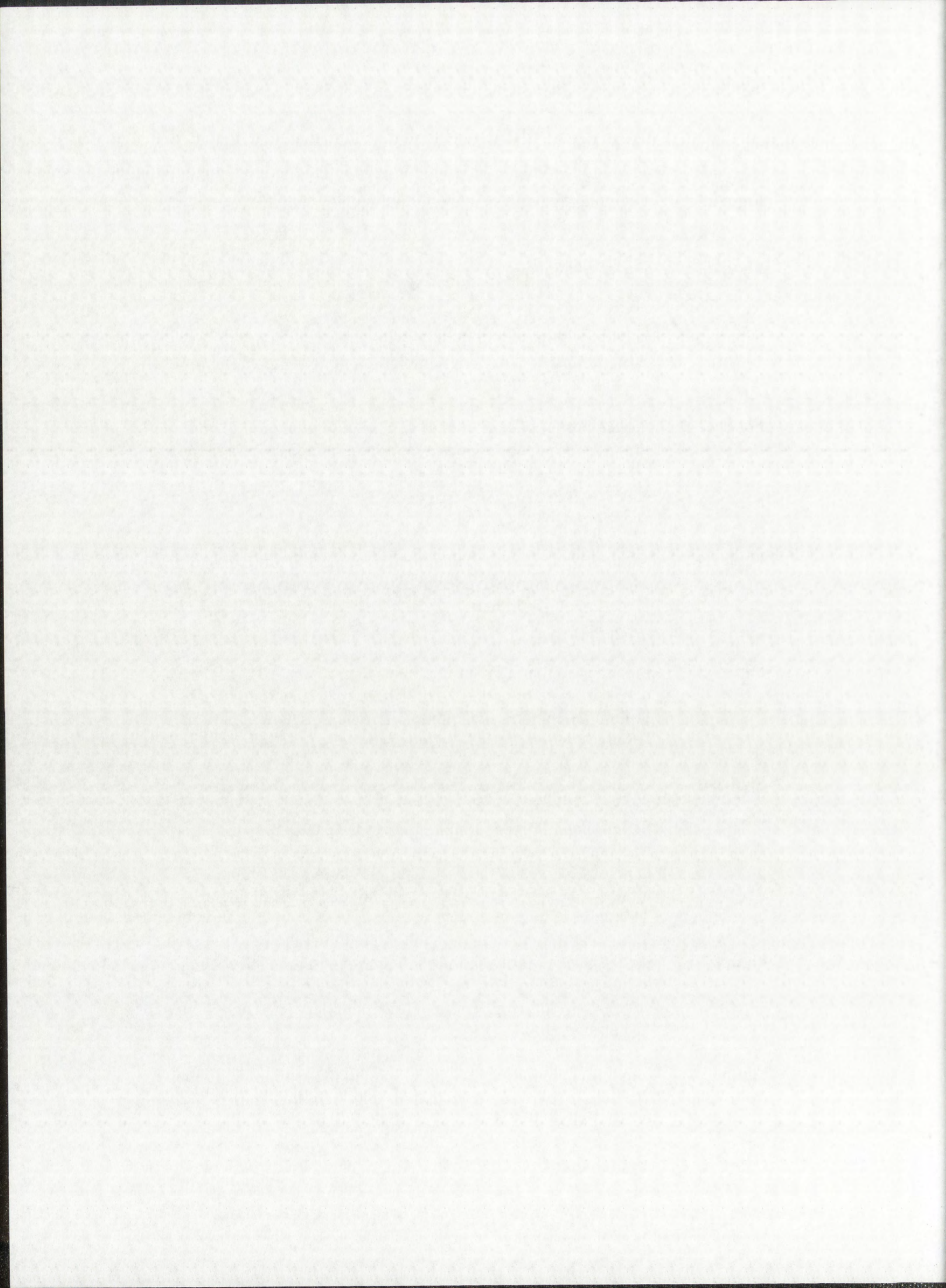

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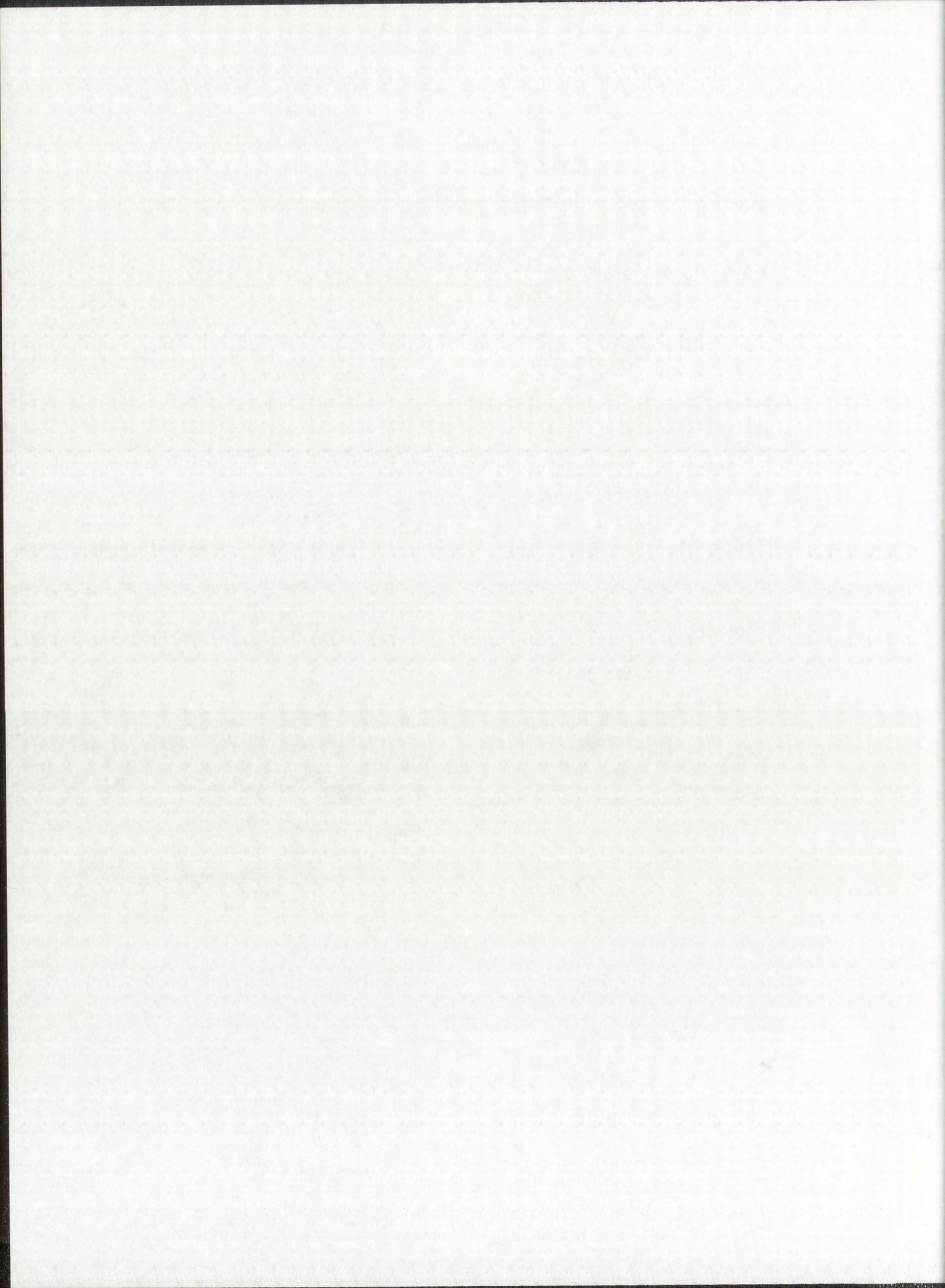
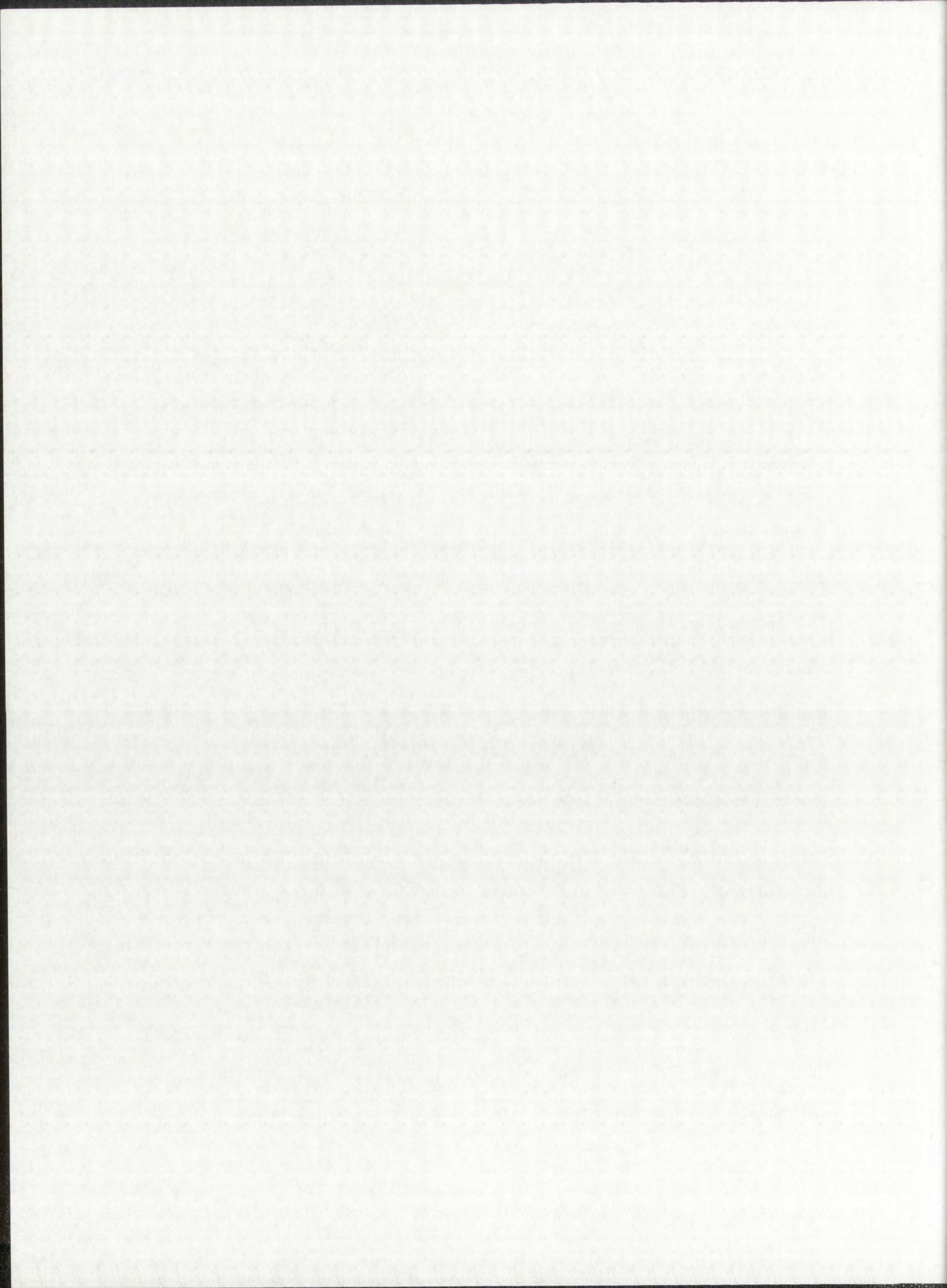


The very idea of America makes me shake and tremble and gives me nightmares.
-Josephine Baker[1]

Preface

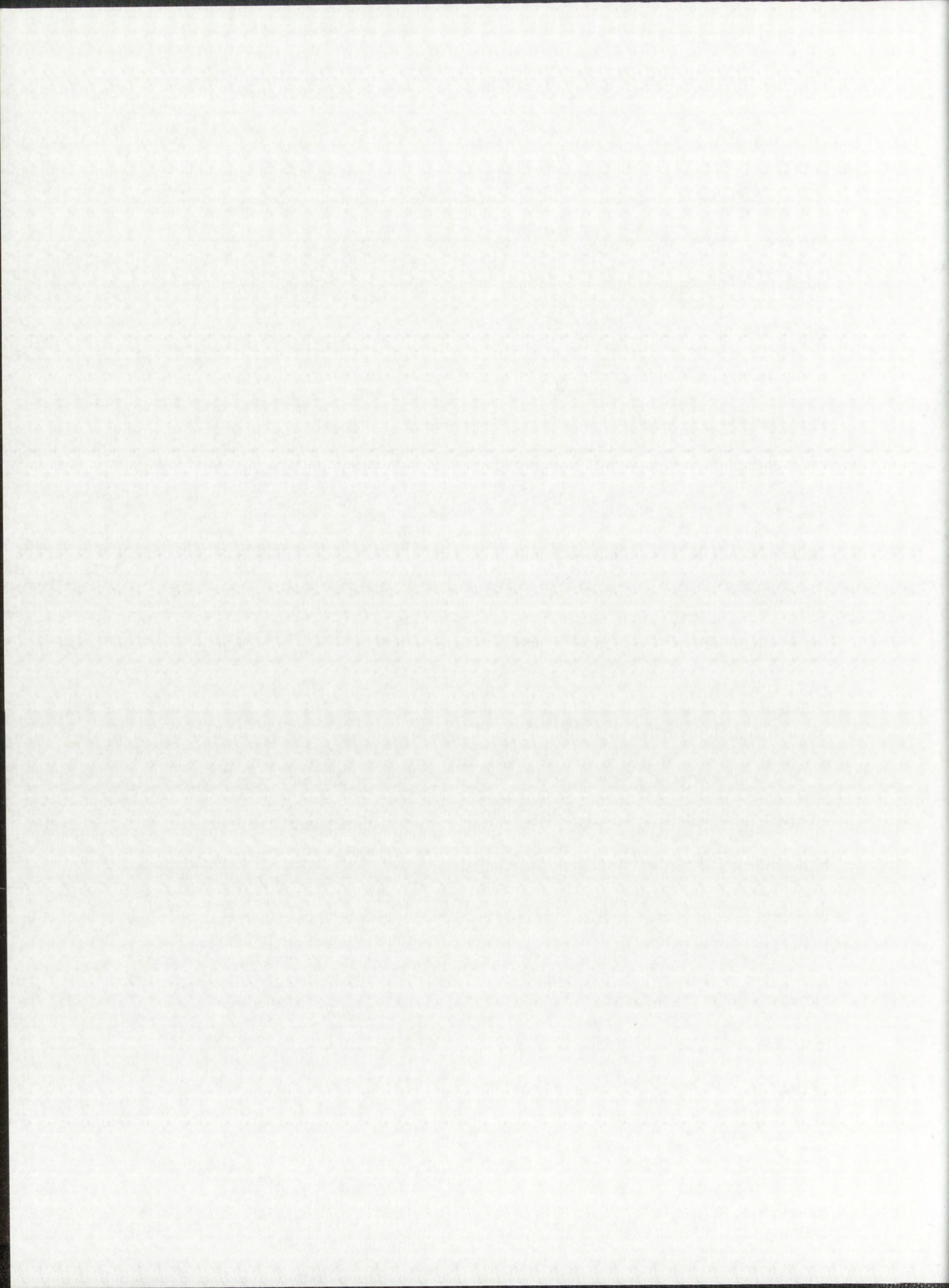
The tallest tree in the neighborhood grows in my backyard. Its trunk, thick as two people embracing, ivy climbing its knotty bark, birds' nests like rattan baskets, arranged on its topmost limbs. Dangling from a high branch is a foothold swing—the family that lived here before me swung across the yard above the grass; I, however, see a noose. I watch it in the wind. This lethal, haunting pendulum connects me somehow to history. I cannot cut it down. Hanging bodies. Burning Bodies. Torn flesh. Ash and bone. Dismembered corpses on an arid landscape. Not nightmare, but record. I sense them; I mourn them as I stare out my kitchen window. These visions pose as memories of mutilated Mexican bodies on the desert plains. They emerge as the manifestation of U.S. expansion and colonialism in the Southwest, and mark the murderous racial ideology of Euro-American superiority and citizenship.

I began a dialogic interdisciplinary project in 2007 on the lynching of Mexicans in the Southwest.[2] I found myself haunted by a sentence I'd read long ago in Carey McWilliams's *North from Mexico: the Spanish Speaking People of the United States* where he asserted that "more Mexicans were lynched in the Southwest between 1865 and 1920 than blacks in other parts of the South."[3] Could this be true? If so, why hadn't I seen this as a subject of scholarship, why didn't lynching figure as prominently for Mexicans and Chicano/as in the Southwest as for African Americans in the South?



As I conducted my research, nooses began appearing everywhere. I moved into this home, whose mulberry tree was festooned with the hanging lasso. The newspapers buzzed with the hangman's nooses found at the Jena High School in Central Louisiana, where students had hung them as a warning, to demarcate the White-only lunch area. Soon after, at Columbia University's Graduate Teacher's College an African American professor was greeted at her office door by a thick rope noose. An African American cadet at the U.S. Coast Guard Academy found a six inch string tied as a noose in his sea bag while he was serving aboard the historic ship 'The Eagle.'[4] Ironically, during the "race-relations training" conducted a month later by the U.S. Coast Guard in response, the female civil rights instructor leading the training found a small noose in her office at the Academy in New London, Connecticut. I wondered if I'd been specially attuned to lynch culture because of my research, or if the symbology of lynching had a particular resurgence in this period.

In the course of research, I traveled across Texas plains, scoured New Mexico archives, drove the Colorado mountains and sat calmly reading a tale of mob murder by blowtorches at the Library of Congress. I collected news reports and took photographs at the sites they mentioned beside with the words "bandits snuffed out," "necessary justice," "at the hands of persons unknown." My explorations felt strangely tangible—close—as I turned off highways into rural towns like those I was raised in, where locals noticed a rental car and a camera. At one of the larger sites, the Brazos River Bridge in Waco, Texas, I found I could only look at the bridge where three bodies dangle in the sepia tone postcard I have through the rearview mirror. It was simple enough to walk to the bridge,



across a small thatch of grass to touch its sun warmed trusses. I stayed instead in the car. Waco was an anomaly; many of the areas I searched for didn't appear on maps, they had fallen away from the Rand-McNally or were too small to warrant mention. In West Texas, I searched for Porvenir—where one of the largest mass lynchings of Mexicans

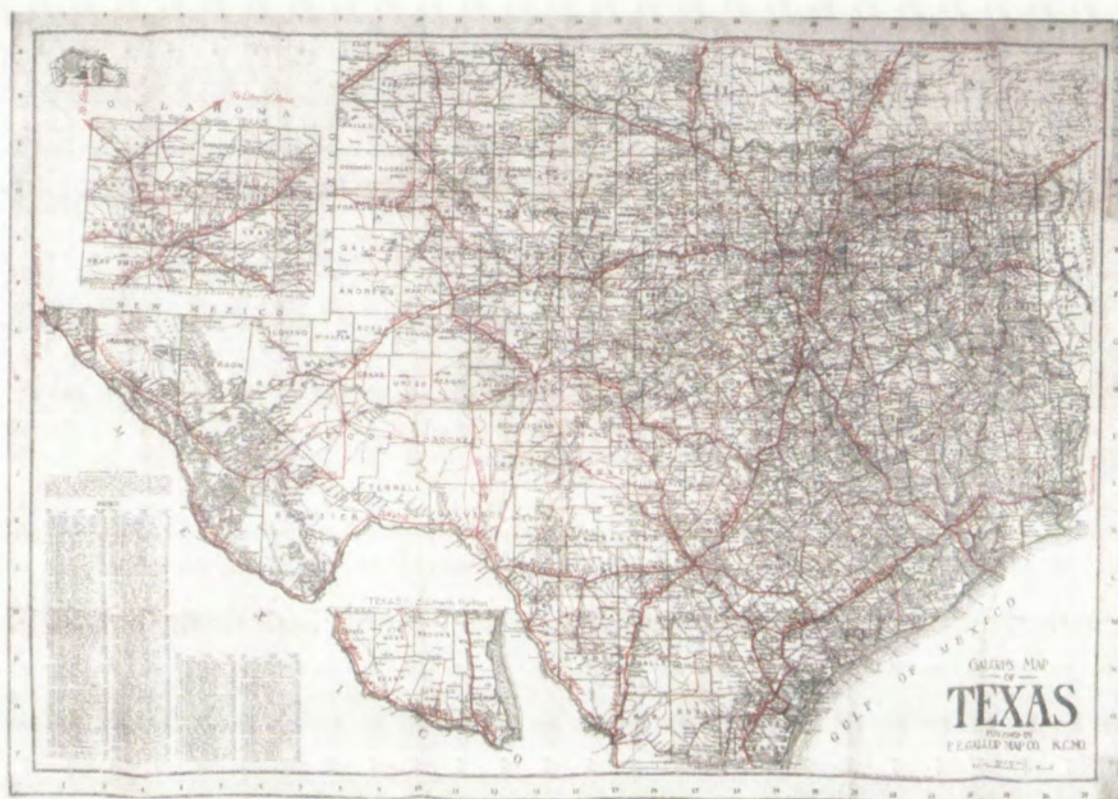
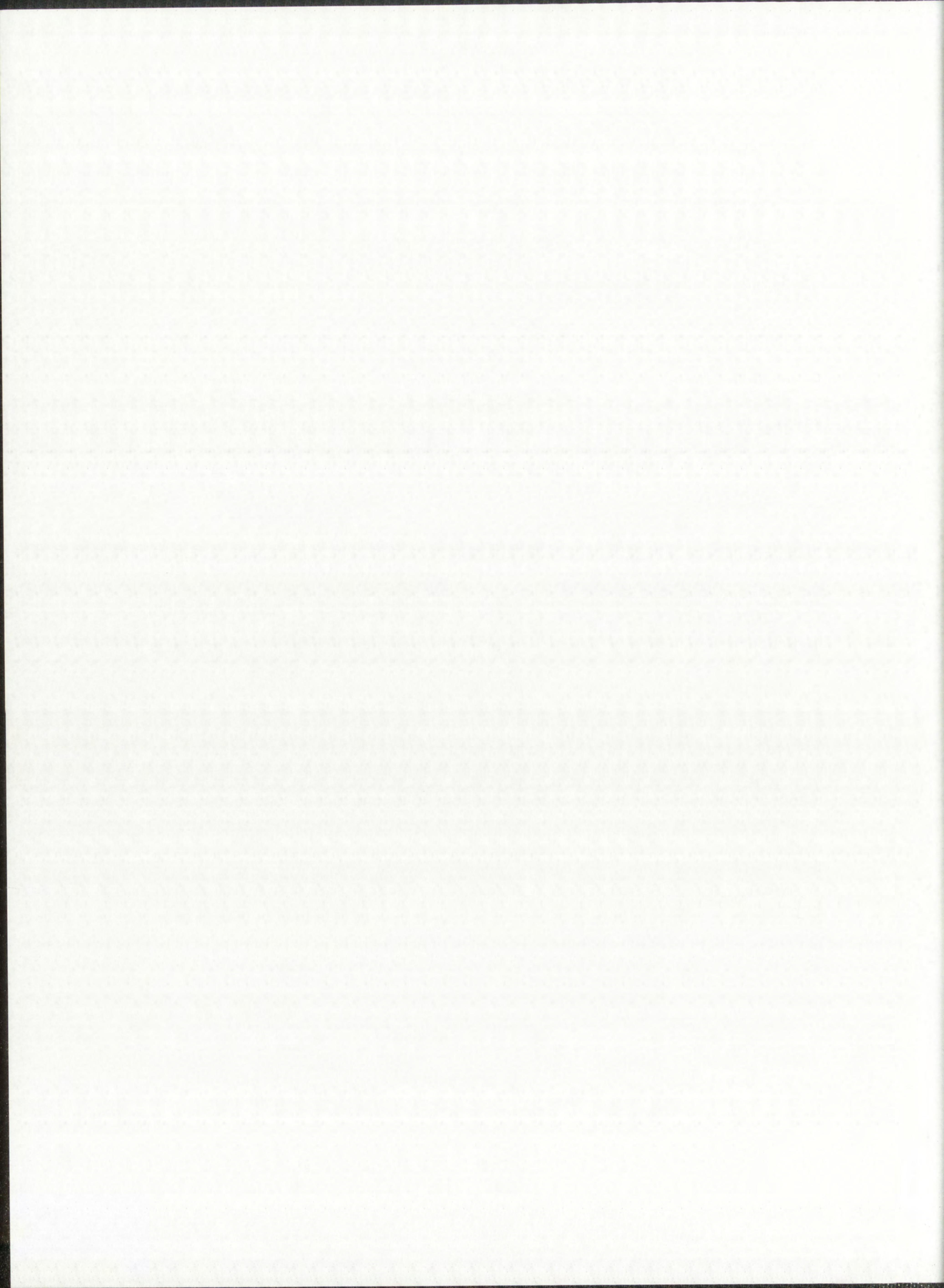


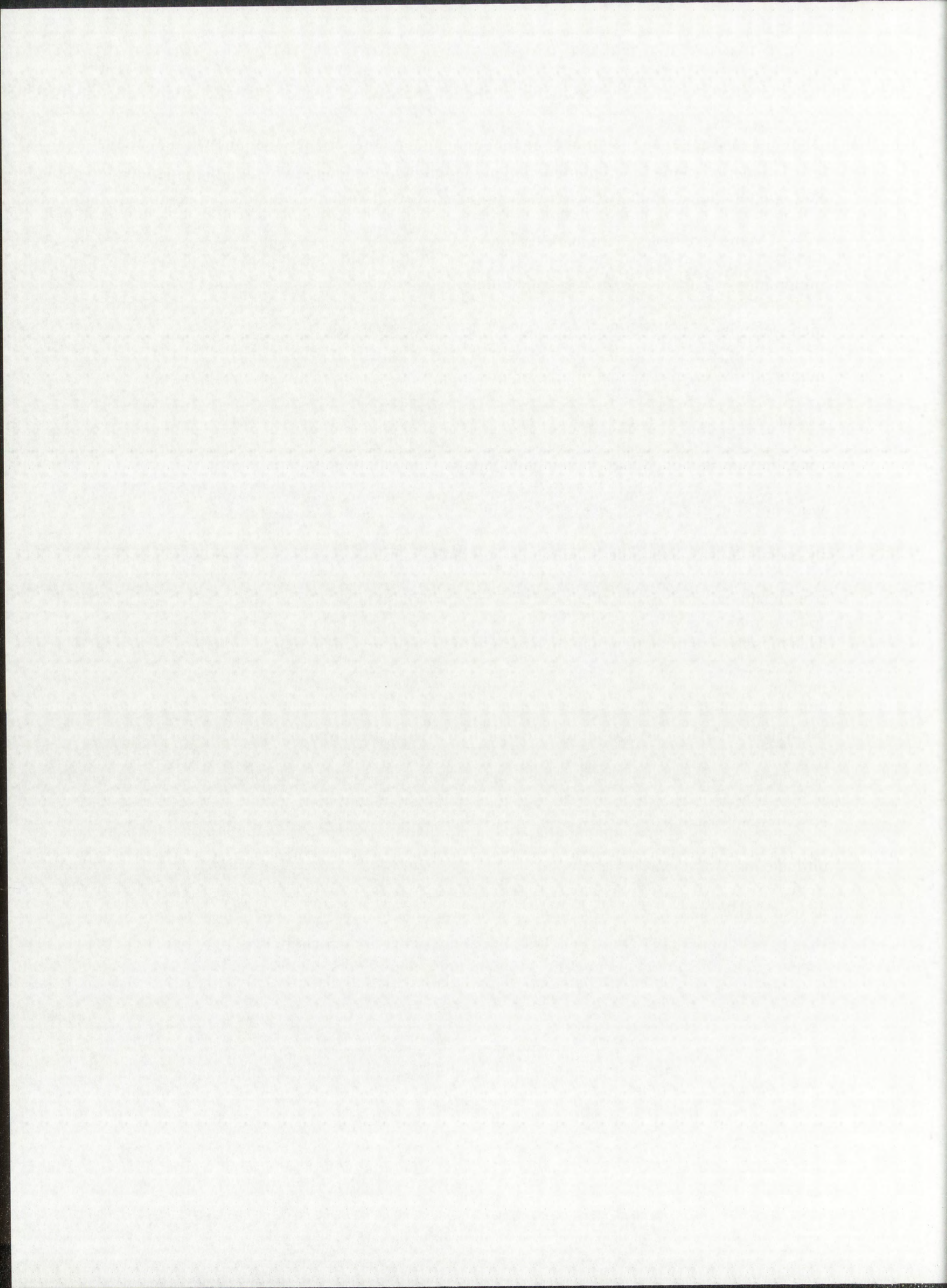
Figure 1: Gallup Map of Texas, pre-1926

occurred—I never found the town named, only a near point on the map where three Texas counties meet. I have learned that often towns on the México-U.S. border are easier to find by consulting Mexican maps, where the names of border towns are not considered insignificant and where those names have not be anglicized by expansion. Moreover, U.S. maps often end abruptly at the national border, as though any land beyond the bounds of the U.S. do not merit mention. Searching a map of Texas for Porvenir, the Sierra Vieja mountains appear; the Jeff Davis County line; the 30th parallel; cattle trails and the Rio Grande, yet every line curls off into some undetermined end because the maps stop at México, as if the earth drops off at the geopolitical border, as if



you step over that arbitrary line into *nothingness.*

Maps, like history, are manifestations of power. Cartography enhances the importance of Lubbock while obscuring the location of Porvenir, where fifteen Mexican men were massacred and dismembered. While Carey McWilliams's assertion of the number of Mexicans lynched in the Southwest may not be empirically provable, to some extent, I felt I must endeavor to expose the concealed hands that have held the pen, the rope, the gun, and even, indeed, the blowtorch. The possibilities for historical recovery work or counternarrative construction are in many ways constrained by furtive "facts"—by anecdotal whispers rather than careful reports, thus my approach has tended away from historical recovery narrative or counternarrative and instead is a series of vignettes. This montage creates a mapping, "a structure of connections" (Taussig 1980, xi) and is a meditation on the social significance of racialized violence in the United States borderlands. Practices of power and dominance have significantly contributed to the continuing racial hierarchy, partially because they have remained hidden and concomitantly tacitly state-sponsored. As Michel-Rolph Trouillot has written, "The ultimate mark of power may be in its invisibility; the ultimate challenge, the exposition of its roots" (1995, xix).

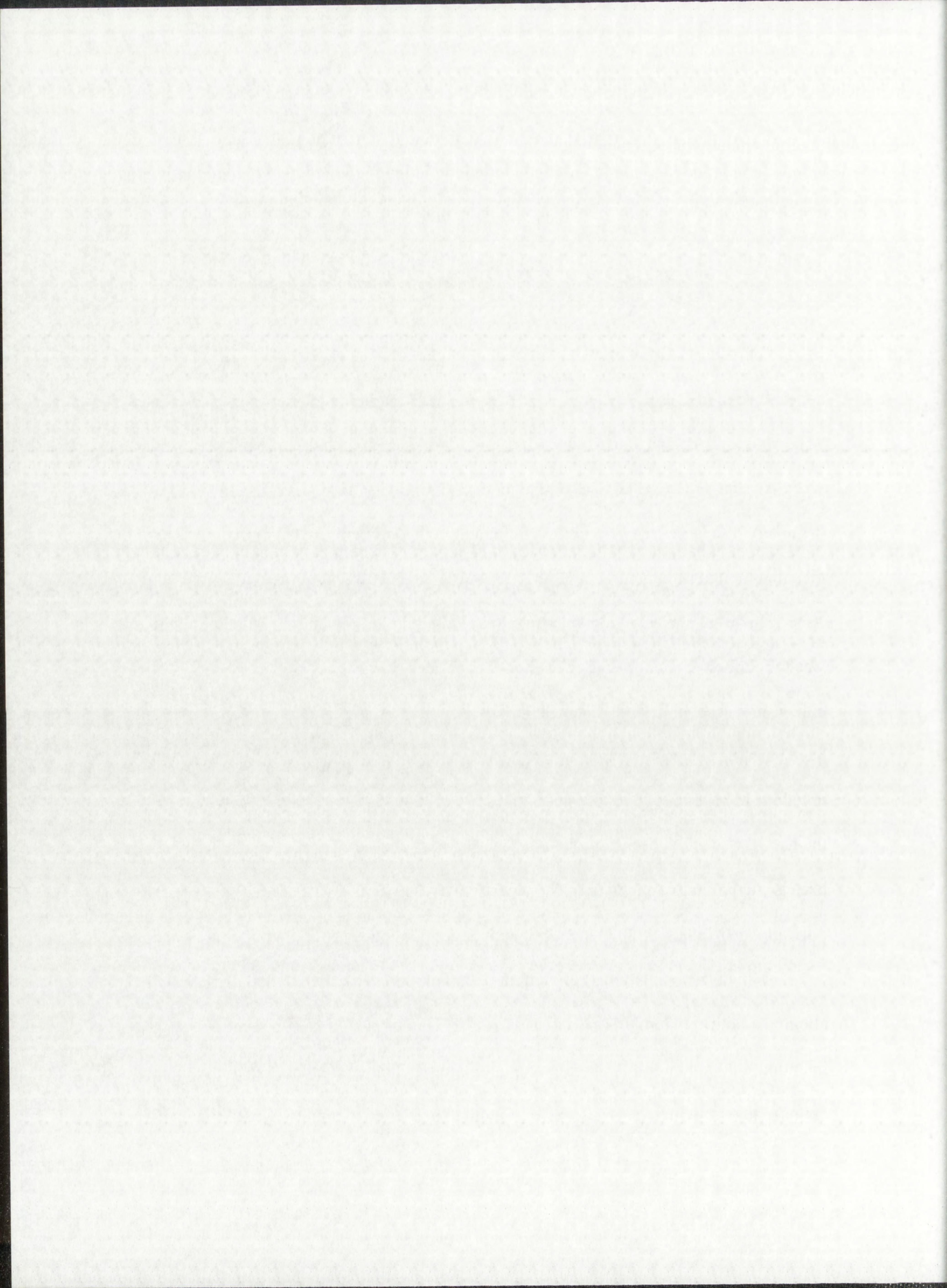


To exorcise in order to chase away the ghosts, but this time to grant them the right… to… a hospitable memory… out of a concern for justice. -Jacques Derrida

Introduction: Approaches to Disappeared Narratives

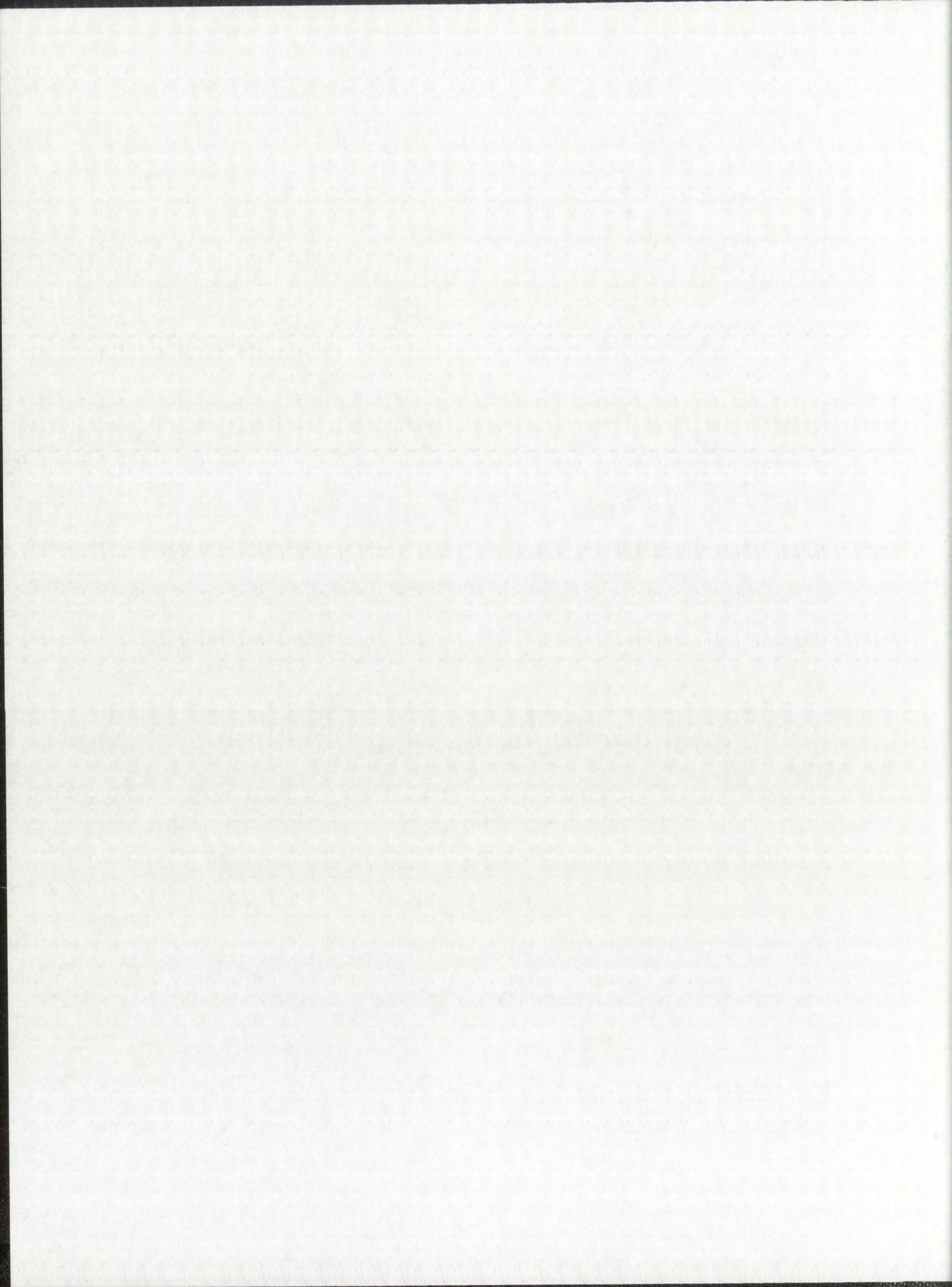
Traveling to the Coast Guard Academy to address the cadets following the appearance of nooses, Maryland Congressman Elijah Cumming told news network CNN, "The noose, to African Americans, is a symbol of hatred and it takes us back to the times when African American people were being hung from trees for no reason at all. And so it's a very offensive kind of thing" (4 October 2007). Congressman Cumming, well meaning though he may have been, erred in two important ways—first, African Americans were subject to racial terror for *very specific reasons*, the most vital of which was to reinforce a racial ideology of Euro-American superiority as well as the terms of citizenship; second, Congressman Cumming reinforced the belief that African Americans have been the exclusive victims of racial hatred and mob violence. The Congressman is not alone in his assumption, however. The story of mob violence and public murder in the United States has been consistent in aim, but not in object. The aim and subject has been white normative superiority; the objects have been homosexuals, Jews, Italians, African Americans, Communists, labor activists, and Mexicans.

Mine is not a historical recovery project, but rather an experimental genre bending attempt at both counternarrative and anthropological analysis. In keeping with this intention, I do not mean to recover every Mexican lynching victim that has been expunged from written histories; rather, I will reconsider the features of U.S. racialized

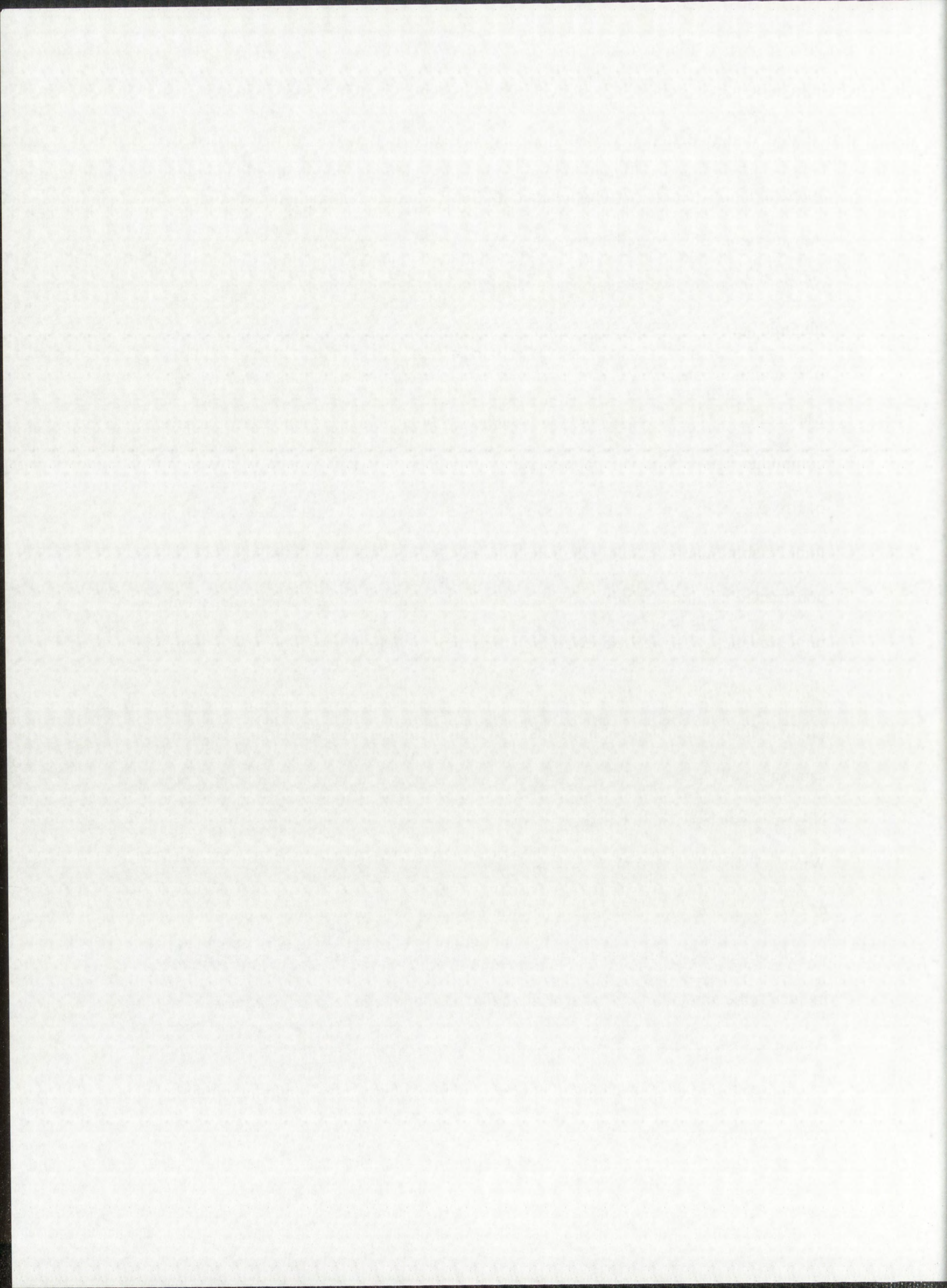


terror as not solely concerned with the black object. In doing so, I hope to join in the vigorous scholarship that insists on discussions of a racial hierarchy that has tyrannized and dominated multiple 'othered' communities through violence and terror—such as: Madeleine M. Noble whose *The White Caps of Harrison and Crawford County Indiana: A Study in the Violent Enforcement of Morality* looks at white-on-white vigilantism as an outgrowth of economic conditions; Steve Oney's *And the Dead Shall Rise: The Murder of Mary Phagan and the Lynching of Leo Frank* that traces southern anti-Semitism via the mob murder of a Jewish pencil factory worker; and Christopher Waldrep's *The Many Faces of Judge Lynch: Extralegal Violence and Punishment in America* that includes anti-union lynchings along with the predominantly African American lynchings in his study. All augment the enormous breadth of work on the lynching of African Americans. Yet I hope to engage in a reconsideration of the undocumented or unrecognized practice of lynching Mexicans while also crucially reflecting on the significance and function of ritualized violence.

My first question concerns why the lynching of Mexicans has been relatively undocumented. As I noted previously, early in the nineteenth century, the lynching of Mexicans in the Southwest was noted by Carey McWilliams in *North from Mexico: the Spanish Speaking People of the United States,* where he asserted that "more Mexicans were lynched in the Southwest between 1865 and 1920 than blacks in other parts of the South."[5] However, the hundreds of unrestrained murders of Mexicans throughout the Southwest have gone largely unrecognized in both U.S. and Chicano/a histories. Previous work on lynching has focused on the murders of African Americans in the South. Crucial



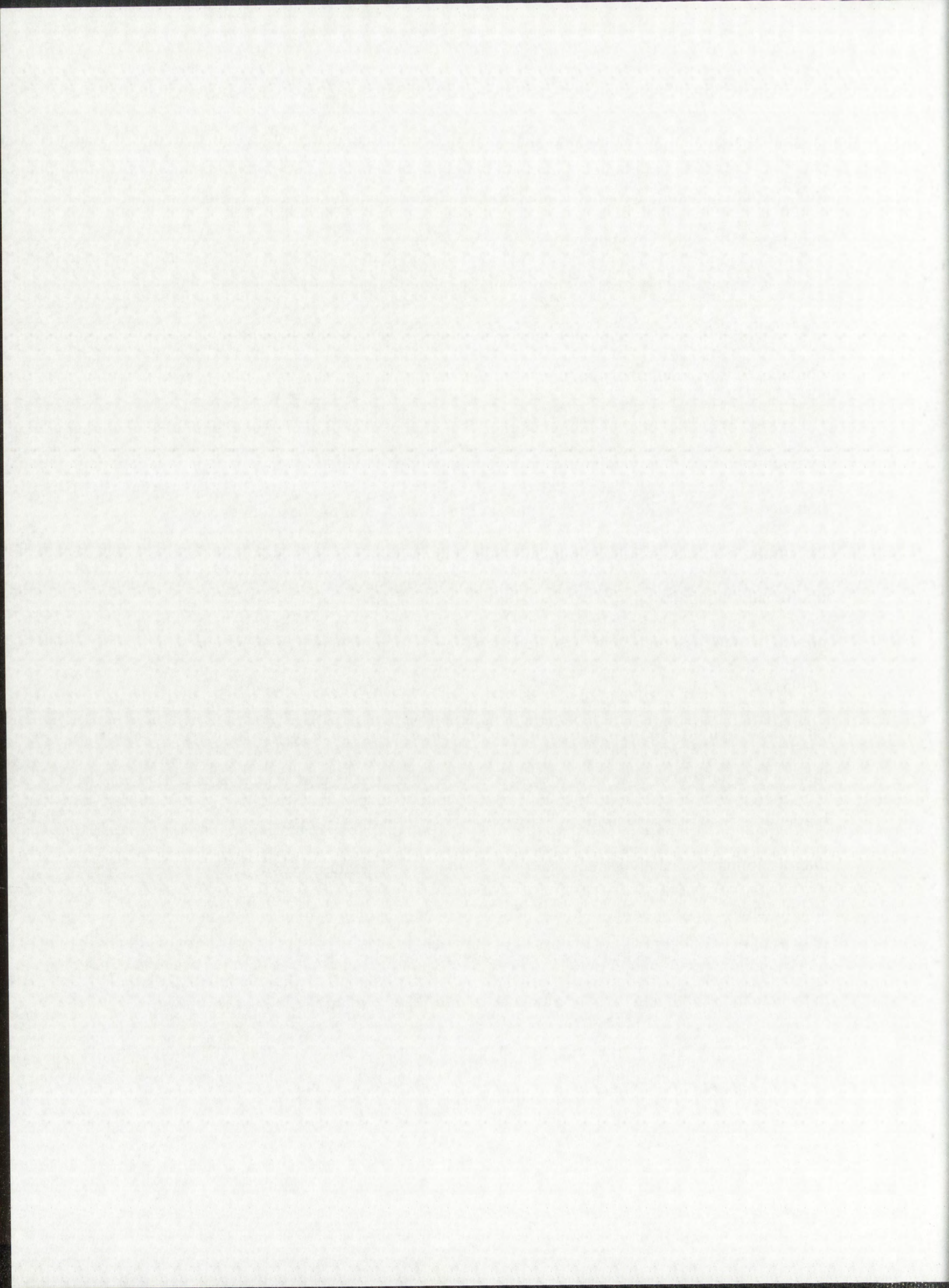
foundational works on lynching include the 1919 National Association for the Advancement of Colored Persons (NAACP) work *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States, 1889-1918,* which tabulated over three thousand lynching victims and one hundred accounts of individual lynchings and stands as the only nationwide compilation of lynching events (1991 [1969]). This compilation did not include the lynching of Mexicans. The extensive files at the Tuskegee Institute, which are considered the most comprehensive records of lynching victims in the United States, does list the lynching of fifty Mexicans (in Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Texas) yet these are of 4,742 total lynching victims listed, clearly an undercount (Acuña 2005). Scholars who have constructed historiographies of lynching similarly focus on African American victims. A large statistical analysis by Stewart E. Tolnay and E. M. Beck's—*A Festival of Violence: An Analysis of Southern Lynchings, 1882-1930*—documents 2,805 lynching incidents (1995) with no discussion of incidents involving Mexicans. Unlike the many atrocity catalogues of lynching that have proliferated since the foundational work of the NAACP—such as Ralph Ginzberg's *100 Years of Lynching* (1962 [1988]), Walter White's *White Rope and Faggot: A Biography of Judge Lynch* (1969) and *At the Hands of Persons Unknown: The Lynching of Black America* by Philip Dray (2005) which largely document and describe lynchings, yet offer little analysis—Tolnay and Beck do include some amount of analysis, positing that the Southern lynching of African-Americans was more deeply rooted in economic conditions and competition, rather than race hatred (1995). Though Tolnay and Beck further their analysis on the function of violence, they along with the above listed scholars all reify a white-black binary of race



violence and lynching. These scholars also limit their concern to the Deep South geographically and ideologically.

Comparative analysis of oppression across region and race requires an interdisciplinary approach. My project crosses disciplines, geopolitical and linguistic borders and interdisciplinary American studies scholarship encourages such a move. American Studies complicates and/or moves beyond the limiting approaches employed by traditional disciplines and, further, moves away from the study of the U.S. as a bounded U.S. nation. Recently, hemispheric American studies has been actively argued for; unlike foundational U.S. American studies scholars who saw the discipline as traditionally bounded by the U.S. geo-political borders. Such work is crucial, as it has proved hard to "rescue history from the nation," as Prasenjit Duara has posed the issue (1995). Like American Studies scholar Mary Helen Washington, I believe that "scholarship emerges in layers and intersections" (1998, 7). I have sought convergences that suggest junctures, meeting places, bridges and border crossings. The metaphor of border crossing through interdisciplinary work is a useful one. Ultimately, interdisciplinarity is conversation across discipline, across genre, across borders—real and imagined.

Those few works that have examined violence against Mexicans in the Southwest in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries often conflate lynching murders with generalized stories of "frontier violence" and "local vigilantism." Why has the lynching of Mexicans been largely unwritten and the losses of Mexican lynching victims unregarded and unvalued? Ken Gonzales-Day, whose *Lynching in the West* attempts a



historial recovery of lynching in California and explains his project in terms of lynching being and undervalued part of the history of the West writing,

> the recovery of California's history of lynching is not driven by the monetary value of objects that reference the practice of lynching but by the lack of *value* placed on the Western history of lynching itself, and it is the devaluation of the Latino, Native American, and Asian body within the social order that has resulted in the near complete erasure of these communities from the historical landscape (2006, 117).

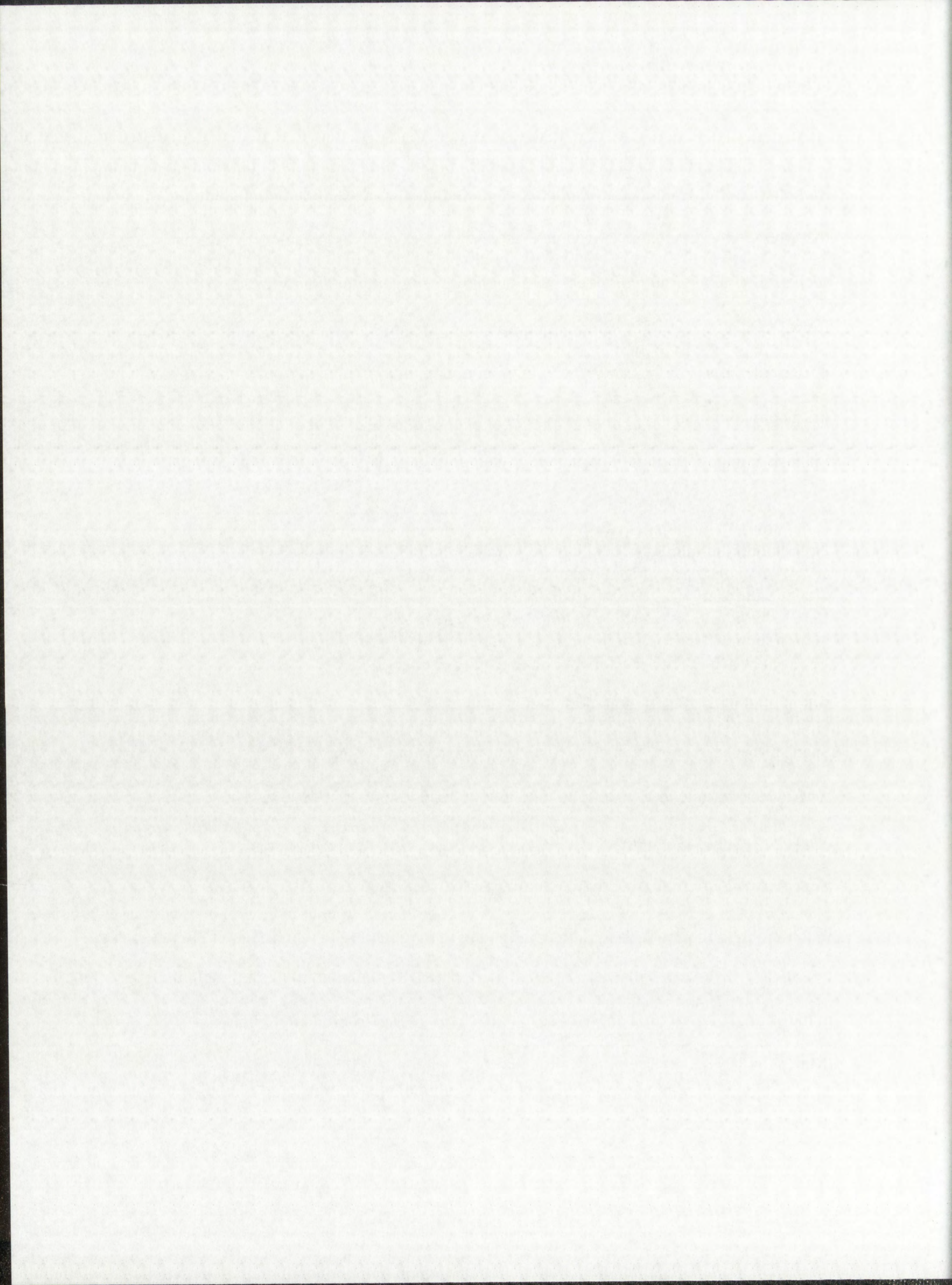
In my attempts at confronting the unrecorded lynching of Mexicans in the Southwest, I have found that discourse on the actuality of hanging, dismembered, burned, tortured Mexican bodies is rare. While some specific case studies have been published, there is a lack of generalized surveys of Mexican lynchings in the Southwest—both historically and in the present. Two exceptions have been the work of Ken Gonzales-Day and William D. Carrigan, which I have broadly drawn upon. Gonzales-Day's *Lynching in the West: 1850-1935* published in 2006 looks at lynching in California, including those of Mexicans as well as other racialized bodies. Carrigan takes up the lynching of Mexicans in *The Making of A Lynching Culture: Violence And Vigilantism In Central Texas, 1836-1916* (2004), a study which is limited to Texas. His article written with Clive Webb, "The Lynching of Persons of Mexican Origin or Descent in the United States, 1848 to 1928," in *Journal of Social History* attempts a wider scope.

Rudolpho F. Acuña, one of the foremost scholars of Chicano Studies and the author of *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos* (1972) believes that one reason for the historical failure to acknowledge violence against Mexicans in the narratives of lynching atrocities has been due to language. In "Crocodile Tears: Lynchings of

Mexicans" (2005) Acuña argues for a Congressional apology for slavery and also posits that Mexican victims may "have been lost in the pages of Spanish-language newspapers such as *El Clamor Publico*... a Spanish-language newspaper published in Los Angeles from 1855-1859" (2005). While African American history has drawn upon the extensive documented cases of lynching put forth by concurrent anti-lynching campaigns, many of the historical newspaper editorials and accounts of violence against Mexicans has been in Spanish language papers. For instance, Acuña further explains:

> I received an email from Armando Miguelez, one of the foremost experts on 19th Century Spanish language newspapers… He observed that in a four-year period in the *El Clamor Publico* alone, he counted eighty *linchamientos* of Mexicans, Chileans, Peruvians, Indians and Blacks in California. It is doubtful whether the Allen book [James Allen Hilton's *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America*] included this source and the figures do not include those of Spanish-language newspapers in Texas, New Mexico and Arizona (2005).

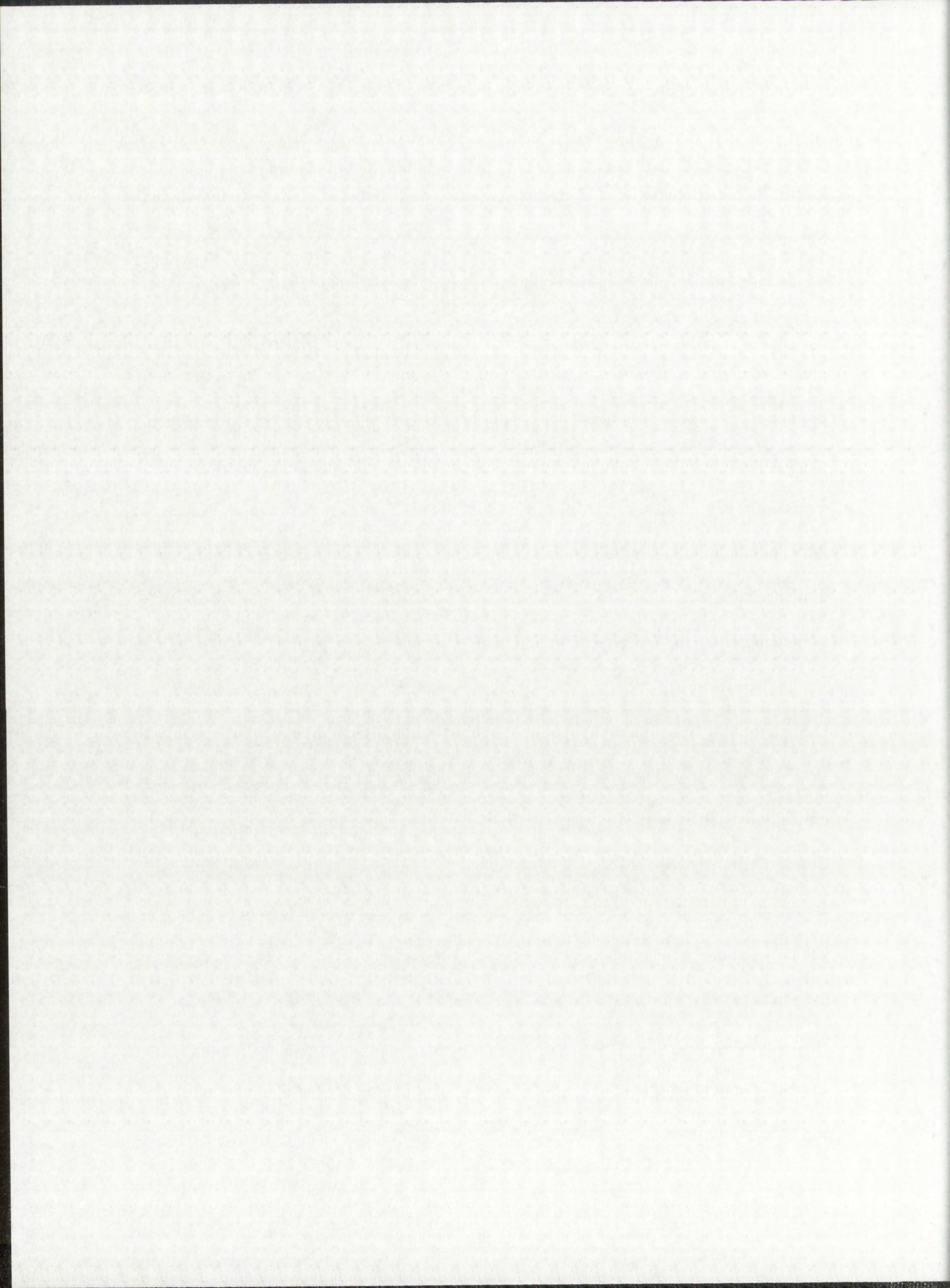
While it may be the case that accessing Spanish language materials is difficult for non-Spanish speakers, some work on which scholars may build upon has been done already. As A. Gabriel Meléndez writes in *So All Is Not Lost: The Poetics of Print in Nuevomexicano Communities, 1834-1958*, more than 190 Spanish language newspapers were founded and flourished in the Southwest between 1880 and 1935 (1997, 6). The newspapers that were published in over thirty communities in the region that would become New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona and Texas "posited language as a principle tool in the struggle for cultural survival" as the United States colonized the Southwest (Meléndez 1997, 6-7). These newspapers often reported or editorialized public violences



against Mexicans, and I hope to engage in a future project that begins to consolidate the Spanish language newspaper data on lynching.

In addition to the historical gap, no work has been published that considers "modern" Southwestern lynchings of Mexicans. Moreover, this gap in scholarship has precluded urgent deliberation of the function of lynching of Mexicans in the Southwest. I propose a sustained look at the lynching of Mexicans in the Southwest (past and present); in particular as it has been coupled with the construction of U.S. national identity through a racial ideology. This thesis is in conversation with U.S. histories, American Studies, Africana Studies and Chicano Studies, using interpretive anthropological methodology. I draw upon these disciplines while also critiquing their collusion with the historical silence regarding the lynching of Mexicans in the Southwest.

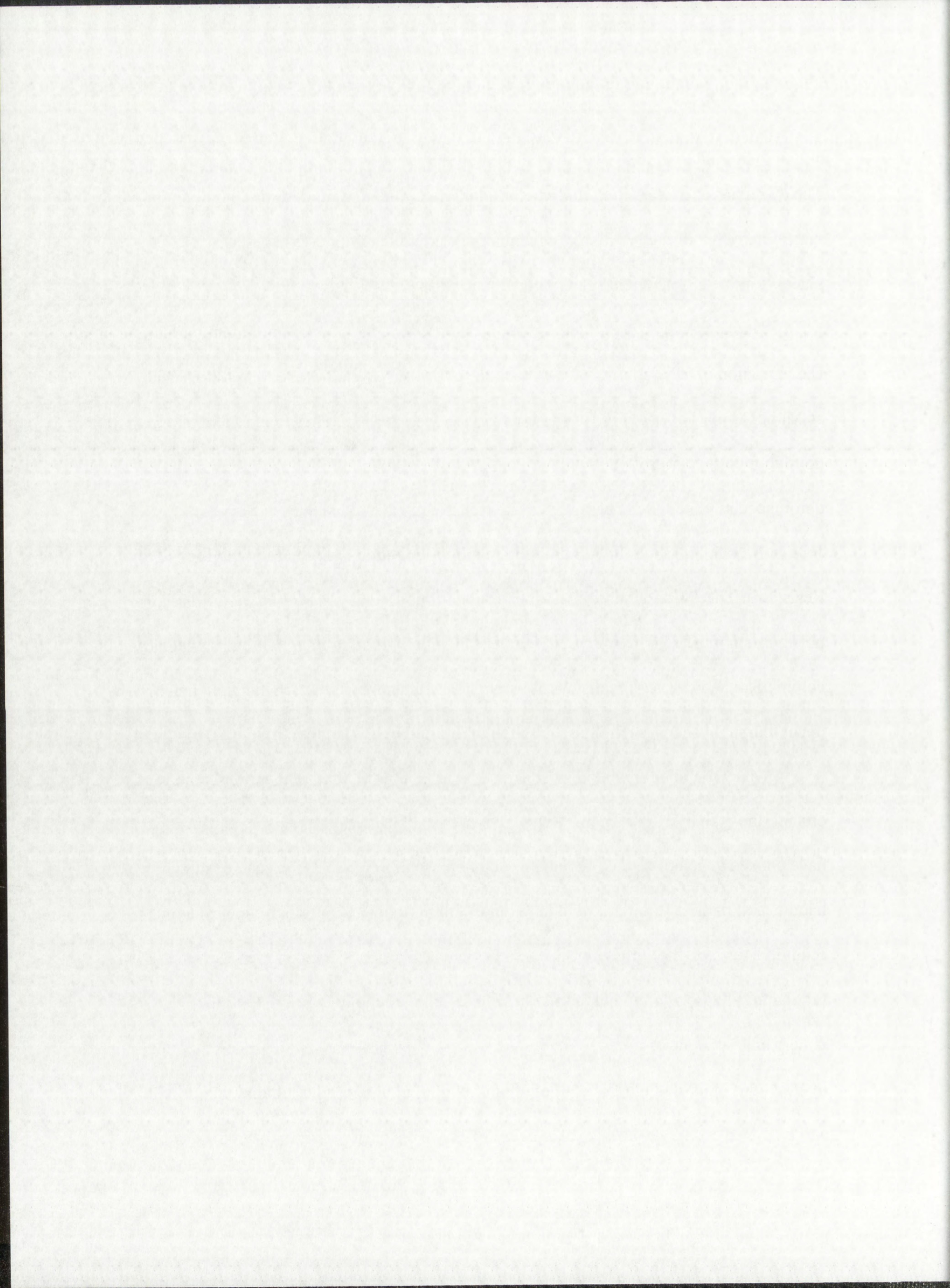
This historical and analytical landscape examined includes not only dominant U.S. narratives. I also believe revisionist histories have obscured Mexican victims in a similar fashion; thus, the historical silence regarding the lynching of Mexicans is also critically concerned with Chicano historiography. My explorations on the question of Chicano historiography takes me in three directions: first, remembrance and mourning are directly connected to a sense of value; these lives and these losses have not been valued[6]; second, in the moment of historical production, choices have been made about the narrative of lynching—for the most part, when Mexican victims of lynching have been discussed, they have been positioned as bandits and rustlers, executed rightly in the name of frontier justice; and third, there has been a pattern of collusion in the Hispano and Chicano narratives—for this reason I am not only interested in the master narrative.



The disregard of the lynching of Mexicans has not just been written by the dominant or master narrative of the West. The lynching of Mexicans has been obscured at two places—in the Hispano texts and oppositional, revisionist Chicano[7] histories.

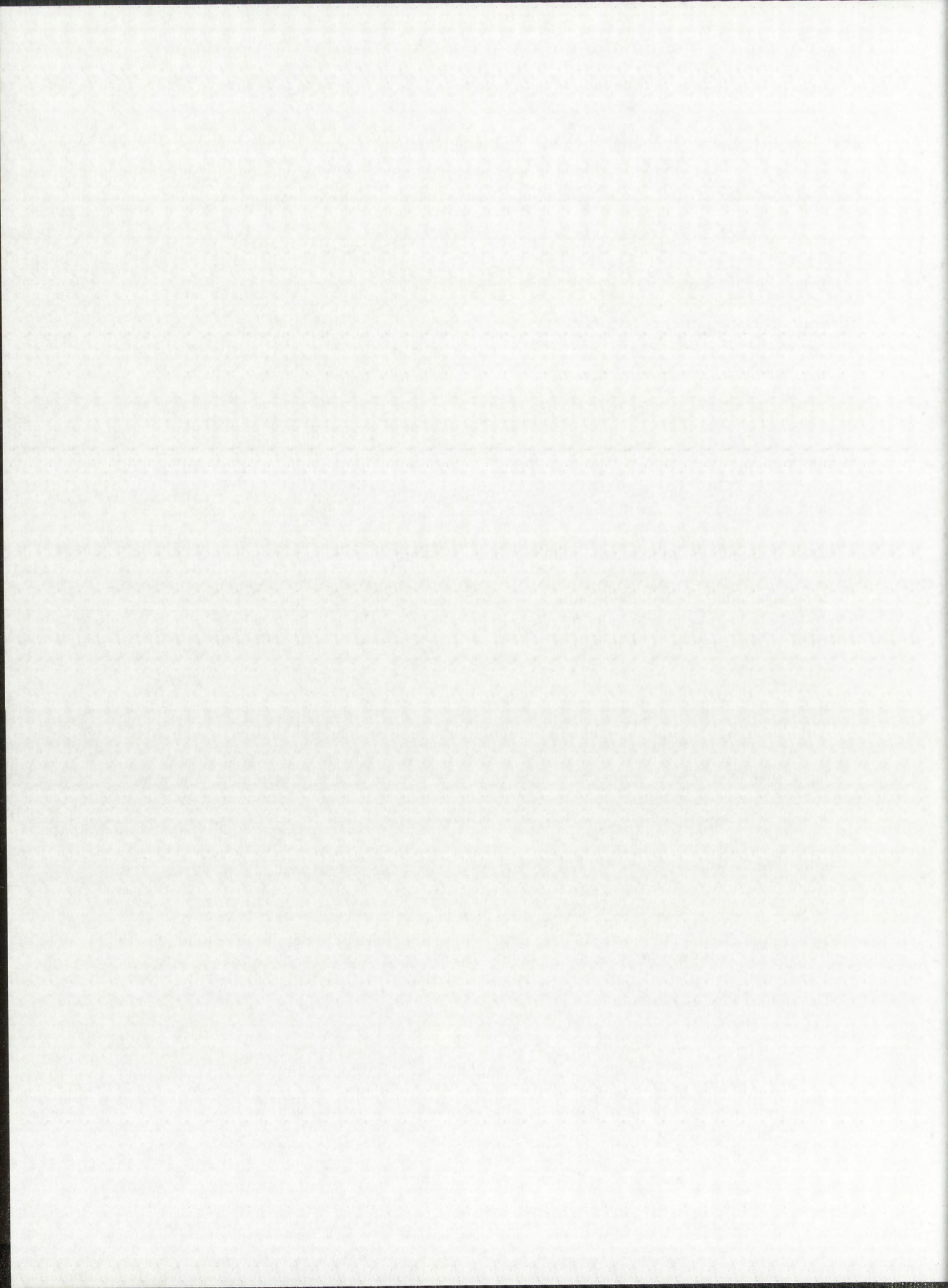
Hispana/os who constructed narratives representing the events surrounding the U.S. invasion of México in 1846 and the annexation of Northern México to follow such as María Amparo Ruiz de Burton who published *Squatter and the Don* in 1887 elucidated non-labor class concerns and while critical of post-Guadalupe Hidalgo economic U.S. dominance rarely condemned violence against racialized bodies in the Southwest. As José F. Aranda Jr. argues in "Contradictory Impulses: María Amparo Ruiz de Burton, Resistance Theory, and the Politics of Chicano/a Studies" the *Squatter and the Don* did not so much reject U.S. domination, but instead hoped for a marriage of Spanish-Mexican colonialism and U.S. colonialism that would create a democracy which centered the upper class that she herself was a part of as a land holding California.[8]

My claim about revisionist Chicano historical construction is that it has done two crucial things that collude in obscuring the lynching of Mexicans. Revisionist Chicanos have chosen to celebrate the rugged individual/ masculine hero—often, also positioned as bandits and rustlers (though Robin Hood like). In this genre, Chicanos have elevated Joaqúin Murrieta, the Cortina brothers and Gregorio Cortez. Américo Paredes, Tejano scholar and folklorist who helped set the foundation for scholarship on Mexican Americans, was one of the first to pose a scholarly counternarrative on Gregorio Cortez in *With His Pistol in His Hand: A Border Ballad and its Hero* (1958). Paredes collected and analyzed border *corridos* to celebrate Cortez's resistance to legal injustice. Paredes



along with other scholars has constructed a virile story, containing moments of confrontation with social injustice and racial terror in the Southwest. Yet, these tales keenly focus on the constructed Chicano hero. Drawing upon and channeling the U.S. narrative tradition of rugged individualism, Chicano histories have mislaid the stories of the countless Mexicans murdered in the Euro-American hunt for these very heroes of legend. Ken Gonzales-Day also discusses Gregorio Cortez. Cortez is the celebrated hero and subject of countless border *corridos.* Cortez was sought for killing a Texas sheriff and escaped capture; during the search for Cortez, increased violence was directed against Mexican communities in the Gonzales, Refugio, Hays, Texas counties. After a long manhunt that involved hundreds Texas lawmen and laymen, Cortez was arrested, tried and imprisoned. In Gonzales County, after his first trial as he was appealing a guilty verdict, Cortez was attacked by a mob of over three hundred who attempted to lynch him. Yet Cortez was never lynched and after serving twelve years, he was released. His legend has grown to encompass numerous border ballads, and was later documented by the work of folklorist Américo Paredes, whose *With His Pistol in His Hand,* published in 1958, introduced a wider audience to the Cortez story. Further, in 1981 Chicano film star Edward James Olmos produced and starred in the feature film *The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez.* The narrative energy surrounding Cortez has been immense, yet Ken Gonzales-Day adds a forgotten footnote to the Cortez story:

> The saddest part of the story lies in the many accounts of those who had, or who were believed to have, helped him in whatever way they could during his flight from the sheriff's posse. In San Diego, a Mexican was killed as part of the "Cortez gang," and others were captured or killed. In Belmont, Texas, a Mexican was hanged to death and another shot dead

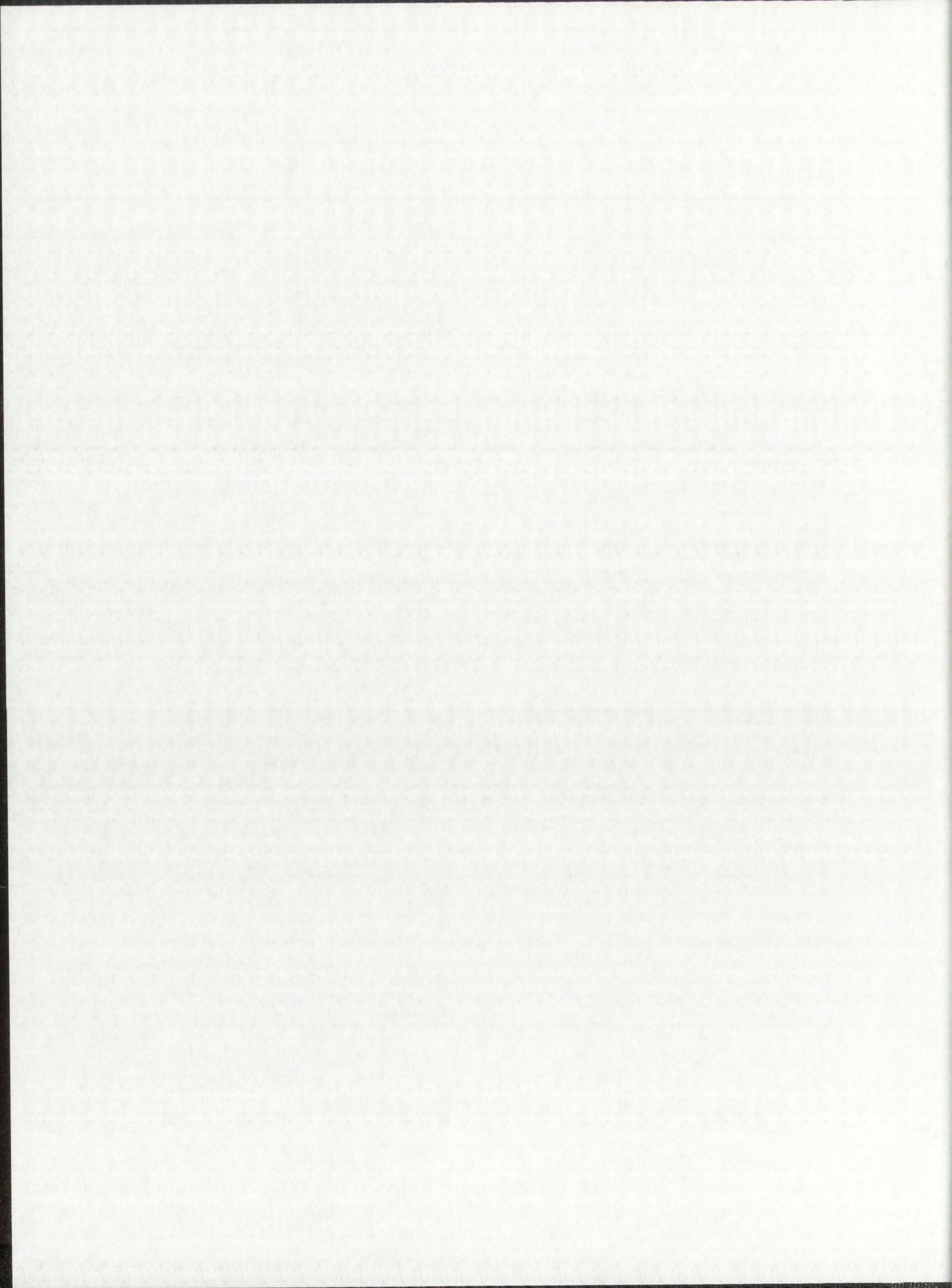


> when they refused to disclose information about the "gang" (2006, 148-149).

The focus on celebrating masculine individualism, rather than the necessary aid of Mexican communities surviving under oppressive U.S. expansionism and further punished during the hunt for Cortez has effectively erased the numbers of brutalized and murdered Mexicans even as they have crafted the stories of Chicanismo's Great Men.

The story of itinerant heroes has also suppressed the reality of land holding Mexicans in the Southwest. Here I argue that a struggle for both dominance and land have been contributing factors in to the lynching of Mexicans. In this study I consider the second way in which the Hispano and Chicano communities have aided in the repression of lynching narratives. In the moment of lynching and afterward, Hispanos and Chicanos who have benefitted from their claim to a conditional whiteness in the U.S. racial regime through land owning class privilege have often distanced themselves from Mexicans in danger. William D. Carrigan has determined that in the recorded cases of lynchings of Mexicans, those who were working class, rather than landed class, were more subject to violence (2003).

Carrigan writes that the racial identity of Mexicans was to a considerable degree determined by their class status. The earliest Euro-American settlers to the Southwest saw the native ruling elite as a superior racial group to the mass of Mexican laborers. Certainly, the question we are left with is whether of not the Mexican ruling elite also felt they were superior—did they also draw upon this artificial class and race distinction? In "The Lynching of Persons of Mexican Origin or Descent in the United States, 1848 to

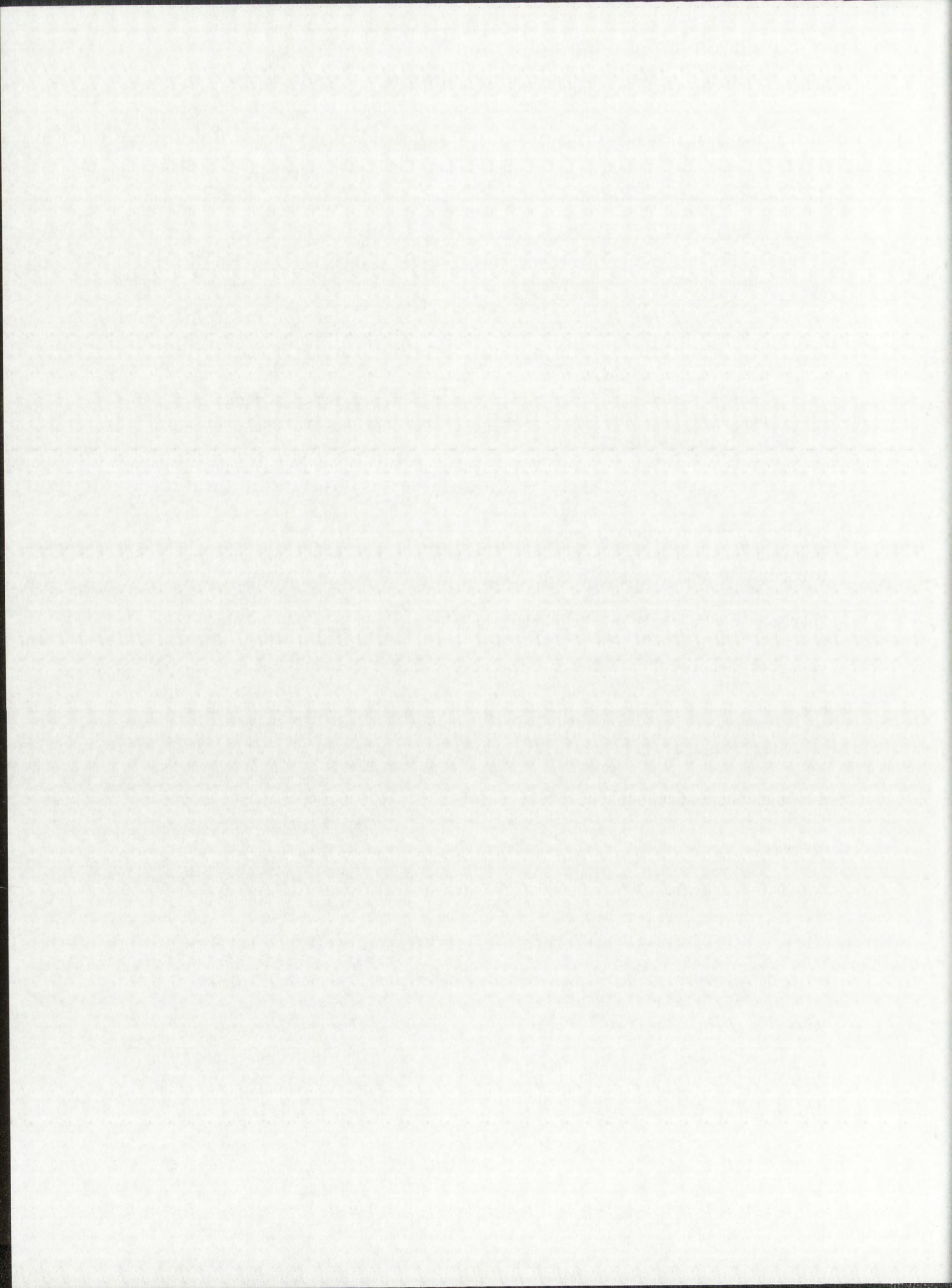


1928" Carrigan and Webb write:

> Travelers… asserted that the ruling classes could trace a direct line of descent from the Spanish colonists of the seventeenth century. Their racial purity elevated them to a position of social superiority over the majority of the Mexican population… While most Mexicans were restricted to a status of permanent racial subordination, a small minority were therefore able to secure the social advantages of whiteness. Their position as whites acted as a protective shield against mob violence. Although the elite often suffered assaults against their property, they seldom experienced injury in person. On occasion, Anglos even invited their involvement in vigilance committees (2003, 8).

Thus, at times not only did Chicanos and Hispanos not aid victims of violence for fear that they would align themselves with the lesser class (and thereby both reject their claim to conditional whiteness as well as become targets of racial violence); Chicanos and Hispanos also are known to have joined a "racial" Euro-American alliance by drawing upon their Spanish/European descent. This claim to conditional whiteness has recently been rearticulated in the current Hispano/Chicano response to immigration debate.

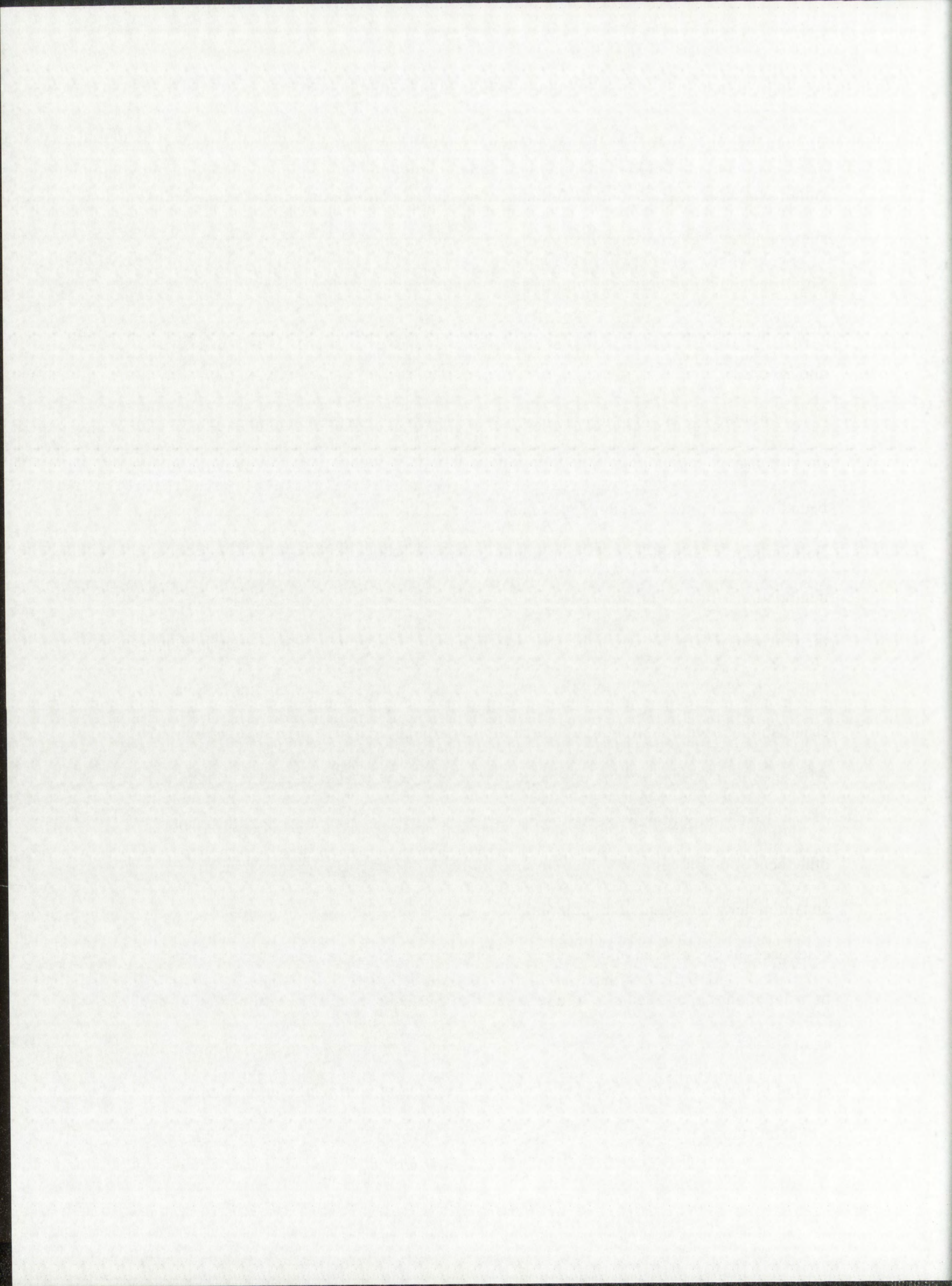
Though there has been massive violence against racialized and 'othered' bodies in the United States, paralleling the lynching of African American and the lynching of Mexicans evidences a number of correspondences. Unlike past scholarship, I explore the links between the racialized murders of African Americans in the South and Mexicans in the Southwest—keeping in mind the particularity of community histories, yet relating performative violence as a common strategy of oppression. Echoing James Baldwin's essay "Many Thousands Gone," where Baldwin writes "The story of the Negro in America is the story of America—or, more precisely, it is the story of Americans" (1998, 19), I maintain that U.S. subjectivity in the U.S. borderlands has been shaped by



ritualized performative violence, and the threat thereof. This claim draws directly on the rich scholarship examining white on black violence in the U.S. South. In both the U.S. South and the Southwest, performative mob violence, or lynching, has functioned to denote the racial hierarchy of the nation—placing Euro-American identity as normative and superior.

Lawrie Balfour, author of *The Evidence of Things Not Said: James Baldwin and the Promise of American Democracy* writes that the foundation of U.S. white identity has been the devaluing of African Americans. Balfour looks to the literature of James Baldwin, highlighting his relentless challenge to U.S. whites to "inquire how black degradation affirms their confidence in the value of being 'American.'" Balfour believes the power of Baldwin's writing is that it incessantly reveals there would be no particular merit in U.S. whiteness without the historical 'black object.' Balfour utilizes Baldwin to establish that negative attitudes against the 'black object' coupled with violence against African Americans helped to consolidate white identity in the Unites States (1998, 353).

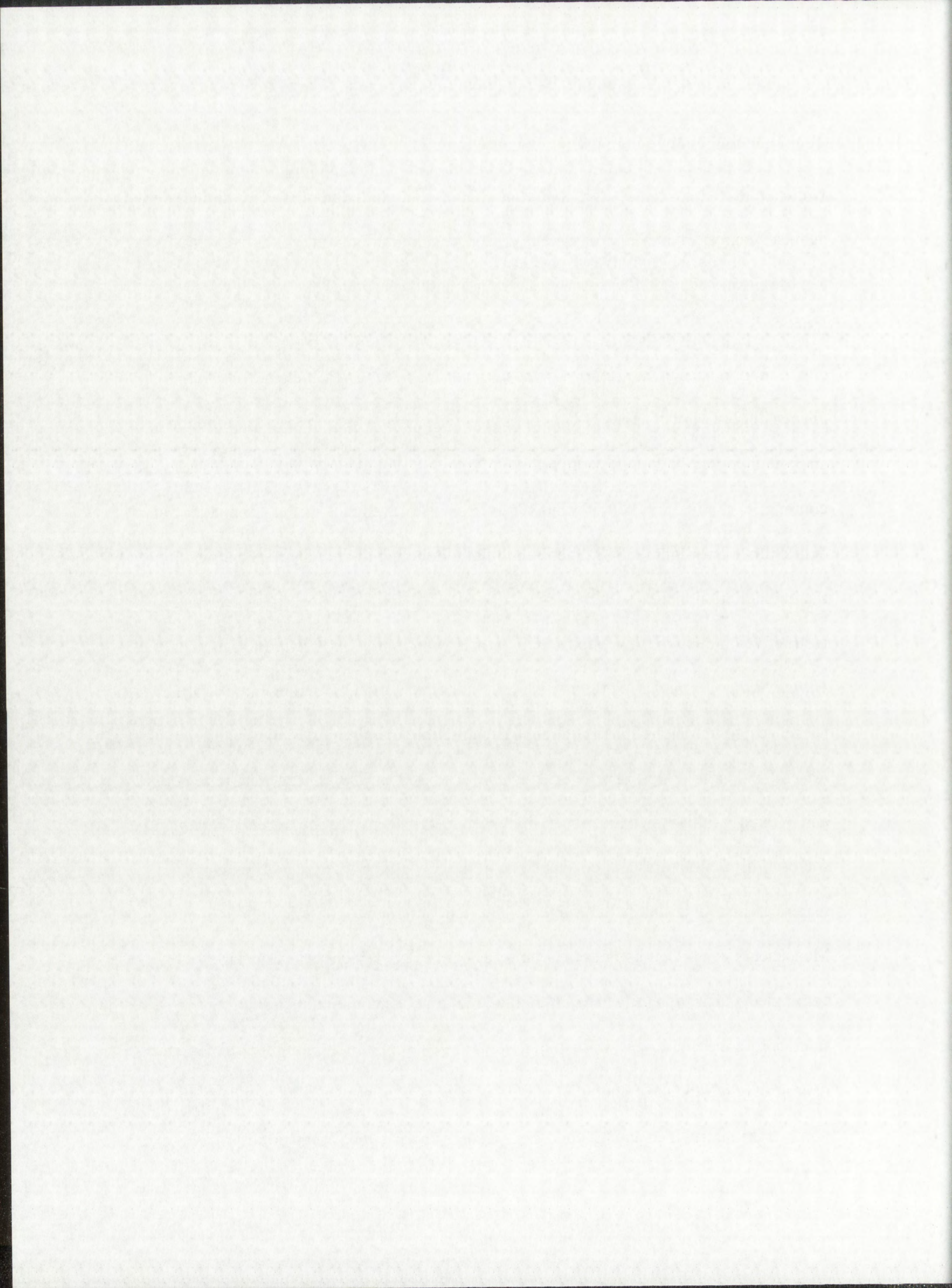
Like Balfour, many social theorists have argued that lynchings, burnings, and other acts of public violence "may be seen functioning as a recuperative fantasmatic for an American white manhood perennially depicting itself—despite mountains of contrary evidence—as diminished and besieged" (Weisenburger 2002, 3). Brutal corporeal punishment has been used as a tool to normalize the social dominance of Euro-Americans against the submission of African Americans, and to uphold the racial power system. Acts of violence or threatened violence have become the "sacrificial rite producing a recuperative effect … chiefly in [its] emphasis on the scapegoat as means for achieving



white solidarity" (Weisenburger 2002, 3). I have looked to the performative violence against Mexicans that has constructed and enacted similar racial hierarchies in the Southwest and position Euro-Americans as normative and superior vis-a-vis the Mexican object.

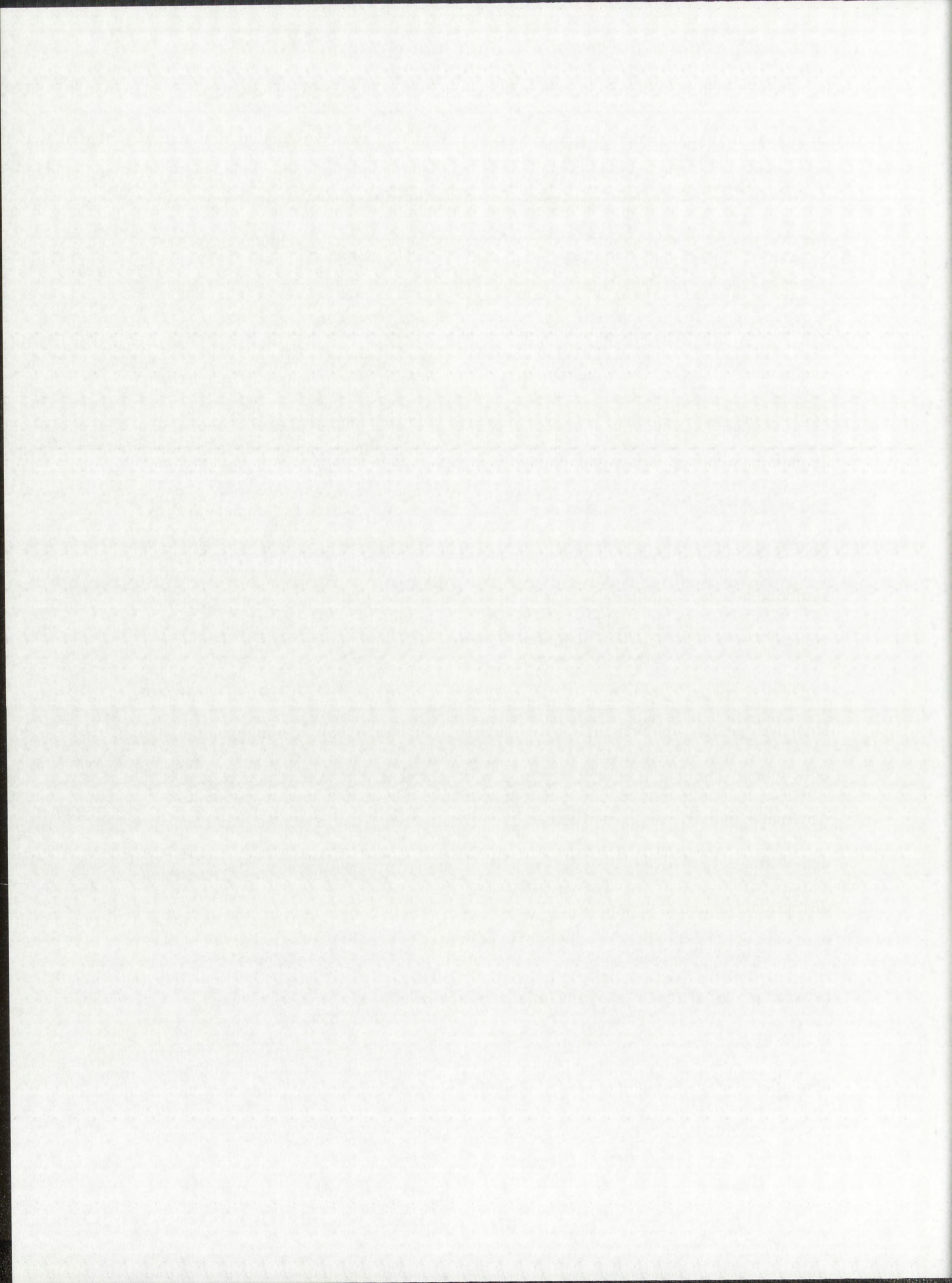
Work, such as Ian Haney Lopéz's *Racism on Trial: The Chicano Fight for Justice,* has previously connected African Americans and Mexicans in their common struggle against racial oppression, however this work suggests that these are two separate communities, allied in the 1950s and 1960s in social movements for justice and equality. While this Civil Rights era linkage is an important moment in our shared histories, I insist that it is a fiction that these communities and their histories have ever been separate. Instructive on this point are Michael Omi and Howard Winant's *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s*, and more particular to the point Martha Menchaca's interpretive history of racial construction *Recovering History, Constructing Race: The Indian, Black, and White Roots of Mexican Americans.* Menchaca takes Omi and Winant's call to trace the process by which racial categorization occurs through socio-political structures and develops one of the few—if not the only—Mexican American historical survey that centers "Mexican Americans' Black history." Menchaca's work demonstrates that our communities have been genealogically comingled—sharing family and community, along with a common racial oppression—since before the Southwest was a U.S. holding. My site of exploration for shared African American and Mexican community is the violence against brown and black bodies.

Further, in *American Encounters: Greater Mexico, the United States and the*



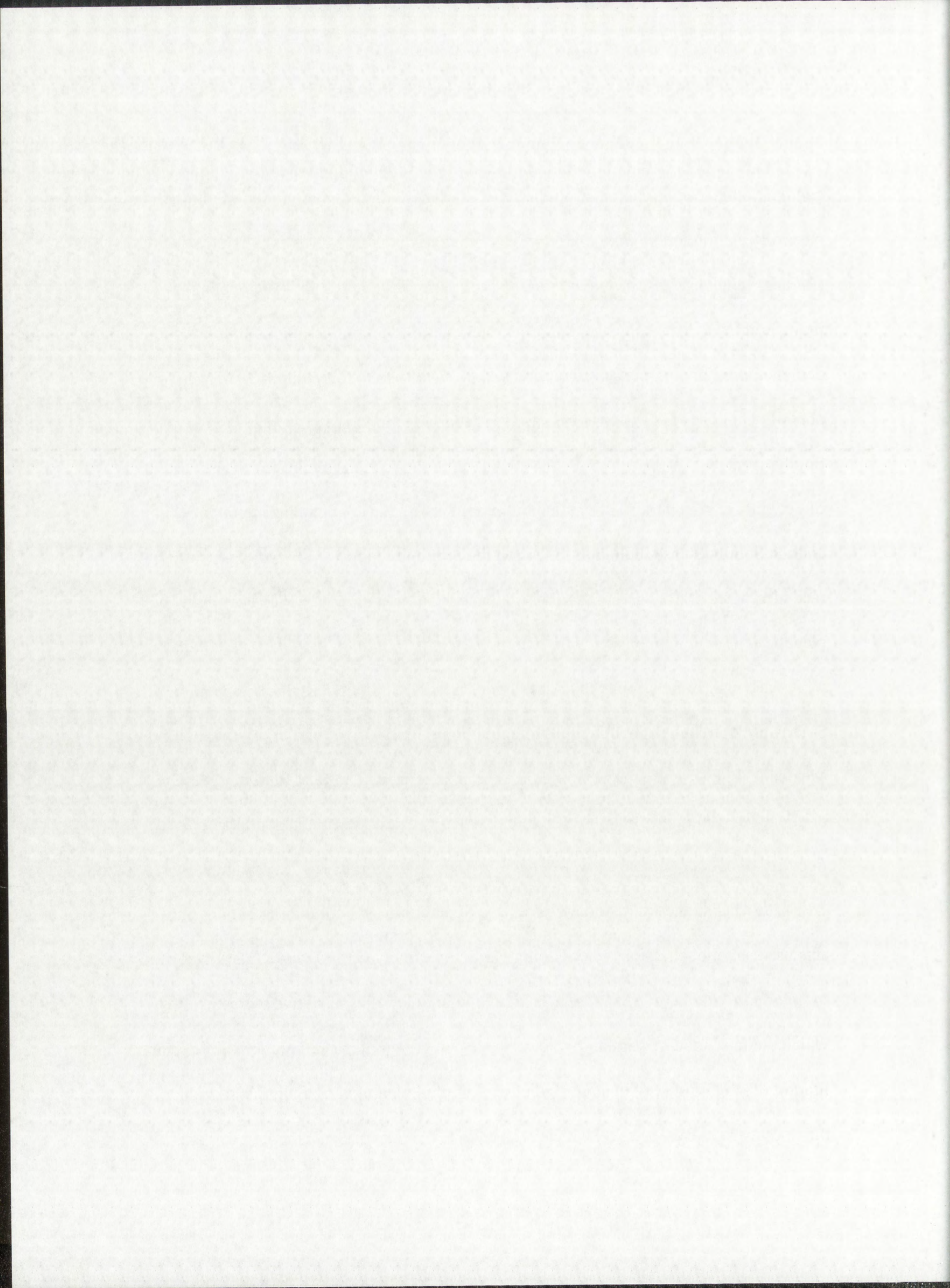
Erotics of Culture (1998), José E. Limón makes historic parallels between those of Mexican origin in the U.S. and African Americans in the south, bringing together African American studies and Chicano studies. He writes, "[i]n both cases, Greater Mexican and African-American, the psycho-political signification of sexualized speech and body play is at issue, and in both cases the state of the U.S.-México political economy is a necessary context for interpretation (1998, 74)." Limón's parallels point to the U.S. political and economic system as organizers of racial domination emphasizing that Greater México and the U.S. south "experienced the worst effects of Northern capitalist domination, a domination always deeply inflected with and complicated by racism and expressed in symbolic language and imagery that involved the eroticization of self, society, and culture" (1998, 18). Thus, the parallel labor and race hierarchies within this political economy suggest to me that the violent community spectacle of lynching in its symbolic language operates similarly for African Americans and Mexicans. I claim that the policing and domination of marginal "others" has been accomplished through Euro-Americans' publicly performed acts of brutality. Limón's work in *American Encounters* demonstrates the African Americans and Mexicans as "two peoples sharing defeat, disruption, and demoralization" (1998, 14).

In the work of Limón and others, many of the resemblances and divergences between the experience of African Americans in the South and Mexicans in the Southwest are seen in Texas, where Mexicans are first constructed as 'foreign' and thus non-citizen, regardless of legal national status. The foundation set by Texas helps to develop the intertwined and co-dependent relationship between the histories of the South



and the Southwest. Some recent scholarship has focused on such associations, most markedly Neil Foley's *White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks and Whites in Texas Cotton Culture*, which bridges the gap between African American and Euro-American relations in the South and Mexican and Euro-American relations in the Southwest. Foley demonstrates how the Texas Revolution and the Mexican War racialized Mexicans as non-white and he sees cotton as an important economic linkage and oppression in Southern and Southwestern history. I expand on these parallels, connecting the marking of geographic boundaries with nation building. I argue that we can understand the South and the Southwest as ideological points on the map and I seek to link their histories. The race ideologies at work in both regions reveal the Euro-American anxieties of purity and place.

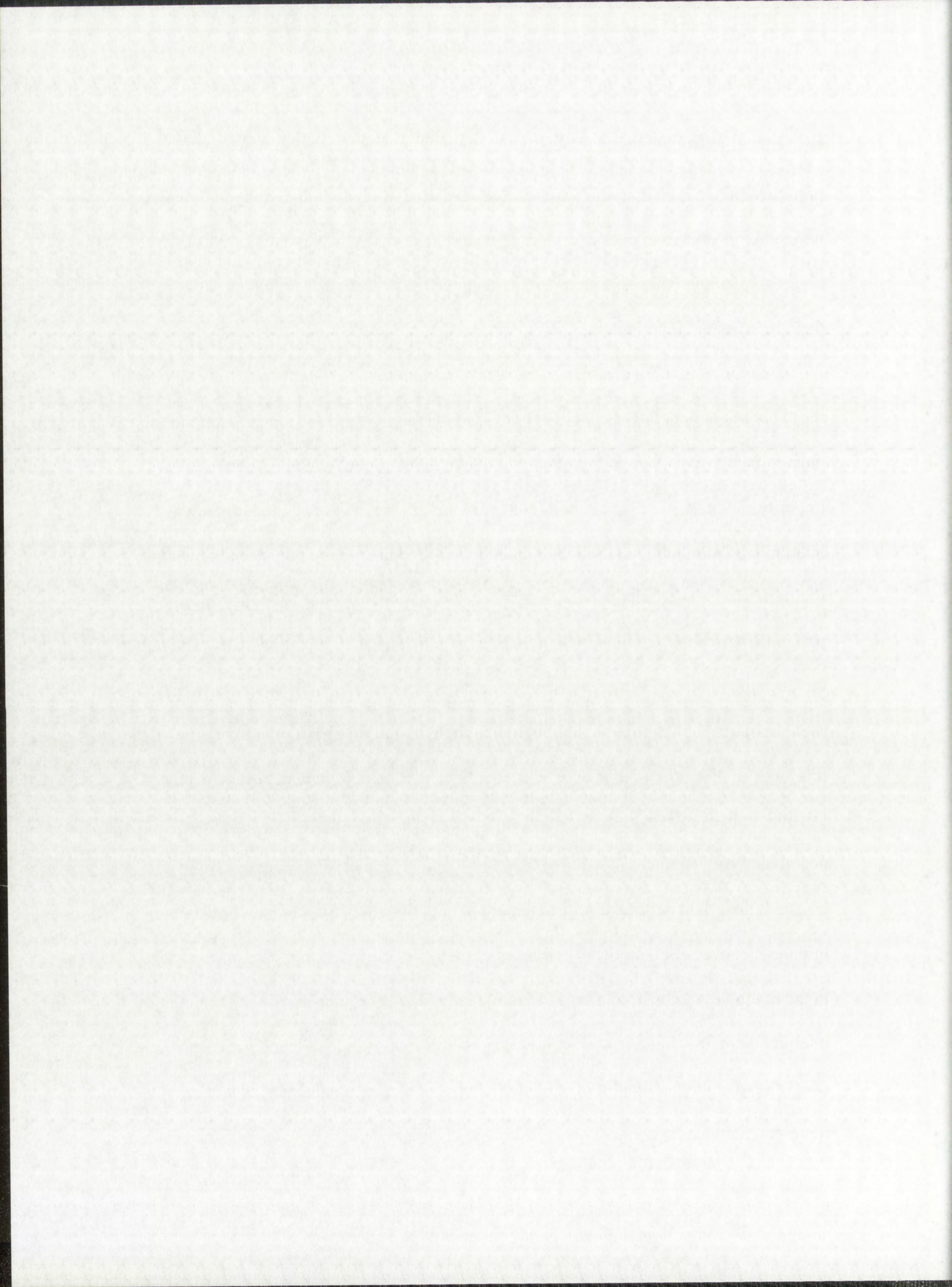
Though Limón points to the analogous relationship between the South and the Southwest, there are some crucial differences in the lynching of African Americans and Mexicans. In the South, the lynching of African Americans has been linked to perceived or alleged sexual transgressions. The foundational work of Ida B. Wells in *The Red Record: Tabulated Statistics and Alleged Causes of Lynching in the United States, 1892-1893-1894* began the work of unraveling this causal link. Wells found invented sexual acts used as rationalizations for lynching. In *Race, Rape, and Lynching: The Red Record of American Literature, 1890-1912* Sandra Gunning identifies narrative moments in which the falsehood of African American sexual aggression was recirculated in popular literature.[9] Yet, in surveying case studies of performative violence against Mexicans in the Southwest, the association with perceived or alleged sexual transgressions is less



prominent in the lynching of Mexicans. Mob violence against Mexicans in the Southwest has, rather, been tied to petty theft (such as cattle rustling and horse thieving), lack of citizenship, or land dispossession—all items linked to border crossing infractions—be they the crossing of barbed wire, river or fence.

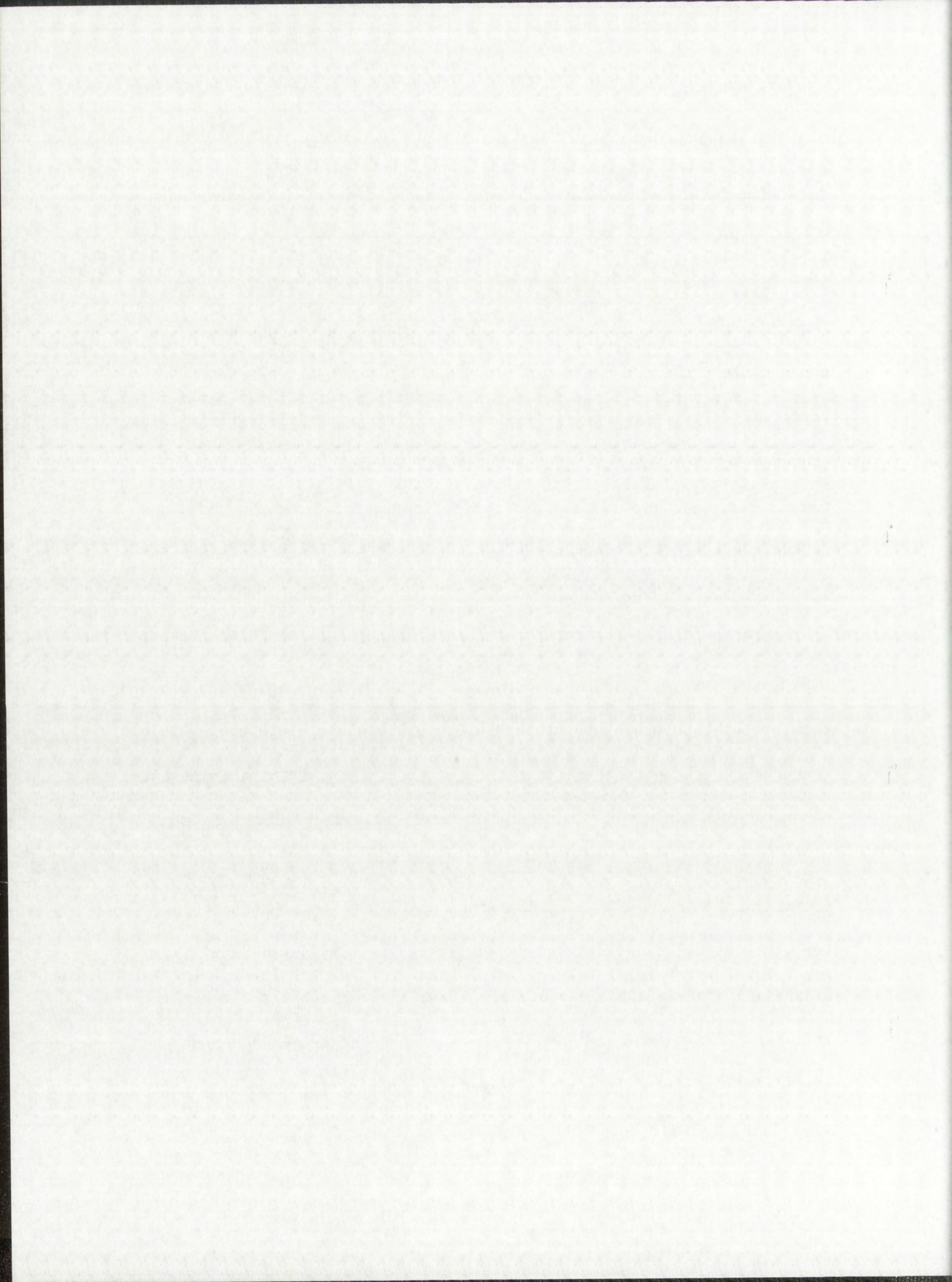
In his meditation on literary and narrative genre and the possibilities for resisting the "Law of Genre," Jacques Derrida writes "as soon as a genre announces itself, one must respect a norm, one must not cross a line of demarcation, one must not risk impurity, anomaly, or monstrosity" (1981, 53). In utilizing historical modes along with interpretive anthropological analysis, and attending to shifting socio-legal constructions of race in the U.S., I insist on such a genre border crossing. Derrida calls this "a sort of participating without a belonging—a taking part in without being part of, without having membership in a set" (1981, 55). Such genre crossing is analogous to the place of the Mexican in the U.S. nation—that of participating without belonging. What, then, do I call this mode of discourse? An analytical accounting? Perhaps. A relational history? Like Derrida, I resolve to set aside "The Law of Genre" and embrace the law of encounter, negotiating convergences (1981, 76).

Rather than become a statistician of violent crimes against Mexicans, this text initiates a conversation on the significance of the widespread mob murders of Mexicans in the Southwest. I construct small narratives around lynching accounts and attempt to interpret them drawing on anthropology and historical approaches. When possible, I have sought out primary archival sources. The archive poses many challenges, as it is a representational system where data is arranged in "original order," meaning that archival



repositories seek to reconstruct the collector's logic. This means that each archive reflects the personality of its original collector. Some records may be kept chronologically, some are sorted by subject or theme, while others are alphabetic. In *Archive Fever* Jacques Derrida has critiqued the structural archive as reconstructing power—emphasizing monolithic hegemonic institutions rather than personal histories. Derrida defines "archival fever" as a kind of desire: "the desire to recover moments of inception: to find and possess all sorts of beginnings" (Steedman 2001). Yet in my work as both a researcher and an archivalist, I have found that the archive is not order at all. The archive is highly personalized and diffused, it offers whispers and clues—like those left by Carey McWilliams and which began this project.[10]

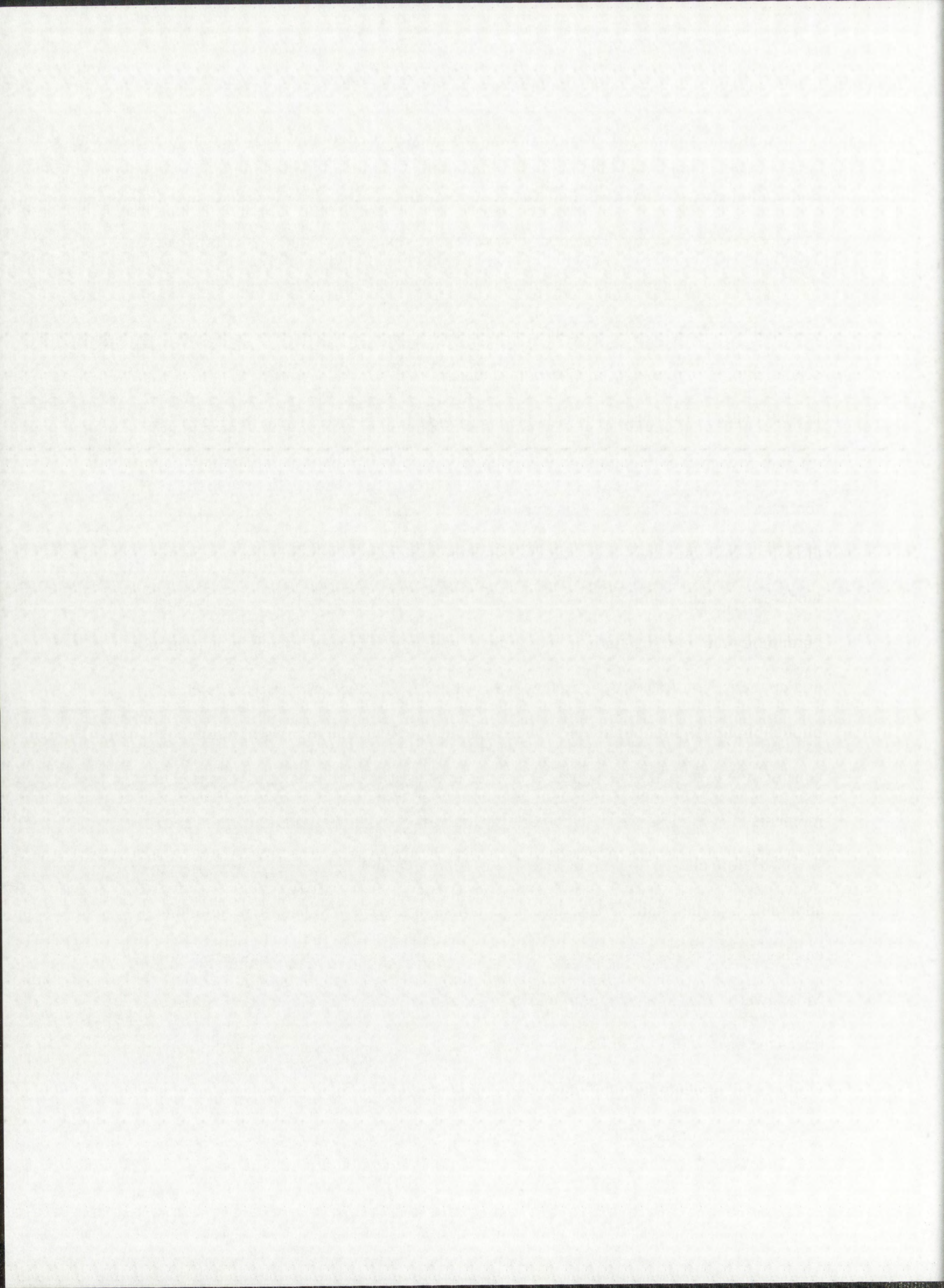
I look at a broad spectrum that crosses from the mid-1800s to the present and put these in conversation with ideas of U.S. American belonging, U.S. American empire and ritual practice. In my thesis, I attempt to cross time and space, and I argue for a commonality in violent racialized practices despite place and time and the historically contingent racial orders. Following the lead of such diverse scholars of U.S. western history as Frederick Jackson Turner, Patricia Limerick, John Caughey, and Howard Lamar, I take a synthetic approach to scholarship, insisting, as William Faulkner famously wrote that, "The past isn't dead, it isn't even past." Any historical work that attempts to treat its subjects as moving across a deliberate line from past to present (and in the case of U.S. 'frontierism,' from east to west, or 'borders,' from north to south) misses a basic premise. History that insists on chronology insists also on closure, yet the story of the attempted conquest of the Southwest and the attempts at Euro-American



domination are as present as today's noon sun. In refusing chronology, I refuse also foreclosure—for time and terror spiral in on themselves and violence is ever-replicated. As I wrestled with the messy reconstruction of systemic, violent racial oppression, I reflected on Henry Giroux, who has written against the "politics of clarity" in scholarship. He cautions "clarity becomes the code word for an approach to writing that is profoundly Eurocentric in both content and context" (1993, 166). I follow, like migrants, twisting paths, both illuminated and menaced by moonlight. I follow also the footpath of Michael Taussig, who implores me to "writ[e] effectively against terror" (1987, 3). In doing so, I track not time, but people and place—mapping the U.S. terror landscape. Again, archival sources are particularly generative when resisting historical chronology for "nothing starts in the Archive, nothing, ever at all, though things certainly end up there. You find nothing in the Archive but stories caught half way through: the middle of things; discontinuities" (Steedman 2001). It is crucial to connect racial construction to its historical context, so as to show that such constructions are created in moments of U.S. class crisis, temporally surrounding U.S. immigration laws.

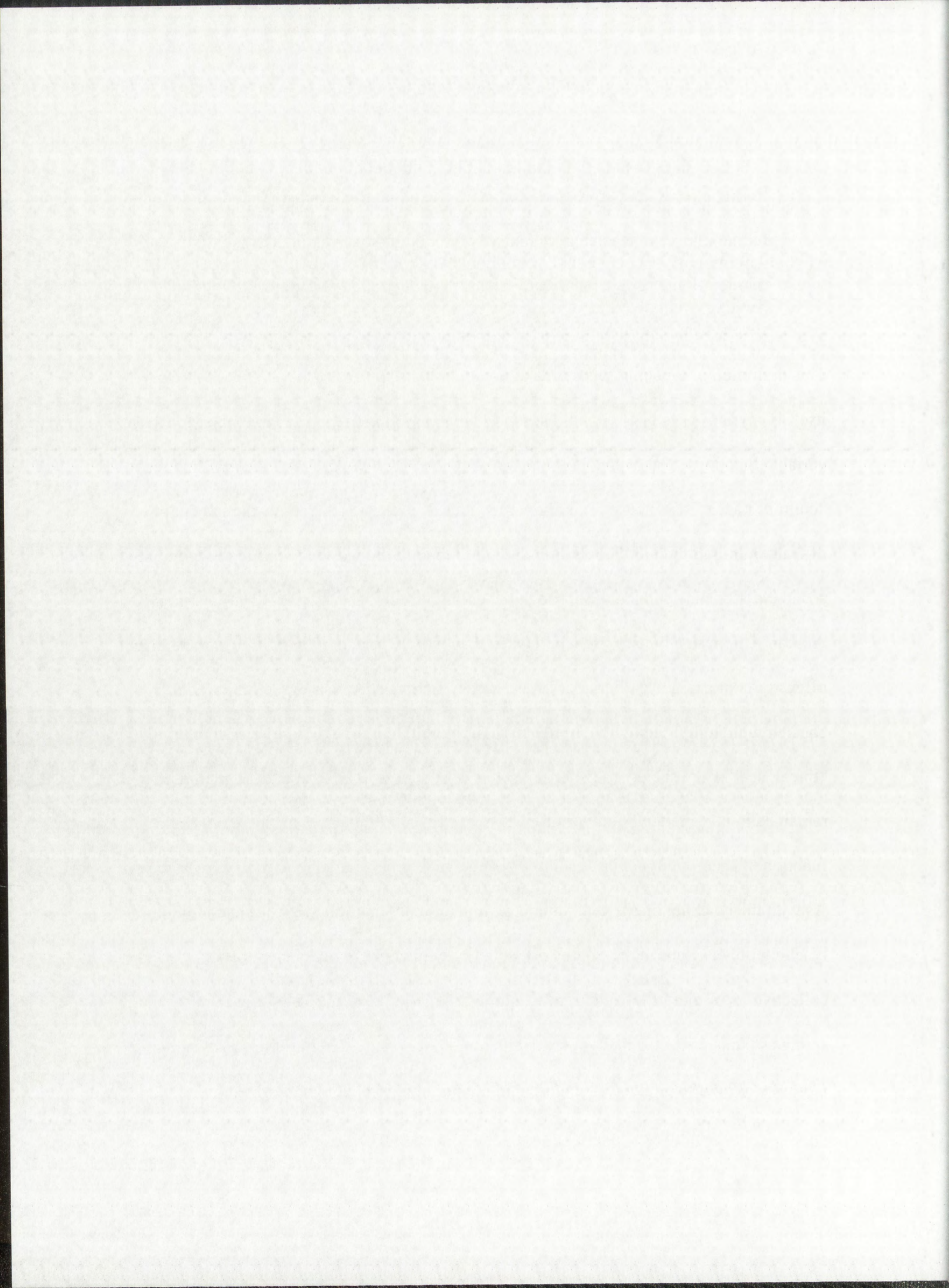
Before elaborating on the uses of lynching, I should define the practice. Because I adopt much of the established scholarship on the lynching of African Americans and I employ the definition of lynching provided by historian and lynching scholar Norton Moses whose *Lynching and Vigilantism in the United States: An Annotated Bibliography* traces the history of U.S. collective violence and includes over 4,200 works dealing with vigilante movements and lynchings. Moses delimits as follows:

Lynching as a deliberate murder by a mob [of three or more people]



> having a common purpose and targeting one of more previously specified. The individual might be specified by name or only as an unnamed person falling into a limited category [such as race, ethnicity or nationality]… the definition of lynching contains nothing about the instrumentality of the murder. Some people incorrectly assume that a lynching had to occur by hanging. Actually, the murder could take any form including beating, shooting and burning alive (1997, xiv).

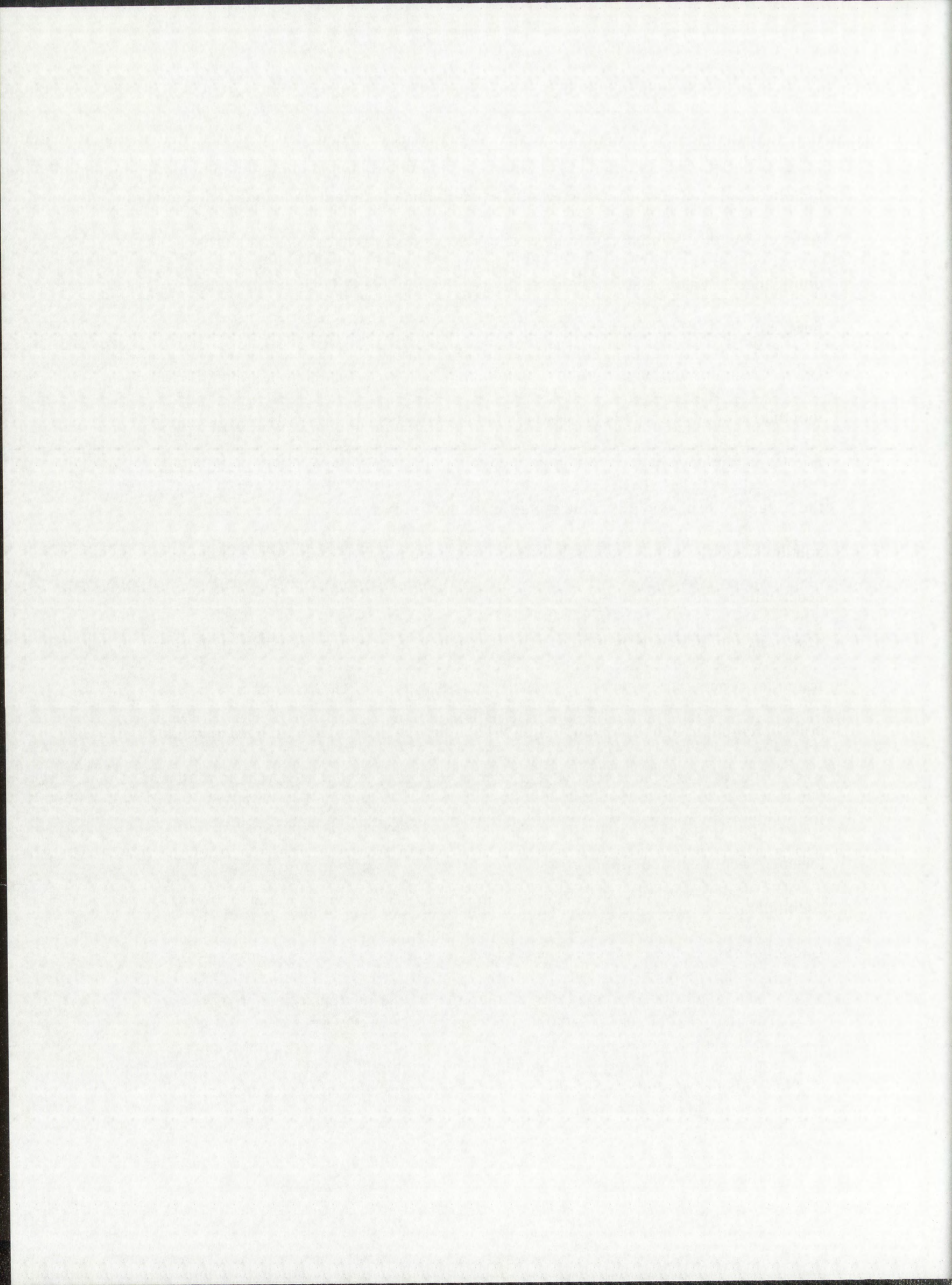
This definition of lynching sets a crucial foundation, as performative violence manifests itself in myriad gruesome ways. I discuss lynching as a practice, a ritual violence with variable functions. The overriding function of lynching, however, is to construct and reify "cultures of fear" as Michael Taussig point out (1987). He writes that in colonial cultures of fear we must attend to "the torturer's … need to control massive populations, entire social classes, and even nations through the cultural elaboration of fear" (1987, 8). For African Americans, lynching resulted when they were accused of committing a particular offense. As mentioned earlier, these were largely fictional acquisitions, which were equated with guilt (the law was irrelevant) and punishment would ensue to restore the "threatened" white society to its former status of superiority. I contend this function has remained in place in the Southwest for Mexicans as well. I untangle the meaning and function of spectacle lynching, asking: What is lynching meant to construct or reinforce? As with the lynching of African Americans in the South, the ritual significance of the lynching of Mexicans in the Southwest is that "lynchings were intended to create collective memories of terror and white supremacy," (Markovitz 2004, xxvi) rather than acting as punishment for real or perceived crimes. As Jonathan Markovitz writes in *Legacies of Lynching: Racial Violence and Memory,* "Spectacle lynchings and representations of those lynchings worked not only to punish perceived transgression of



the racial order but also to impart lessons about the nature of that order" (xxviii). For both African Americans and Mexicans, lynchings were not only enactments of social dominance, but also "a symbolic revocation of the privileges of citizenship." I believe publically enacted mob violence socially reaffirms constructed "non-citizen" status.

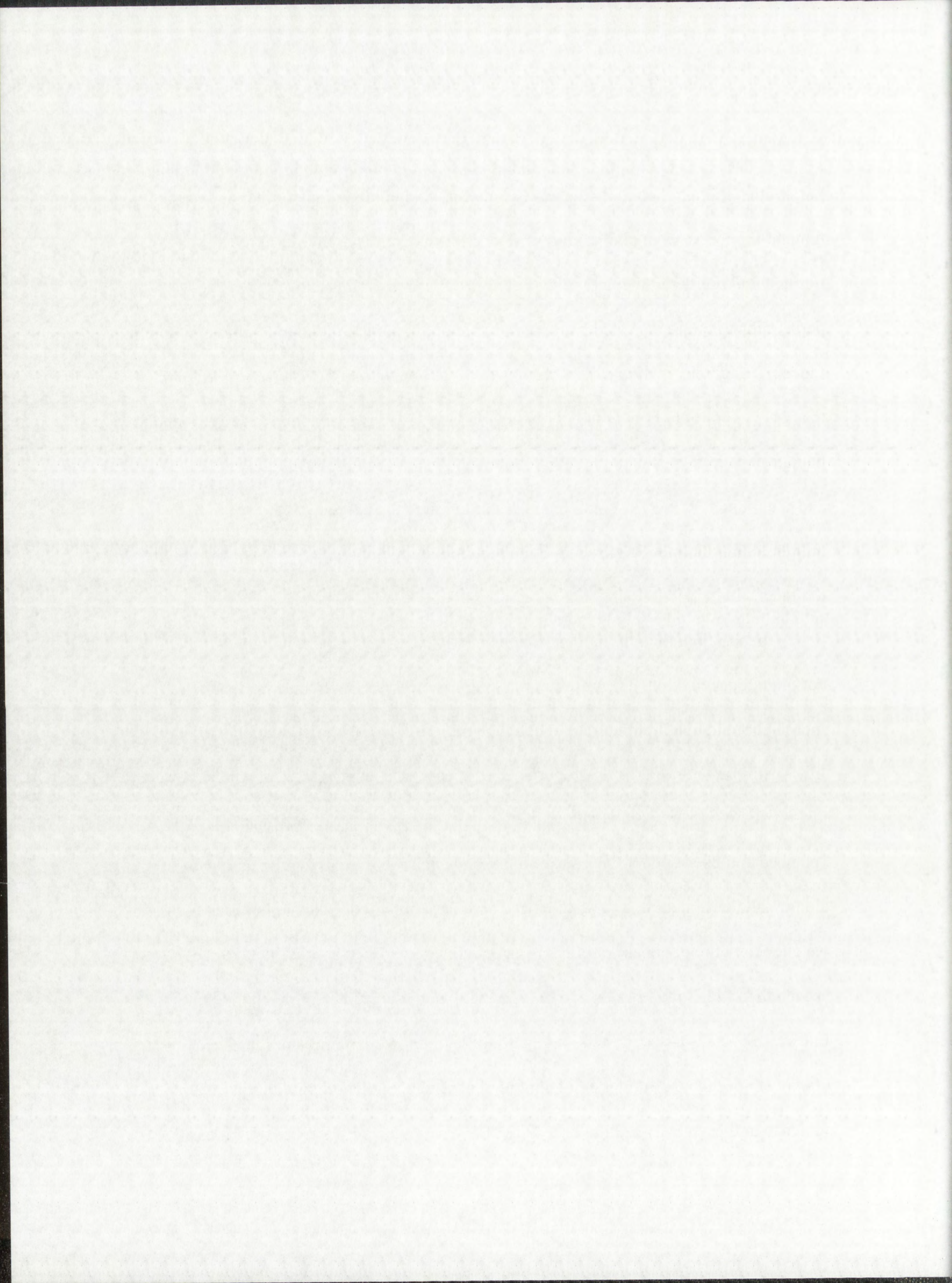
With this simple definition of the practice of lynching and the function of ritual violence in mind, we should also be careful that we understand what ritual violence *is not.* Ritual violence has often been discussed in terms of objectifying or dehumanizing the 'other.' When people become things, the logic follows, they become dispensable—and any atrocity can be justified, but this formula is too simple. Why has this become the accepted formula for atrocity? In her most recent work, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*, Judith Butler explores the U.S. penchant for utilizing "the ethnic frame for conceiving who will be human" (xvi). She asks in relation to current U.S. policy regarding Afghanistan and Iraq: "Who counts as human? Whose lives count as lives? And finally, What *makes for a grievable life*?" (20). Butler returns to an oft used formulation of violence: that formulation for violence against racialized bodies—slavery, torture, lynching, brutal sexual assault, even genocide—which defaults to the "dehumanization of the object."[11] Timothy Zimbardo echoes Butler in *The Lucifer Effect: Understanding How Good People Turn Evil* writing that

> Dehumanization is one of the central processes in the transformation of ordinary, normal people into indifferent or even wanton perpetrators of evil. Dehumanization is like a cortical cataract that clouds one's thinking and fosters the perception that other people are less than human. It makes some people come to see those others as enemies deserving of torment, torture, and even annihilation.



I assert that though the idea of dehumanization is conceptually comforting; as in, they thought they weren't *human* as they enslaved them, beat them, mutilated them, brutally tortured and murdered them, it is false comfort. For even in the acts of violence, perpetrators of these acts are always aware of their humanity of those they brutalize. Indeed, it is precisely the fact that the torturers are human (not monsters, not evil) and that their victims are human that torments can be so effectively imagined. Only when the human capacity for pain and humiliation are understood can creative cruelties be devised and acted upon. To suggest that there is a careful, intellectual process to torture and murder along the lines of: dehumanized, therefore murderable, is to give age old cruelty too much credit.

In addition, there is another dimension to lynching as performative ritual that is not often touched upon. The introduction to this project began with the invocation of speech acts and displays that referenced lynching without physically attacking a victim. J.L. Austin first articulated the importance of speech acts, explaining that words are not just words. Words can *act.* Displays of violence can occur in utterances that are actions "planned and executed by the speaker to satisfy some of his goals." A speaker's beliefs along with their intentions can be inferred by observing that speakers utterances. When we utter something, we also act. J.L. Austin defined a "speech act" as "that kind of speech that, rather than *state* something, actually *does* something" (quoted in Brodsky LaCour 1992, 134). Speech acts and symbolic actions are also forms of racialized violence. Speech acts are not preludes or antecedents to violence, speech acts are violence in themselves. In *Ranchers, Ramblers and Renegades,* a series of stories about



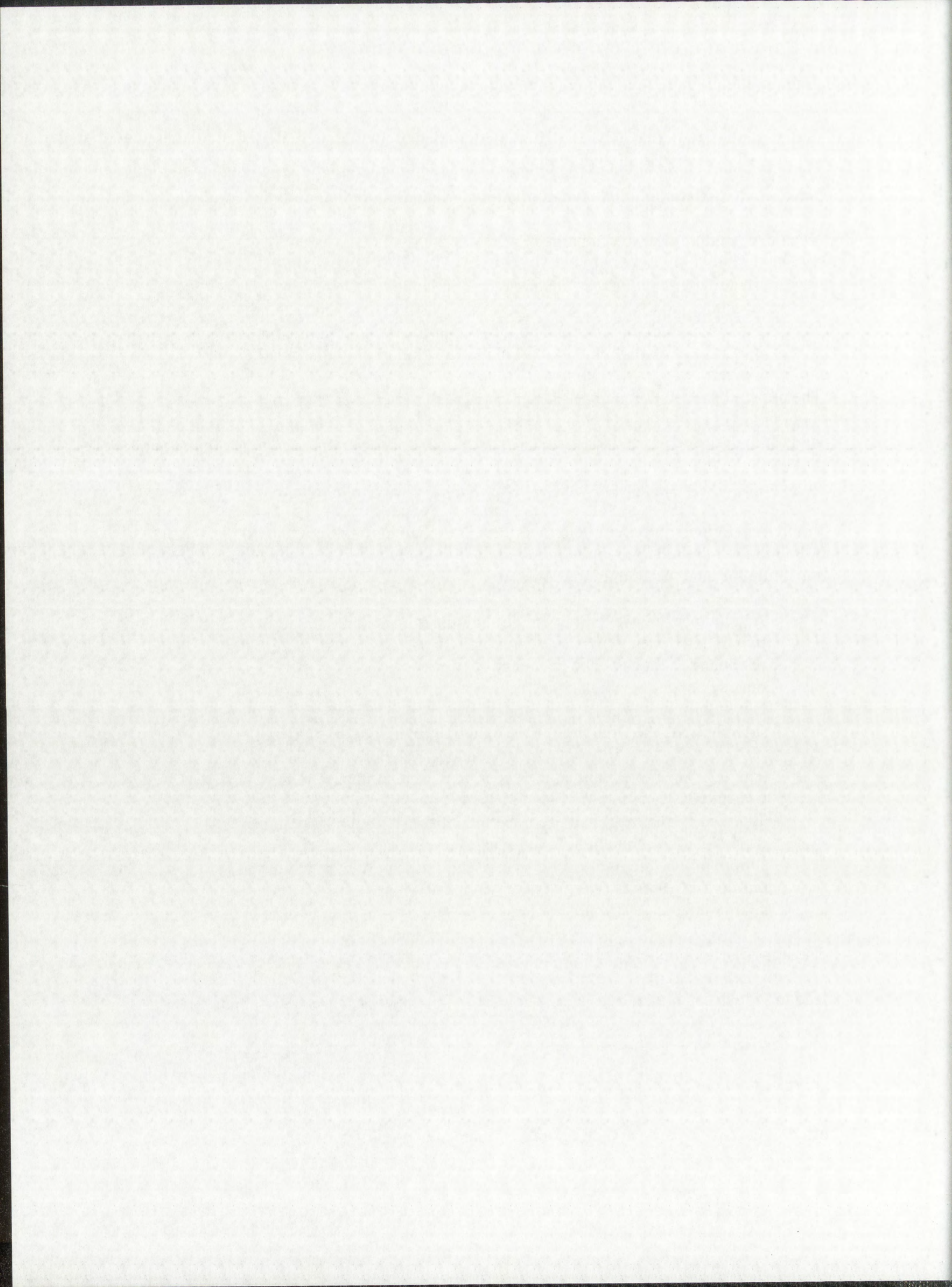
New Mexico, Marc Simmons speaks of crowds gathering in town to lynch a group of 'Mexican bandits' who were charged with killing a local man. Simmons writes,

> That night lynching was the main topic of conversation in most of Albuquerque's saloons. But a traveling minstrel show had scheduled a performance in the evening and the light-hearted entertainment, attended by a large crowd, seemed to dispel the atmosphere of violence (1984, 42).

The minstrel show did not dispel the atmosphere of violence as Simmons seems to suggest in describing it as light-hearted entertainment. Instead, the symbolic domination of racialized body via performance was in itself a part of hateful racial hierarchy enacted through rhetorical violence. The crowd seems satisfied because, one could, in a pinch, substitute for the other. Simmons continues,

> Appearances, however, proved deceiving. At a late hour a mob of some two hundred men, their faces concealed by handkerchiefs, marched resolutely to the jail. The prisoners, struggling desperately, were carried outside and in the phrasing of the day were 'launched into eternity.' Next morning, the people of Albuquerque awoke to startling headlines spread across the front page of the newspaper. Under the bold words 'DANCING ON AIR' they read the details of the previous night's hanging. The mob, claimed the paper, had been composed mainly of Hispanos…The *Santa Fe New Mexican* in an editorial placed its stamp of approval on the treatment accorded the killers: 'Though lynching in general is to be condemned, yet to every case there is an exception which simply proves the rule. And in cases such as the cowardly and dastardly murder of Colonel Potter, it is very doubtful whether justice can be too swiftly meted out' (Simmons 1984, 42-43).

The importance of understanding "speech acts" as violence rather than as propaganda that lead to violence is imperative. These violences—propaganda, speech acts, racial terror, racialized murder—are mutually reinforcing violences, rather than heightened and accelerating individual steps on a continuum of violence, or more carelessly, as cause and effect. There is no cause and effect; rather, there are mutually reinforcing violences that



humans have chosen to draw upon for release, succor, and/or claims to power. Speech acts are not just a symptom of violence, but active agents of violence. I do not believe the propaganda, speech acts, photographs and the like that I will explore *cause* violence. They are in themselves violence.

With these important caveats in mind, we can, as Taussig suggests, further our "meditation of terror through narration" (1987, 3). Historian Grace Elizabeth Hale recounts the well "choreographed" spectacle of lynching which often

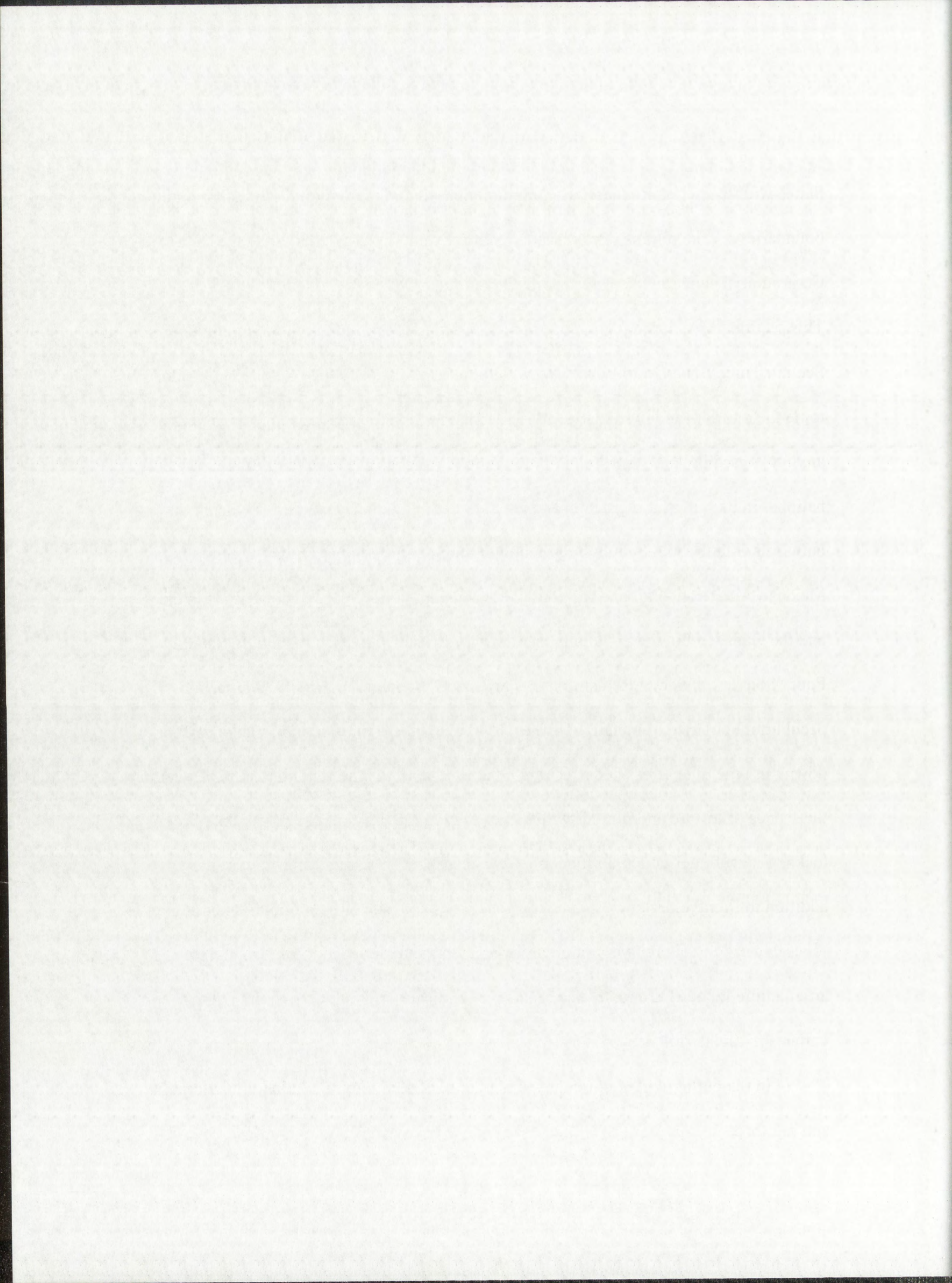
> opened with a chase or jail attack, followed rapidly by the public identification of the captured African American by the alleged white victim or the victim's relative announcement of the upcoming event to draw the crowd, and selection and preparation of the site. The main event then began with a period of mutilation—often including emasculation—and torture to extract confessions and entertain the crowd, and built to a climax of slow burning, hanging, and/or shooting to complete the killing. The finale consisted of frenzied souvenir gathering and display of the body and the collected parts (quoted in Apel 2008, 24).

The phases that make up ritual lynching are not discrete, nor are they orderly. However for the purpose of this study I have enforced some degree of order as an organizational structure. I assemble four narratives, pairing them with four interpretive anthropologists, this allows for a single horizon of analysis per section. The text follows the following order: doctrine (or foundational beliefs that animate violence), congregation (the assembling of a mob), hunt (the targeting of victims) and souvenir (the taking of mementos).

Section One "The Doctrine: Constructing and Maintaining the Boundaries of White Citizenship" pairs historical meaning of belonging and citizenship in the United

States with the symbolic theory of anthropologist Mary Douglas on the construction of boundaries for the purpose of "purity." Section Two "The Congregation: Practicing Community" concerns the ways in which community is created through shared ritual. This section draws largely upon the work of Clifford Geertz along with Antonio Gramsci. Section Three "The Hunt: Border Wars without End" uses two Texas lynching incidents to tie the murders and mutilations of Mexicans to Euro-American expansionism and anxiety regarding land appropriation. Racialized violence has been constitutive of the nation—in its imperial expansion and racial hierarchy; violence against Mexicans is entwined with the U.S. wars of expansion in the Southwest—the Texas Revolution, the Mexican American War, and the colonial expansion of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Gadsden Purchase—and is therefore inextricably attached to land. In Section Four "Souvenirs: Social Redistributions of Terror" I reflect on the particular, and peculiar, inheritance of racialized violence—what is the legacy, what has been passed down? In lynchings it has been custom to take souvenirs of the act—mob members leave the scenes of torture and murder with pieces of clothing, links of chain, lengths of rope, locks of hair, finger bones. I reflect on these keepsakes of carnage and suggest that in addition to literal effects, we may add photographs and narratives of violence such as "speech acts" to the archive of murderous mementos. In doing so, I use Victor Turner's articulation of social drama to discuss the public theater of lynching and dramatic variants in racial violence and terror.

In the earlier sections, I demonstrate the historical uses of lynching: to construct and reinforce normative U.S. whiteness, to police citizenship, and to dominate the

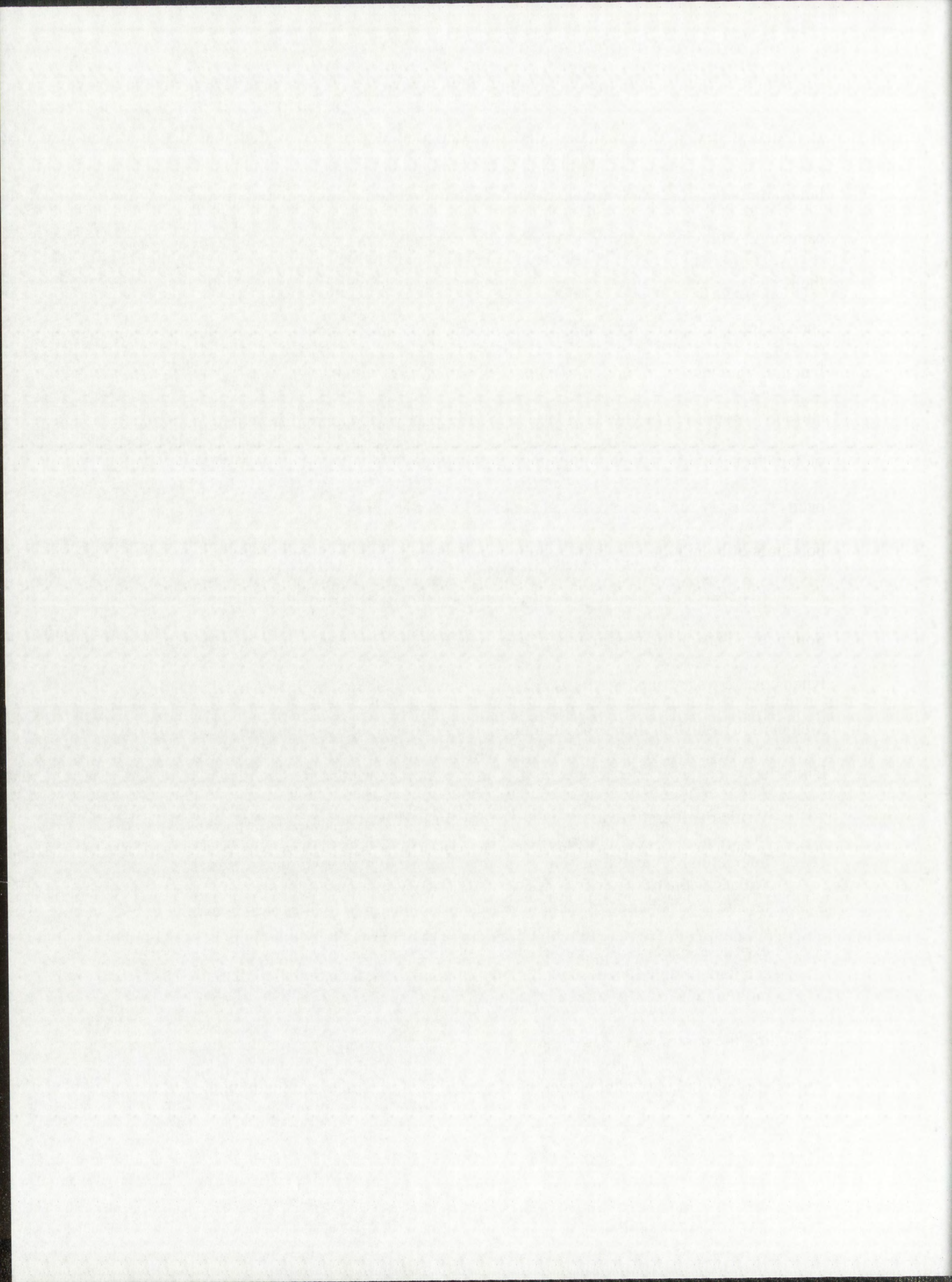


landscape's Mexican presence. This heritage, however, is not history. I maintain that campaigns of racialized terror continue with unchanged aims. I draw upon the history of the Ku Klux Klan and its reformulated attempt at race cleansing as evidenced in groups such as the Minutemen Project and American Border Patrol. I assert that while literal lynchings are less common in the contemporary moment (though not completely gone), current "committees of vigilance" use anti-immigrant video games, films along with violent "speech acts" to accomplish "digital lynchings," and that ritualized violence has been effectively replicated in digital television and web forums. Collectors' sepia toned postcards of lynched bodies have been replaced with digital lynchings.

My search pursues the specter of violent mob murders against Mexicans in the Southwest. This history predates the Southwest as a U.S. holding; though Southwest lynch culture was refined by the Texas Rangers who sought to eradicate México of Mexicans. The history of racialized mob violence in the Southwest, uncoupled from Dixie, has gone largely unrecognized in United States and Chicano/a histories.

> While the literature on mob violence against African Americans continued to expand in scope and sophistication, there was relatively little scholarly interest in Mexican lynchings. As a result, the explanatory models for mob violence constructed by scholars were restricted in terms of their narrow racial emphasis upon African Americans and their regional emphasis upon the South. Analysis of the lynching of Mexicans emphasizes the need to expand the analytical parameters of lynching studies. Only then will scholars be able to assess with more accuracy the real historical scale of mob violence in the United States (Carrigan 2004, 17).

Expanding the parameters of ritual, racialized violences becomes a spectacularly imperative undertaking when we ask: Is the noose of the nineteenth century "history," or "prophecy"?

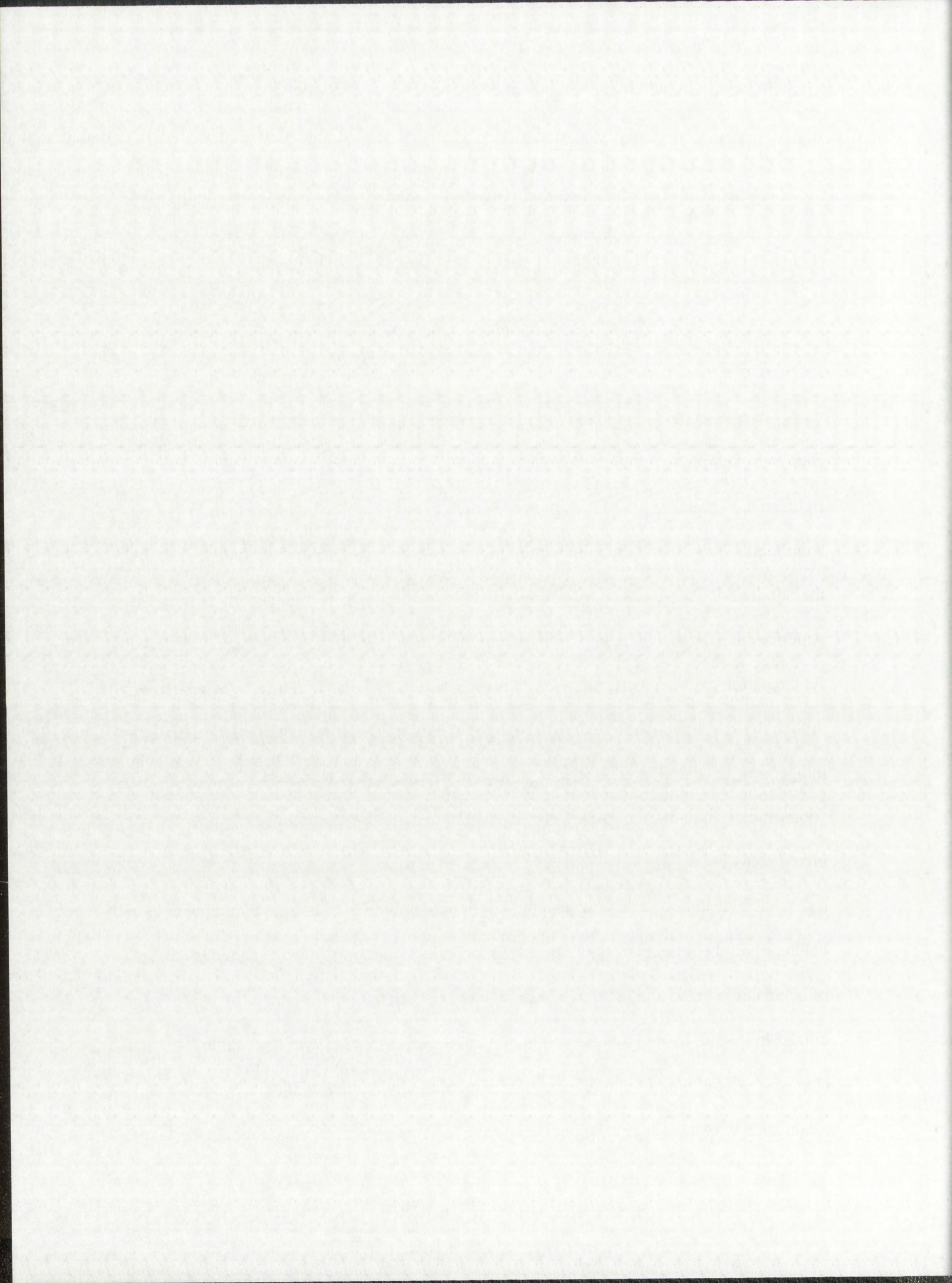


> What we'll do is randomly pick one night every week where we will kill whoever crosses the border...step over there and you die. You get to decide whether it's your lucky night or not. I think that would be more fun.
> -Brian James, a radio host in Phoenix, March 2006[12]

Section One
The Doctrine: Constructing and Maintaining the Boundaries of White Citizenship

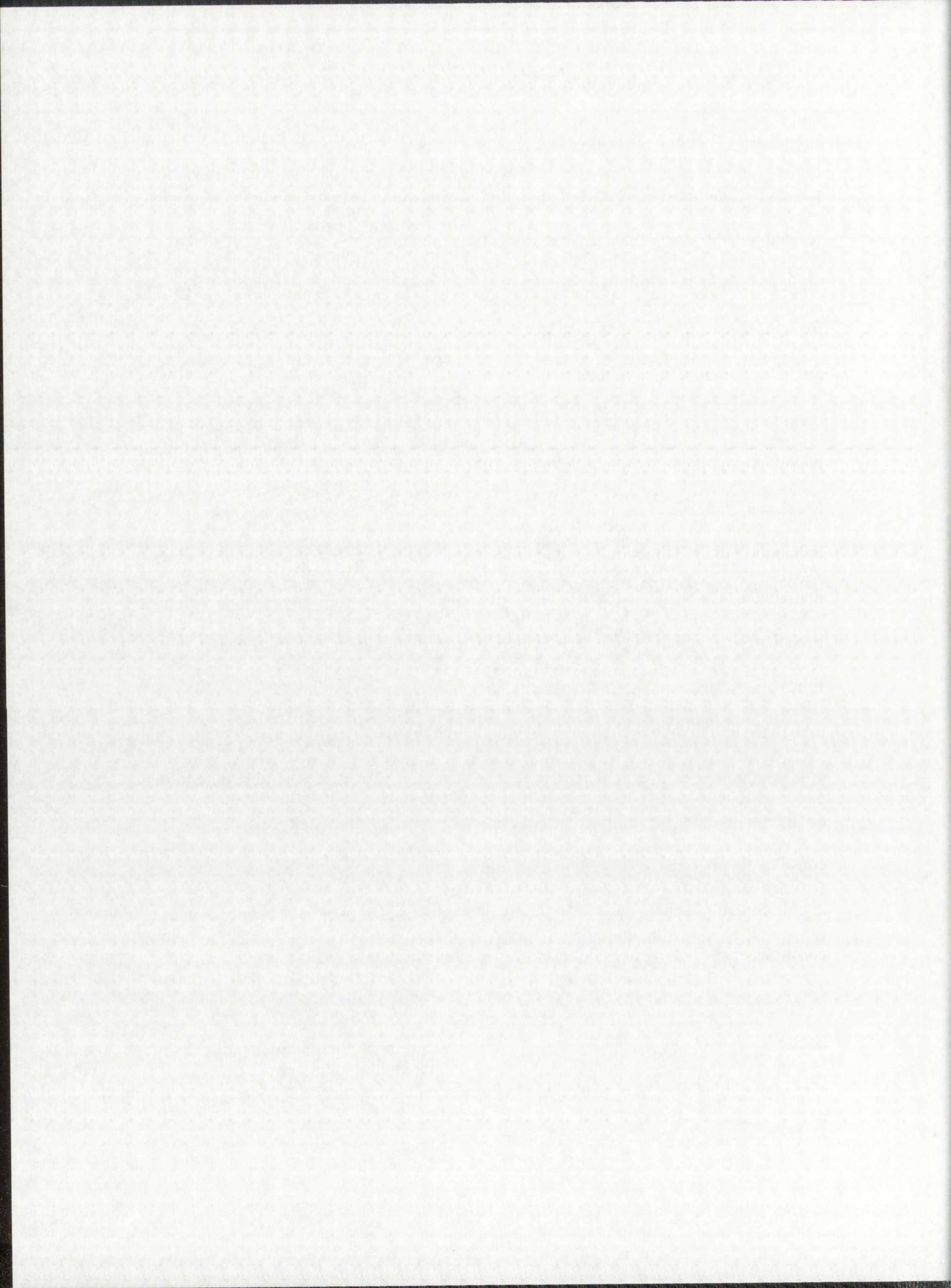
While the U.S. Constitution famously proclaims all men are created equal, it has been citizenship status, rather than mere humanity that has confirmed upon individual's rights in the United States. This history of differential citizenship, which has been contingent on racial construction, is important to establish as we consider the Mexican in the Southwest. The foundations of U.S. citizenry were clear as the indigenous of the Américas faced genocide and Africans were imported as property, rather than as citizens. As the nation evolved its terms of U.S. citizenship, those terms continued to be racialized.

African slaves were deemed non-citizens by *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1856), the indigenous in the U.S. were declared neither citizen nor non-citizen—but rather "domestic dependants" and Asians were patently not allowed to naturalize. Those of mixed race descent were also barred from U.S. citizenship. The nation of individual rights has indeed bestowed citizenship, civil liberties and privileges based on group belonging in the imagined community.[13] In the U.S., 'whiteness' (always in the process of being constructed and reconstructed) has always been a necessary factor for full citizenship in the United States.[14] Although historically there have been multiple and changing definitions of whiteness in the United States, whiteness *as a deadly concept* was established very early on as the pinnacle of the U.S. racial hierarchy. In 1795, Congress



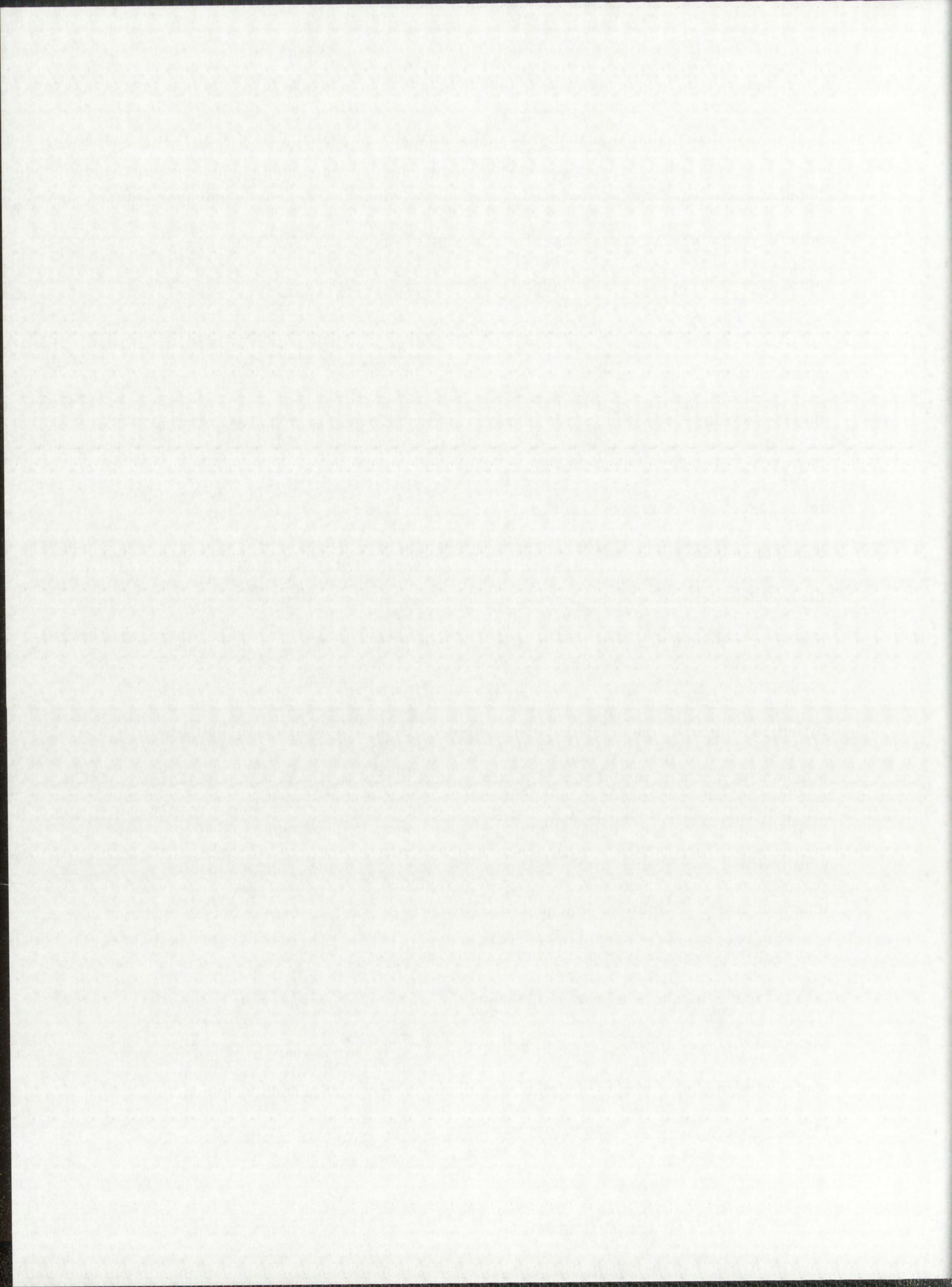
passed the Naturalization Act that restricted citizenship to "free white persons" who had resided in the United States for five years. The racial hierarchy of the United States argues Matthew Frye Jacobson in *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* has been and *is* fundamental to the U.S. national project. Jacobson concludes that in the United States "citizenship and whiteness [have been] conjoined" (1999, 29). Jacobson further points out that while whiteness has not been historically monolithic, "white privilege is constant, whiteness is contestable." For Mexicans, claims to citizenship have been fraught; like African Americans, the indigenous and Asian Americans, their racialized bodies have marked them as foreign, as non-citizen. The racialized bodies of Mexicans in a nation, which favors whiteness, have been the brutalized objects in performative lynching rituals that a) construct and reinforce Euro-American dominance and, b) refute national belonging for Mexicans. As was the case in the Jim Crow South that refused full entrance to African Americans as U.S. citizens, public lynching violence against Mexicans has worked to construct the Mexican as 'foreign,' while also affirming the necessary presence of the Mexican as 'other' in consolidating normative Euro-American citizenship.

Structural, historical approaches to hegemonic dominance often rely on the legal constructions of belonging. Contributing to whiteness studies, Matthew Frye Jacobson looks at the construction of whiteness in the United States from 1790 to 1965. Jacobson's boldly conceived text *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* is an attempt to map "whiteness and its vicissitudes" (1999). Jacobson's work demonstrates that race need not only mean 'other'—in fact, we may talk



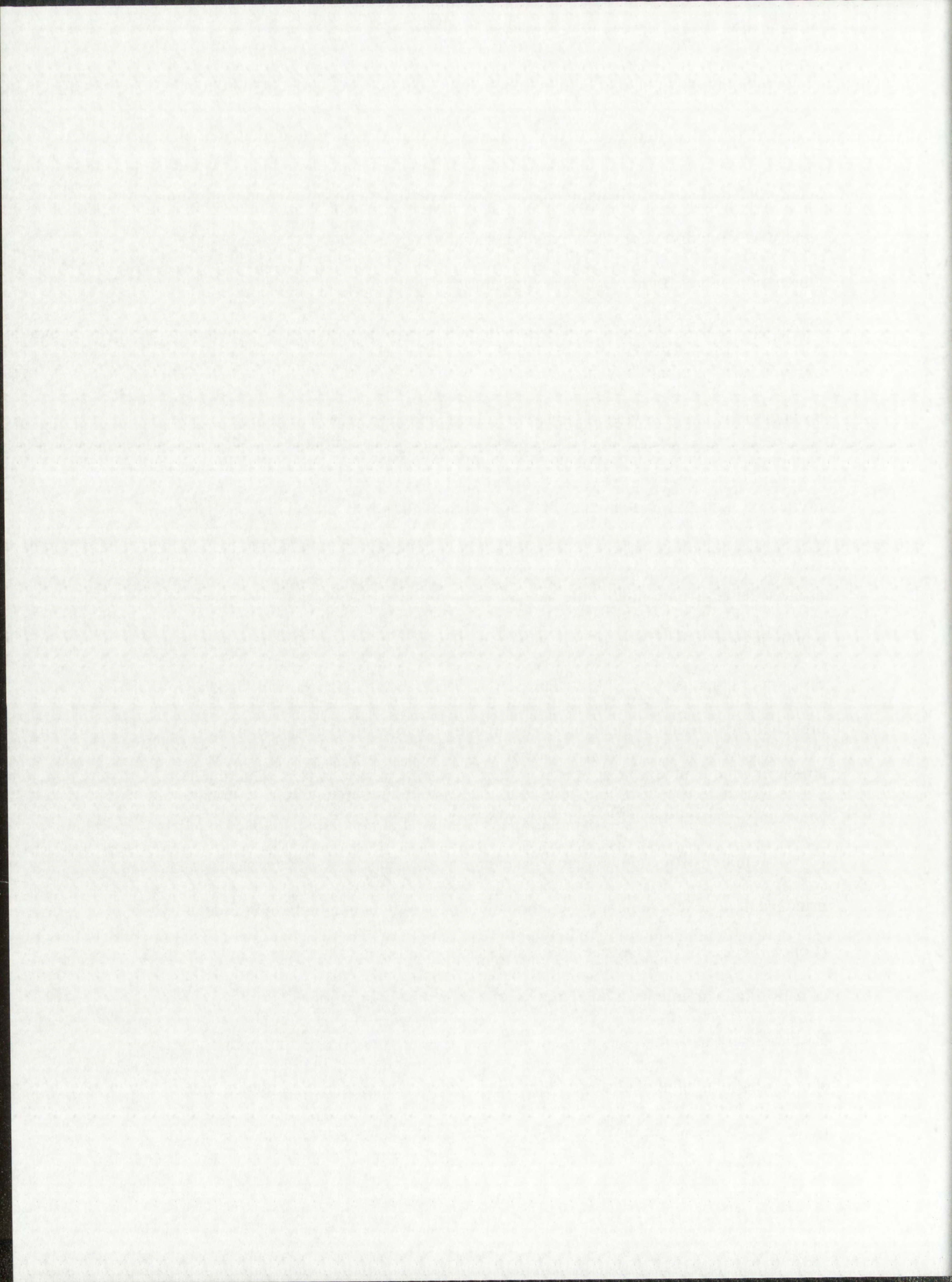
about race and whiteness with similar complexity. As with many other American studies authors, Jacobson denaturalizes race, but also complicates monolithic whiteness, not attributing 'race' to only othered subjects. In a related text, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* Meg Ngai also employs a sociolegal historical approach to trace the construction of race as related to immigration—Ngai importantly makes colonialism a significant part of her argument and Ngai foregrounds colonialism as part of the legacy of conquest, showing that in global movement and migrations are related to colonial incursion. Indeed, in Ngai's historical genealogy, race and the condition of being 'other' in the U.S. is produced along with the shifting labor needs of the United States—this is crucial in looking at México and the Southwest. The Southwest can be understood as a colony and its political-economic system that pulls labor northward along it colonial route—Ngai argues that migration follows lines of incursion by imperial/colonial conquest—that invasion precedes movements of people.[15] For both scholars, the questions are not merely juridical in tracing policy—Ngai and Jacobson are asking the questions of how meaning is made, how citizens and thus 'otherness' are constructed. To begin answering these questions, their methodology is necessarily interdisciplinary—employing legal and social histories, and in the case of Jacobson literary histories—in conversations with scholars across fields.

I argue that the Southwest is an ideological site of meaning where the bodies of Mexicans become embroiled in a race panic of purity and boundary. The use of the word race is problematic, as Barbara J. Fields indicated in "Slavery, Race and Ideology in the United States of America." Fields, building on the scholarship which has deemed race a



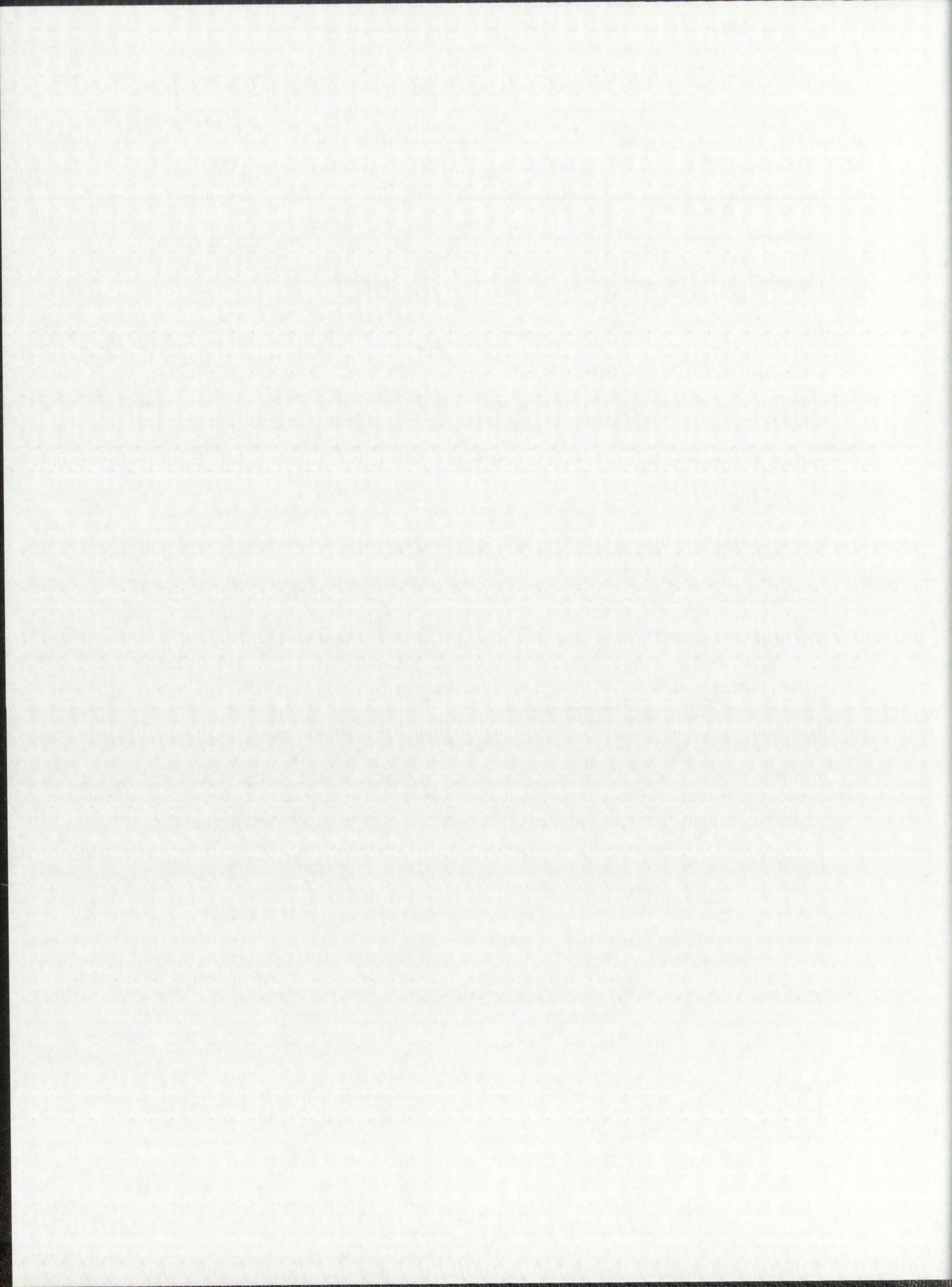
social construct explains that racial identity is formed and performed relationally, to and against its structuring opposite, "race is not an idea but an ideology." She continues that "the notion of race, in its popular manifestation, is an ideological construct and thus, above all, a historical product" (1982, 150). Yet, beliefs in 'race'—rather than the reality of race itself—is what I am concerned with. In the Southwest, a race panic generated around Mexican bodies may reflect a certain anxiety around the Mexican's "unboundedness." The social construction of Mexican "race" has been complicated with myriad versions of Mexicans as white, non-white, and something in between. Ian Haney López agrees that "all racial identities, not least those of Mexican Americans and Latinos as more generally, are intelligible only as social constructions. Race is best understood as a process of social differentiation rooted in culturally contingent beliefs in the biological division of humans (1997, 1152). The need to define race for Mexicans has been propelled by the need to insert them into an already functioning racial hierarchy structuring the United States. Are they white or black, and how can this determine the Mexican's place in the U.S. racial hierarchy?

While insisting that race is a social construct, we must note that as a structuring principle, it does function. We must therefore then treat "race as both myth and reality" (López 1997, 1157). Racial categories and racial meaning have been ordering ideologies of nation and community though they are not rooted in real, biological difference. Barbara Jean Fields intervenes into critical race theory by not only treating race as a social construct, but also as an ideology, an active and functioning ideology. Fields guides my study, which hopes to "[t]o treat race as an ideology, and to insist upon



treating it in connection with surrounding ideologies" (1982, 152). Any discussion of Mexicans in the Southwest *must* inflect the surrounding race, nation and citizenship ideologies. These ideologies have a mutually reinforcing effect, with legal constructions reflecting social ideologies and vice versa. I have given a very brief overview of the socio-legal history of racialized citizenship in the United States. Even this small overview displays a history of socio-legal contortions that attempt to frame national belonging. I believe the unending legal contortions reflect an anxious preoccupation that attempts to create solid borders of belonging and nation. Further, as the legal machinations failed to completely consolidate a non-porous border or a solid Euro-American citizenry, ritual has acted as a framing device, framing abomination, what is unclean, unholy—the Mexican. The work of symbolic anthropologist Mary Douglas, who explored how people actively create meaning in their social relations through ordering patterns of symbolism, deeply details how symbolic acts, such as lynching, are ritual reifications of power. Douglas maintains the function of ritual is to consolidate community, to assert power and to articulate ideology. In *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Purity and Taboo* Douglas insists that daily repetitions and otherwise unrecognized ritualistic practices should be understood to be potent ordering systems. While many would associate the word "ritual" with the religious or sacred, Douglas explains that "very little of our ritual behavior is enacted within the context of religion" (1966, 68).

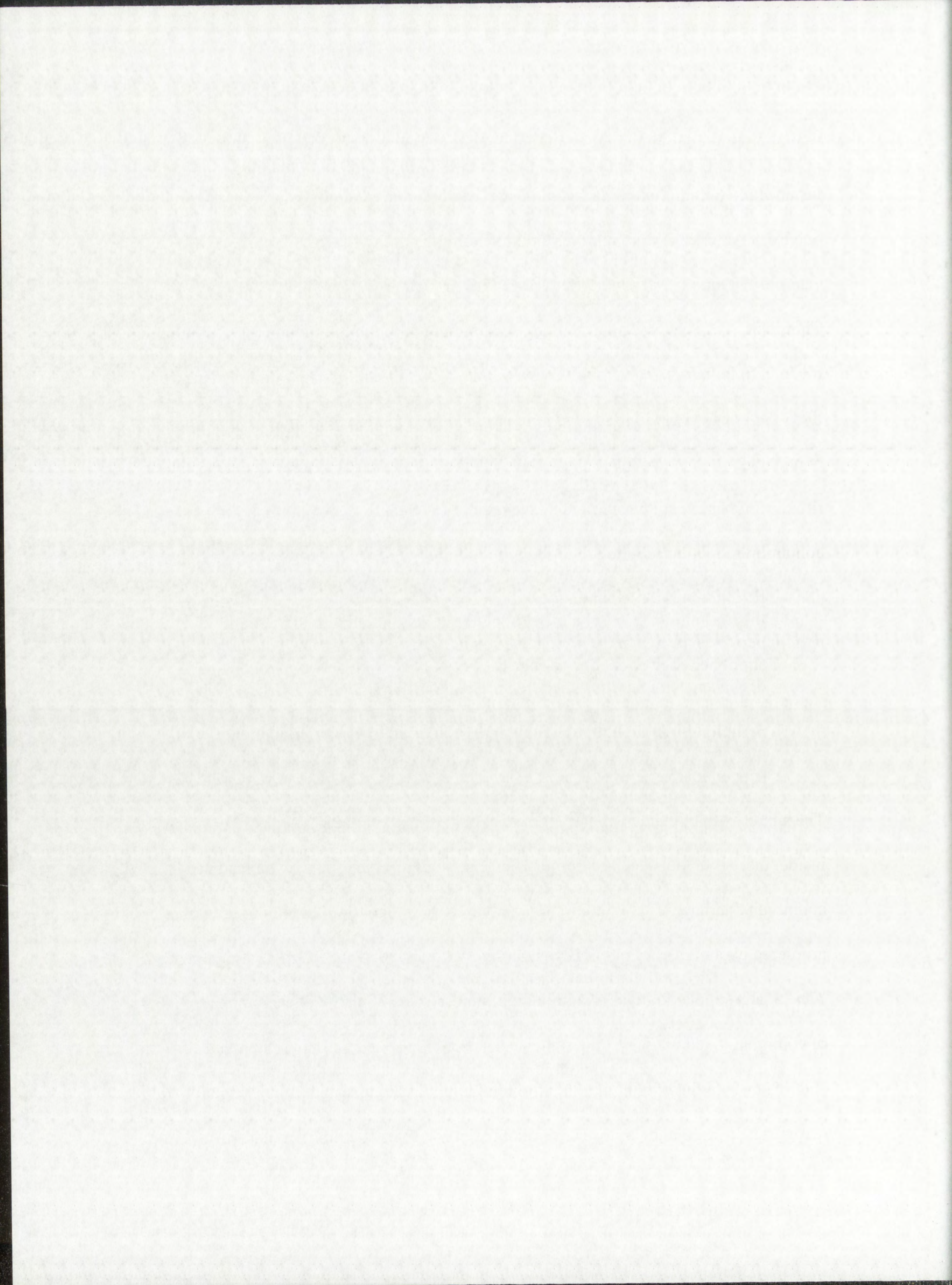
Throughout this study I will emphasize the role of ritual lynching to mark the boundaries of race, citizenship and nation. The ritual, public, performative violences against racialized bodies have acted to consolidate Euro-American community, for



instance in 1873 in Tuscon, Arizona where four men were hanged (three were Mexicans, one Euro-American)[16], solidifying their territorial community, or in the case of fourteen year old Antonio Gómez, who was hanged by a mob of over one hundred people in Thorndale, Texas. Gómez's dead body was dragged through the streets of the town until it began to fall apart (*New York Times* 26 June 1911). In both of these cases, Southwest Euro-American communities have utilized ritual performative violence in attempts to fix boundaries between themselves and the racialized bodies that outnumbered them. These rituals of lynching are purity rituals that attempt to 'cleanse' the community of perceived contaminants. Douglas writes:

> [P]ollution is a type of danger which is not likely to occur except where the lines of structure, cosmic or social, are clearly defined. A polluting person is always in the wrong. He has developed some wrong condition or simply crossed some line which should not have been crossed and this displacement unleashes anger for someone. Bringing pollution, unlike sorcery and witchcraft, is a capacity which men share with animals, for pollution is not always set off by humans. Pollution can be committed intentionally, but intention is irrelevant to its effect—it is more likely to happen inadvertently (1966, 113).

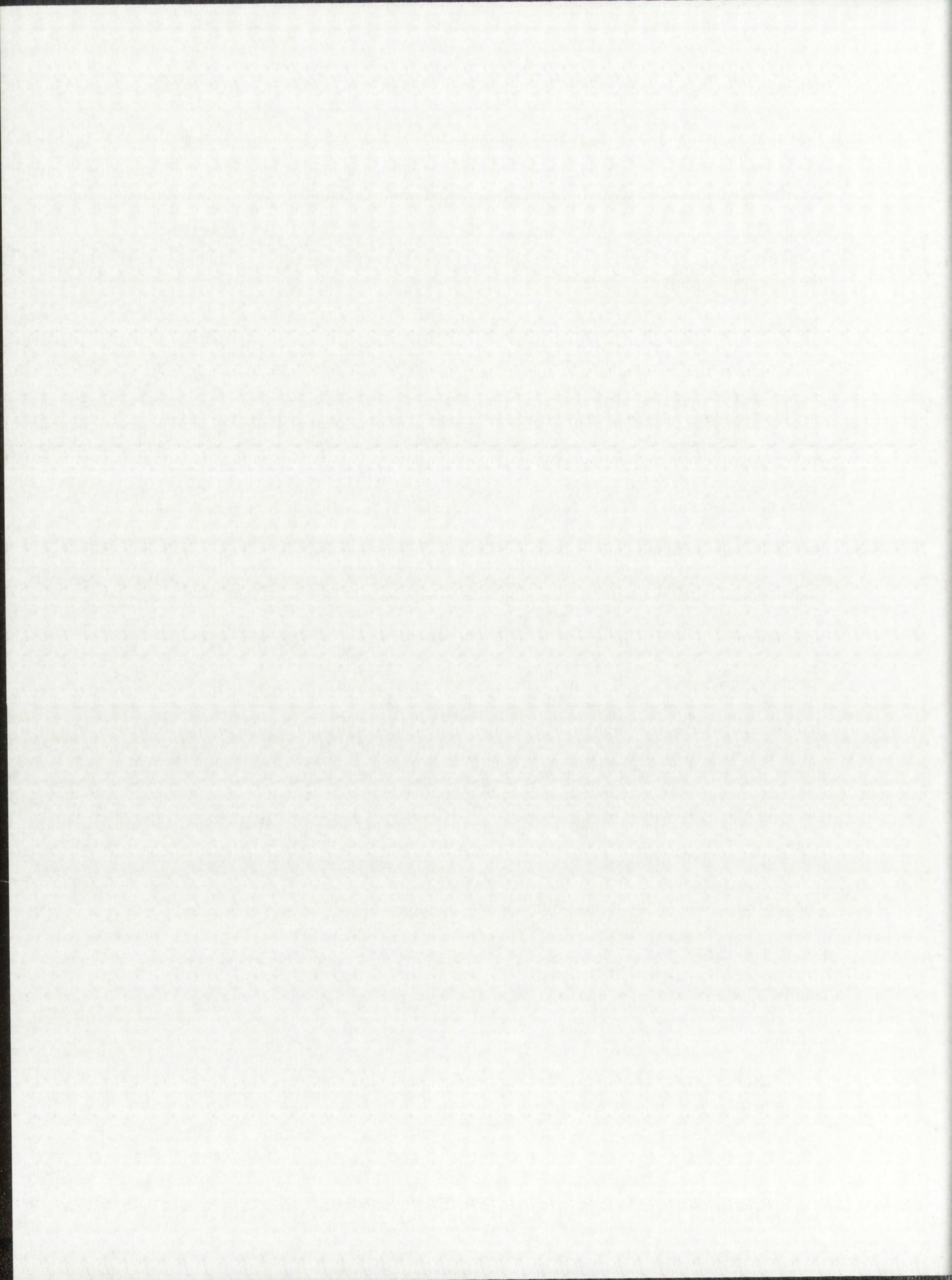
The anxiety of pollutants animates the consolidation of community—for if there is an inside, there is an outside. The porous Mexican border in the Southwest threatened both community and nation. In the case of one lynching, in Barstow, Texas, a man was murdered by a mob after publically shouting "Viva Diaz!" (May 31, 1911 See *New York Times*). His simple political declaration of interest in the affairs of México polluted ideas of community and nation. Further, the declaration threatened geo-political boundedness, and this created disorder in the Barstow community. The ensuing lynching "ritual recognize[d]the potency of disorder" (Douglas 1966, 94). The mob murder was redress



for a perceived fissure in the still-porous national boundary. Douglas' discussions of boundaries in *Purity and Danger* (in both Western and non-Western societies) identify the concern for purity as a primary theme at the rituals of every society. For my discussion of racialized violence, these rituals of purity are crucial.

Discussing racialized violence as part of a larger system of ordering, a logic that organizes groups moves the discourse surrounding lynching away from the Freudian psychological examination or simple cause and effect equations that have characterized much of the work on lynching and other racialized violences. I adopt an important point on the doctrines that animate violence from atrocity studies that themselves were born of philosophical pursuits examining the Holocaust. In the case of racialized violence, reflecting on individual action has been insufficient because the racialized power and structures of which we will speak are not the property of individuals. Instead, the power that assailants wish to draw upon and augment through ritual acts of violence reflect greater "immortality systems," rather than gestures toward personal power. In *Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide* Robert Jay Lifton explains that individual physiological explorations in terms of racialized violence will always be inadequate. Lifton's crucial shift from the psychology of the individual to a greater group identity provides an important lens through which to see the systematic violence against Mexicans in the Southwest and its unending iterations. I quote Lifton extensively as follows:

> My own [analysis] departs from the classic Freudian model of instinct and defense and stresses life continuity, or the symbolization of life and death. The paradigm includes both an immediate and ultimate dimension. The

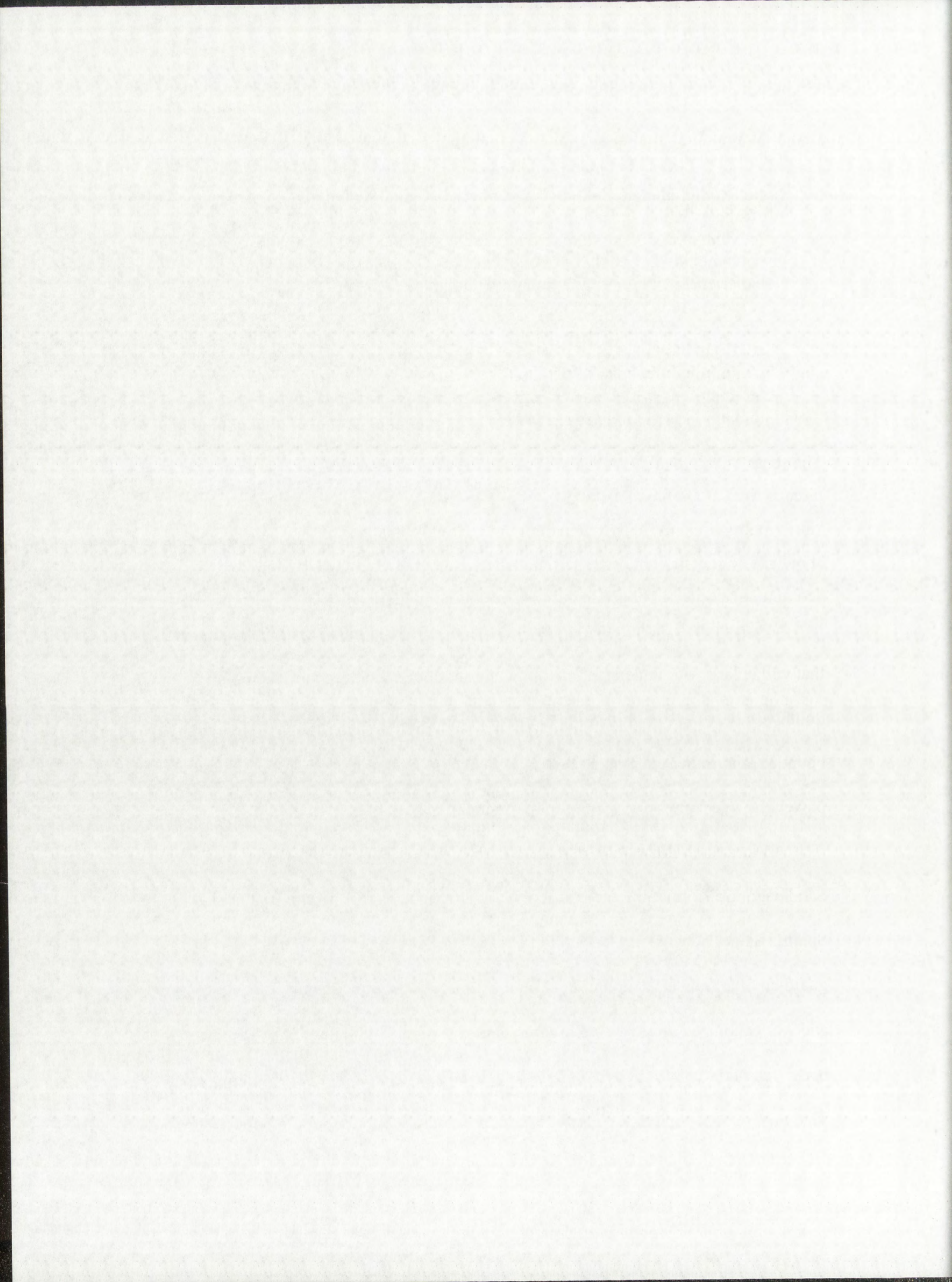


> immediate dimension—our direct psychological involvement—includes struggles with connection and separation, integrity and disintegration, movement and stasis. Separation, disintegration, and stasis are death equivalents, images that relate to concerns about death; while the experiences of connection, integrity, and movement are associated with a sense of vitality and with the symbolizations of life. The ultimate dimension addresses larger human involvements, the sense of being connected to those who have gone before and to those who will follow our own limited life span. We thus seek a sense of immortality, of living on in our children, works, human influences, religious principles, or in what we look upon as eternal nature" (1986, 14).

The sense of race panic that is evidenced in the ritual violences I explore in this study directly draw upon the idea of one's 'race' or 'nation' as what Otto Rank called "immortality systems." Rank, departing from Freud's analysis of individual concerns about safety and survival, sought to understand the ramifications when individuals seek a "communal assurance of group immortality" (Kamin 2002, 51-54).

These interlocking ideologies of race, citizenry and purity give us a foundation that will enlarge our understanding of the myriad forms violence has taken in the Southwest. Further, we shift from attempting to understand individual behavior as bounded, and rather understand that individual choice attempts to draw upon systems of power and to ensure some form of race "immortality."

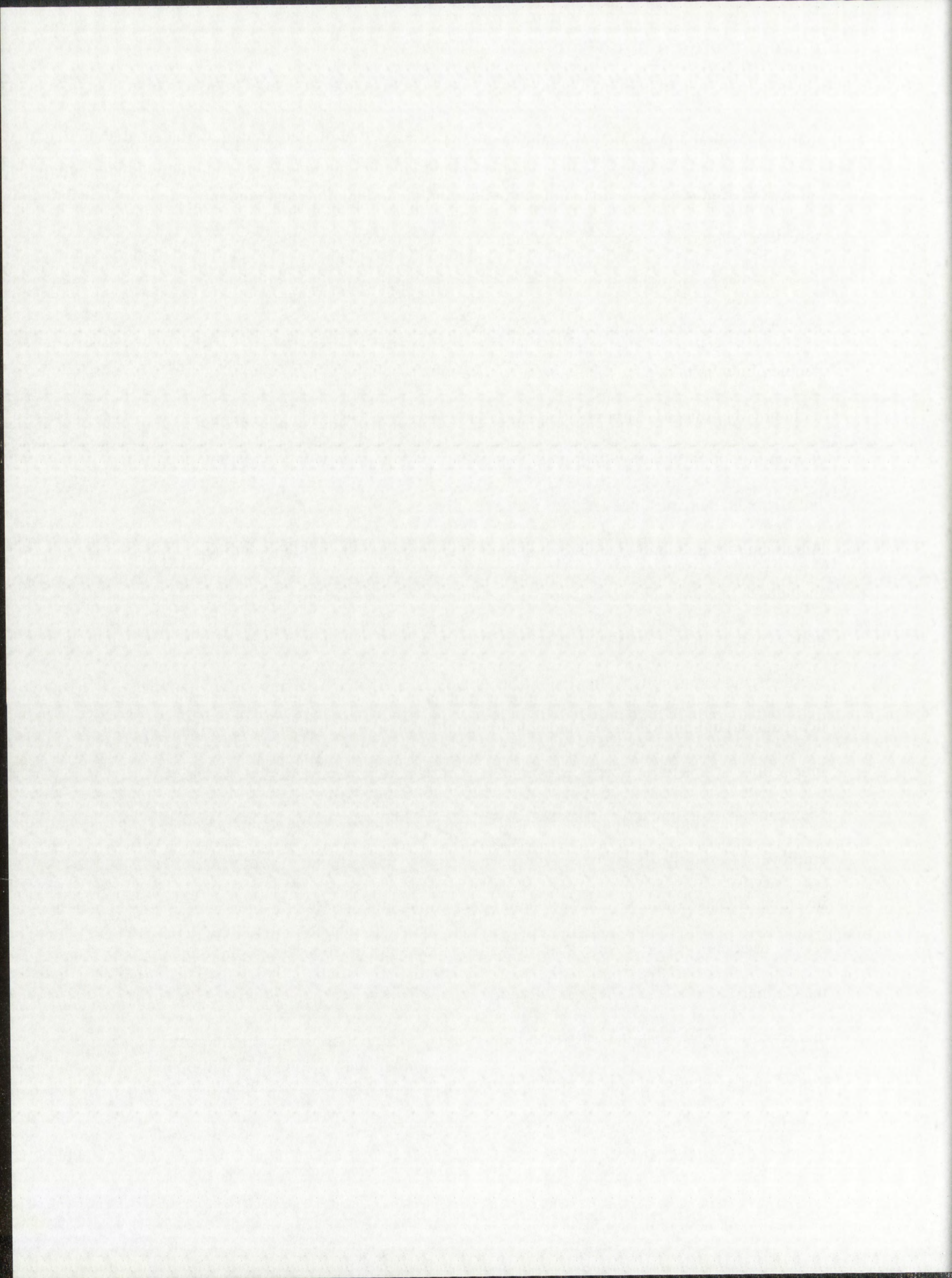
I turn to an illustration of these doctrines, or interlocking ideologies, and begin in San Diego, California, the second largest city in the state of California and named for Spain's Saint Didacus of Alcalá. Saint Didacus or San Diego spent much of his life as a guardian of a Franciscan community on the Canary Islands in the mid fifteenth century, and was canonized after performing miracles of healing. Upon his death, San Diego's body was said to have emitted a sweet fragrance, and his body refused decomposition. That one of California's Southern-most cities bordering México should possess the name



of the incorrupt saint is the height of contradiction. It is on this national border that the so-called first world has so visibly exploited the purposefully underdeveloped world.

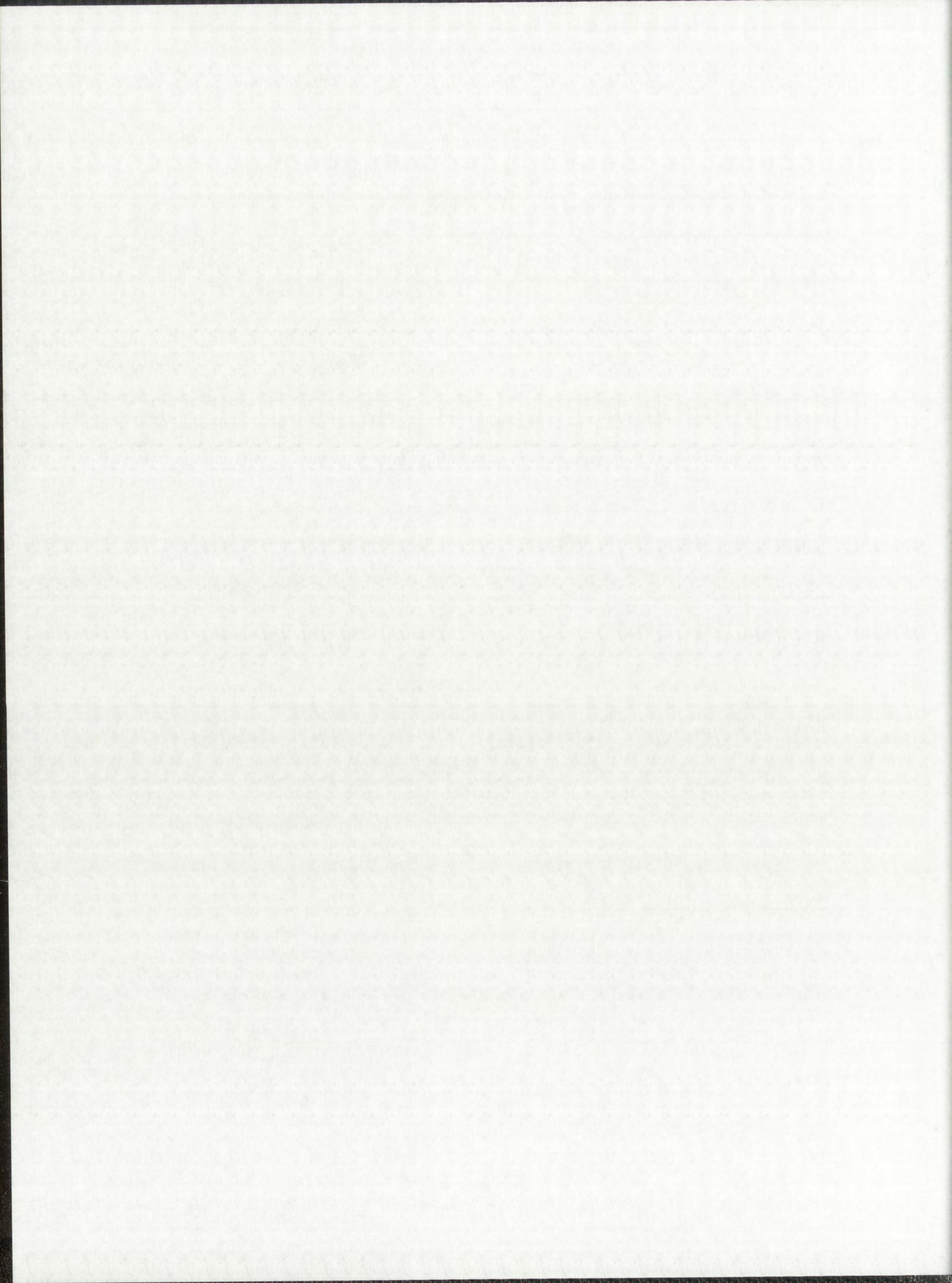
What has now become a "global city" and "technopole" of transnational movement, sustained by Mexican migrants, was once a meeting place of the indigenous people of the San Diego area, estimated at over 20,000 at first Spanish contact and including the Luiseño, Cahuilla, Cupeño, Kumeyaay, Northern Diegueño groups (Crawford 2004). Interconnection and transcultural movement are not new to the region; but attempts to create fixed borders *are* new and an expression of dominant Euro-American occupation.[17] The modern history of occupation and domination of the region includes deliberative genocidal campaigns against indigenous communities and the considered, strategic land dispossession of Mexicans—who were comprised also of Afro-mestizos and indigenous—after the ratification of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The occupation, land disentitlement and enforcement of a new racial hierarchy have created binary oppositions in Southern California. By conflating class and race, and by seeing Mexicans as a foreign and transient labor force, the white community became resident employers. Certainly, the picture is far more dynamic than this binary, yet the narrative of invading 'illegal' Mexicans has fueled anti-Mexican hatred in the area.

Mexicans, Central Americans and others have settled in a migrant community in the Carmel Valley of San Diego for decades; those who live in the *jacales* or lean-tos in this community have named it Rancho Peñasquitos.[18] These families labor in the nearby tomato fields, the men gather at the *bracero* corners of the Home Depot, and the women walk to the large adjacent homes where they raise children who are not their own. On the



evening of July 5th, 2000 five Mexican migrant workers were attacked by eight vigilantes. Three of the victims have been identified as Andrés Ramos Díaz age 66, Anastasio Irigoyen age 71, and Alfredo Ayala Sánchez, age 68. (There has been little information released on the fourth and fifth victims who also worked in the adjacent tomato fields.) All five men were beaten with iron pipes, stabbed with a pitch fork and repeatedly shot with high power pellet guns. Mr. Ramos Díaz stated that as he was shot repeatedly in the back, his attackers shouted racial epithets and "they hunted me down like a rabbit and threw rocks at me as if I was an animal." The brutal attacks on the elderly Mexicans lasted over an hour. According to the Associated Press, when police found him after the beating, Alfredo Ayala Sánchez was so traumatized that "he was in a fetal position in his hut and unable to come out" (Fox 2002; Jackson 2004).

The vigilantes' celebration of Independence Day may have begun earlier—on the first of July. Three days before the beatings occurred and less than 500 yards away, the dead body of a Mexican migrant worker from Oaxaca, México was found. The body appeared to be a lynching victim who had been dragged for two hundred yards on his face before being thrown into a ravine (Cienfuegos 2002; Jackson 2004). In November of 2002, two years after the body of the lynching victim was found and after the beatings at Rancho Peñasquito in San Diego, Judge James Milliken of El Cajon Superior Court sentenced eight vigilantes for their crimes. Adam Ketsdever and Bradly Davidofsky received two years in prison and another, Steven Deboer, one year. Five other vigilantes received lesser sentences because they were minors at the time of the crimes; their sentences ranged from six to nine months in county jail.



Although California was one of the first states to enact a Hate Crimes statute in 1987, the attacks against the Mexican migrant workers were not prosecuted as Hate Crimes. The minor sentences were handed out in spite of the fact that Davidofsky, Ketsdever and Rose faced up to fifteen years and two of the minors, Manduley and Beever, faced a maximum of twelve years in state prison (Moran 2002). It bears noting that the assailants did not have typically Anglo-Saxon "American" names. The Davidofsky family surname origin is Russian and in particular Russian Jewish; while Ketsdever may be German or Baltic; and perhaps most interestingly, one of the "lesser" attackers, Morgan Victor Manduley, age 17 (who was given five years probation and ordered to attend a class on racial sensitivity) is the child of a Cuban immigrant father (Fox 2002). The insecure "American" identity of virulent attackers often comes into play in lynching and I give the issue of an insecure, unstable and incomplete American identity more sustained attention in Section Two: "The Congregation: Practicing Community." Here it is useful to remember that performative acts of public violence are a means to gain membership into the dominant Euro-American U.S. community. It is not coincidental that in spite of the immigrant past of their own families, all of the attackers in this case voiced allegiance to the Minutemen Project.

The Building Democracy Initiative has documented over three hundred anti-immigrant vigilance committees—American Border Patrol, Desert Invasion, Protect Arizona Now, Texas Border Watch, White Aryan Resistance (2008)—but one of the oldest national anti-Mexican vigilance committees is The Minutemen Project. The Minutemen Project boasts active auxiliaries in over thirty states and patrols the México-

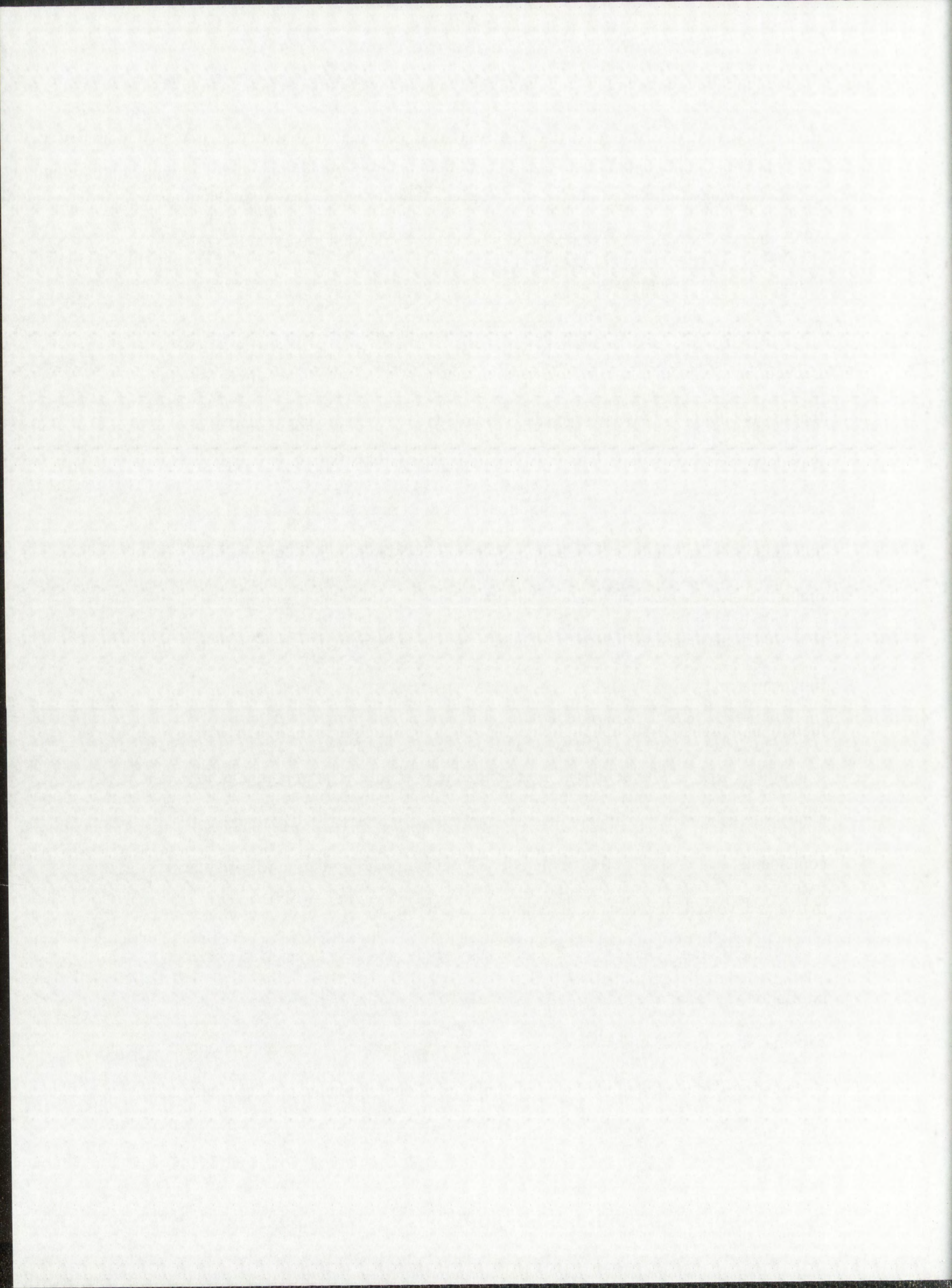
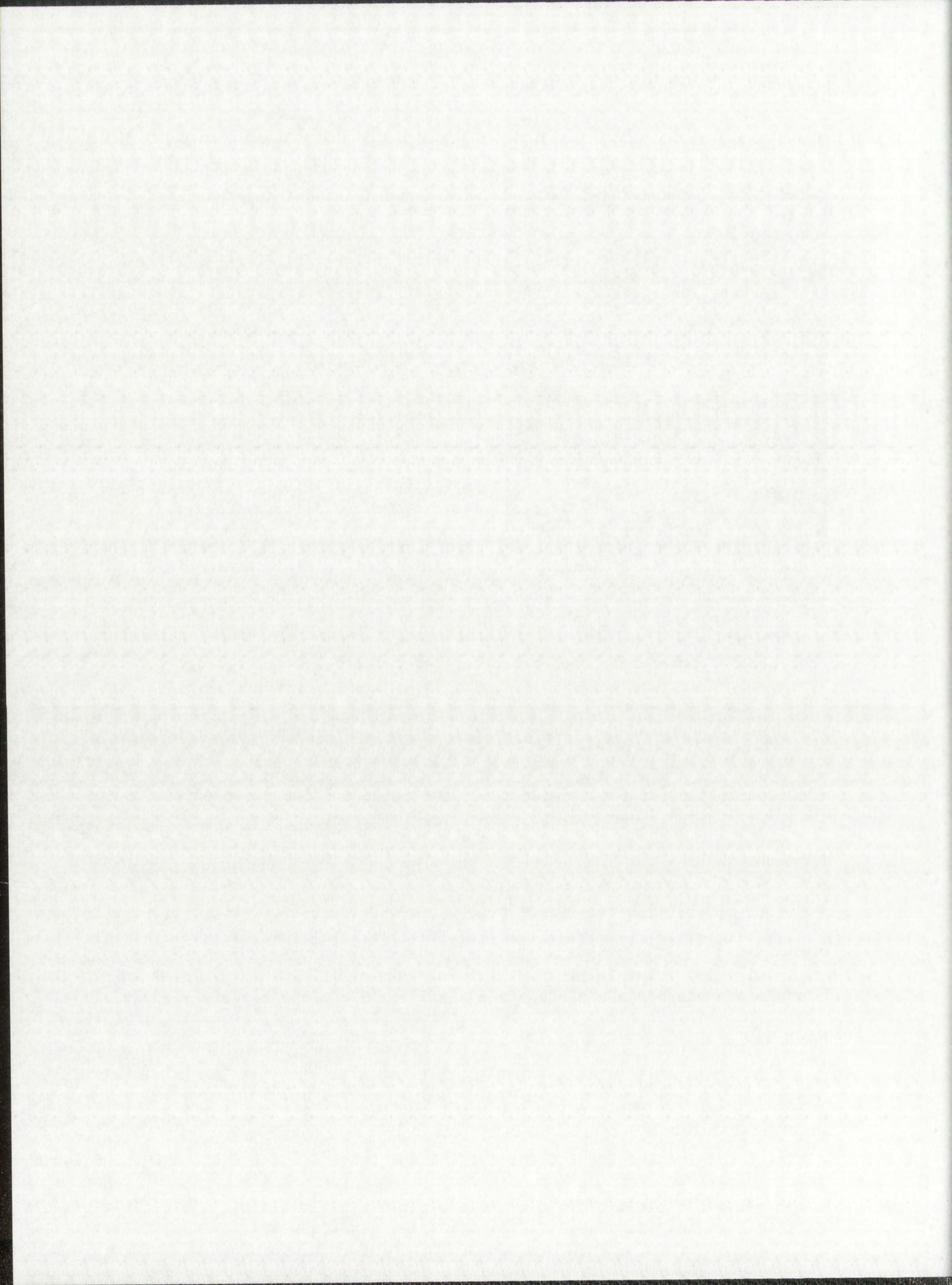


Figure 2: David Duke and the inaugural Knights of the Ku Klux Klan Border Watch, 1977

U.S border with firearms and sensing technology. It operates at the allowance of the U.S. law enforcement agencies. Today's Minutemen Project is the offspring of the first national border watch. In the fall 2005 issue of the Southern Poverty Law Center's "Intelligence Report," Susy Buchanan and David Holthouse traced the ideological and logistical links between the Minutemen and the Ku Klux Klan. Buchanan and Holthouse write,

> [C]itizen vigilante border patrols are not a new concept, [they] are following in the footsteps of other anti-immigrant activists before them, and it is well-trodden ground. Klansmen were on the Mexican border twenty-eight years before the Minutemen co-opted the concept. And they were talking about the Hispanic immigration threat more than five decades before that. In 1926, Klan Imperial Wizard H.W. Evans warned that 'to the South of us thousands of Mexicans, many of them Communist, are waiting for a chance to cross the Rio Grande and glut the labor marts of the Southwest' (Buchanan and Holthouse 2005).

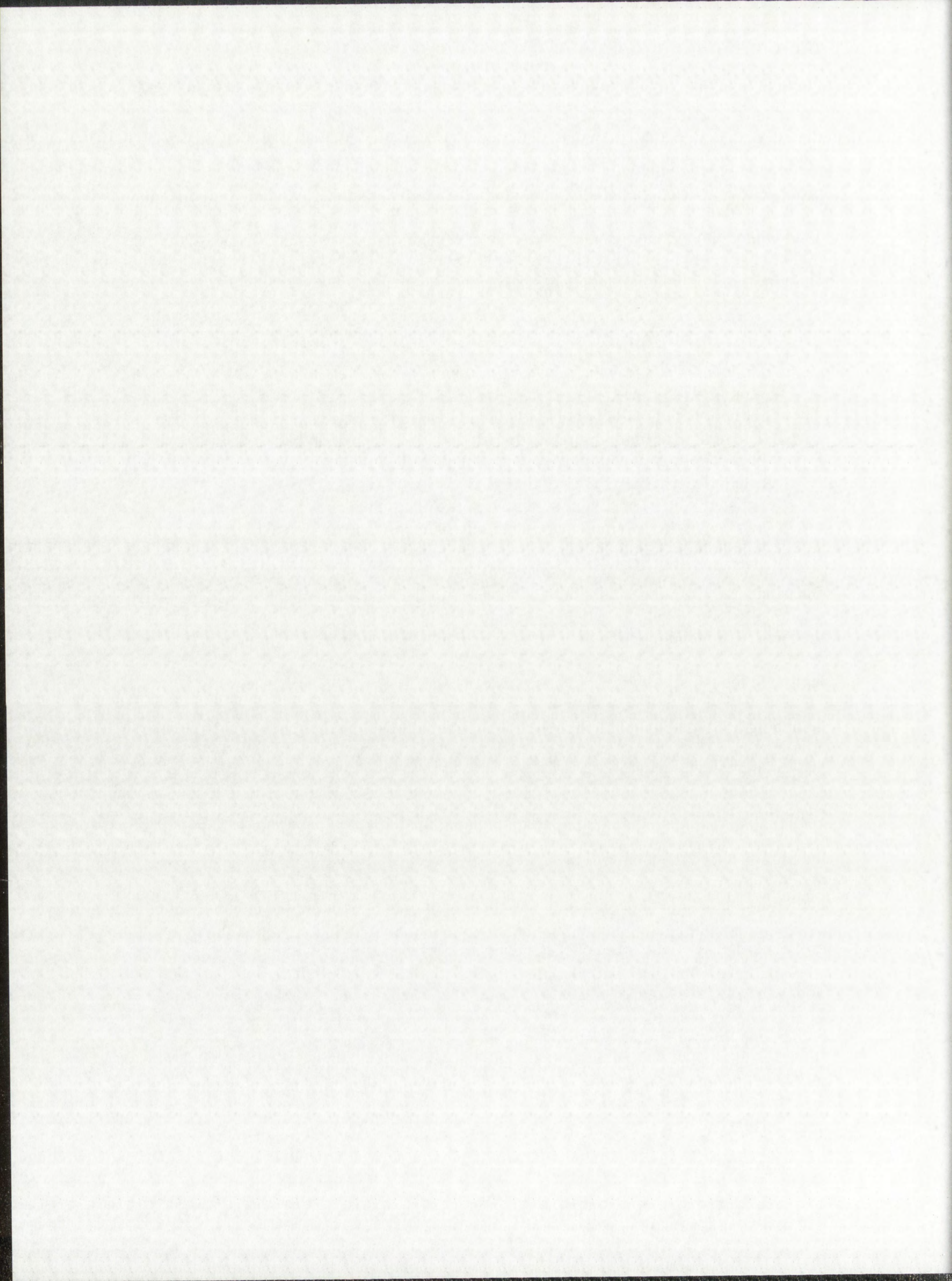
A precursor movement to the Minutemen was the Klan Border Watch. The Klan Border Watch was launched on Oct 16, 1977 at the San Ysidro, California Port of Entry. It boasted over 500 Klan volunteers and allies and included U.S. Marines who joined from Camp Pendleton and travelled in a caravan across four border states—from Texas to the Pacific Ocean. Border Watch was meant to recapture the Ku Klux Klan's glory days in the South and evidenced the continuity of Klan white supremacy actions. The Klan's anxiety over Mexican immigration goes back to the early twentieth century. It was



prominently on display in 1924, when four million Ku Klux Klan members supported the 1924 United States National Origins Act, which institutionalized racism as part of official U.S. immigration policy. Mai Ngai explains the significance of the National Origins Act in *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*:

> [T]he 1924 Act was the nation's first *comprehensive* restriction law. It established for the first time *numerical limits* on immigration and a *global* racial and national hierarchy that favored some immigrants over others. The regime of immigration restriction remapped the nation in two important ways. First, it drew a new ethnic and racial map based on new categories and hierarchies of difference. Second, and in a different register, it articulated a new sense of territoriality, which was marked by unprecedented awareness and state surveillance of the nation's contiguous land borders (2004, 3).

Buchanan and Holthouse point out that the aims of the Ku Klux Klan clearly aligned with the legislative racial hierarchy constructed by the 1924 Act (2005). The Act, which legislated the racialized inferiority of Mexicans, and framed them as incapable of U.S. belonging, extended the Ku Klux Klan's reach from the Southern states to the Southwest. Despite the Rancho Peñasquitos case and others, David J. Garrow, a Senior Fellow at Cambridge University—unaware of the anti-Mexican campaigns in the Southwest and the links between the Klan and the increasingly violent anti-immigrant vigilantes on the border declared, "The Klan is Still Dead" in the *L.A. Times* (Garrow 2007). I assert that brutal murders of Mexicans have been replicated for over a century in the Southwest. Today they are the work of vigilante groups in San Diego County, at the Arizona state border, and throughout the Southwest. In tracing anti-Mexican mob violence across the twentieth and into the twenty-first century, I chart the deadly anti-Mexican violence as a tradition and ritual of U.S. nation building that marks national belonging and excludes the



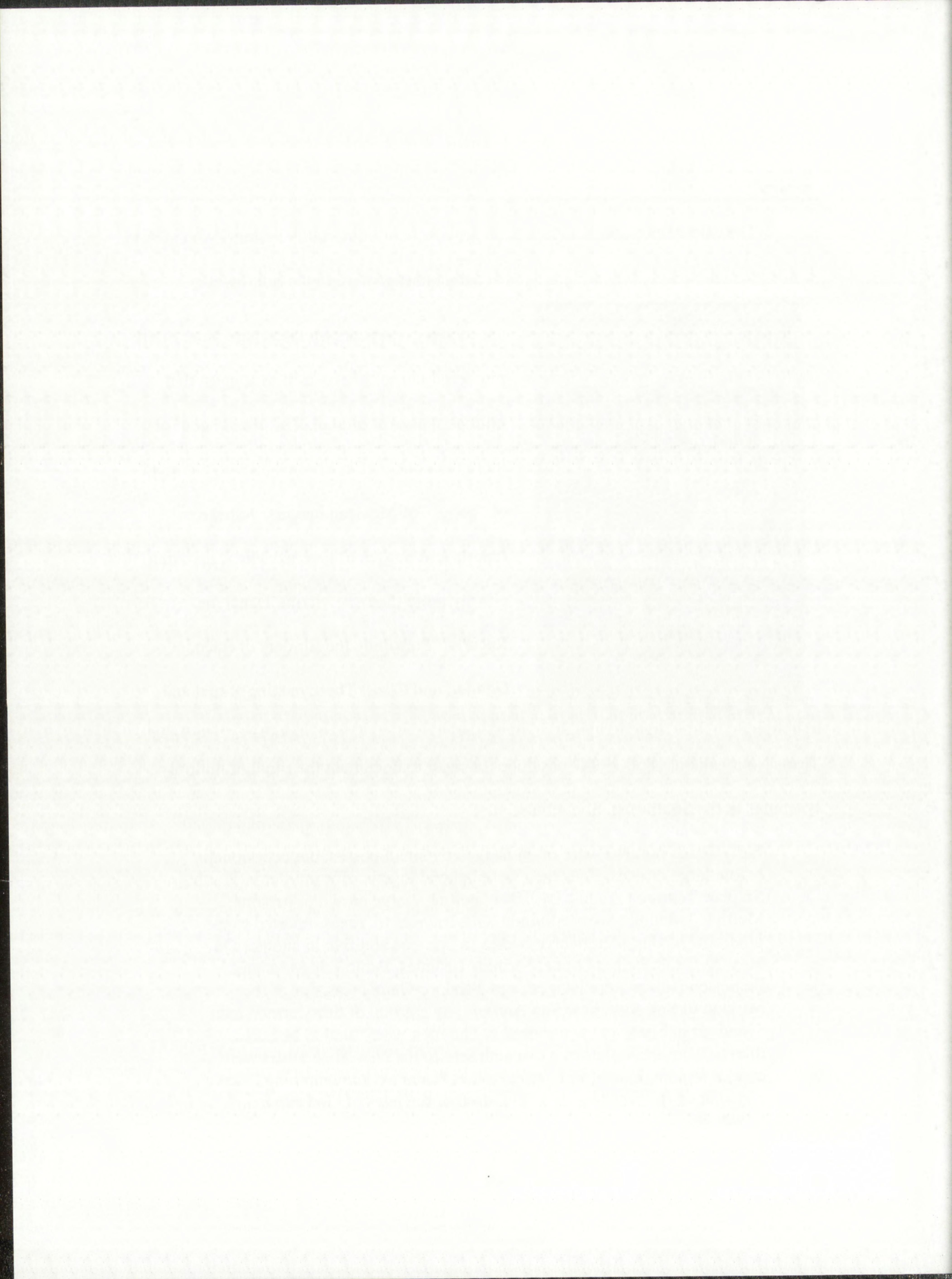
foreign.

The Minutemen and Ku Klux Klan are actors in immortality systems who seek to solidify racial purity. They are groups that act against groups. In the Southwest,

Figure 3 "Mexicans Lynched!" Postcard

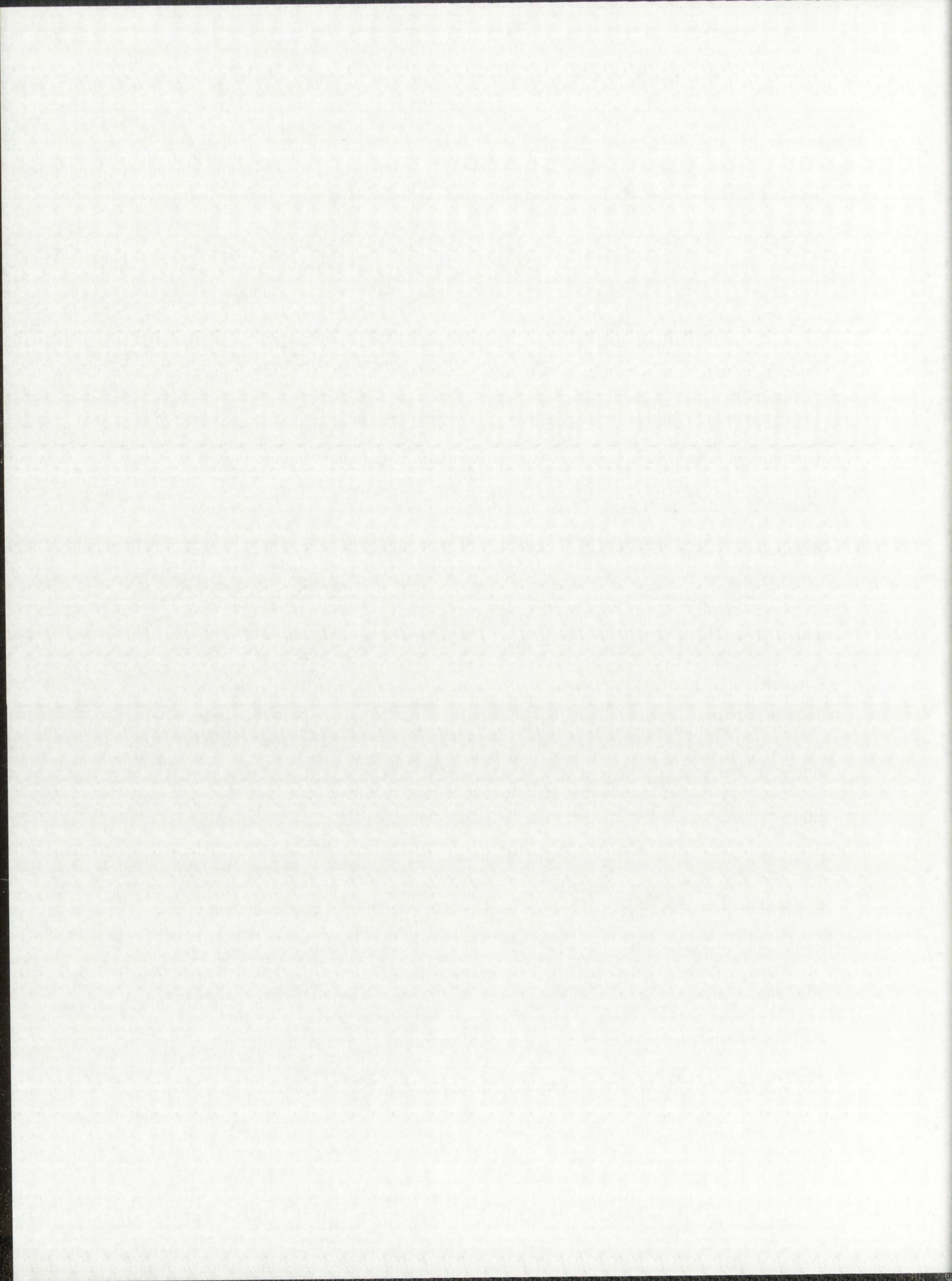
anecdotally it appears Mexicans are more often murdered in multiples—as if to suggest that killing one is not enough. This ritual need for more than one victim harkens back to the myth of "gangs" of Mexican bandits. Narrative reports and images of lynched Mexicans often portray more than one victim. Danalynn Recer's "Patrolling the Borders of Race, Gender, and Class: The Lynching Ritual and Texas Nationalism, 1850-1994" has done the most to document the ritual of multiply lynchings in the Southwest. She writes,

> Early Texas outlaws were often hanged by small posses, but occasionally before large crowds. Four men were hanged together for murder in South Sulphur Texas on August 24, 1844 "before a large crowd of persons." Multiple lynchings were common. One traveler to Texas reported to the *Liberator* having seen twelve bodies in one tree and five in another.On May 29, 1858, Felipe Lopez, Nicanos Urdiales, Pablo Longoria, and Francisco Huizar were hanged, and Teodoro Garcia was shot at the Mission of San Jose, near San Antonio, by a group of thirty armed men disguised in black and white masks. The men were "said to be horse thieves," but the author of a dispatch sent to the *New York Times* were careful to note that "of their guilt or innocence we know nothing," and condemned the lynching as a "violation of the laws of God and man" (1994, 49).



Recer's work begins in the mid-1800s and argues that the ritual lynchings of Mexicans in this period influence racialized lynching in the present. The postcard pictured on the previous page is a souvenir postcard of two unnamed Mexicans in southern Texas. The postcard is currently sold through "Vintage Postcards" and indicates the multiple lynchings often seen in the case of Mexicans. This trend seems more pronounced for Mexicans in the Southwest than African Americans in the South; however, more work would need to be done to confirm this. Euro-American groups acting against a number of victims is seen in the Rancho Peñasquitos events, though the incidents are separated by decades and geographic space.

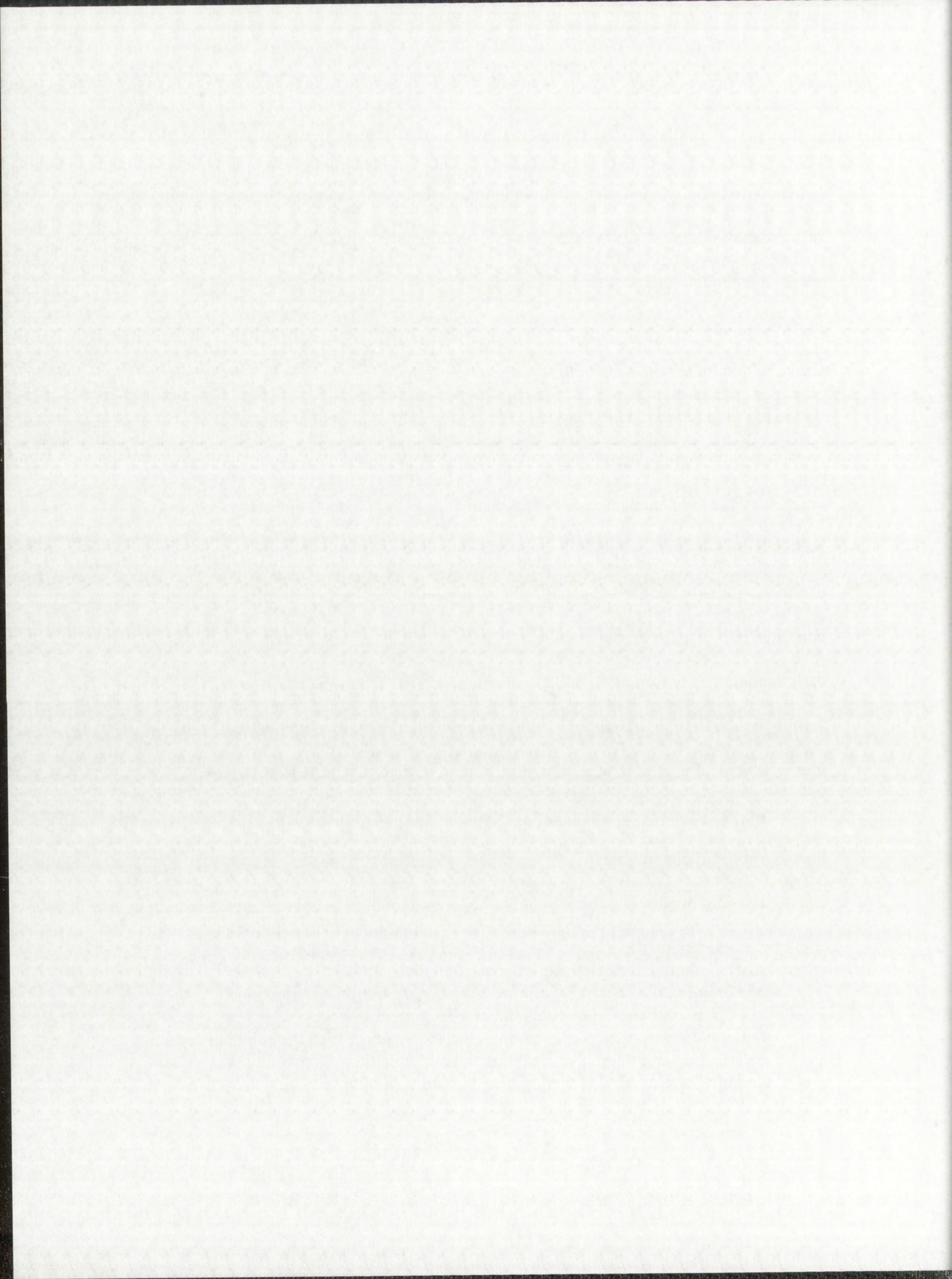
Geographic space is important to consider—I have claimed that the lynching of Mexicans has been inflected with race and citizenry ideologies, yet, this violence is coupled with U.S. expansionism. Euro-Americans in the Southwest sought westward expansion in the tradition of Indian Removal. The migrant Euro-American expansionists ruthlessly sought land and deemed Mexicans inferior inhabitants of the valuable land. Euro-Americans, having failed at total indigenous genocide, used the U.S. Supreme Court as early as 1823 to declare Indians had no right to possession of desirable lands, declared the Doctrine of Discovery. Indians had "a mere right of occupancy. As infidels, heathens, and savages, they were not allowed to possess the prerogatives belonging to absolute, sovereign, and independent nations."[19] President Andrew Jackson's campaigns for Indian Removal began in 1829, and the Indian Removal Act became federal law in 1830. In Texas where the Rangers hunted Mexicans, they followed the lead of the anti-Indian campaigns to remove the Comanche, the Kiowa, the Southern Cheyenne, the



Kickapoo and the Arapaho. The violent incursions of Euro-Americans have gone by many names—discovery, Manifest Destiny, progress of civilization, "removal." And here, I must reiterate that every mob murder of a Mexican in the Southwest has been perpetrated on an already blood soaked topography. In this way Texas Rangers can be seen as a continuation—though in some cases amplified—of a violent U.S. expansionist nation building project.

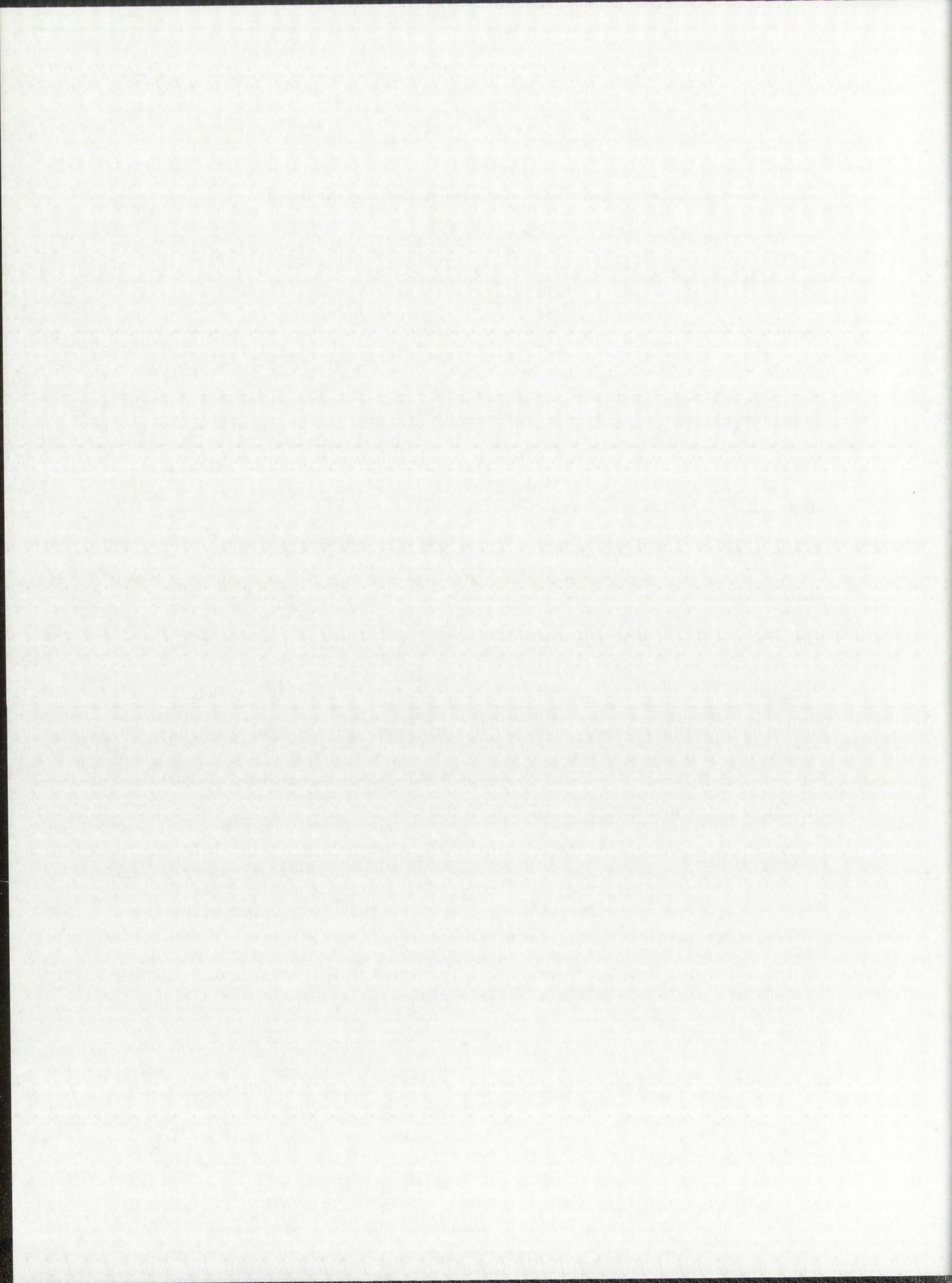
Euro-American expansion had a profound impact on the continent. This impact was felt by the indigenous peoples who became targets of land-seekers and "civilization" builders. Euro-Americans pushed forward—west and south—fighting the naturalized elements in their way: the indigenous, the wildlife, the Mexican. Three elements were contested concurrently. Indian removal, along with ritual communal wolf hunts were early features in the formation of the U.S. nation, ritual communal hunts served to solidify community and to impose a sense of order on what was perceived by European immigrants and Euro-Americans as a disorderly world. In his history of the campaigns against wolves by Euro-Americans as they colonized what would become the United States, Jon T. Coleman writes:

> The colonization of North America was a profoundly zoological event. The muscles of dead beasts nourished European bodies as the skins of slain mammals filled European boat holds. The disappearance of native fauna eased the dispersal of European people, livestock, and plants across the continent. The conquest dripped animal gore. While vision of God, country, and treasure motivated the invaders actions, the bones of aboriginal creatures serve as reminders of the physicality of the colonial experience. Any story of colonization must account for the flesh in the humans' teeth as well as the thoughts in their head (2004, 196).



Coleman's work, focusing in on the biological changes to the landscape via violent colonialism remind us that the expansion in the Southwest meant hunting coyotes just as it meant hunting Mexicans. I suggest a close look at the Euro-American campaigns against coyotes because I believe that they are analogous to Mexican lynching for their extreme cruelty and their ritual meaning. These violent campaigns also draw upon many of the same anxieties regarding land settlement by Euro-Americans. In the case of the Indian removal, Mexican land disentitlement and communal wolf hunts, Euro-Americans created the illusion. Coleman borrows from the work of Richard Slotkin, the author of *Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860, The Fatal Environment,* and *Gunfighter Nation.* Slotkin has argued that the anxieties of Euro-Americans helped to construct new mythologies that animated their violent actions. As Coleman explains, "Regeneration though violence, he [Slotkin] argues, was the guiding myth of the conquest of North America. In cultural forms as diverse as sermons and motion pictures, Euro-Americans fantasized that planting a civil society in a wilderness required acts of extreme brutality. To overpower savagery one must lash out savagely" (Coleman 2004, 106). Creed Taylor, who fought in the Texas Revolution reminisced "I thought I could shoot Mexicans as well as I could shoot Indians, or deer, or turkey; and so I rode away to war" (quoted in Saldívar 2007, 7).

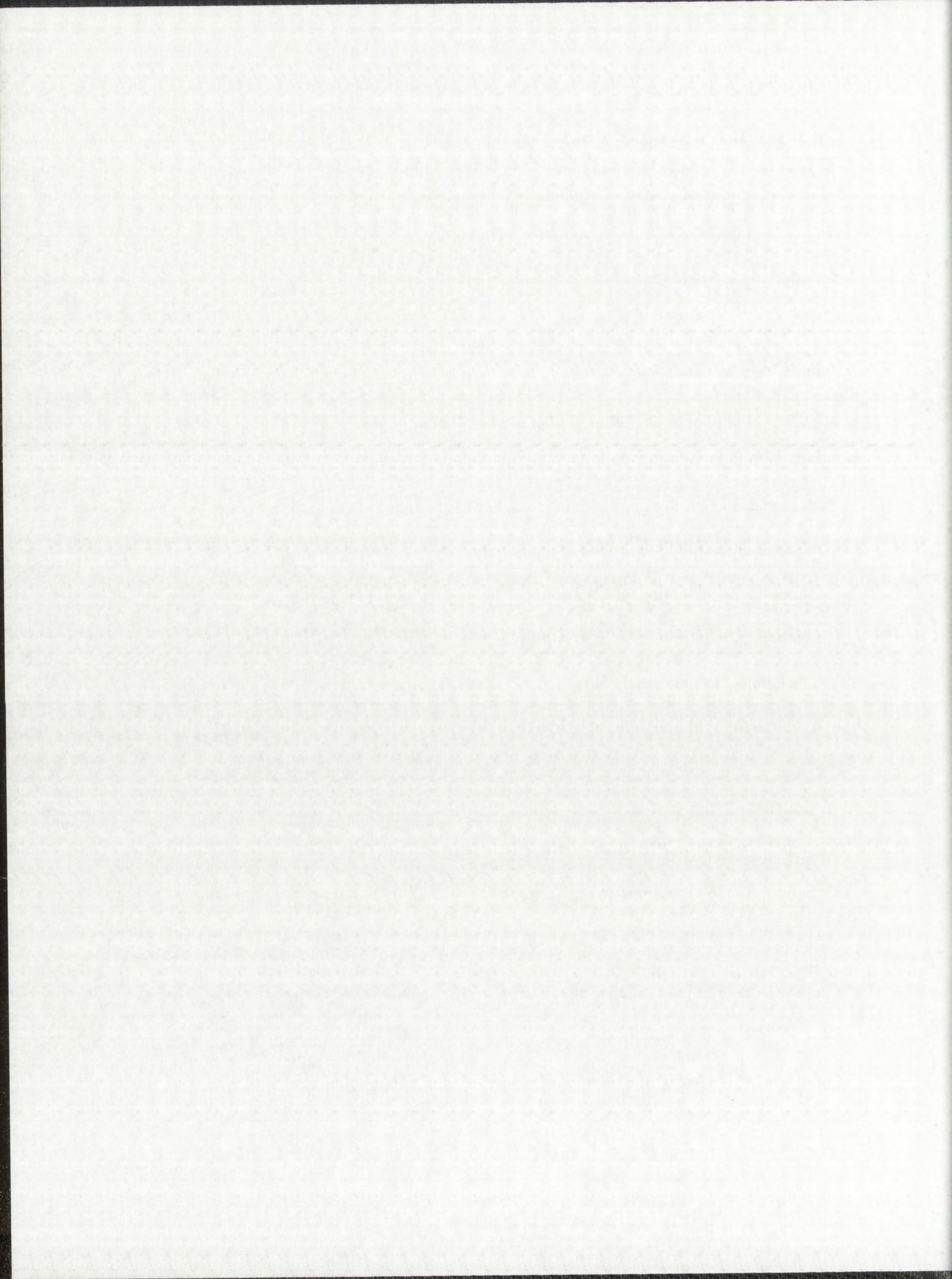
Pointing back to whether or not lynching victims can be "dehumanized" is the question of whether Mexicans were "animalized;" the parallel made here may lead the reader to believe that wolf hunts as compared to the lynching of Mexicans makes a similar false claim. I do not argue that the Euro-American would hunt both wolves and



Mexicans because they saw Mexicans as animals of the terrain, rather, I believe that hunters anthropomorphized wolves and their extreme cruelty was in response to the threat of the wolves' competing threat to the landscape. Coleman argues that hunters recognized the wolves' packs as analogous to human society, they saw that "wolves and humans inhabit compatible social worlds. They can establish hierarchical relationships using the signs of dominance and submission" (2004, 99).

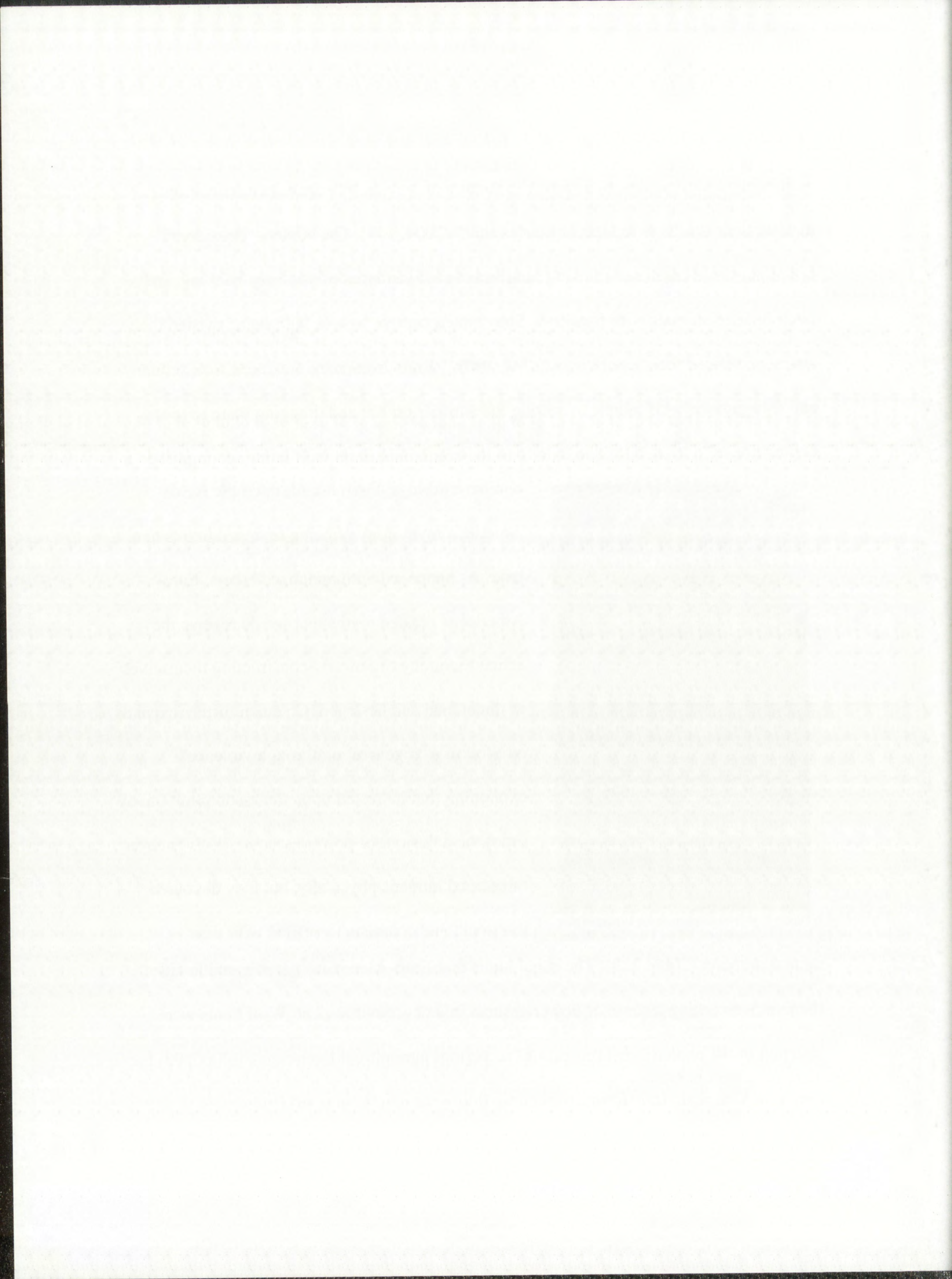
In the late 1880 in southern Arizona, as the cattle of Euro-Americans became more widespread, brutal communal wolf hunts sought to eradicate the animals. Tracing the manner in which the Mexican wolf became an endangered species, David E. Brown makes the parallel with Indian Removal. He writes "To rid the Southwest of this "terror," a campaign requiring more than sixty years and millions of dollars was mounted—an effort almost as great as that devoted to neutralizing the Apaches" (Brown 2005, 56). A discussion of the bloody colonial expansion in the many forms it took speaks to the extreme Euro-American anxiety and the use of violence to resolve these feelings. Ken Gonzales-Day quotes a California newspaper report that remarked on the numerous lynchings of Mexicans in the state, complaining, "No inquiry is made as to the guilt of one of the proscribed race, but they are hanged as unceremoniously as the huntsman shoots down the deer or the coyote…. Nearly every man in that region is under arms and ready to level on the first unfortunate greaser that comes across his track" (2006, 36).

The savagery with which Euro-Americans confronted the terrain that included the indigenous, the Mexican and the wolf is astonishing. In his discussion of their communal

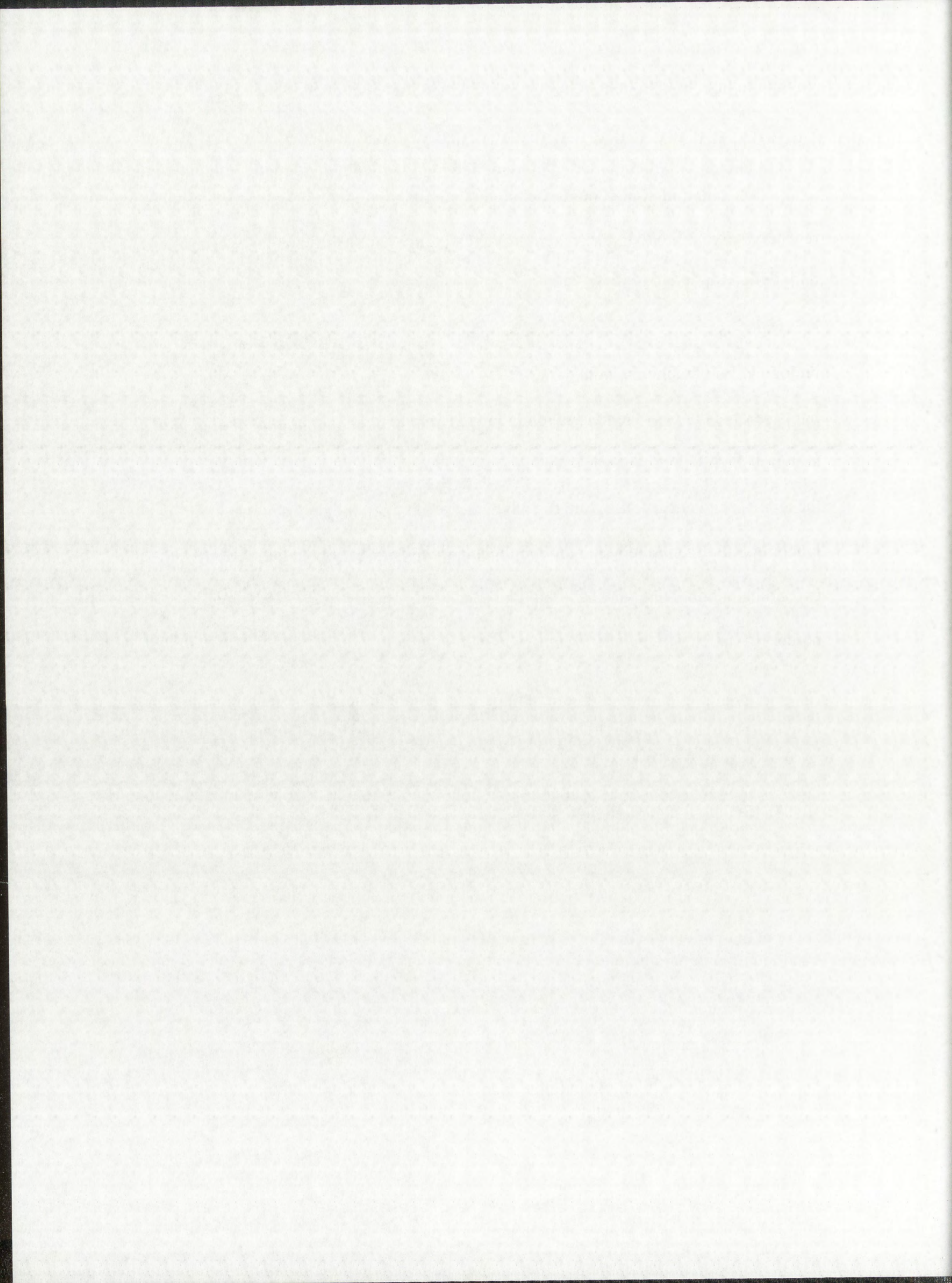


wolf hunts, Coleman describes how the hunters of wolves "chopped their hamstrings, mashed their skulls, wired their muzzles shut" (2004, 143). The hunters "considered brutalizing wild creatures amusing [and] recounted instances of stabbing, hacking, and pitch forking animals with fondness. They baited captive wolves with dogs, twisted their noses, and sliced their hamstrings (2004, 100)… Euro-Americans fractured wolf skulls and shot-gunned wolf puppies…setting the animals on fire and dragging them to pieces behind horses" (2004, 71). The cruelty of the communal ritual wolf hunts accomplished a number of things. First, it built upon the Euro-American mythology of being besieged in this new land. As happened with racialized others, Euro-Americans created myths that would reverse the actual hierarchy of power—constructing themselves as threatened and besieged. Coleman further expands on Slotkin's "regeneration through violence" explaining that it "rested upon the assumption (many times the delusion) of powerlessness. Wolves never threatened humans physically, but they devoured livestock, and colonists identified with their animal property (2004, 229). The ritual hunts that Euro-Americans participated in aided them in overcoming a sense of powerlessness in a new environment. Wolf hunts were also part of the expansionist project of "secur[ing] agricultural landscapes" (2005, 93) for the Euro-American, transforming and de-wilding the newly acquired lands.

Figure 4: Wolves lynched at the Diamond Bar Ranch near Silver City, New Mexico



The communal wolf hunts, displays of sadistic brutality, became rituals of violent regeneration that spoke to fears of movement and invasion, which are deeply connected with Mary Douglas's theories of purity and boundary crossing—for wolves and Mexicans, as border crossers both threaten, "wolves continually transgressed geographic, biological, and taxonomic boundaries (2004, 202). For this reason, the communal wolf hunts became the first attempts at community affirmations of border maintenance—accomplished with barbed wire, poison and ferocious hunts. Just as hunts would terrorize the animals and attempt to create fixed boundaries between the wild and the civilized, the lynching of Africans and Mexicans would attempt to define the boundaries of the expanding nation. And lynching would be added to the purity rituals that attempt to fix borders of nation, race, and citizenry.



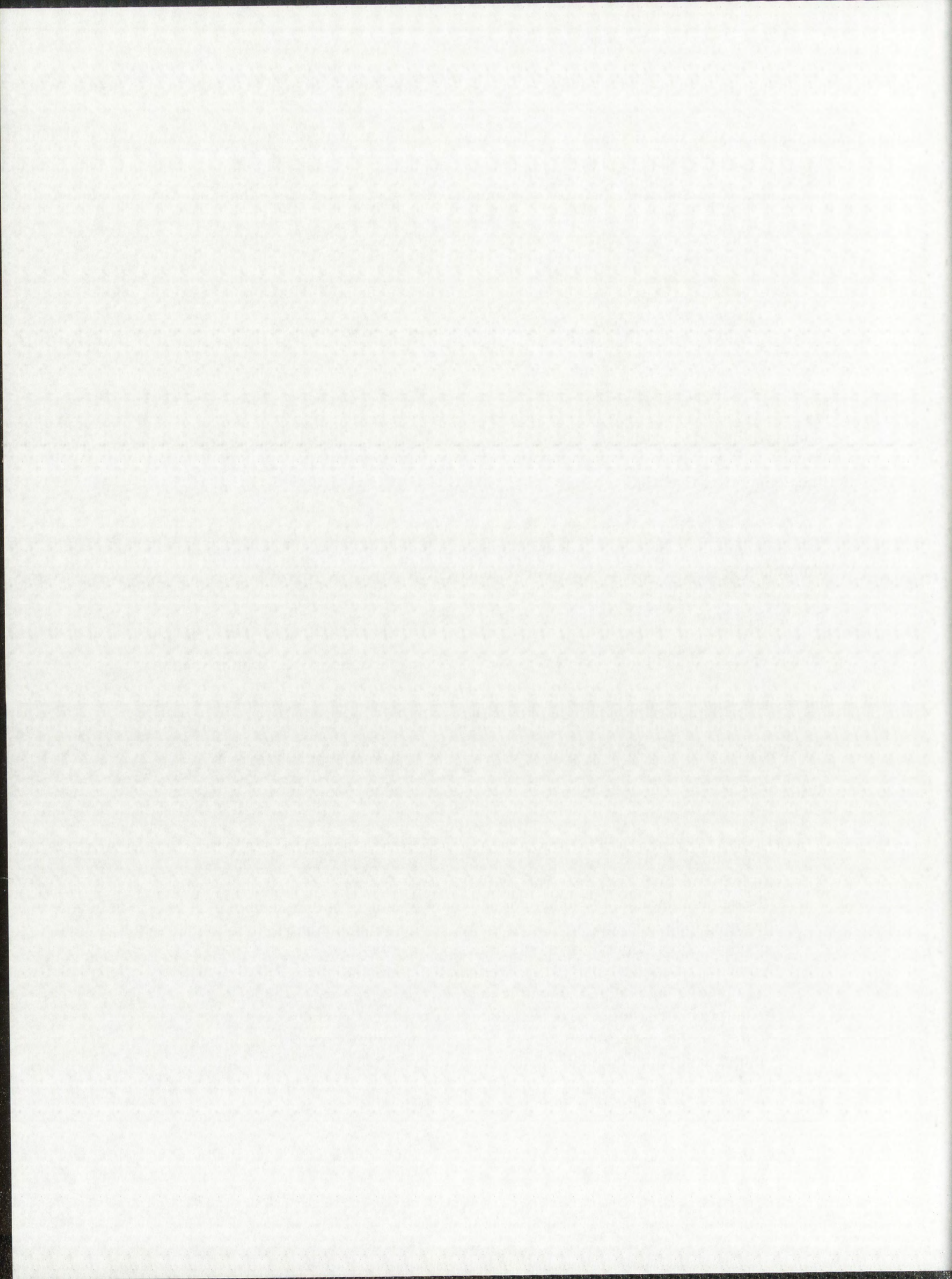
> As a social animal, man is a ritual animal. If ritual is suppressed in one form it crops up in others, more strongly the more intense the social interaction… Social rituals create a reality which would be nothing without them. -Clifford Geertz[20]

Section Two
The Congregation: Practicing Community

Shortly after the birth of her daughter Rose, Flora Spiegelberg was awaken by the sounds of horses' hooves and loud talking outside her Santa Fe home. Her husband Willi, the youngest of five Spiegelberg brothers who owned the largest mercantile enterprise in the southwest territories, opened the door when familiar voices yelled "Willi open the door quickly we have something of importance to tell you."[21] Willi and Flora Spiegelberg arrived in territorial Santa Fe two years after their marriage in Nuremberg, Germany. The couple emigrated and joined Santa Fe society as members of one of its wealthiest and most successful mercantile families. In her account of that night in 1877, Flora Spiegelberg explained that upon opening the door shortly after midnight, her husband Willi

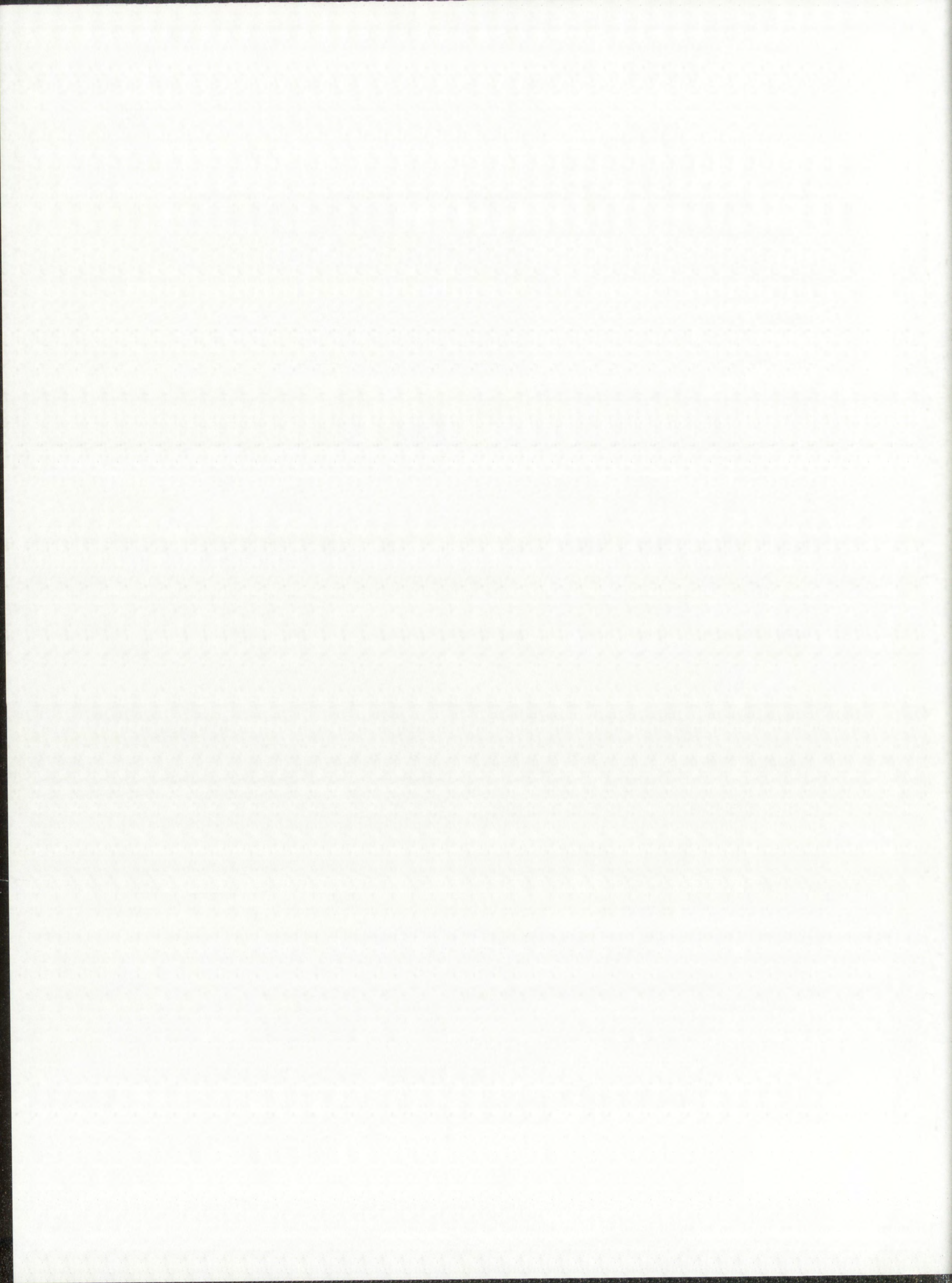
> …saw a number of intimate friends on horseback, two had heavy coiled ropes about their saddles, and one was leading an extra horse. The leader of the Lynishing [sic] Party then explained in a few words the purpose of their midnight visit—We have formed this Vigilance Committee upon learning today that the two Mexicans who so brutally murdered your neighbor American physician are to escape their well deserved punishment upon a technicality. We fear it may prove a very bad example for other young bandits. Therefore to protect ourselves, we have decided to surprise the jailor, take these murderers outside the city and hang them to a tree. I have a horse here ready for you to mount, and surely expect you to join us (Spiegelberg 1877).

The newly arrived Jewish couple stood at the door on the brightly moonlit night facing



ten men, "determined old pioneers silently holding the reins of their horses." The Spiegelbergs were faced with a decision as they stood in the hallway of their home, which rested in the shadow of the newly built Saint Francis Cathedral. Certainly, the invitation alone speaks to status—men who perceived themselves as men of honor and standing, attempting to consolidate and protect their besieged community, largely constituted vigilance committees. Yet, Flora Spiegelberg's account of the midnight summons leaves room for exploration regarding her Jewish family's provisional belonging in this community. I read the phrase "your neighbor *American* physician" as the vigilance committee pointing to a difference between the Spiegelbergs and their *American* physician. Utilizing substantial federal and territorial census data, family oral and written histories, and public documents, Henry J. Tobias assembles a picture of immigrant Jewish life in the territory. In *A History of the Jews in New Mexico,* Tobias asserts that most Jewish immigrants to New Mexico, records of whom begin around 1850, were—like the Spiegelberg family—German-Jewish immigrants. The Jewish immigrant presence in territorial New Mexico was differentiated from the eastern Jewish population who settled in larger U.S. cities. Generally, eastern Jews who immigrated in large urban

Figure 5: Flora Spiegelberg, date unknown



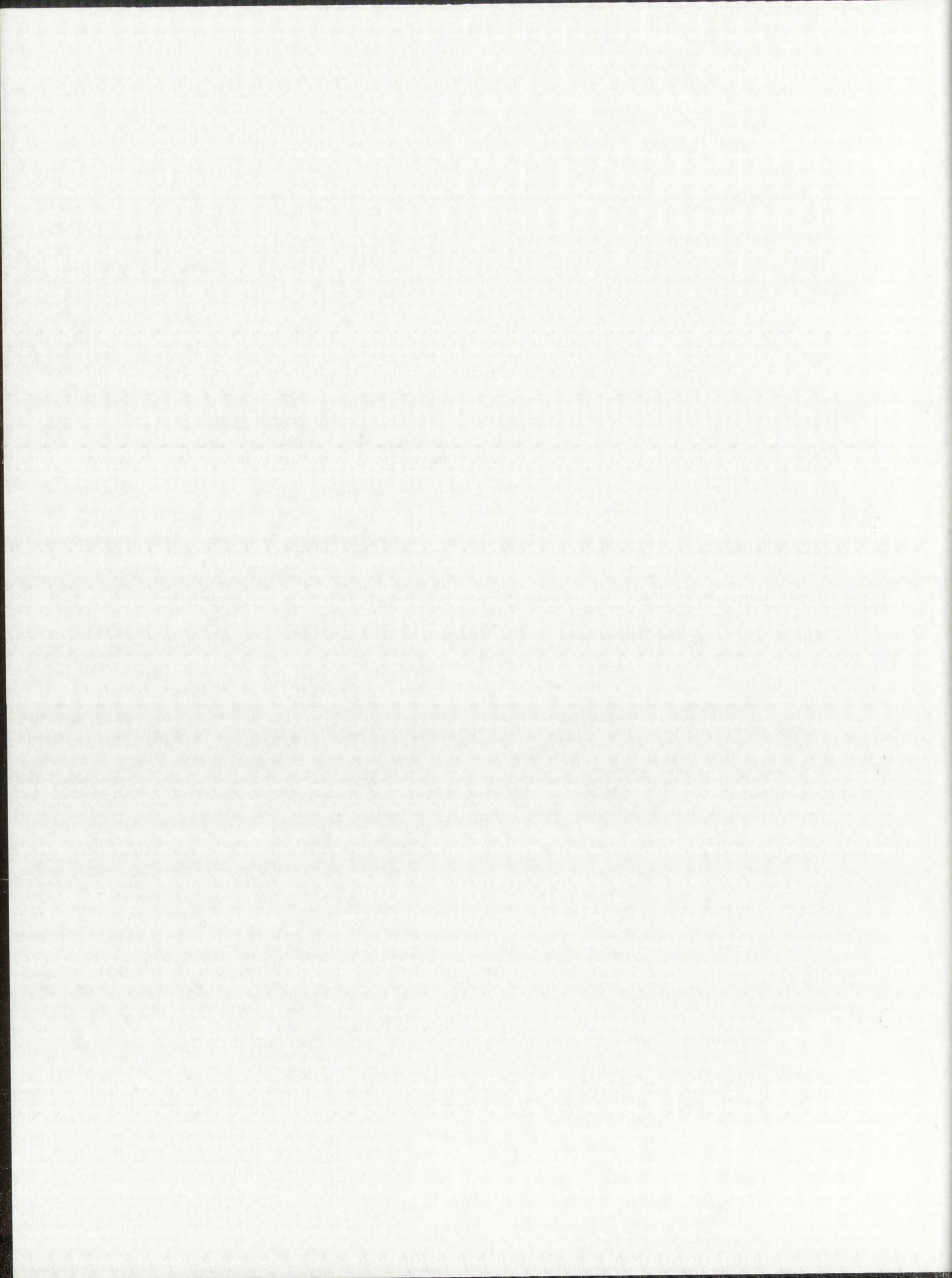
centers worked toward upward mobility via education. By contrast, New Mexico's German-Jewish immigrants tended to arrive in the middle class at their outset. The greeting received by Flora and Willi Spiegelberg further speaks to their affluence. She writes:

> To our great surprise, my husband's brother Lehman joined by friends in buggies or horseback and even on burros, had come to welcome come us with a band of Mexican musicians. As the coach drove up the main street accompanied by these friends we were cheered until we reached the home of my husband's brother. There General Devens, Commander of the Territory waited to welcome us with his military band playing 'Lohengrin's Wedding March.'

The numbers of Jews in New Mexico was a very small percentage of the total population—the 1860 territorial census showed that Jews represented 0.05% (one-five hundredth of one percent) of the total New Mexico population, 0.1% (one-tenth of one percent) in 1870, and 0.2% (two-tenths of one percent) in 1880. In her *Reminiscences of a Jewish Bride on the Santa Fe Trail,* Flora Spiegelberg recounts the relative isolation of both women and Jews in New Mexico. She recounts a stagecoach stop in Las Vegas, New Mexico on her way to Santa Fe explaining that Las Vegas was the second largest town in New Mexico, "and had a population of nearly one thousand, among them some twenty American men, four Jews, and three American women."

Interestingly, in many passages of *Reminiscences of a Jewish Bride of the Santa Fe Trail,* Spiegelberg refers to herself and her sisters-in-law as exceptional, writing:

> My brother-in-law Levi's wife was young and very beautiful and at that time was the fifth American woman in Santa Fe. Their only pleasant recreation was a buggy ride every Sunday to visit the nearby Indian pueblos and watch them mold pottery and make gold and silver jewelry.



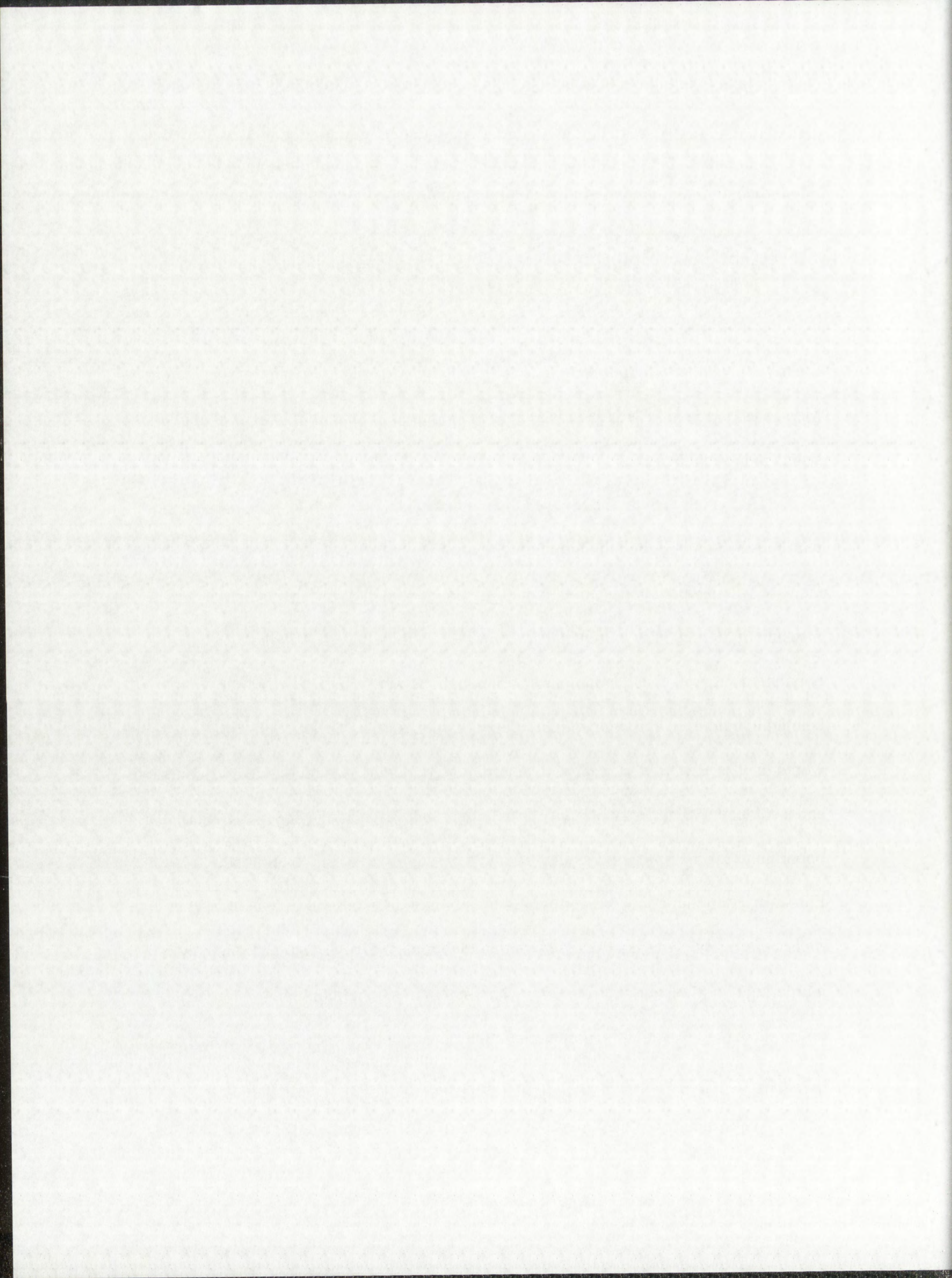
and

> At that time I was the eighth woman in Santa Fe. There were about fifty American men, officials and merchants, and a Mexican population of two thousand. Amid clean and happy surroundings, I soon forgot all the privations I had endured and I became a satisfied member of the community.

Clearly, Spiegelberg did not recognize the Pueblo women and Mexican women in New Mexico as "women." Also, there is slippage in her use of the word "American" for her sisters in law and herself.

Upon their arrival, the Spiegelbergs joined a heavily Catholic, Mexicano society with Pueblo, Apache and Diné groupings, broken up by Euro-American immigrants, many of whom were connected with the U.S. troops who had participated in the U.S. invasion of México. The extremely small number of Jews in proportion to the general population suggests that adaptations and negotiations were crucial for community belonging (and even survival) for newly arrived Jews such as the Spiegelbergs. How would they successfully interact with an established indigenous and Mexicano population and a colonial U.S. military presence? An invitation to a lynching party was a decisive opportunity for the Spiegelbergs that offered a possibility to clarify their loyalty to the Euro-American Santa Fe community. A perception of uncertain loyalty to established *Americans* might prove costly; the invitation to join the vigilance committee intent on murdering two Mexicans was also an invitation to join a community of *Americans* intent on extralegal revenge and the protection of their community, which they perceived as besieged by Mexican bandits. *We surely expect you to join us.*

The instability of the Spiegelbergs' Jewish cultural belonging in the United States



in this instance was coupled with the fact that Santa Fe, New Mexico was itself still a territorial holding, only thirty years separated from its place in the Mexican nation, and a full thirty-four years from U.S. statehood—a region where the meaning of "American" was still spatially, culturally, linguistically and legally contested. The Southwest, newly a U.S. holding after the 1846 U.S. invasion of México, was a new colonial experiment, a new geography of this race nation. In 1846, the United States invaded México—this has most often been called the Mexican American War—and after a war of aggression, annexed the northern Mexican Territory. The histories of conquest in New Mexico are different they share the United States as their colonial master.

The war of aggression was predated by the Texas War for Independence, which paved the way for the aggressive expansion of the U.S. into México. In-depth perspectives on the complicated México-Texas history as well as the U.S. war of aggression, can be found in Neil Foley's *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture*—in particular chapters one through five, which explore the shift in Spanish borderlands between 1820-1930 as the Euro-American presence pushed into Texas as well as continuing movements of Mexicans and African-Americans into the region. The attitudes of Euro-American Texans toward Mexicans are also explored in David Montejano's *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas 1836-1986*. This work more explicitly develops a timeline of shifting attitudes toward Mexicans, particularly as increasingly negative attitudes toward Mexicans contributed to the Euro-American Texans' declaration of an independent Republic, and the ensuing U.S. war of aggression. Montejano's work develops a timeline of shifting attitudes toward

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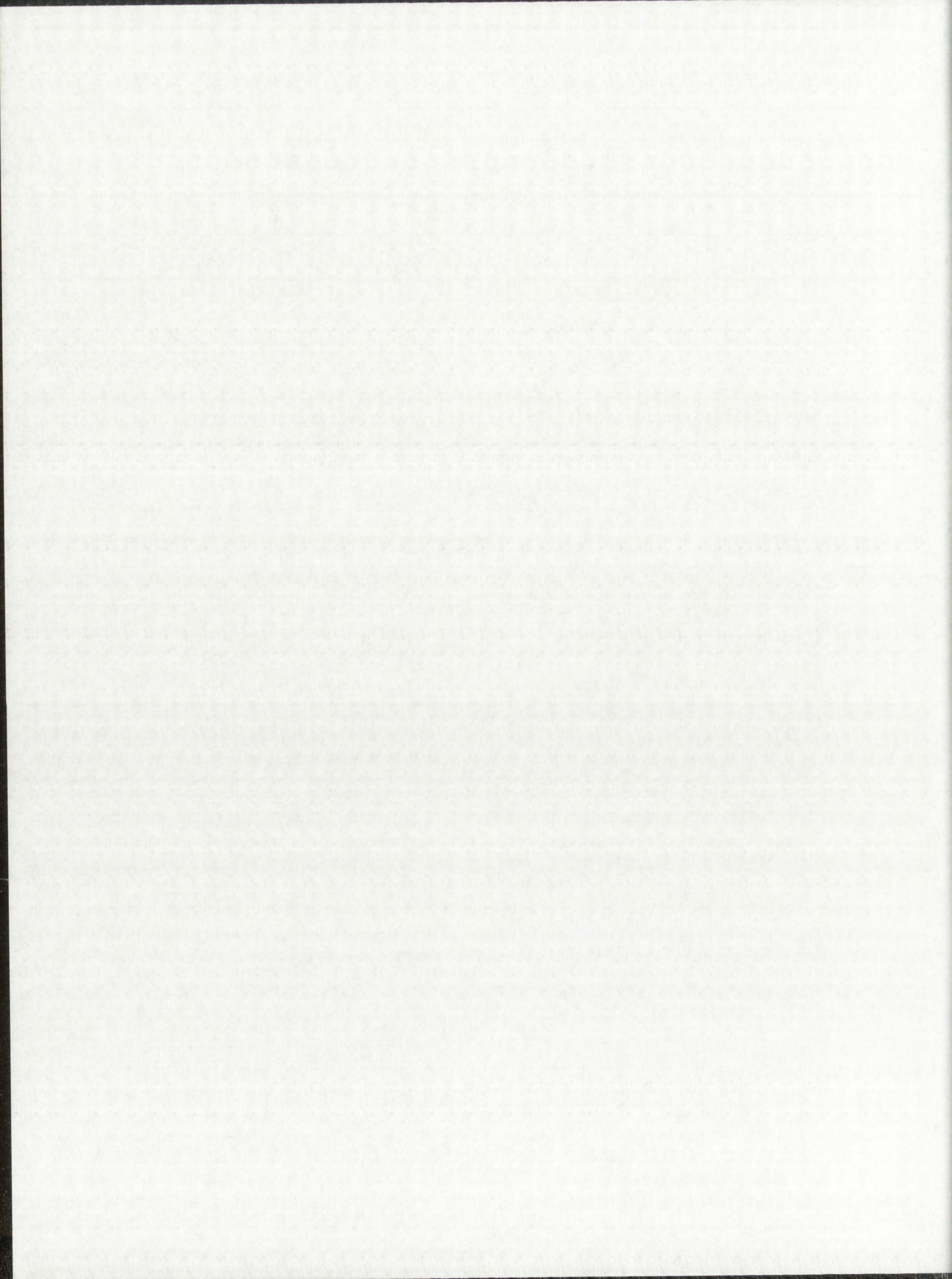
Mexicans—while Euro-American tenants previous to 1836 had generally accepted Mexicans as part of the Spanish elite, after 1836, the incoming Euro-Americans were more inclined to view Mexicans as inferior and of another race (114-117, and 143).

The war for Texas independence, followed by the U.S. war of aggression against México both resulted in subsequent annexation that settled the geopolitical boundary between México and the United States. The U.S. war of aggression was concluded by the ratification of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. In addition to solidifying the national boundary, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo set forth provisions for the land and citizenship rights of Mexicans who were absorbed by the U.S. annexation.[22] Northern Mexicans who had been collectively absorbed into the United States under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo numbered approximately 80,000 (two-thirds of whom were settled in New Mexico) and the Treaty theoretically extended citizenship to approximately these 80,000 Mexican residents and land holders of the Southwest (Castro 2001; Gómez 2006, 7). Article VIII of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo guaranteed U.S citizenship for Mexicans choosing to remain on what was now U.S. soil. Throughout the Southwest, Mexicans choosing to remain on U.S. soil may have assumed their rights as U.S. citizens were guaranteed, however, many of Mexican descent found barriers to the exercise of their rights. As Patricia Limerick writes in *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West:*

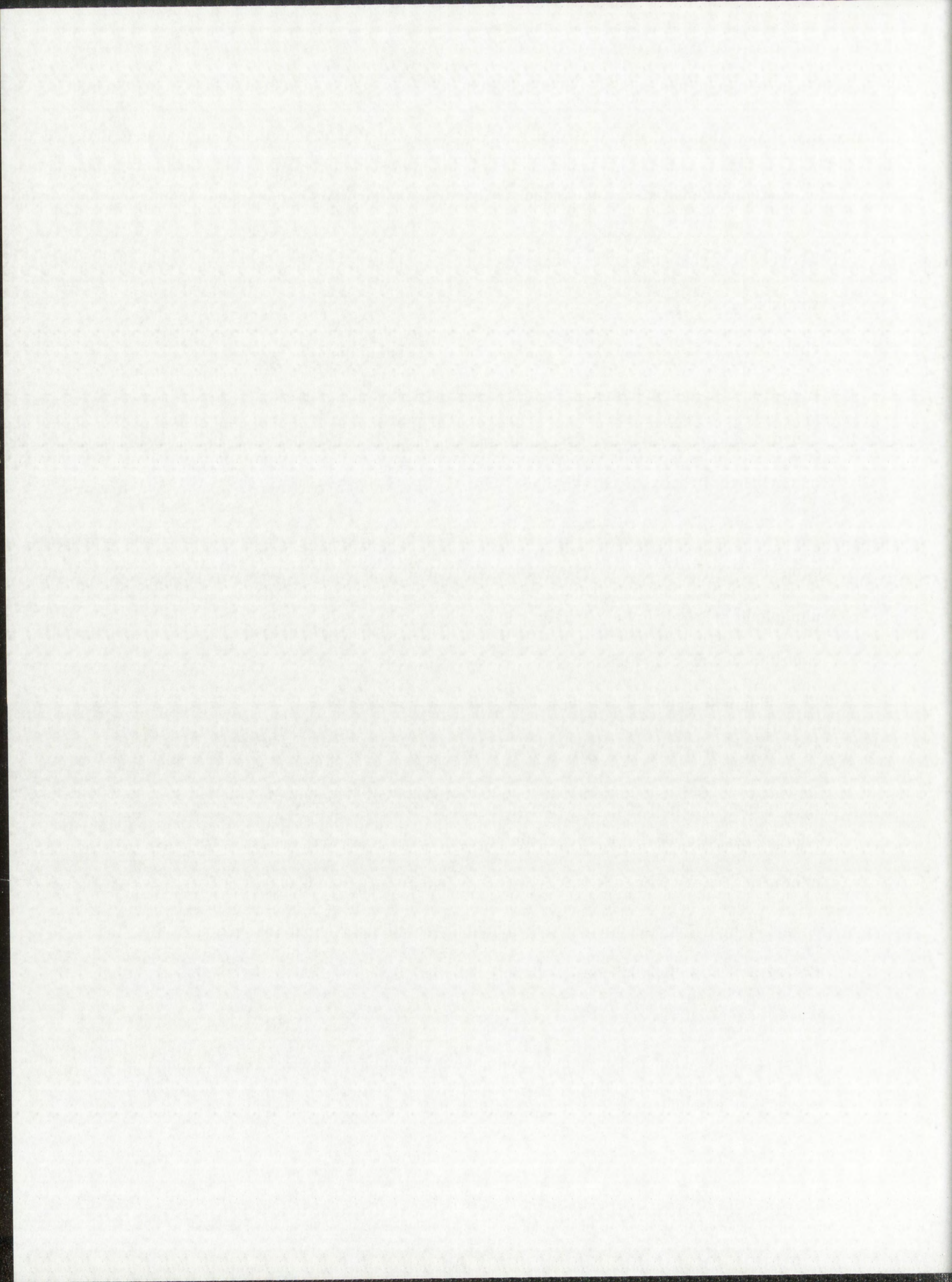
> The treaty allowed them to emigrate to Mexico or to stay in the United States, with their rights as American citizens ostensibly guaranteed. As the Indians did with their treaties, so Hispanics had in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo a written guarantee of their rights to retain their legitimate land claims. Like Indian treaties, too, the 1848 treaty would be



> much violated but would nonetheless remain on the books as a promise awaiting fulfillment (1987, 237).

Though the Treaty gave a clear indication that Mexican nationals absorbed by the U.S. should have the rights of naturalization and full citizenship, [23] in many cases Mexicans continued to be constructed as foreign and un-American. In this territorial milieu were the Euro-American colonial immigrants who were attempting to stabilize their own American identity against the indigenous and Mexicans, by whom they were far outnumbered. In accordance with the reflection of Edward Said, who wrote that "all societies acquire their identities through a juxtaposition to another: an alien, a foreigner, or an enemy," (quoted in Boroujerdi 1996, 6). I submit that the Euro-American immigrants in the territories utilized public violences to construct and consolidate an oppositional American identity.

Flora Spiegelberg's narrative provides a site for the exploration of a number of questions, such as: How is public, performative violence constructing community and drawing on as well as reinscribing hierarchies of power? Beginning with: How is community constructed? I join the theoretical approach of Antonio Gramsci and the anthropological work of Clifford Geertz on community construction. This is a fruitful approach in order to better understand community construction and the reification of ideologies as absolutely active—for these survive and thrive only to the extent that they are verified by daily social practice. Such verification comes in individual salient public acts—the acts that individuals commit that *commit them* to a community and its foundational ideologies. Rather than reinforce the idea that mob violence comes like an

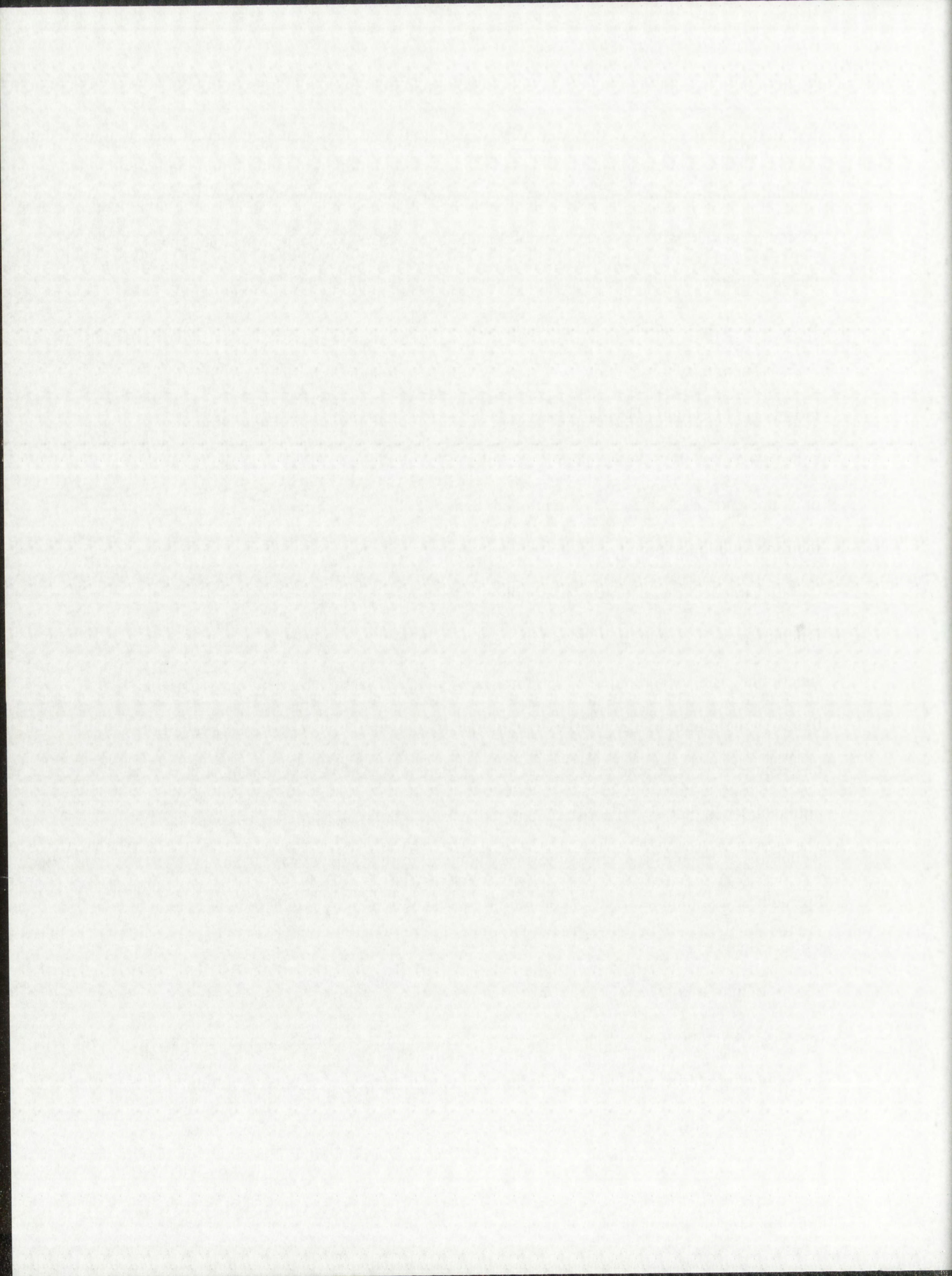


undeniable wave under which participants in violence are swept, the narrative written by Flora Spiegelberg allows an uncommon look at the moments of clear contemplation and the decisions to follow when the members of one's community arrive horse-mounted with coiled ropes and an invitation to murder.

The intertwining ideologies of an expansive nationalism, with citizenship as its most cogent product; colonialism; and racial hierarchy have all—separately and in concert—animated violences against racialized bodies. Because these violences both draw upon and bolster the aforementioned ideologies they are a crucial site that displays their intractable reciprocity.

Violences against racialized bodies, of the kind produced by the Santa Fe lynching party are performative and public rituals. They are rituals that persuade, functioning as a social control to reinforce an ideology of racial hierarchy. In the case of the two sought after Mexicans, they had been ostensibly tried by a court and were not to be executed, if even found guilty. The hunt for them becomes the meeting place for public violence that would construct and reconstruct a dominant superior whiteness, as well as offer a means to a more solidified whiteness for the Spiegelbergs. The Spiegelbergs would be challenged to perform themselves in a way which was legible to a white audience.

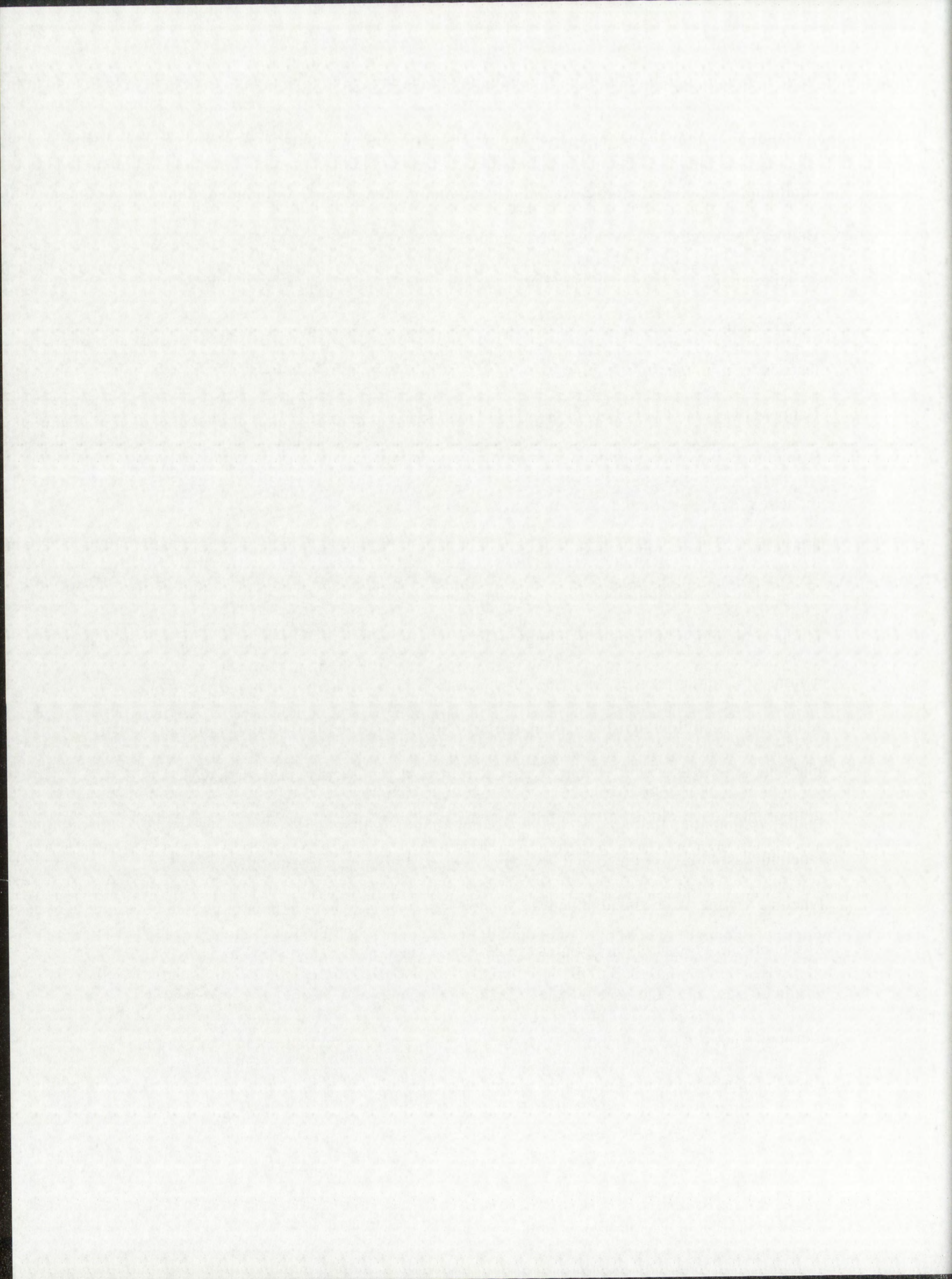
In his essay "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cock Fight" Clifford Geertz assembles a symbolic analysis of Bali's cock fighting practice and suggests that the open social event performs many functions, and the seemingly recreational event is an organizational setting. Geertz's interpretive anthropology delves into the performative



community rituals that serve at least three reinforcing functions. In the practice of the Balinese cock fight, the members of a community construct a mock war that articulates social relations, relative virility and intricate loyalties. In addition, this performative social practice comments on what it means to be Balinese, performs being Balinese, teaches what it means to be Balinese, and allows an opportunity to learn how to be Balinese. I refer to Geertz's work in relation to lynching because for the Euro-American Santa Fe community, performative violence acts as an editorial, performative and didactic practice—articulating community relations, hierarchies and loyalties (1973, 412-453).

The construction, reconstruction and performance of whiteness via pubic violence is foundational to U.S. nation building and should not be mistaken for aberrant mob actions or 'frontier justice.' As we see in the case of the Santa Fe lynching party as well as examples to follow, lynchings often occurred where legal structures were firmly in place and often victims of lynching were taken from jail cells and court rooms where guilt or innocence, along with just punishment could have been administered. Of the lynching cases that were recorded between 1848 and 1870, the majority of Mexican lynching victims were already in custody when they were taken and murdered (Tyler-Mountain and Woodard 2007). In his article "The Lynching of Persons of Mexican Origin or Descent in the United States," William D. Carrigan brings forth one of the most thorough Mexican lynching recovery projects to date. He assessed numerous Spanish and English language primary sources and concluded

> [O]nly a small number of Mexican lynching victims [between 1880 and

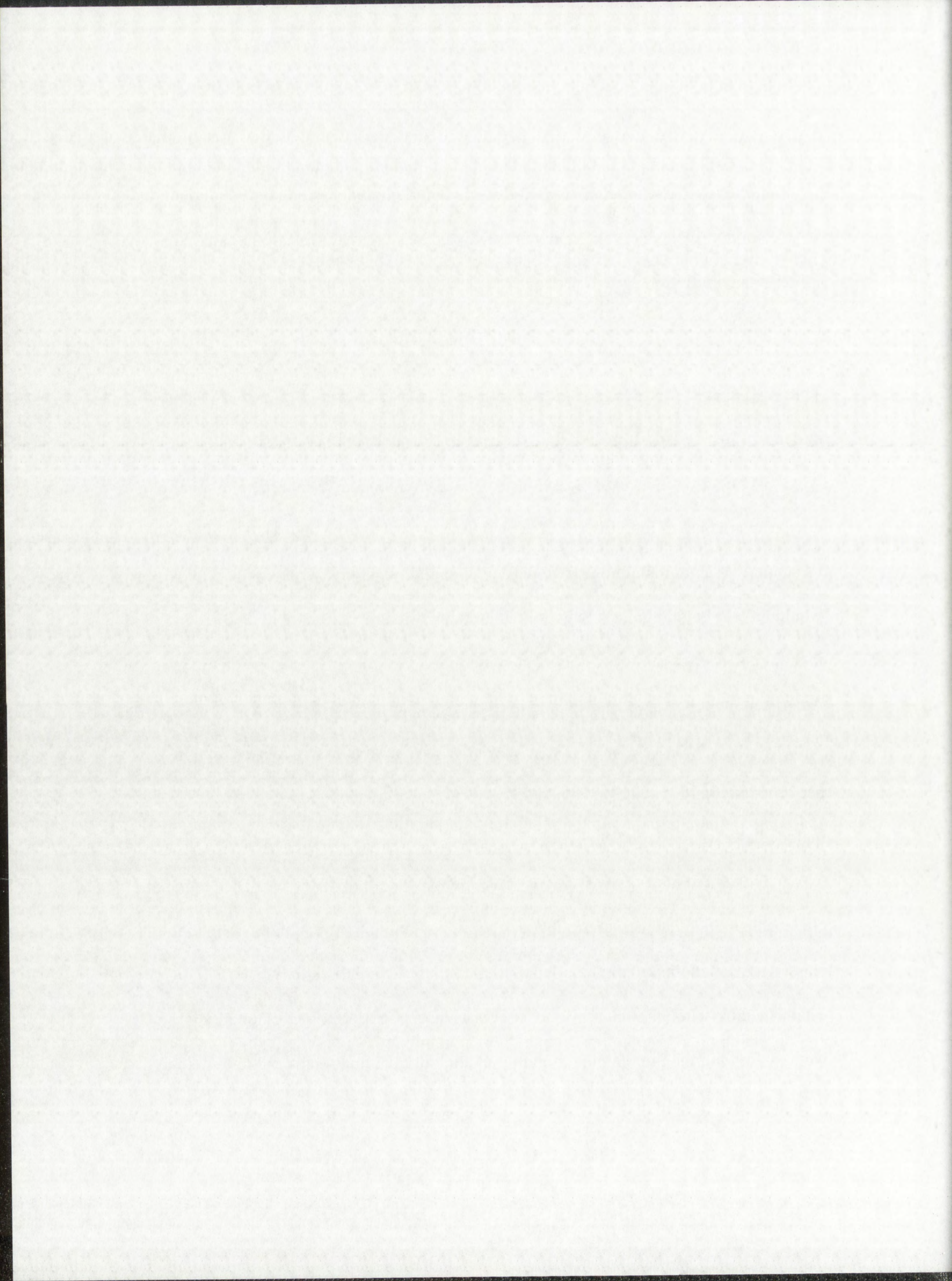


> 1930]—64 out of a total of 597—met their fate at the hands of vigilante committees acting in the absence of a formal judicial system. Most were summarily executed by mobs that denied the accused even the semblance of a trial. These mobs acted less out of a rational interest in law and order than an irrational prejudice towards racial minorities. Their members expressed contempt for the due process of law by snatching suspected Mexican criminals from courtrooms or prison cells and then executing them (2003, 10-11).

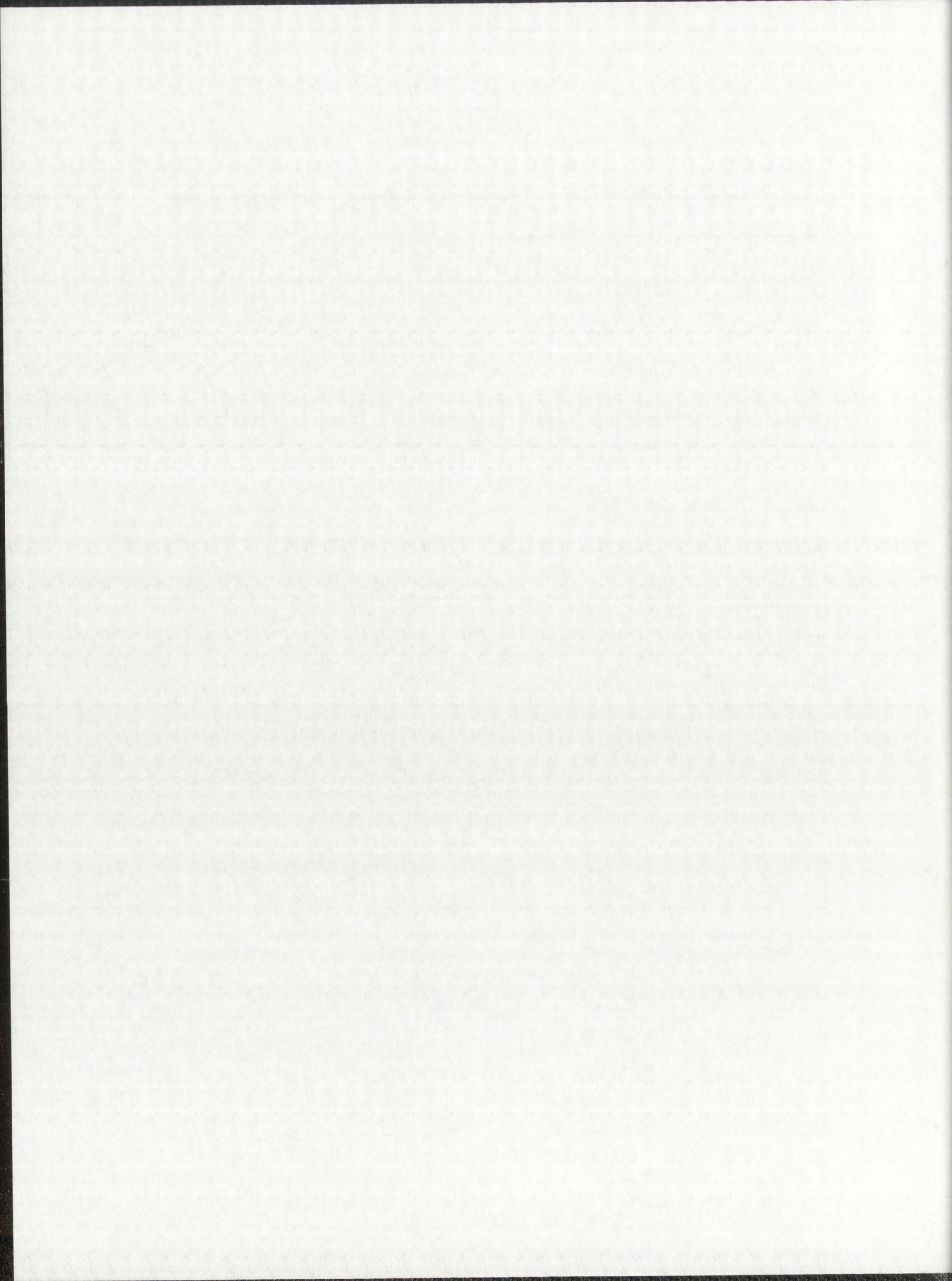
Thus, vigilance committees and mob murderers—rather than draw on institutional legal systems of justice—performed public, violent acts to substantalize community.

While the U.S. imagines itself as a country built on reason and rhetoric—born in documents (Constitution, Bill of Rights, treaties)[24]—such reason and rhetoric, along with its supporting legal institutions have been differentially interpreted and applied. Mexicans would receive capital punishments for real or perceived crimes even when the legal institutions did not satisfy the dominant community. Communities, such as the Euro-American Santa Fe "pioneers," would bypass systems of justice reasoning that their 'citizens' were best protected by the judgment of the community. A feature of public, performative murder is the understanding of who may draw upon justice—who is included and who is excluded.

Here three interlocking notions come into play: culture, community belonging and citizenship—all are constructions that derive their meaning from racialized, gendered, classed understandings. The socio-legal theory of racialized U.S. citizenry is well established by scholars such as Matthew Frye Jacobson, Meg Ngai, Desmond King, and we may forward the intervention of these scholars by marrying socio-legal race theory with anthropological theories of culture and belonging.

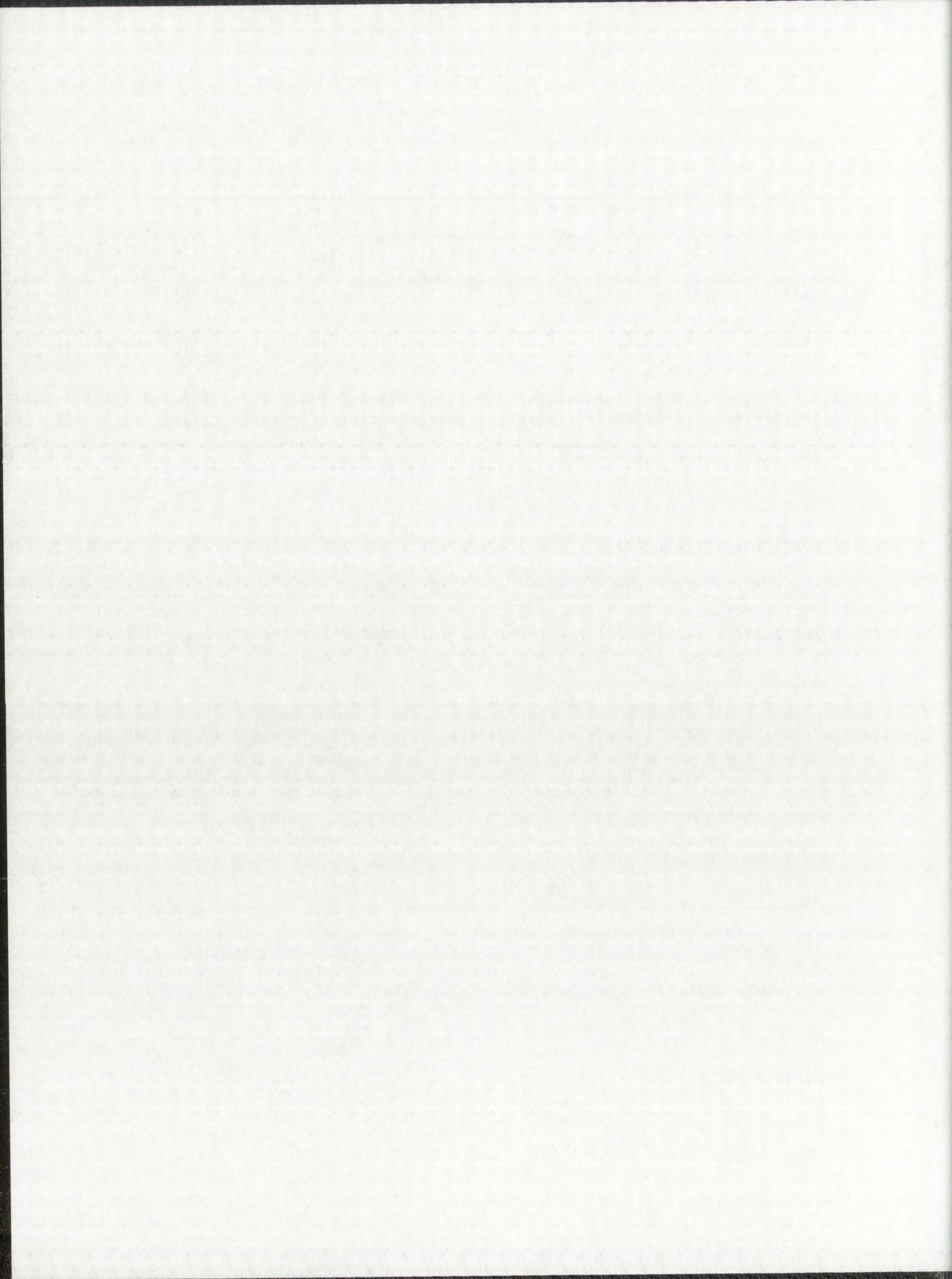


In *Cities and Citizenship* James Holston and Arjun Appadurai say a feature of modernity has been the carving of distinct nations, and that nations have established citizenship as an identity which coordinates all other identities (1999, 2-6). Holston and Appadurai's focus on "the city" as a crucial arena for the development of citizenship and as an especially salient site for examining renegotiations of citizenship and national belonging are of particular interest in the case of Santa Fe. The mythology of Santa Fe as a frontier outpost neglects that Santa Fe has been a cosmopolitan center for centuries and that Santa Fe is the oldest capital city in North America. Santa Fe has been the meeting place of numerous Pueblo villages, Apaches, Comanches, Diné and Utes since at least 1050. In addition, indigenous peoples of northern and central México are known to have traded extensively in the area (Sisneros, 2001). Later Santa Fe became the capital of the Spanish "Kingdom of New Mexico" and was a major hub of interchange along the Camino Real, which connected it to metropoles in New Spain (today's central and northern México region). After gaining independence from Spain, México declared Santa Fe the capital of the Nuevo Mexicano province. Euro-American trappers and traders mobilized after the opening of the Santa Fe Trail and were followed by military men involved in the U.S. war of aggression with México in 1846. In 1863, after an invasion by Confederate troops, the Confederate flag of General Henry Sibley flew over Santa Fe, until his defeat by the Union. Santa Fe, like other locations in today's northern and central México were the birth of cosmopolitanism in the "New World." Holston and Appadurai's city centered theoretical framework for citizenship is germane to the question of the Spiegelbergs and other Euro-Americans in the Southwest. The war of



maneuver, which officially ended with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, established the military dominance of Euro-American expansionism, and the decades to follow would witness the active war of position to consolidate Euro-American ideas of U.S. citizenry and cultural belonging. The wars of maneuver and position in the Southwest have been exchanged and intersected over the decades and have not been bounded by a clear progression from 'maneuver' to 'position.' The Southwest has been a site where the ultimate control by the United States has been continually contested—I will return to this Gramscian concepts of war of maneuver and position more fully in "Section 3: The Hunt: Border Wars Without End."

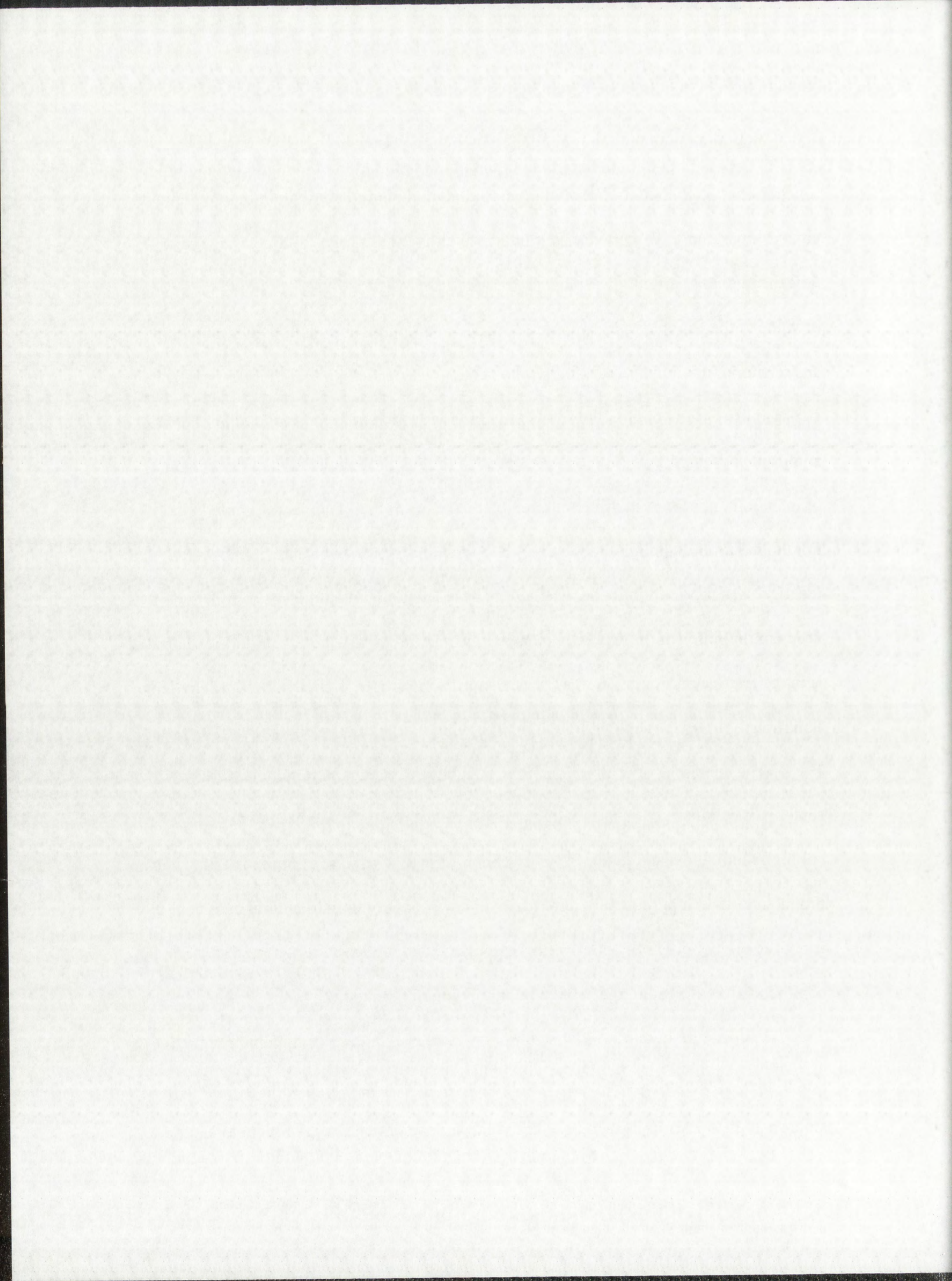
Ruth Lister, feminist scholar and professor of social policy, has explored concepts of contextualized citizenry—expressed in "spaces and places" and shaped by cultural, political and historical concepts (2003, 2-4). Lister believes that formal citizenship must be understood to reflect previously held ideas of community and cultural belonging that may or may not be formalized (4); for instance, in the case of Flora Spiegelberg who was born in Germany and was able to naturalize as a U.S. citizen. Spiegelberg's possibilities for legal citizenship were based on an explicit racial regime. In 1802 national legislation limited naturalization to those of "good moral character," who were "free white persons." The language of the legislation preserved the constitutional understanding of citizens as necessarily "white." Even after the Civil War, when Congress went further by amending naturalization requirements in 1870 and extending citizenship and naturalization eligibility, language limited naturalization to "aliens being free white persons, and to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent." Immigrants like the



Spiegelbergs (increasingly from Western Europe in the mid 1800s) were able to claim citizenship because the U.S was first imagined as a new nation of Europeans and their descendants. In addition, the Spiegelbergs and other Western European immigrants were of value to the nation to assure settlement and occupation of new U.S. land acquisitions and territorial holdings. Interestingly, the 1862 Homestead Act, which also fortified new U.S. acquisitions by compelling European immigrants to "hold the land" required that applicants be "a citizen of the United States, or [one] who shall have filed his declaration of intention to become such, as required by the naturalization laws of the United States." For those Europeans migrating to the U.S. Southwest, the State construction of "national identity" was inflected in their own identity as citizens, and would come complete with deep cultural inscriptions of U.S. belonging as indelibly (and ironically) European. And it is in their active participation that the newly arrived Europeans created U.S. culture in the Southwest.

The meanings of 'culture' are many, and more recent anthropological views center participatory action as creating and fortifying culture, as opposed to earlier ideas of culture as biological and natural.[25] According to Antonio Gramsci, culture is active and productive—it is a purposefully constructed view of reality for particular means. Culture is not reflexive, nor is it illustrative. In their attempts to join the Euro-American Santa Fe community, the Spiegelbergs happen upon this site of struggle.

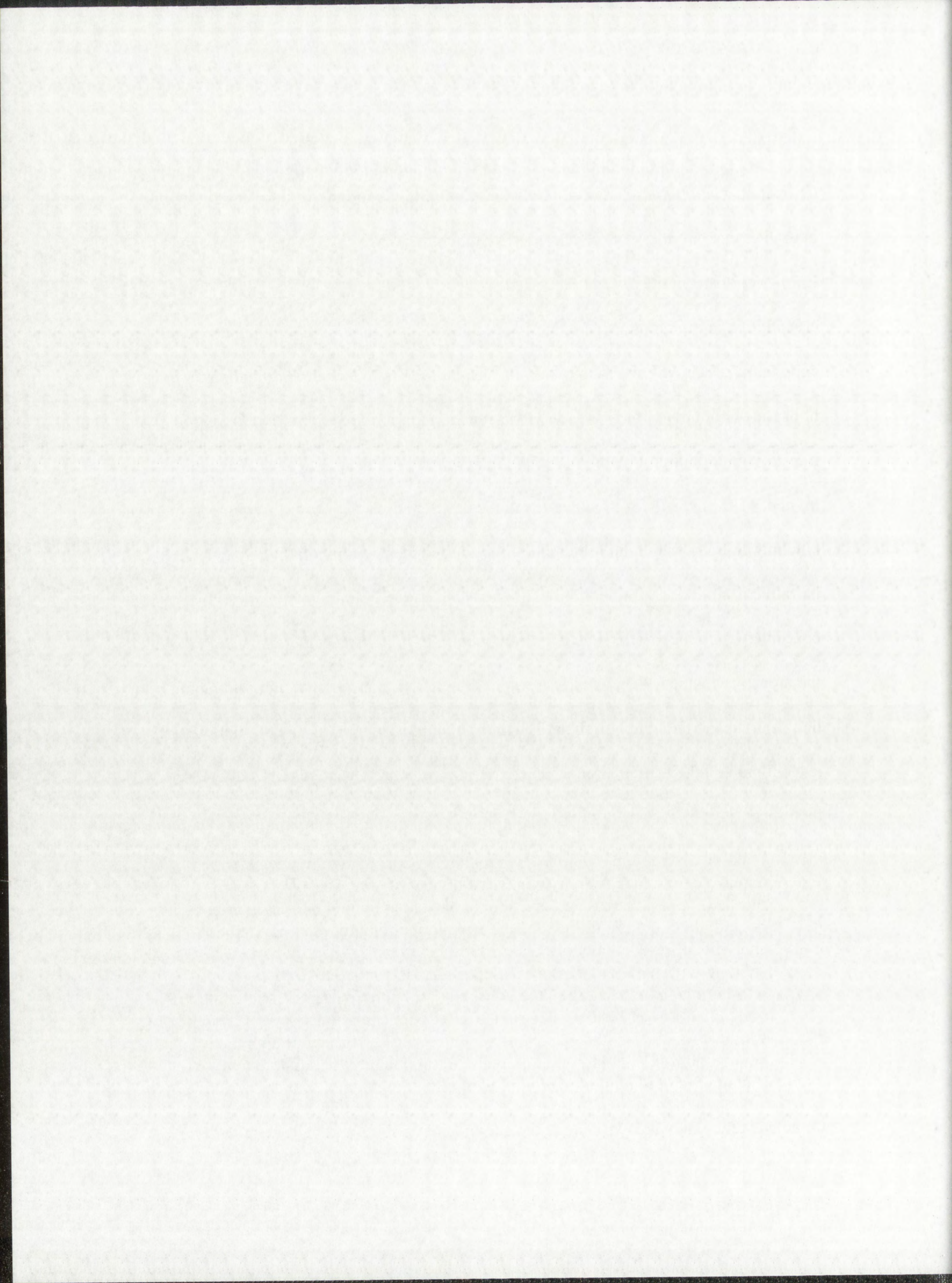
In *Gramsci, Culture and Anthropology* Kate Crehan rightly explains that the Gramscian concept of 'culture' is slippery and has often been carelessly employed by anthropologists who apply culture as an overlying operating system of human relations.



Critical nuances in Gramscian culture insist that culture is neither natural nor systematic, but rather that culture is lived. The question of culture for European immigrants and Euro-Americans in the Southwest and the nuances of culture (as defined by Gramsci) are crucial for examining the experience of the Spiegelbergs. For if culture is lived and experiential, then we can also say that culture can be first understood as historically transmitted patterns of meaning, rather than natural and invisible social systems. A transmission of cultural belonging was in play as "the ten determined old pioneers" invited Willi Spiegelberg to mount the horse they had provided for the purpose of lynching two Mexican men (Spiegelberg 1877). It is here, again, that the Spiegelberg narrative is an ideal example of how in Gramsci's culture, cultural hegemony is conceived as both complicit and coercive. I return to Flora Spiegelberg's narrative and the moment at which Willi and Flora respond. In her telling of that night, Flora explains that her husband tells the group that he cannot accompany them as he does not want to leave Flora and their infant alone. Yet the Vigilance Committee does not leave. Flora then speaks:

> Holding my baby to my breast, while they no doubt saw the deep look of anguish on my face, and my voice trembling with emotion as I earnestly pleaded, "Good friends and neighbors you all have wives and children. I beg of you don't ask Willi to accompany you tonight, because if he goes I shall die of fright all alone…" Then I leaned on my husband's shoulder sobbing bitterly. There was dead silence for a few minutes, then some whispering and the leader of the lynishing [sic] party a dear old friend of ours, in a firm yet kindly voice said, "Good wife and mother, your warmest request will be granted as we all having families fully appreciate your responsibilities [sic], and on that account we let Willi off *this time*" (Spiegelberg 1877). [26]

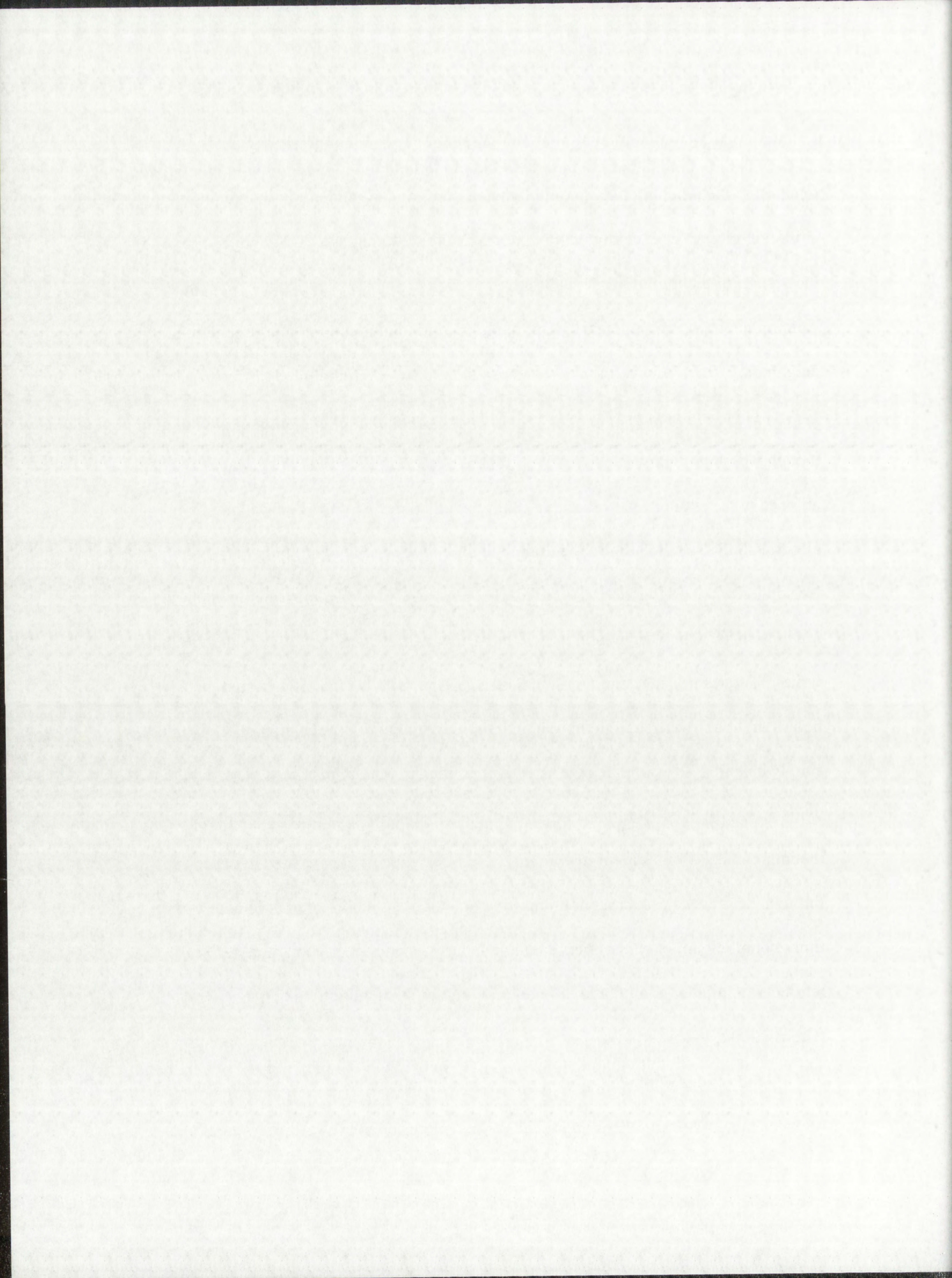
Of note is that in her account of that night, Flora Spiegelberg does not seem to be



opposed to the lynching itself, nor does Willi voice any overt opposition; the reason for Willi not joining the lynching party is not clear. If the Spiegelbergs did indeed object to the actions of the mob, I argue that Flora's narrative might not refer to the Vigilance Committee with complimentary terms such as: "intimate friends," "good friends and neighbors," "the leader of the lynishing party our dear old friend," and "firm yet kindly."

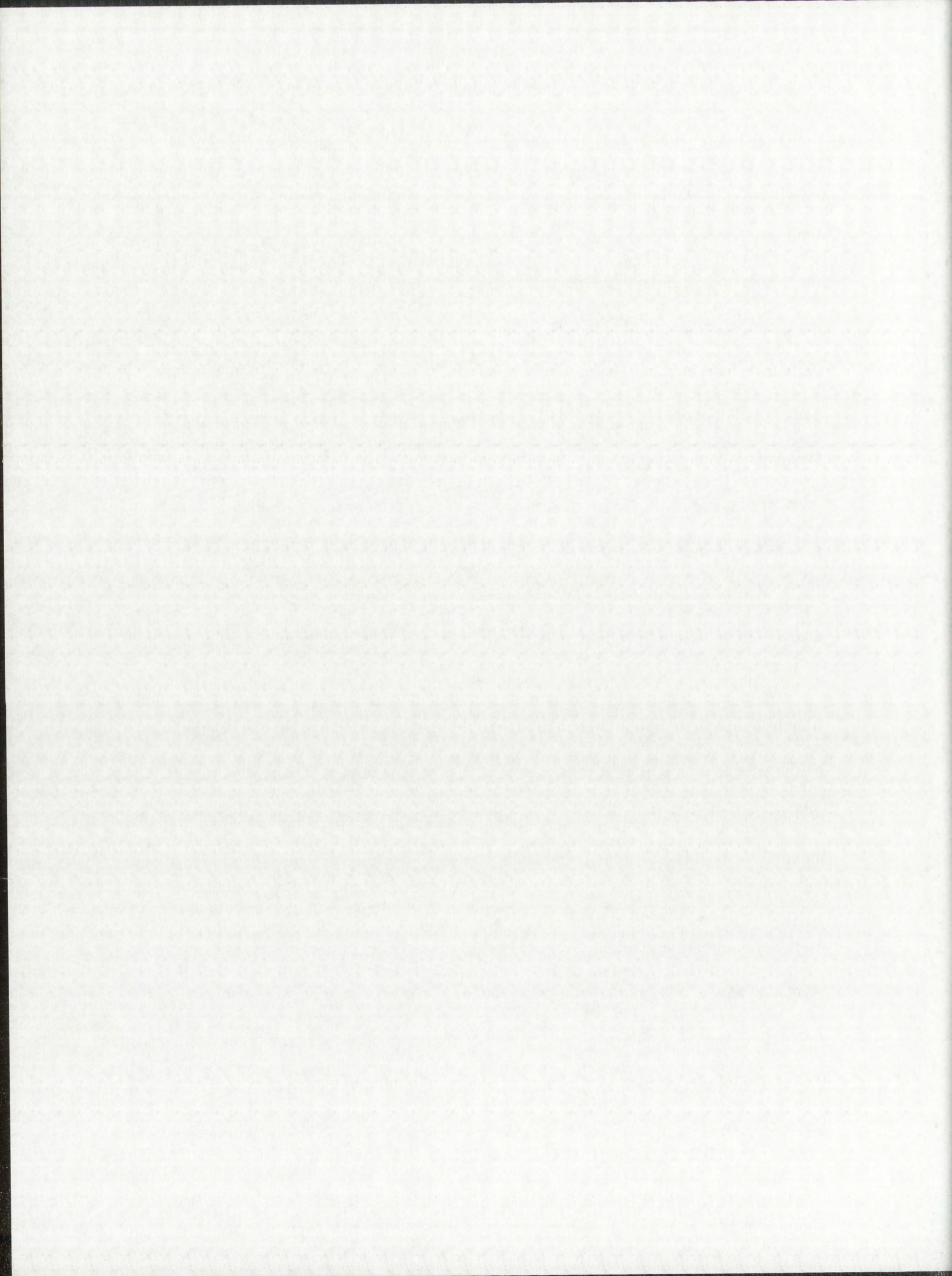
Their reluctance to join the mob is not in opposition to the murderous actions, though we cannot know exactly why Willi did not join. The couple, justifying their absence in the actions due to familial duties, avoided the dirty work of slaughter while also not showing disloyalty to the established Euro-American community. Dana D. Nelson's *National Manhood: Capitalist Citizenship and the Imagined Fraternity of White Men* insists that scholarly work probes the ideological construction of whiteness. Nelson writes, "If racism is measured only insofar as and when it is violently enacted on the bodies of "dark" others, then "racism" cannot be read as such in the moments where it simply benefits—consolidates the affective, political, sociological domain of—whiteness" (1998, 113). In the case of the Spiegelbergs, we are able to get a glimpse of the importance of investment in whiteness, and U.S. citizenry embedded in "race" through a culture of association. In insisting on culture as active and participatory—at times complicit and at other times coercive—the "Lynching Party in Santa Fe" is a reminder of another component of Gramsci's culture: that culture acts on the world (Crehan 2002, 74).

The actions of this Euro-American Santa Fe culture resulted in the murder of two Mexican men, who were dangling at the end of heavy coiled ropes by morning. Flora



concludes: "The two murderers were hung, and to my knowledge it was the first lynishing [sic] party in old Santa Fe." Flora never calls the lynching of the two Mexican men executions, but rather adopts the rhetoric of a festive gathering (party) throughout her narrative and even into her title. Further, while Flora explains this is the first lynching party that she is aware of, she does not comfort us by saying it was the *last* lynching in Santa Fe. In fact, their "dear old friend" and leader of the lynch mob foretells more slayings to come saying, "we let Willi off *this time*." It is not possible to establish whether or not Willi Spiegelberg, his brothers, or other members of the Jewish community of Santa Fe participated in the lynchings of Mexicans to follow.

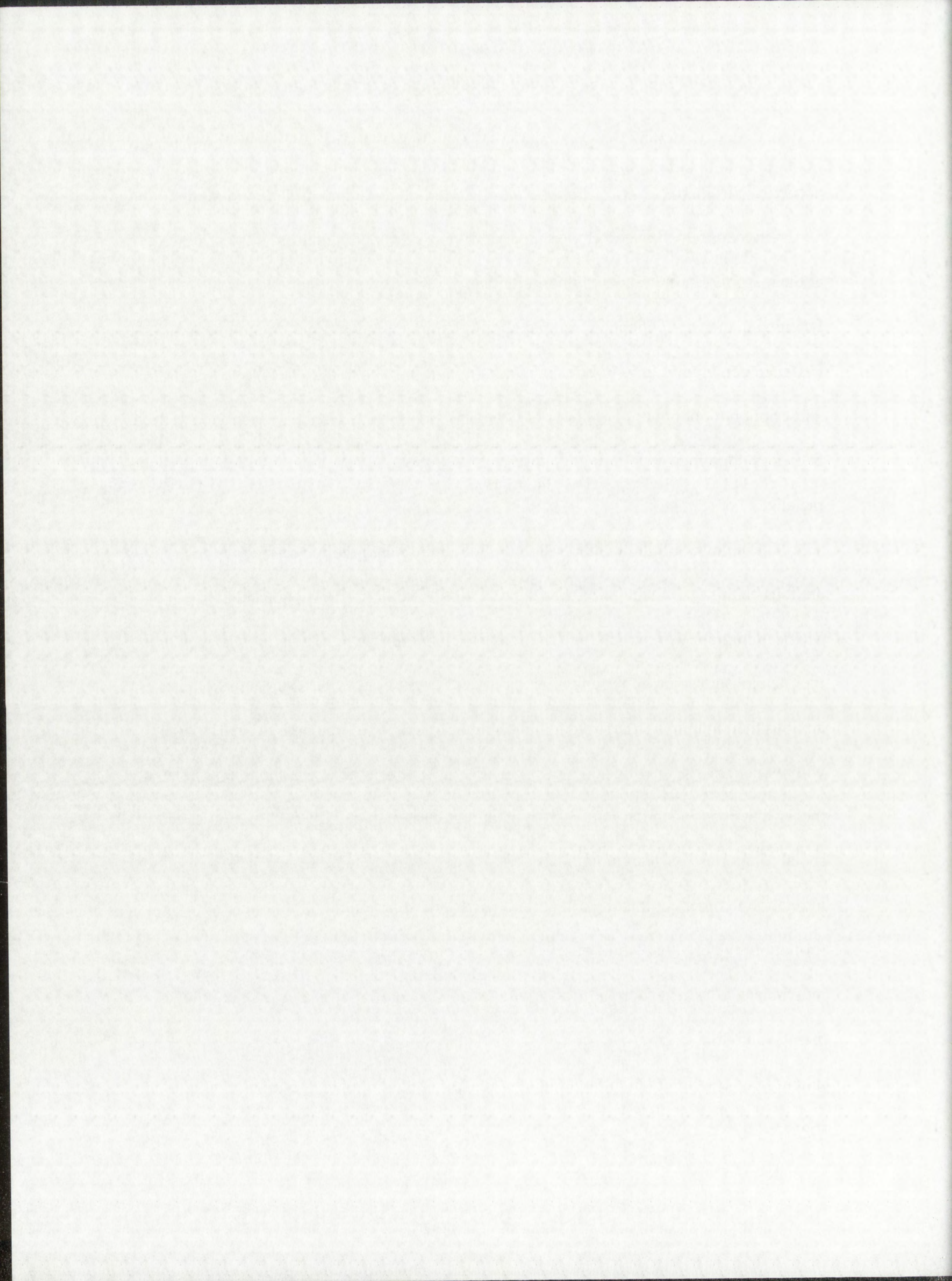
The price of admission to the Euro-American Santa Fe community may have taken Willi and Flora Spiegelberg by surprise. There is no notice that they objected to the extralegal murder of two Mexican men nor did they implore their dear and intimate friends to desist from their homicidal actions. Further, Flora Spiegelberg's rhetorical acts participated in circulating the message of Euro-American dominance. In *Reminiscences of a Jewish Bride on the Santa Fe Trail* Spiegelberg articulates a tale of "pioneers" moving West, she ignores the presence of the indigenous and Mexicans (in particular the women, though it is clear she "sees" them, she does not narrativize them). Further, she assents to mob murder conducted by her friends, even adopting the language of revelry—"lynching party." John Borneman's work on modern citizenship reminds us that, "the state is successful in its nation-building only when it can legitimize itself as having (re)created this unique group, whose members will, in turn, reciprocate by retelling their histories in terms—categories and periods—congruent with those that the state uses in its



accounts" (1992, 6).

Because the Spiegelbergs as newly arrived Jews and naturalized citizens existed at the margins of cultural belonging in the Santa Fe community, their encounter with lynching demonstrate the intersections of citizenship, culture and community belonging. Full membership in Euro-American community and the U.S. nation has meant subscription to interlocking systems of belief that value whiteness and construe racialized bodies as non-citizen or 'foreign,' as well as the witnessable practice of violences against racialized bodies.

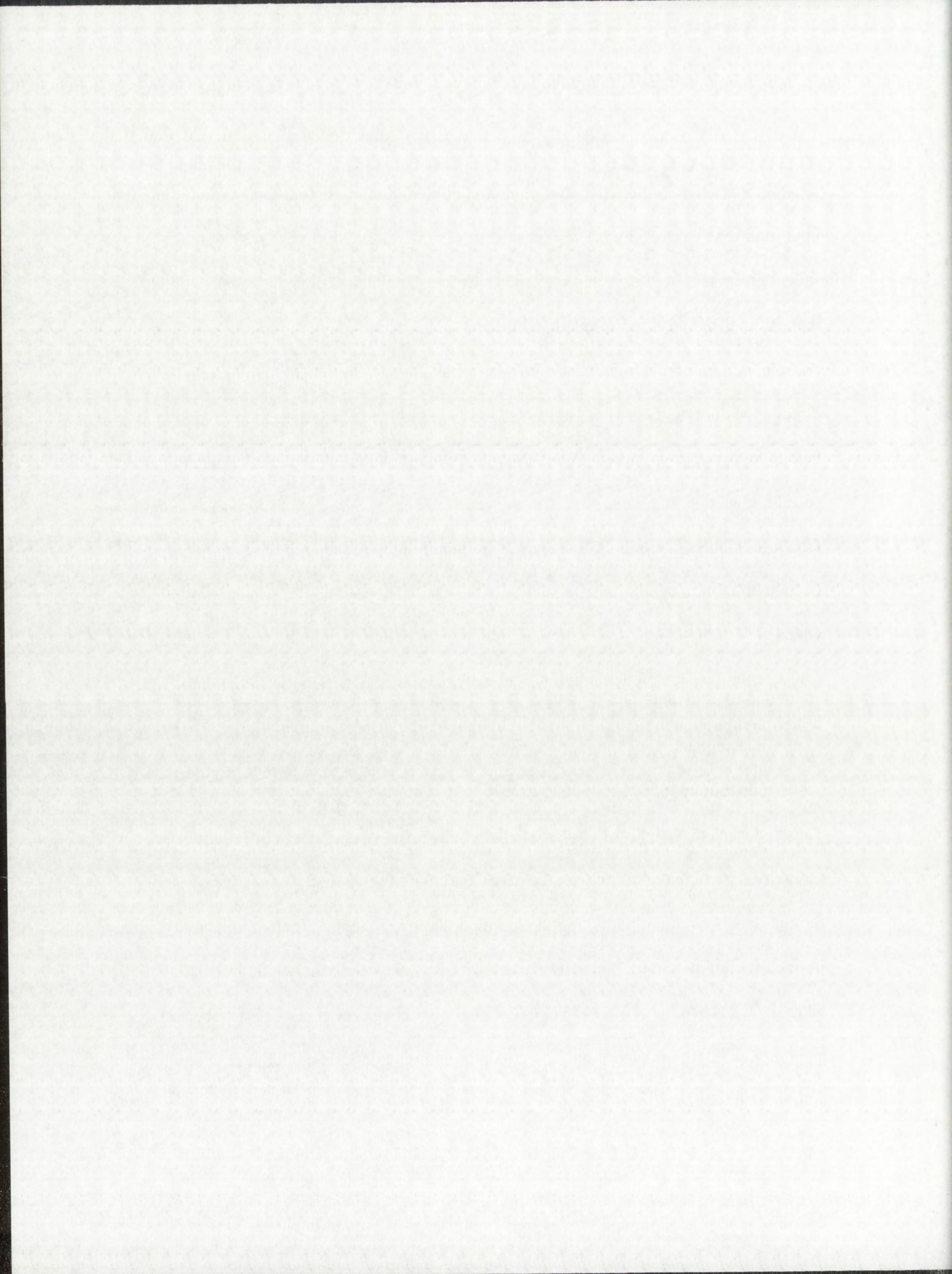
The power of the social construction of race is deeply reflected in those with anxious claims to whiteness. As was the case for the young men who attacked the Mexican migrant workers in Rancho Peñasquitos and for the newly arrived Spiegelbergs, their tenuous grasp on community belonging and their young hold on citizenship make anxious their attempts to draw upon the social and psychological benefits of identifying with whiteness. Resonating and reinforcing Gramsci's lived culture is modern social theory that posits a similar notion—the claim that personal identity construction is tied to social categories in which individuals act as "parts of a structured society and exist only in relation to other contrasting categories" (Stets and Burke 2000, 225). Social identity formation suggests that while social categories and historical constructs precede individuals, a "salient social identity" will act to "increase the influence of one's membership in that group on perception and behavior" (Stets and Burke 2000, 229). This salience can be expressed in two ways: in the first instance, one's group identity is triggered by a particular situation, in the second case, one's group identity causes one to



seek out ways to articulate the group identity. Some individuals "will seek out opportunities to enact a highly salient identity" (225-231). The opportunities to enact salient group identity that I am concerned with are the violences against racialized bodies that externalize and ritualize relationships and boundaries. Acts of violence have consolidated group belonging and Euro-American community consolidation occurs in direct opposition to the "other"—the Mexican the Southwest. Further, the path to belonging is rarely—if ever—explicitly articulated. Most often it involves some implied social knowledge. In *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing,* Michael Taussig's ethnographic meditation on colonial cultures of violence in Columbia's Putomayo region, Taussig explains that implicit social knowledge is that which

> … moves people without their knowing quite why or quite how, with what makes the real the real and the normal normal, and above all with what makes ethical distinctions politically powerful. [A]n essentially inarticulatable and imageric nondiscursive knowing of social relationality, and in trying to understand the way that history and memory interact in the constituting of this knowledge (Taussig 1987, 366-367).

Taussig insists that rituals of violence and domination are social practices and that individuals participate utilizing an unarticulated implied social knowledge "[a]cquired through practices rather than through conscious learning, like one's native tongue, implicit social knowledge can be thought of as one of the dominant faculties of what it takes to be a social being (1987, 393). Certainly, the Spiegelbergs along with other newly arriving Euro-American immigrants learned implicitly what practices and acts would solidify their community belonging.



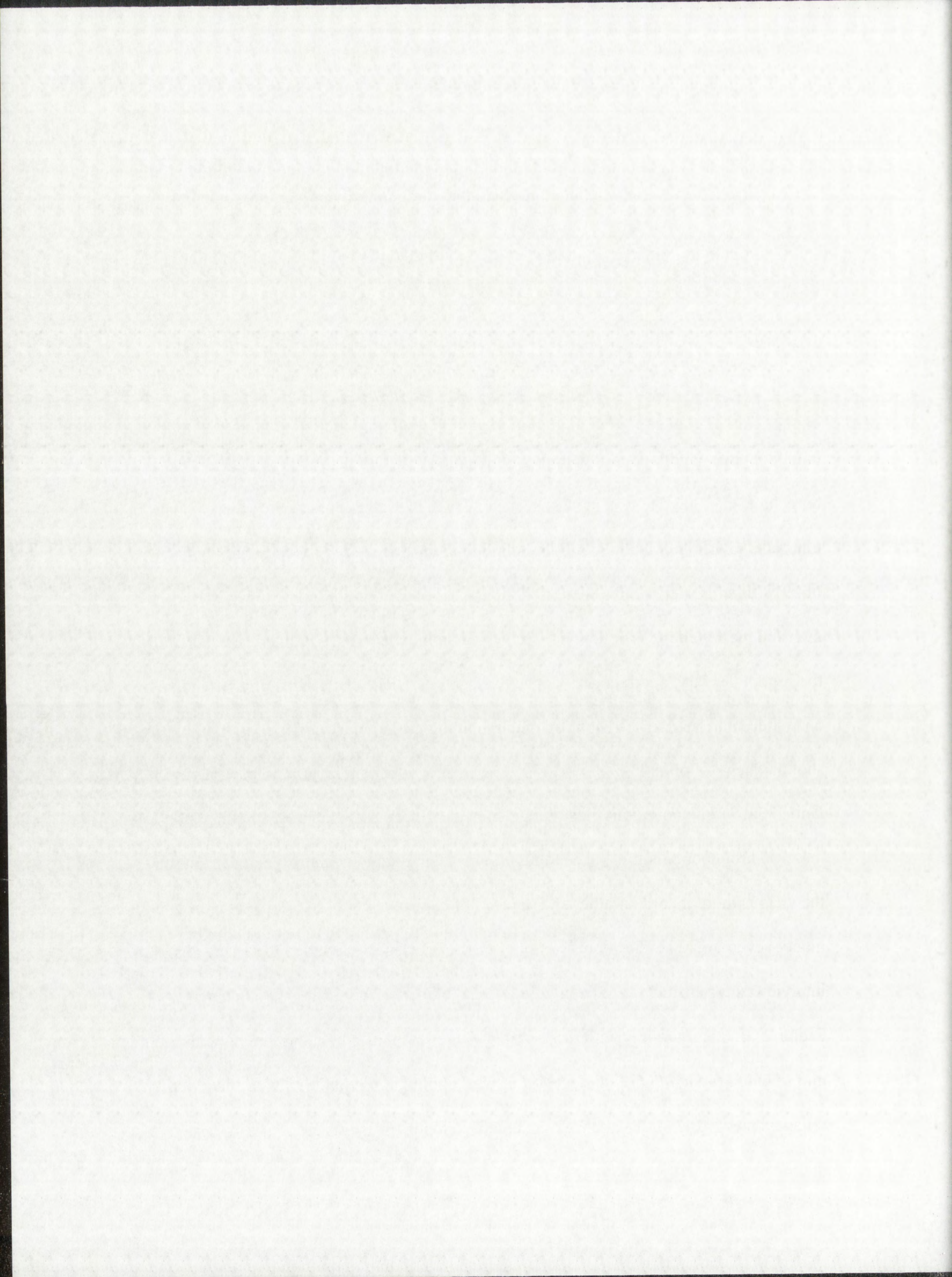
It has been said that our country's national crime is lynching.
-James Cutler[27]

All of them had been left headless. All of them were torn to pieces.
Everyone torn to pieces. They were unrecognizable.
-Juan Bonilla-Flores

Section Three
The Hunt: Border Wars without End

At the age of 101, Juan Bonilla Flores died in his home of Odessa, Texas. Flores, born June 25, 1905. He was the last survivor of the Porvenir Massacre. Porvenir—which translates to *the what is to come*—is a small ranching town in West Texas. In the winter of 1918, Juan Bonilla Flores witnessed the abduction and massacre of fifteen Mexican men and teenage boys. Bonilla was twelve years old when Texas Rangers, members of the Eighth Calvary, and ranchers ripped through his village charging from house to house on horseback, rounding up Mexican men including his father, Longino Flores. The mob shot the men of Porvenir *en masse*, resulting in one of the largest group lynchings in the United Sates. The numerous close-range gunshots ripped apart the men's bodies.

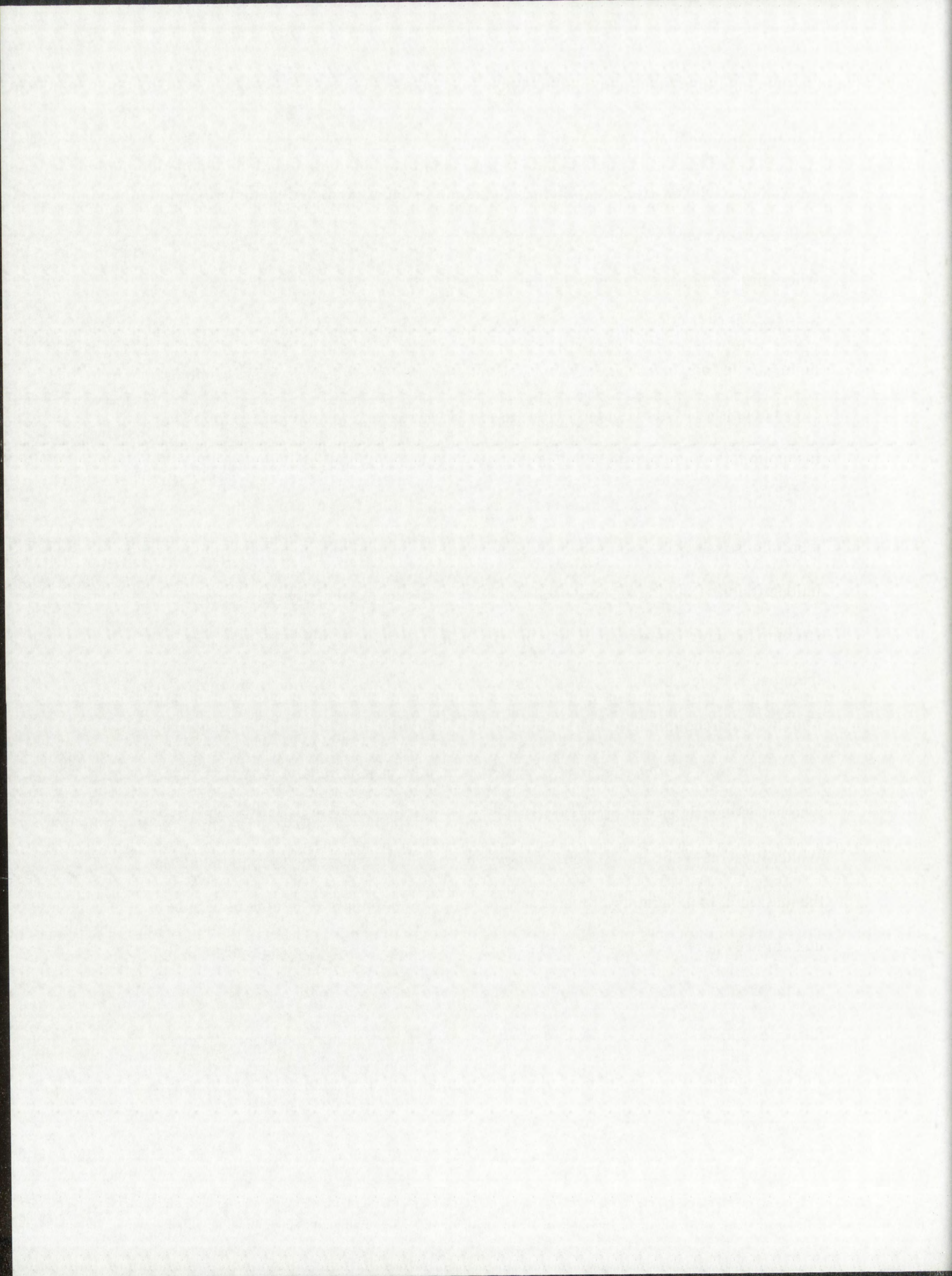
Throughout his life, Juan Bonilla Flores attempted to suppress his memories of the vicious murders of his father and the men of his community. Not until the age of ninety-seven, in 2002, did Flores tell story of the Porvenir Massacre. Flores agreed to be interviewed for a film (yet to be released) titled "American Lynching: A Documentary Feature." In his interview with Gode Davis, Flores explained that just after two in the morning on January 28, 1918, he heard the first shots. Flores watched as the Mexican villagers pleaded with the assembled murderers saying "Why should they kill them,



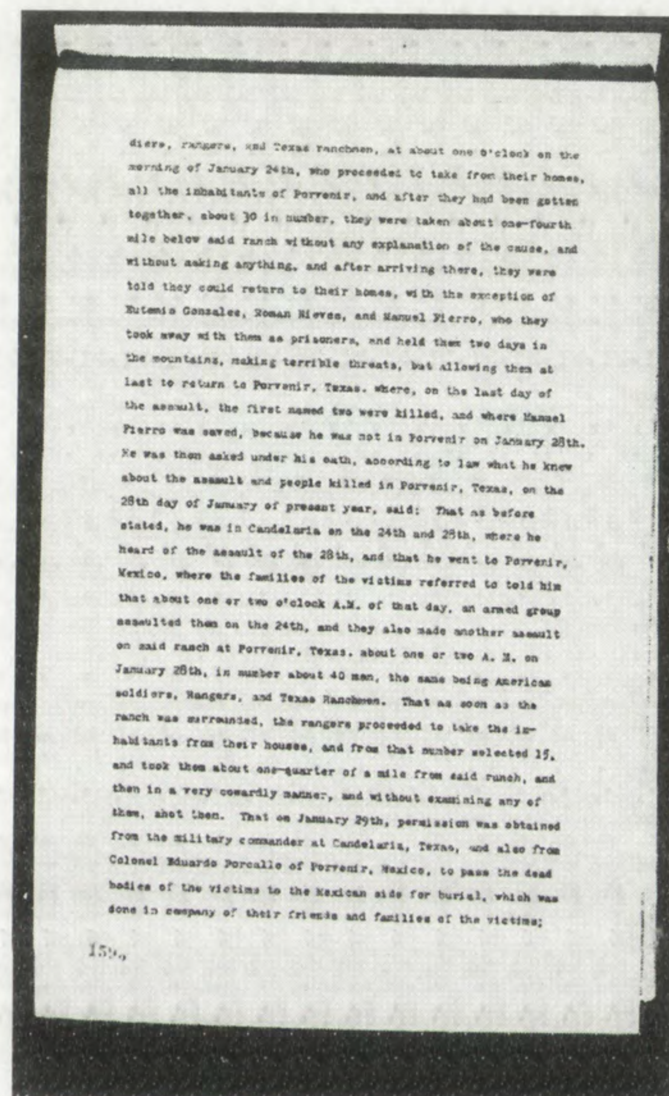
we've done nothing to anyone!" He recalled how the Rangers, soldiers and ranchers pulled fifteen men from their houses and marched them to a small bluff outside of town where they were shot. Flores's children and grandchildren first heard the details of the massacre at Porvenir eighty years later and learned why Flores had often woken in the night, startled and screaming. Gode Davis notes Flores' reluctance to retell the story, "most details of what had happened were barely uttered, and the snippets he did reveal in his nightmares were considered dark fantasies by his children and descendants."[28]

In his softly spoken *testimonio*, Juan Bonilla Flores told how his father and others were shot so many times, and at such close-range by the mob that they were left unidentifiable. Looking sideways into the camera, taking pauses between words and stroking his large straw cowboy hat, the ninety-seven year old Flores described, "All of them had been left headless. All of them were torn to pieces. Everyone torn to pieces. They were unrecognizable."[29]

The mob claimed they had raided Porvenir looking for outlaws, and for thieves who had stolen shoes and horses at the nearby Brite Ranch. Most historians, including Walter Prescott Webb in *The Texas Rangers* have held the Mexicans were to blame for the massacre. In his history of the Texas Rangers, Webb explained that the assailants unanimously agreed on the "culpability of the Mexicans," citing Euro-American claims that the men in Porvenir were found wearing shoes stolen from the Brite Ranch. Webb further explained that the Texas Rangers had been fired on as they "gathered evidence" and were simply firing back (1935 [1982]). Though there were many affidavits given by the survivors of the massacre, Webb constructed his narrative solely on the stories of the



Rangers themselves. Nine widows of the Mexican men participated in an investigation by Texas State Representative José T. Canales of Brownsville in 1918, as requested by Mexican Ambassador Ygnacio Bonilla. The Texas Legislature formed a joint House-Senate Committee to look into Canales's charges. The Committee heard testimony for two weeks. Five of the widows said that the attackers were masked and they noted that in the days leading up to the massacre, Rangers went house to house in the village searching for arms. The Mexican survivors of the massacre also explained that no Brite Ranch property was found in Porvenir, and the massacre was part of the continual



diers, rangers, and Texas ranchmen, at about one o'clock on the morning of January 24th, who proceeded to take from their homes, all the inhabitants of Porvenir, and after they had been gotten together, about 30 in number, they were taken about one-fourth mile below said ranch without any explanation of the cause, and without asking anything, and after arriving there, they were told they could return to their homes, with the exception of Eutemio Gonzales, Roman Nieves, and Manuel Pierro, who they took away with them as prisoners, and held them two days in the mountains, making terrible threats, but allowing them at last to return to Porvenir, Texas. where, on the last day of the assault, the first named two were killed, and where Manuel Pierro was saved, because he was not in Porvenir on January 28th. He was then asked under his oath, according to law what he knew about the assault and people killed in Porvenir, Texas, on the 28th day of January of present year, said: That as before stated, he was in Candelaria on the 24th and 28th, where he heard of the assault of the 28th, and that he went to Porvenir, Mexico, where the families of the victims referred to told him that about one or two o'clock A.M. of that day, an armed group assaulted them on the 24th, and they also made another assault on said ranch at Porvenir, Texas. about one or two A. M. on January 28th, in number about 40 men, the same being American soldiers, Rangers, and Texas Ranchmen. That as soon as the ranch was surrounded, the rangers proceeded to take the inhabitants from their houses, and from that number selected 15, and took them about one-quarter of a mile from said ranch, and then in a very cowardly manner, and without examining any of them, shot them. That on January 29th, permission was obtained from the military commander at Candelaria, Texas, and also from Colonel Eduardo Porcalle of Porvenir, Mexico, to pass the dead bodies of the victims to the Mexican side for burial, which was done in company of their friends and families of the victims;

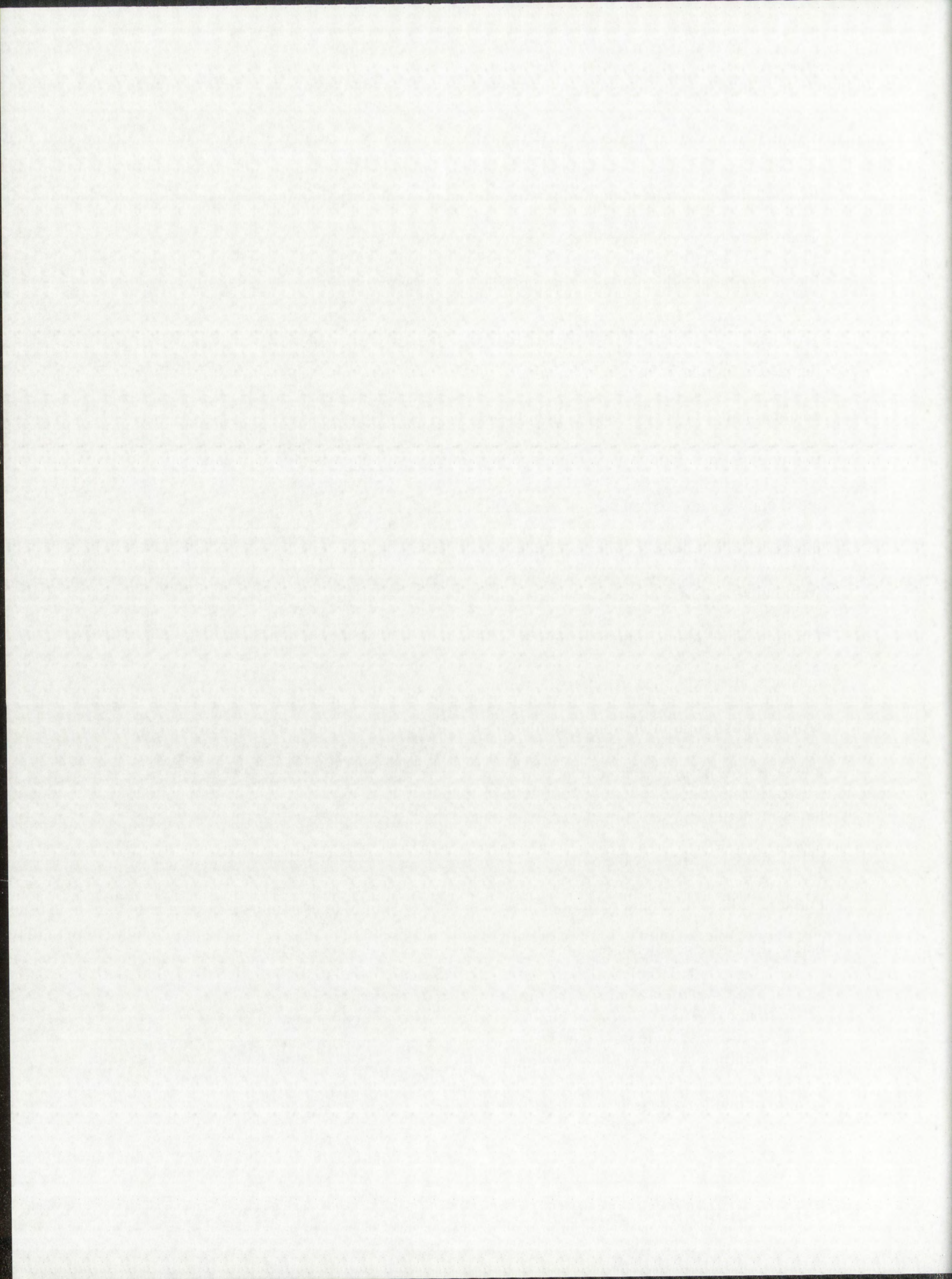
159.

Figure 6: Excerpt of Testimony, Rosenda Vega

harassment of the Mexican ranchers who owned the land and grazed their livestock there (The Joint Committee of the Senate and House in Investigation of the Texas State Ranger Force 1918). Juan Bonilla Flores described the prosperous life of grazing and herding before the Porvenir Massacre:

> There wasn't anyone to boss you around. You worked for yourself. When that came to an end, we could feel the change profoundly. Very sad, all of it. It was so sudden. We had so much to make a living then suddenly nothing… if… I believe we would still be living there today.

In spite of the Euro-Americans' claim that the shot and dismembered Mexicans were



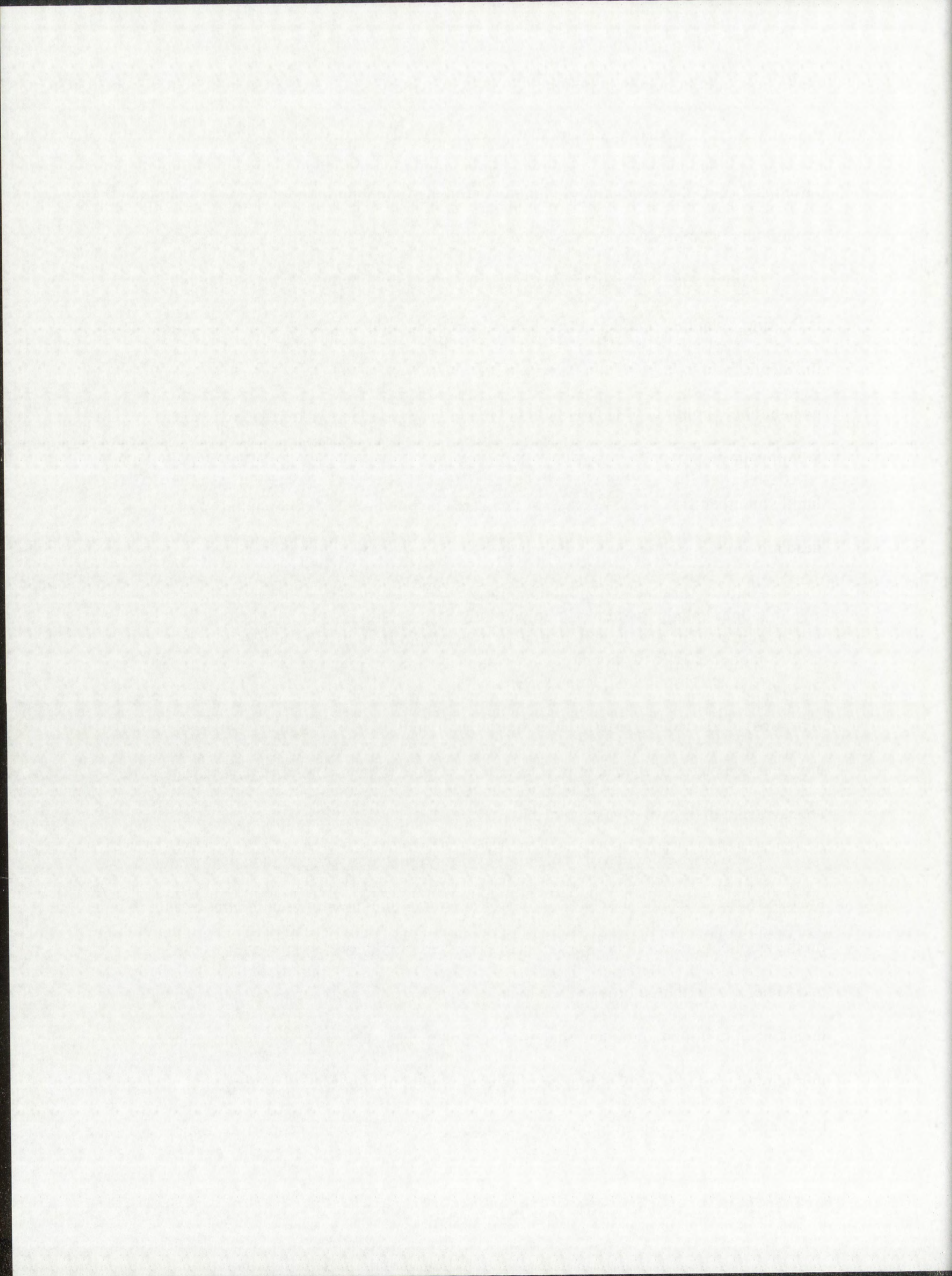
"bandits," Gode Davis concludes that the fifteen men were "massacred for being successful… and Mexican."

"American Lynching," which brought forth the *testimonio* of Juan Bonilla Flores, is the single standing memorial to the massacre at Porvenir. It is remarkable that we know the identities of Porvenir's murdered Mexican men. Well documented lynchings that give name to the victims are uncommon; more often, the devaluing label "Unknown" accompanies reports of mob murder. Because of the courageous testimony of surviving family members and their widows, the dead are known to us. The following names of the dead are:

> Antonio Castanedo, 72; Longino Flores, 44; Alberto Garcia, 35; Eutimio Gonzales, 37; Ambrosio Hernandez, 21; Pedro Herrera, 25; Viviano Herrera, 23; Severiano Herrera, 18; Macedonio Huertas, 30; Tiburcio Jaques, 50; Pedro Jimenez, 27; Serapio Jimenez, 25; Juan Jimenez, 16; Manuel Morales, 47; Roman Nieves, 48

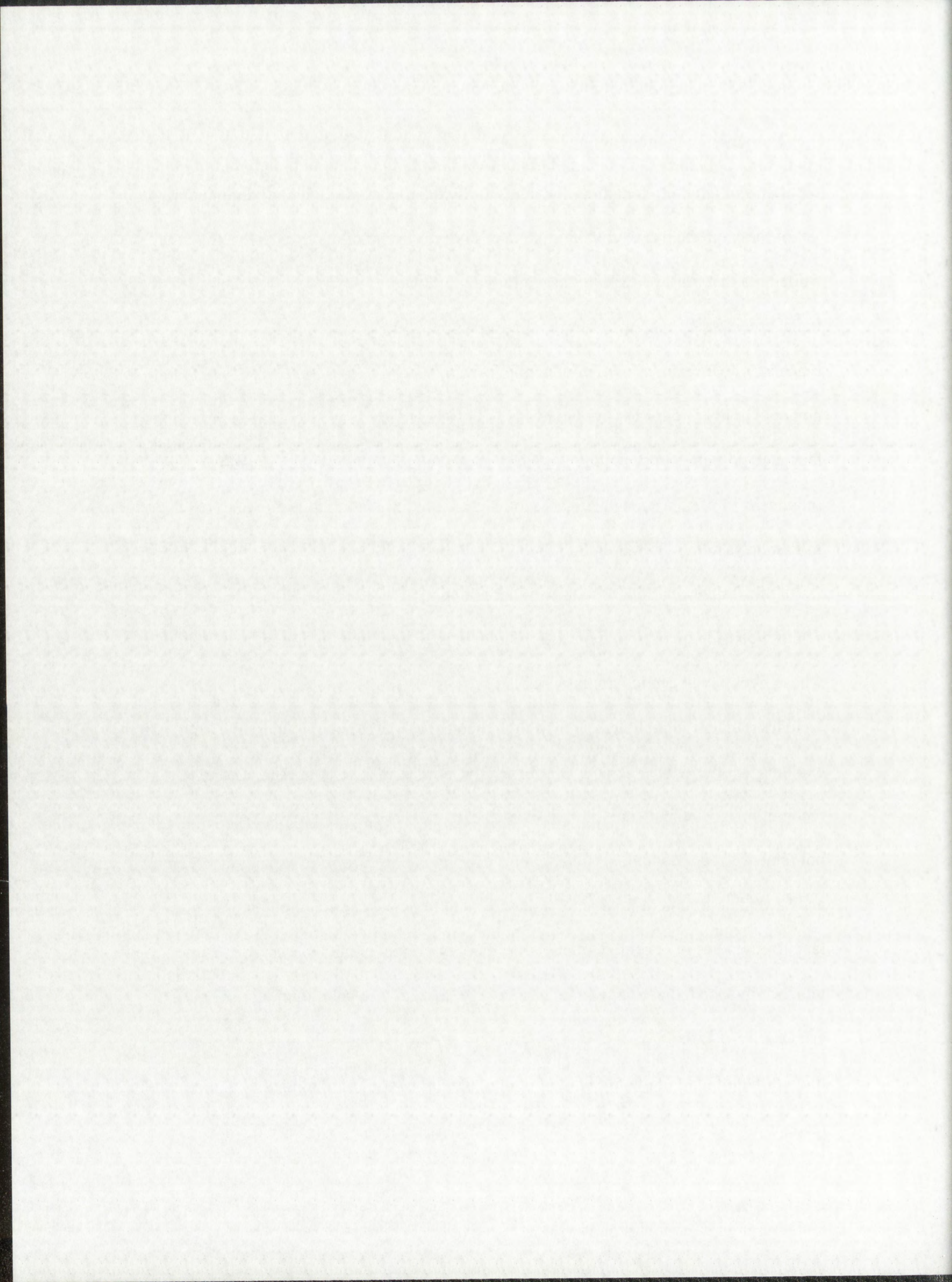
The most prominent remembrance or obituary of the victims of the fifteen murdered men are the typed pages of their families' testimony (Figure 6) that detail the crimes of their attackers and their own gruesome deaths.

There is no evidence of contemporaneous reportage in Texas newspapers about the massacre and as noted earlier Webb's discussion of the massacre relied almost solely on the recollections of Texas Rangers. However, we should return to the work of Acuña and Meléndez on the vigorous Spanish language newspaper tradition in the Southwest , mentioned previously in the introduction. Surely the massacre at Porvenir and other murderous rampages in the borderlands received mention.[30] Did Spanish language newspapers print reports of the incident, condemnations of the Euro-American posse,



obituaries of the murdered men, warnings to Mexicans living in the surrounding area? All of these questions are crucial to pursue. The question of obituary and remembrance is a dilemma that must be explored more fully by scholars attempting to do multi-sited or transborder work. If Acuña is correct in asserting that the lack of recognition for the lynching of Mexicans is partly due to the fact that reportage was in Spanish, what new horizons of historical narrative are available to scholars by simply looking to Spanish language primary sources? I invoke bilingual, transborder analysis of past and current scholarship around Mexicans in the Southwest as I return to Judith Butler and her work in *Precarious Life*.

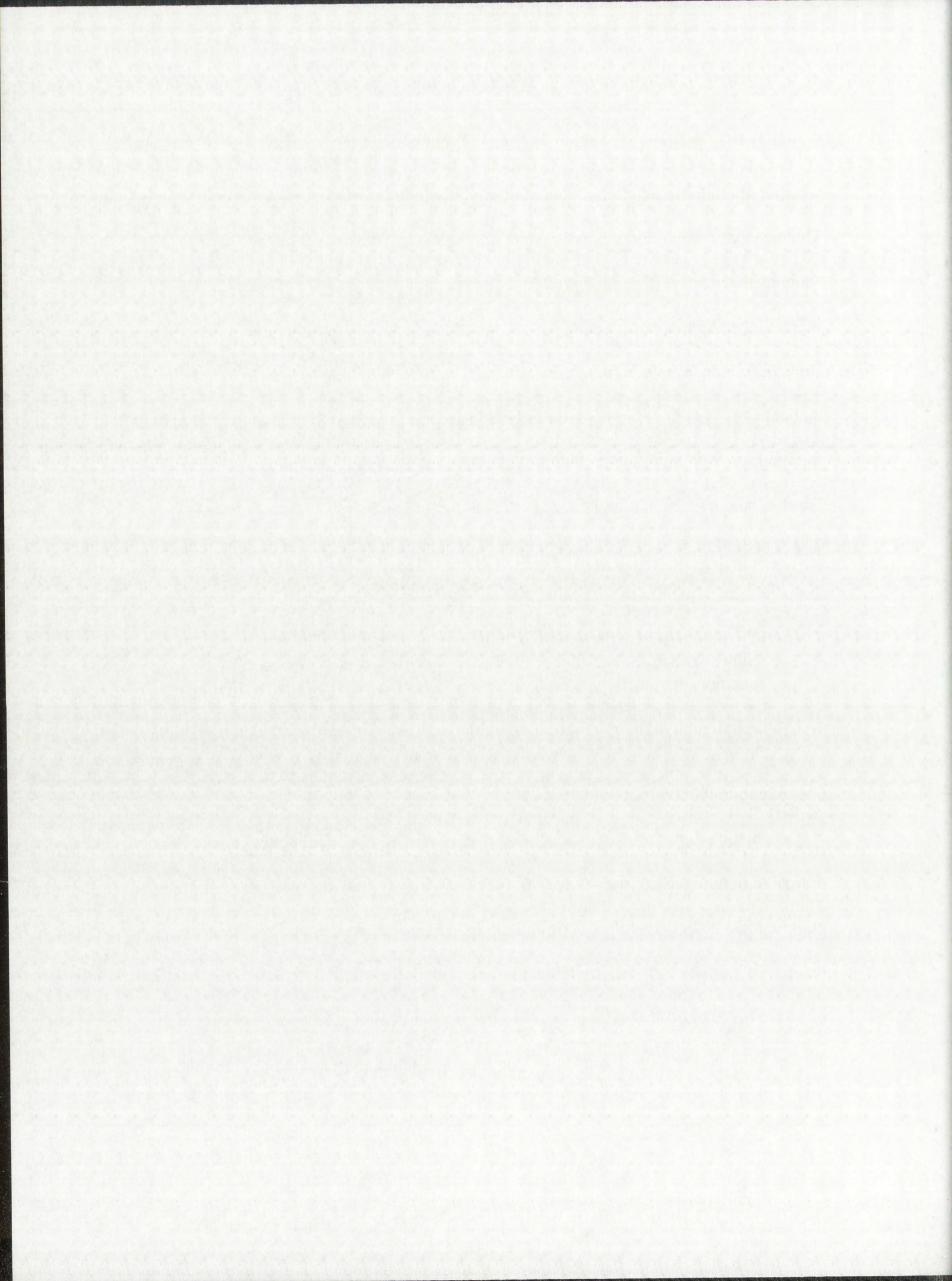
In *Precarious Life*, Butler turns her attention to the lack of obituary in the deaths of those considered outside the nation. Butler is concerned with Iraqis and Afghans whose lives have been lost in the so-called War on Terror post-September 11th (this includes multiple global theaters of war, and not simply Iraq and Afghanistan). Butler explains that these lives remain "ungrieved" because they have not sustained name recognition as victims—no obituaries have been published in U.S. newspapers; we have not remembered the victims. Butler claims enormous power for the textualizing of death, and I read her argument Iraqi and Afghan lives more widely as an argument concerning racialized bodies in general. Butler claims there is a direct relationship between "the violence by which these ungrievable lives were lost and the prohibition on their public grievability… If there were to be an obituary, there would have had to have been a life, a life worth noting, a life worth valuing and preserving, a life that qualifies for recognition" (2004, 34). Butler's point on grieving returns me to the argument of a



whether or not a person can be "dehumanized." As I have argued, this is not possible. The idea that a life is "ungrievable" is parallel to the idea that a life can be "dehumanized." But if we are invested in the proposal that when there is a victim, there was a life, and a life worth noting, we must unravel Butler's argument. The question that concerns violence against Mexicans (and other racialized bodies) is what are the terms of humanity and grief? And who defines them? Like the Mexicans murdered in Porvenir, the Iraqi and Afghan dead were human and were remembered and mourned—by their families, and by local native-language presses. Yet is Butler is complicit with U.S. dominance in her acceptance that the U.S. reportage and larger narrative determines the terms of grief, remembrance and recognition. Butler continues:

> [T]he obituary functions as the instrument by which grievability is publically distributed. It is the means by which a life becomes, or fails to become, a publically grievable life, an icon for national self-recognition, the means by which a life becomes noteworthy. As a result, we have to consider the obituary as an act of nation-building. The matter is not a simple one, for, if a life is not grievable, it is not quite a life; it does not qualify as a life and is not worth note. It is already the unburied, if not the unburiable (2004, 34).

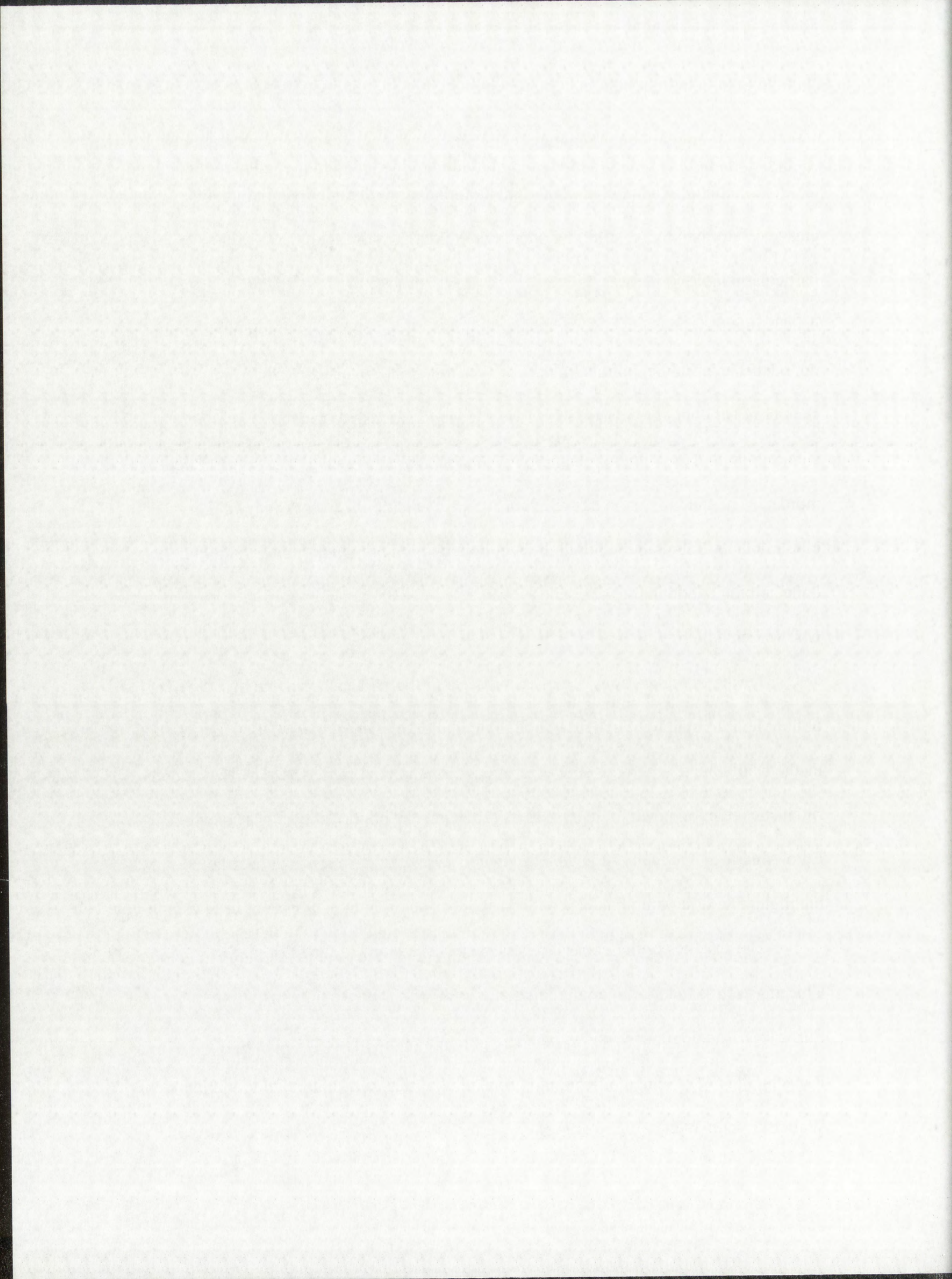
Any cenotaph—built or textual—claims Butler, would do the work of recognizing the murdered individuals as *lives,* as *grievable lives.* While I agree that acts of mourning for marginalized bodies have the possibility of challenging the very nation, I cannot accept that the lack of obituary dehumanizes. Further, how can Butler and other scholars make room for bi- or multi-lingual transborder subjects, whose obituaries, whose very stories may exist outside of U.S. dominance? Are these lives "unrecognizable," do they not register?



There are silences in histories and narrative, however, silences do not equal erasure. Returning to Trouillot, we should note that "any historical narrative is a particular bundle of silences, the result of a unique process, and the operation required to deconstruct these silences will vary accordingly" (27). Our conclusion, therefore, must not be that an absolute, dominating act of silencing has been accomplished, but rather, we should reflect upon the ways in which we choose to deconstruct and challenge these silences as scholars. Butler seems to cede all authority and voice to history's torturers and murders. The field of vision has been constrained by nation and language and these constraints have limited the possibilities for recognition or remedy. In addition, they have done nothing to add in the unmistakable remembrance of the children, wives and families who witnessed those losses.

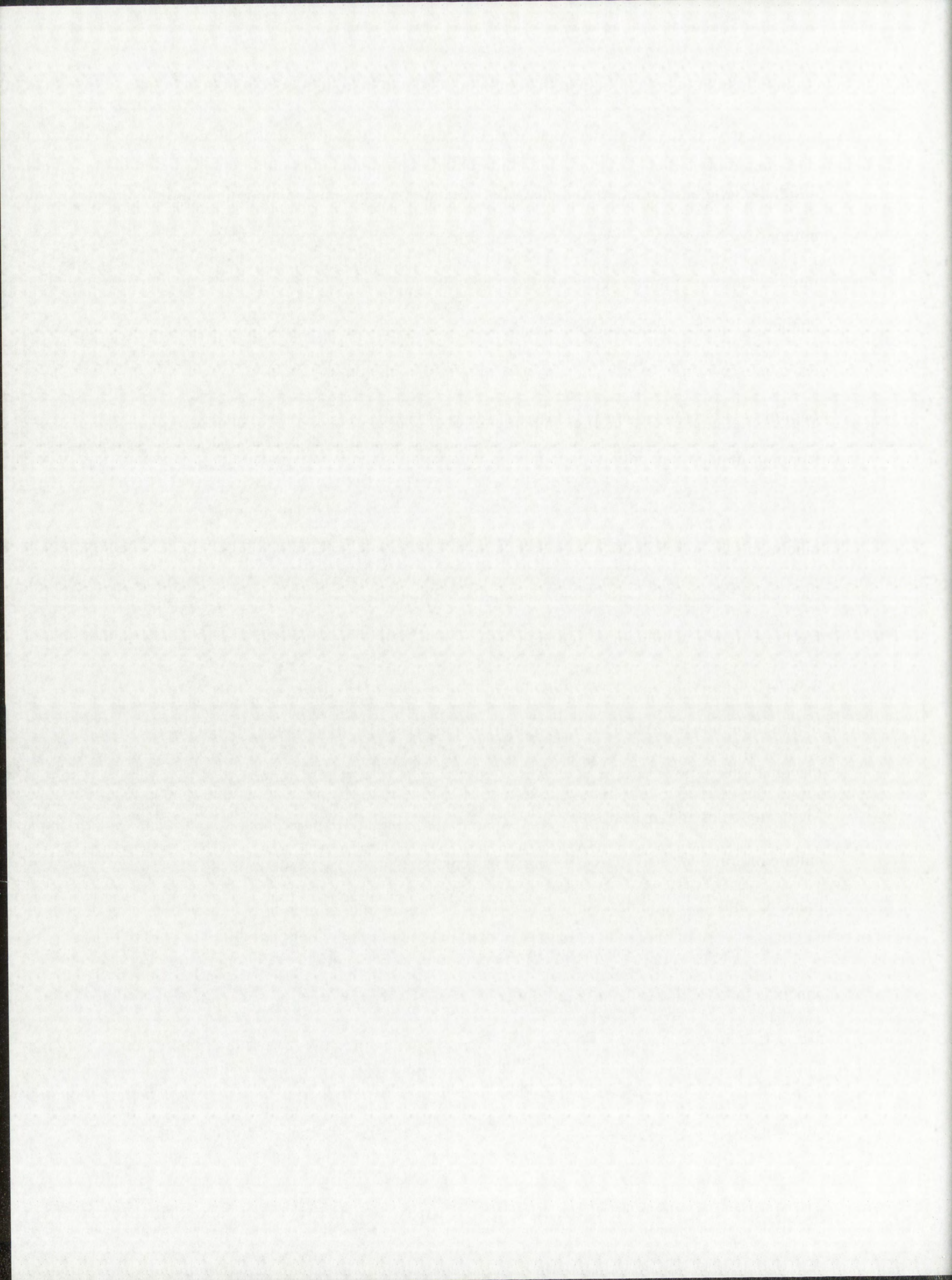
Further, I argue strongly that the murders of the Mexican men and thus the *lives* of the Mexican men were of great value to their attackers whose bodies they targeted and methodically hunted, perhaps slowly tortured, dismembered and displayed. The careful, ritualistic attention given to their murders proclaims the importance of these men in the Euro-American imaginary. It is this idea that receives our attention and that I hope I have highlighted in discussing lynching as a practice, an act, a ritual with particular aims.

The cruelties of the Texas Rangers have become one of the most repeated Chicano stories, and, to be certain, this is a crucially important component of the story of Euro-American dominance and violence in the Southwest. In the case of the Texas Rangers, their constructed histories and counter-histories could easily fill a small library. Walter Prescott Webb's *Texas Rangers: A Century of Frontier Defense*, published in



1935, has long been considered the "classic" Texas Ranger narrative. J. Frank Dobie, author of volumes on Texas folklore called Webb's *Texas Rangers* "The beginning, middle, and end of the subject." My work benefits greatly from those scholars who have challenged Webb's dominance on the subject of the Texas Rangers, valorizing the Rangers' service to Texas and country. Authors and cultural critics such as Julian Samora, Joe Bernal, Albert, José Davíd Saldívar, Américo Paredes, Tomas Rivera, Rudolph Acuña, Jovita Gonzales and Rolando Hinojosa have provided recent critical works on the Texas Rangers (known in Chicana/o and Mexicana/o communities as "los pinche rinches") their very foundation. As I have pursued the lynching of Mexicans, Samora, Bernal and Peña's *Gunpowder Justice: A Reassessment of the Texas Rangers* has been always within reach—*Gunpowder Justice* soberly considers Texas Ranger actions and activities as co-contaminant with Texas Ranger myth-making. I also draw on Samora, Bernal and Peña's work because they look at the Ranger's as part of the larger machinations of power in the Southwest—going beyond a litany of Ranger cruelties on Mexican bodies and instead focusing on the ways in which the Rangers have created a culture of dominance so successful that it has continued to be expressed in strike breaking, anti-"Communist" activity and border enforcement.

However, even the most cursory investigation of the Texas Rangers would conclude that Mexicans in close proximity to the Texas Rangers have always found themselves in close proximity to violence. Though we do not know the names of every Mexican killed by the Rangers, it has been estimated that "as many as five thousands Hispanics were killed by the Rangers between 1914 and 1919" ("Rangers and Outlaws"

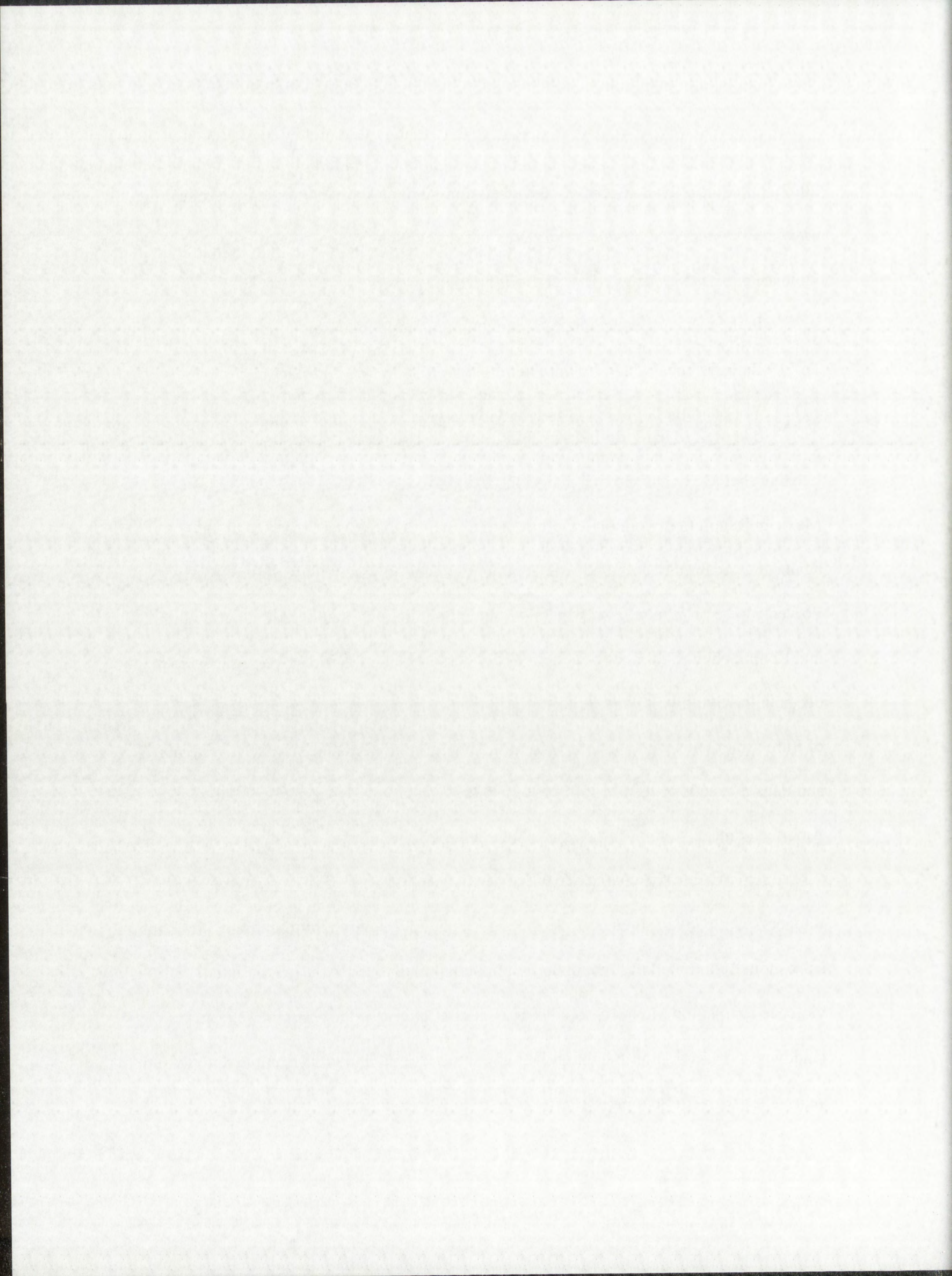


2007). Of course, the Rangers' unrestrained murders of Mexicans began far earlier. In *Mexican Workers and the American Dream*, Camille Guerin-Gonzales ties Ranger violence against Mexicans to hatred of immigrant workers.

> In the name of justice they executed thousands of Mexican migrant workers without any repercussions. As early as the late 1800s, the Rangers began their violent attempt at repression. Onofrio Baca, a Mexican migrant worker, was arrested in 1881 on the suspicion of murder. The Rangers arrested him and promptly had him lynched, his body left to hang for days in front of the courthouse.

I concur that Mexicans moving across the Texas border—in increasing numbers as the Mexican Revolution wore on—were subject to violence and I add that the violence against Mexicans also targeted land owning Mexicans in Texas. Two of the victims at Porvenir were prominent landowners—Manuel Morales, 47, held a deed to 1,600 acres and Roman Nieves, 48, held a deed to 320 acres (Davis 2007). Those Mexicans who held deeds in the Southwest were targets of intimidation, terrorism, and murder at the hands of Euro-Americans who sought to disentitle them from their lands. As Samora, Bernal and Peña make clear, the aims of the Texas Rangers, U.S. Calvary men and Euro-American ranchers are as important as their actions.

At Porvenir, the characterizing of Mexican men as "bandits" served to justify the Rangers', U.S. Cavalrymen, and ranchers' slaughter. This very construction of Mexicans as "bandits" continued to function as an imperialist rationale for the unrestrained violence against the Mexican population in Texas, and served to remove Mexicans as landowners. Indeed, after the massacre at Porvenir, the village was abandoned for several years. Less than fifty people were in Porvenir in 1926, and in 1946, the U.S. Census

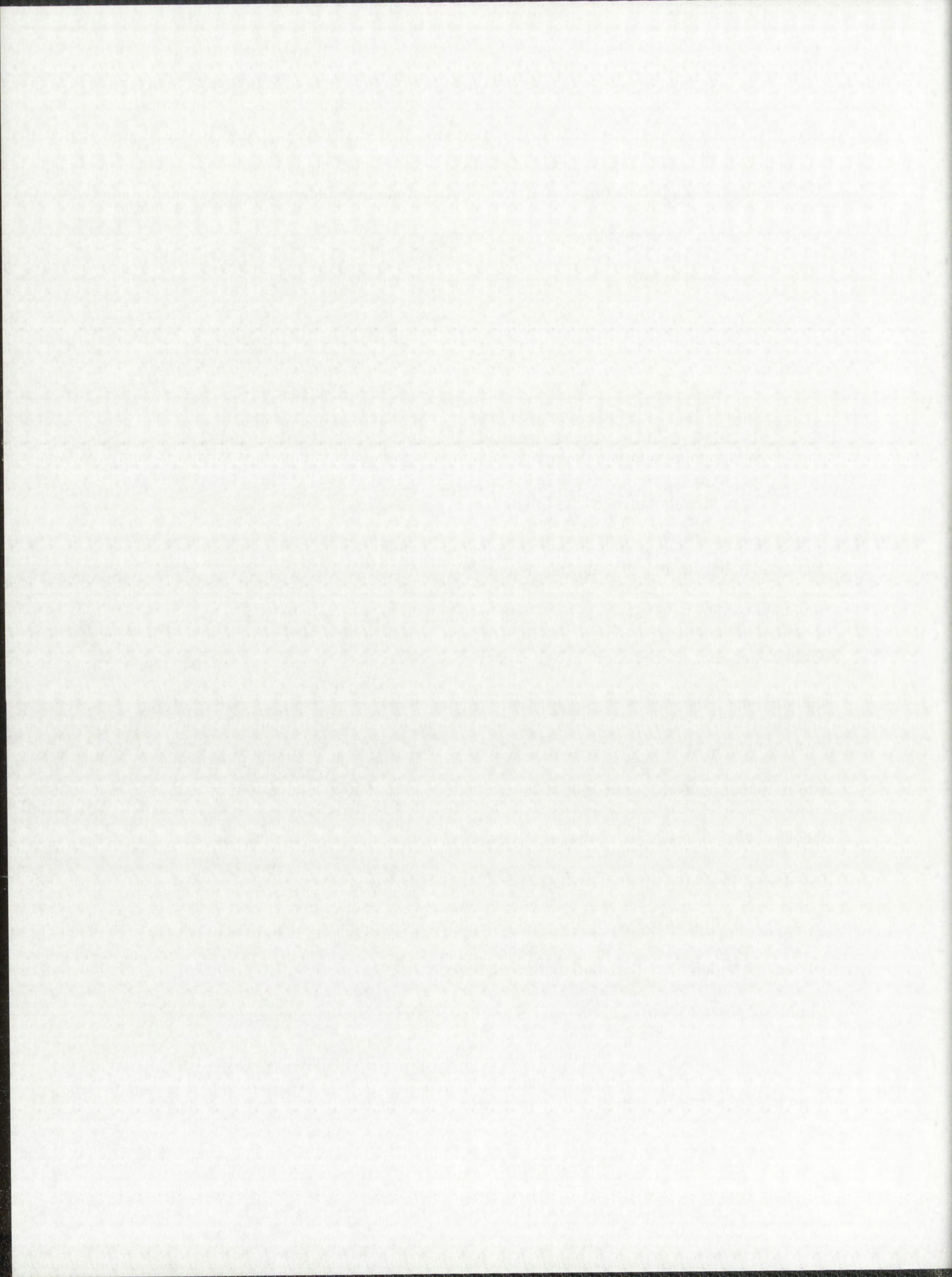


Bureau discontinued collecting population figures for the town. The public, ritualized violence against Mexicans advanced land disentitlement.

The question of border war comes into play as we consider Porvenir. We must acknowledge that there has been low intensity warfare in the case of south Texas. As José Limón notes,

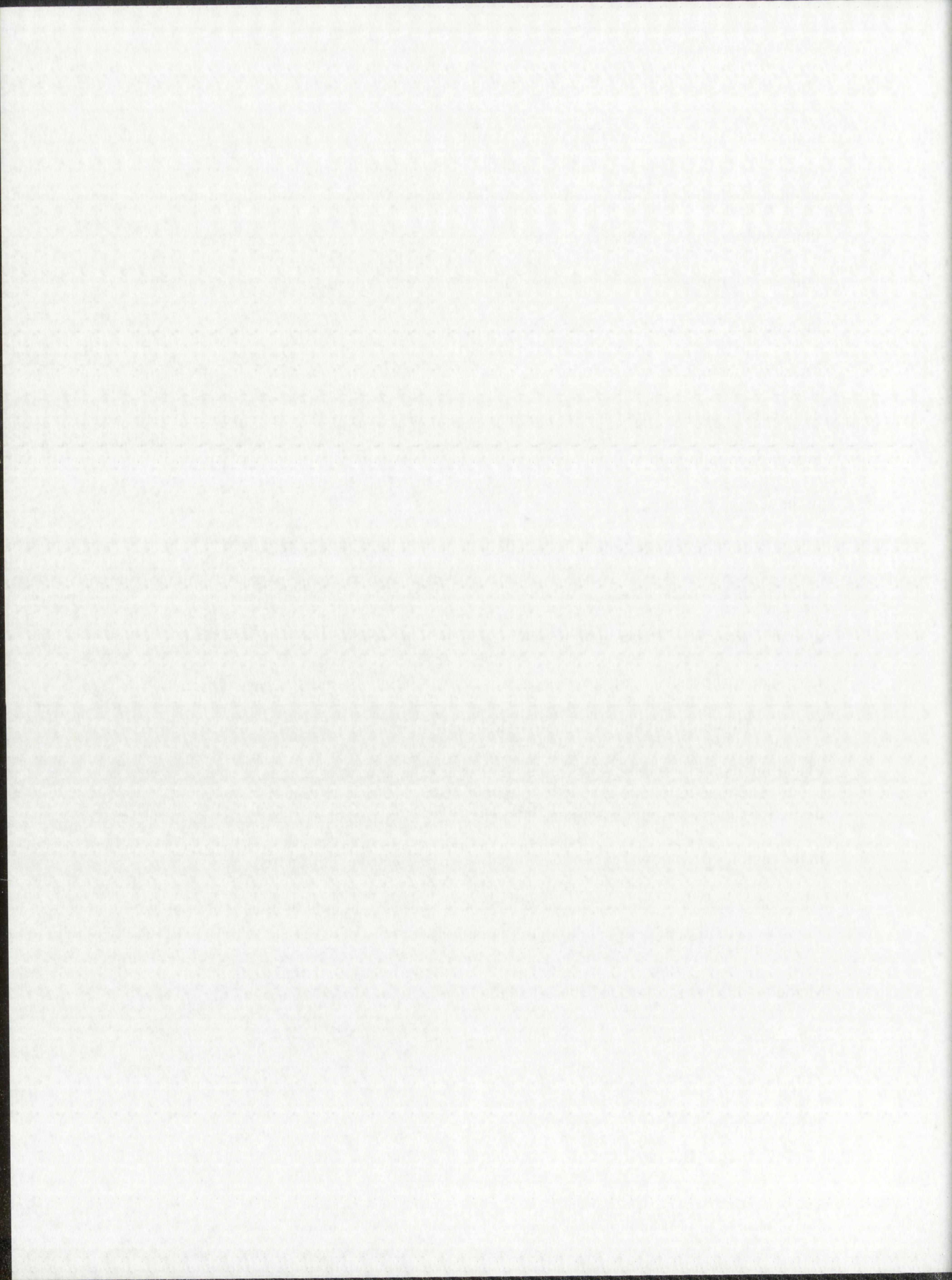
> [S]ince the 1830s the Mexicans of south Texas have been in a state of social war with the 'Anglo' dominant Other and their class allies. This has been at times a war of overt, massive proportions; at others, covert and sporadic; at still other moments, repressed and internalized as war within the psyche, but always conditioned by an on-going social struggle fought out of different battlefields (1994, 15-16).

Limón invokes the idea of "real" engagement in his discussions of south Texas—invoking Gramsci's analysis he furthers Marxian ideas on antagonistic class struggle. Gramsci has expanded the analysis of struggle away from class into the political and the cultural importantly suggested distinctions in strategies of domination, which he calls the "war of maneuver" and the "war of position" (Gramsci 1971, 206-207, 229-239). The war of maneuver is the overt frontal attack. According to Gramsci, the war of maneuver comes to an end "when the strategic aim—destruction of the enemy's army and occupation of his territory—is achieved" (1971, 229). Potentially this would mean the México-U.S conflict between nations, which ended in the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 marked the end of the war of maneuver in the Southwest. Limón suggest a look away from the actions of national armies and instead appeals to his readers to consider a larger social war. Gramsci has called the struggle for social dominance that follows the war of maneuver the war of position. The war of position



occurs "when one side has achieved nearly complete dominance, making open maneuver impossible" (Limón 1993, 41). Gramsci, however, leaves room to see these wars as unbounded, one giving way to another or even both wars in place at the same historical moment (1971, 206-209). The struggle for Euro-American dominance in the Southwest is arguably incomplete, and low intensity warfare may be another way to describe the depravations against Mexicans in the Southwest. Thus we should look more closely to the events surrounding the wars of maneuver and position in the Southwest, and particularly in the section as related to Texas.

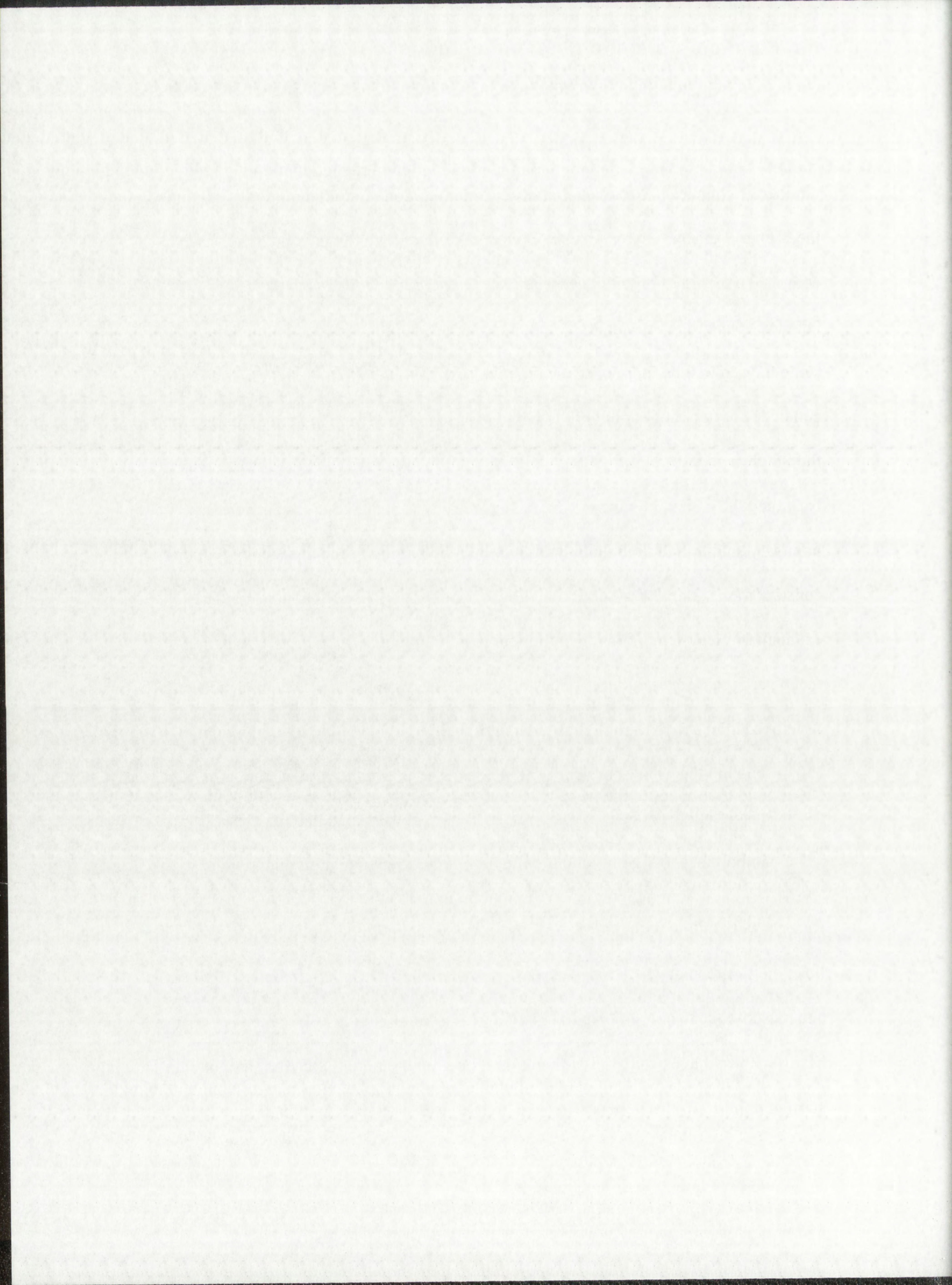
Euro-Americans constructed a mythology of multiple menaces as they immigrated to Texas—some of which we saw in Section One. These mythologies animated extreme violences and became particularly pronounced in the Republic and later state of Texas. What is now Texas was until 1836 incorporated as part of northern México. However, México, having invited Euro-American immigration for the purpose of settling its northernmost lands, greatly miscalculated the Euro-American land lust and desire for slavery within its borders.[31] By the 1820s Euro-Americans became squatters in the region that is now Texas—the "illegal aliens of their day" (Limerick 1987, 229). After many conflicts between the Euro-American squatters and México, Texas declared itself an independent Republic in 1835. Shortly after, the United States invaded México—this has most often been called the Mexican American War—and after a war of aggression, the United States annexed the northern Mexican Territory (Limerick 1987, 229). Importantly, the assembled army of invasion included six thousand Euro-American Texans. "Even central Texas, dangerously close to the Indian frontier, produced a large



number of volunteers. Mounted volunteers from the Lone Star State—calling themselves the 'Texas Rangers'—won a reputation for valor from their American comrades and compiled a record of brutality according to the Mexican people, who labeled them "Los Diablos Tejanos" (Carrigan 2003, 23). The war and subsequent annexation attempted to settle the national boundary between México and the United States and the conflict was concluded by the ratification of but the boundaries have never been fully solidified. In the Southwest, the mobility of the indigenous, of the wolf, and of the Mexican have all frustrated the national boundary. Texas became a crucial site to dispute a porous boundary, and as had been done with the wolf, the Texan created a mythology of constant threat. Danalynn Recer, a civil rights attorney in Texas who has written extensively on systematic and institutional violence by Euro-American Texans suggests that a particular Texas culture—what William D. Carrigan calls a "lynching culture"—developed after the fight for Texas independence.

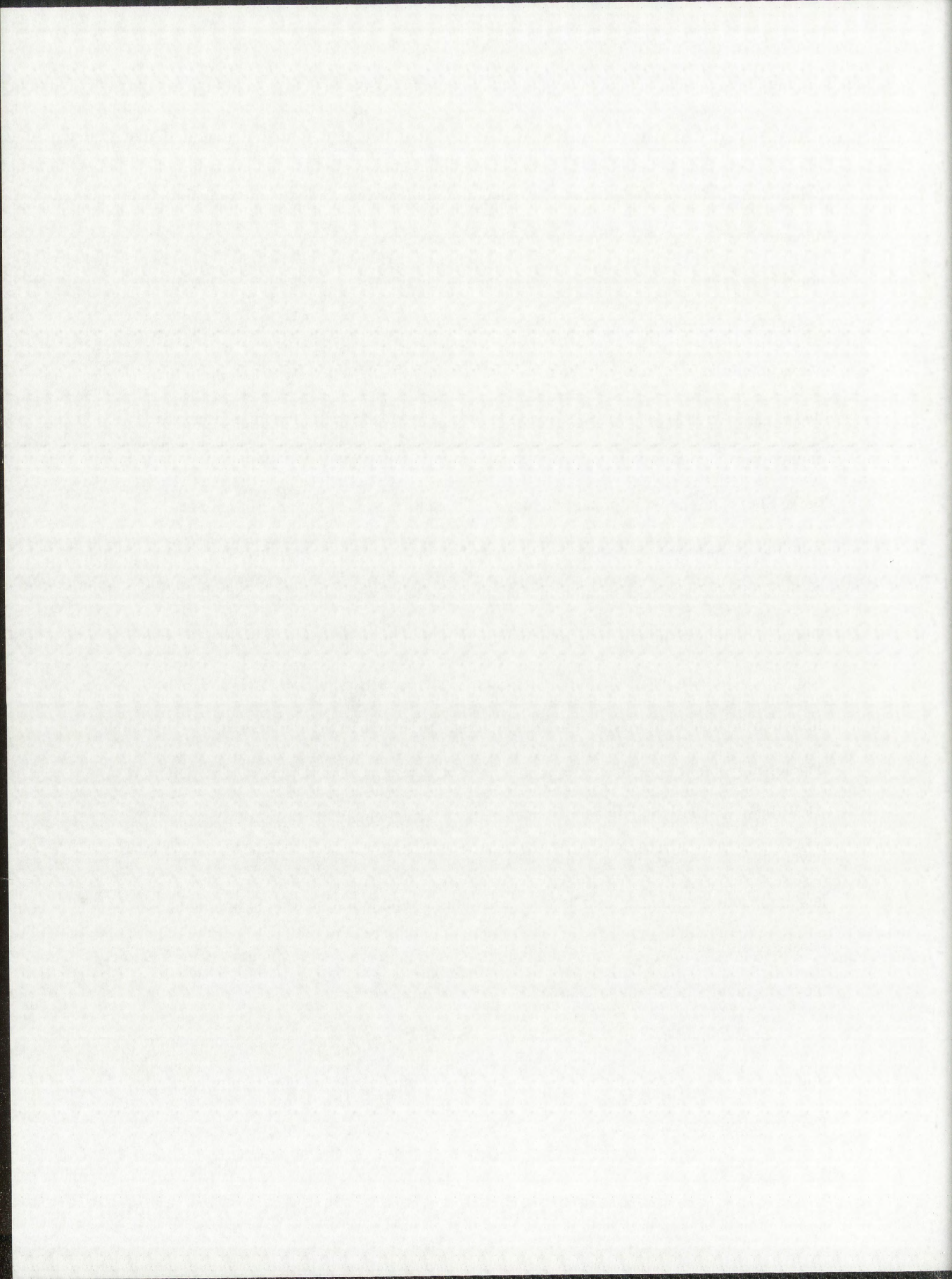
> Feeling themselves besieged by Mexicans to the south, Comanches and Cherokees to the west, Yankees to the north, and, most unsettling, insurrectionary slaves in their midst, Texans developed a national identity forged in fear… Defining community, then, has been of central importance to Texans, and the ritual of punishment integral to that definition (1994, 6).

Recer's work, along with the work of historians Clement Eaton and Robert May, further links the Confederacy to Texas—explaining that the early logic of expansion into Texas and its subsequent annexation enflamed the North-South divide over slavery's expansion. Many scholars have posited that when Texas became a state in 1845 that this was "the starting point from which the nation began its slow descent into the vortex of Civil War"



(May 1997, 158). The confluence of events that would see expansion and annexation adjacent to a nation's Civil War that centered the right to hold humans as property and sought to expand this Euro-American practice to Texas as well as the territories would result in a Texas nationalism that blended Indian removal, sadistic wolf hunts and anti-Mexican vigilante justice with the ritualized codes of Southern Honor, creating a milieu that sought out opportunities for violence as a way to substantialize the Euro-American community. Clemet Eaton writes in "Mob Violence in the Old South" that mob violence in the South and the widespread lynching of African Americans can be differentiated from the 'frontier violence' seen in Texas and the Southwest. Eaton suggests that these regional violences were dissimilar in their aims and causes. He writes that "in the land of Dixie mob violence attained a greater significance than in the other sections of the country… These mobs of the middle period of Southern history [1831-1861] should be clearly distinguished from the vigilantes or regulating bands of the frontier who developed lynch law because of the lack of adequate courts and jails" (1997, 351-352). As William D. Carrigan and Ken Gonzales-Day note, lynch law in the Southwest was never caused by a lack of courts and jails. Indeed the courts and jails, along with other law enforcement officials (such as the Texas Rangers and U.S. Calvary in Porvenir) became instruments of lynching. Further the aims of violence against racialized bodies in the South and in the Southwest served to enforce a racial hierarchy.

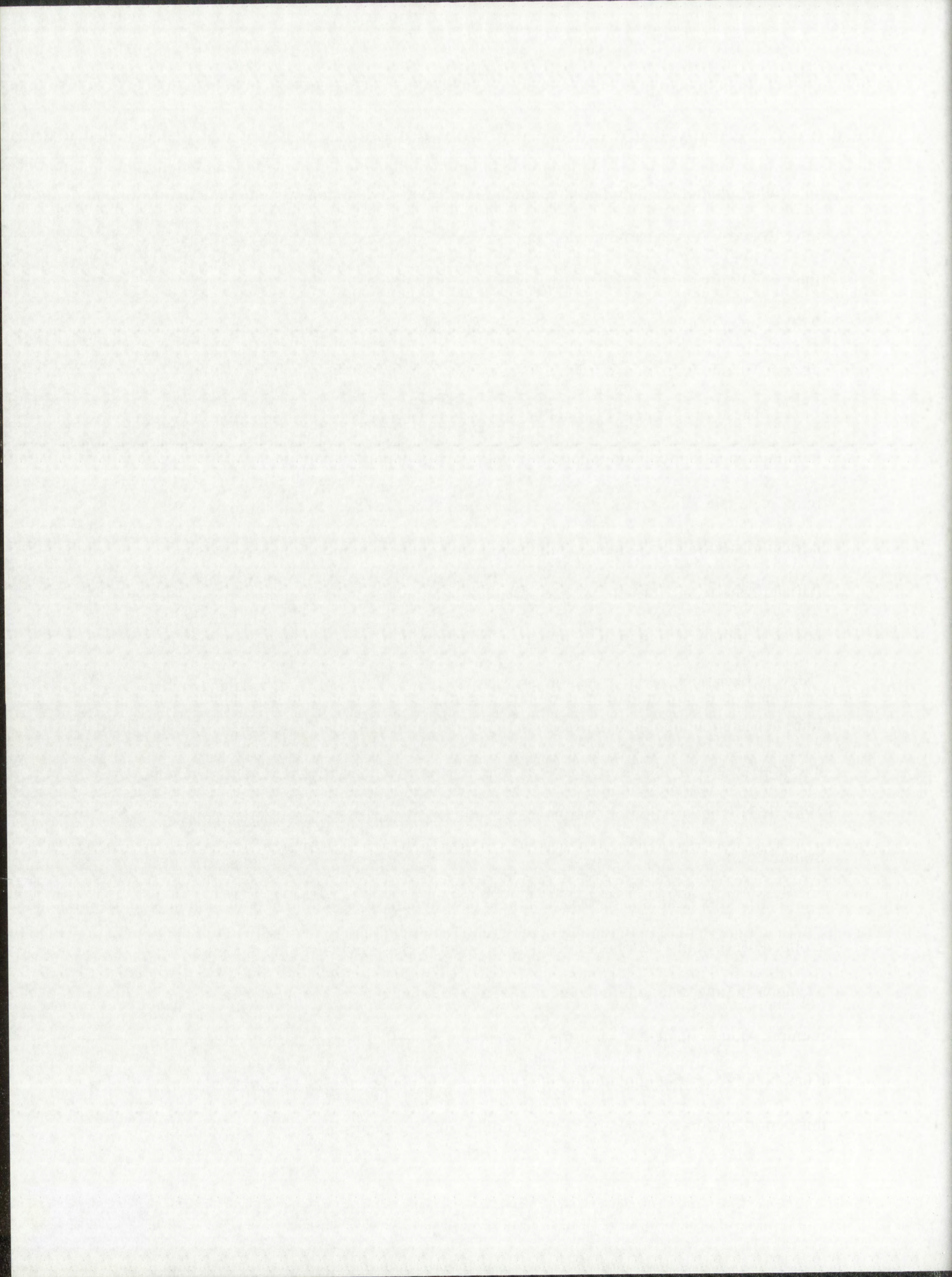
Following the Civil War, as Texas nationalism was taking shape, Euro-American Southerners immigrated into the newly annexed state and Texas saw a spread of Ku Klux Klan members and ex-Confederates to Texas and other territories. Robert Kagan writes



of cultural memory of Southerners moving into Texas saying, "history did not start afresh after Robert E. Lee's surrender at Appomattox. For the generation that lived through it, the Civil War would forever remain the most important event of their lives (2007, 274).Southern cultural memory becomes a curious conflation of the Texas Revolution against México with the Civil War.

These conflations allowed the Euro-American immigrants to romanticize a slave-owning past along with martial actions against Mexicans and in effect allowed them to reinforce a racial hierarchy imposed by lynching (and the threat of lynching) for both African Americans and Mexicans in the region. The racial hierarchy imposed upon African Americans, further, has been foundation to understandings of other racialized bodies. Articulated first in the South, then called upon in Texas and the territories, "Slavery became a 'racial' question, and spawned an endless variety of 'racial' problems. Race became the ideological medium through which people posed and apprehended basic questions of power and dominance, sovereignty and citizenship, justice and right (Fields, 1982, 162). The question of dominance became paramount for Euro-American in the Southwest.

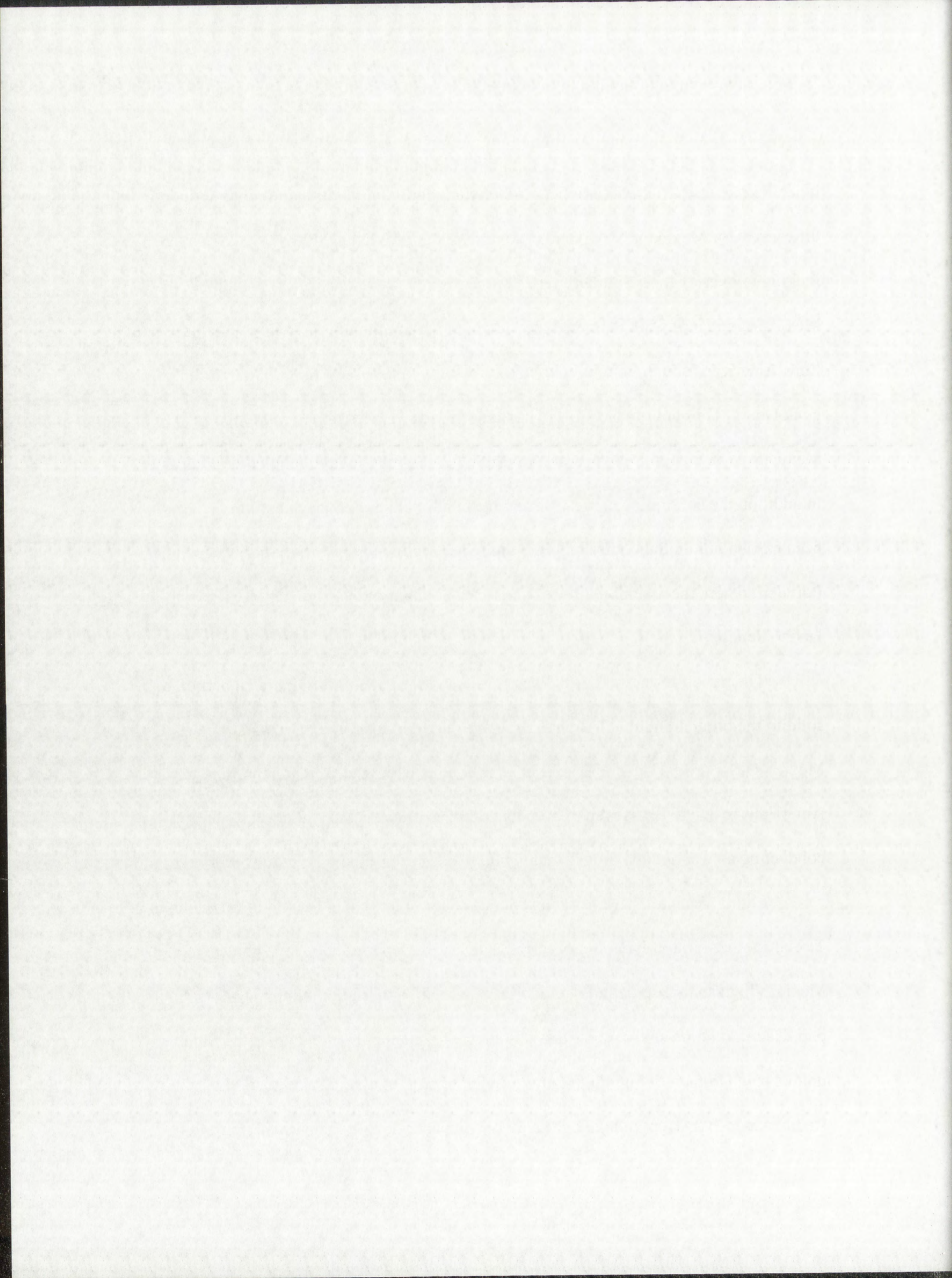
Ku Klux Klan membership continued to grow in Texas until the 1890s and then dropped off. But in 1920, public Klan recruitment began again "with the goal of forming a chapter in time to march in the parade during the United Confederate Veterans' reunion, soon to be held in Houston. To the delight of Houstonians nostalgic for the old Klan, both mounted and marching Klansmen paraded in full regalia (Recer 1994, 146). In this period, violence against African Americans and Mexicans including widespread



lynching increased. Yet, for Mexican Americans, lynching functioned somewhat differently for Mexicans than African Americans. With Mexicans, Euro-Americans were seeking to overlay their Southern race boundaries on a new landscape. In addition, for Mexicans, much of what animated the violences against them were the issues of land use. Euro-Americans sought to terrorize Mexicans for the purpose of removing them as landowners. Thus spurious claims of sexual offenses were less seen in the case of Mexicans. The push for expansion into the Southwest was always coupled with violence. In addition the continuing anxiety of sealing a national boundary against México has been carried out on the bodies of Mexicans. Such was the case with the mass lynching at Porvenir, where the assembled Euro-American assailants attacked local Mexican landholders.

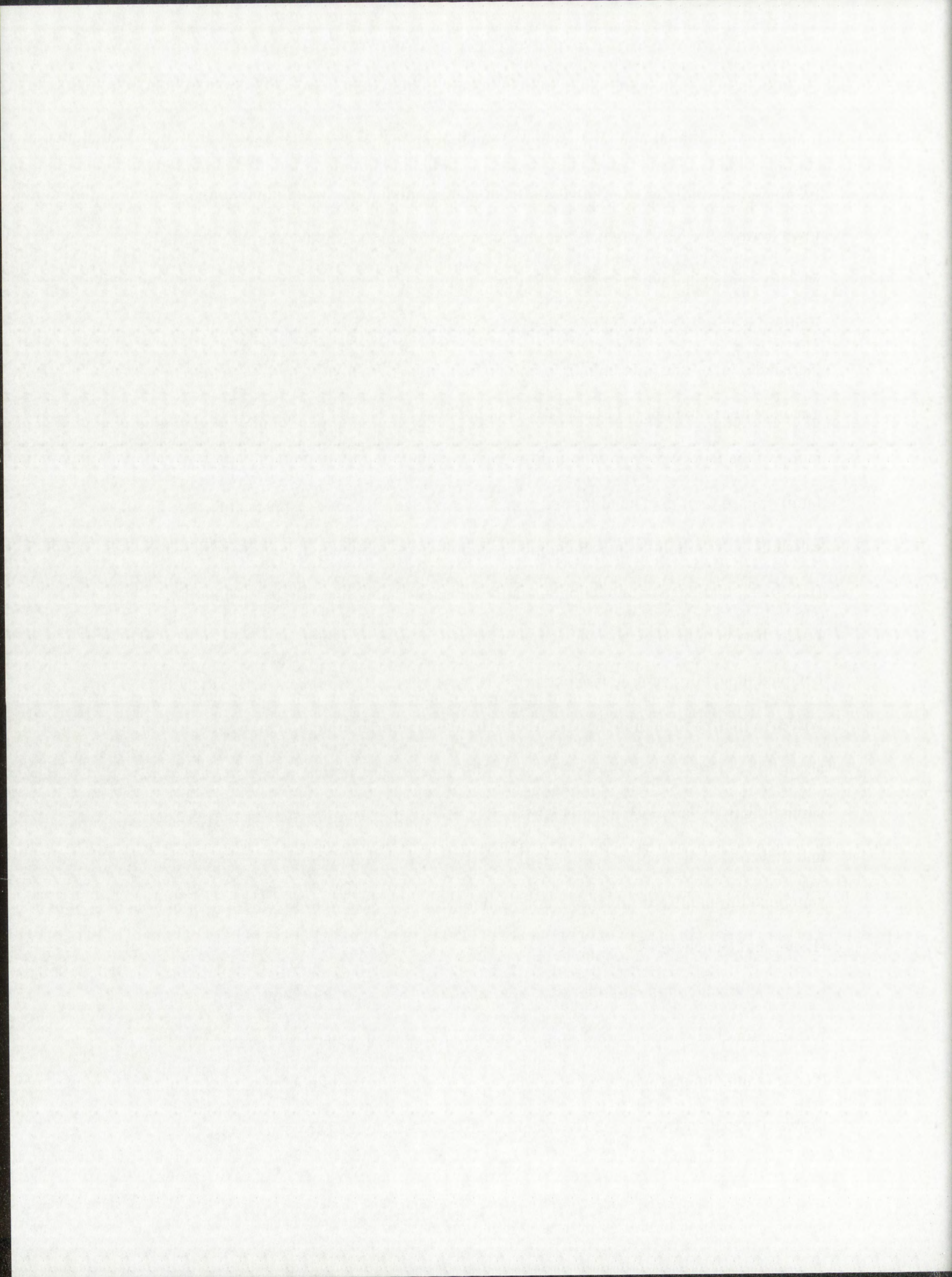
The nation-to-nation border war gave way to the social war that would attempt to solidify the border, and this has resulted in the ever-expanding militarization of the México-U.S. border. The anti-Mexican wars conducted by the U.S. and by Euro-Americans in south Texas were rearticulated in the 1980s as the U.S. military began conducting a "war against drugs" that would result in continuing lynchings of Mexicans.

Eighty years after the Porvenir Massacre in the same Big Bend Region of south Texas, another kind of lynching occurred. On a still May afternoon an eighteen year old Mexican high school student, Esequiel Hernández, Jr. arrived home from school at 4:00 p.m. He sat at home studying his driver's education manual before helping his father unload hay. Hernández and his family lived in the small town of Redford, Texas. Redford, which has a population of about one hundred people, is nearly ninety percent



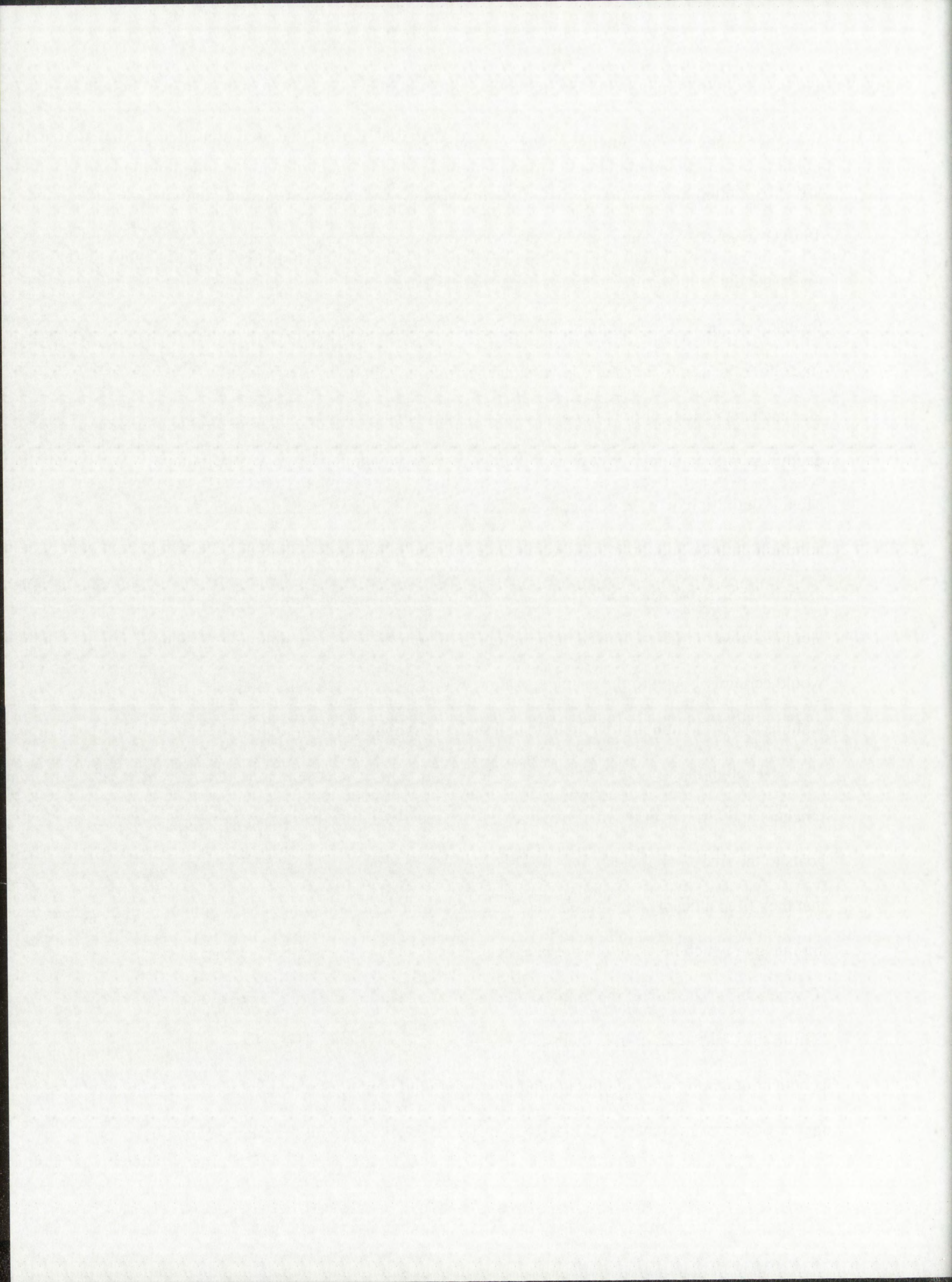
Mexican, with sixty-seven percent of the population living below the poverty line. The town borders the Rio Grande River that separates it from the Mexican community of Mulato, Chihuahua where many of Redford's families have relatives. The small town of Redford is largely sustained by a cheese co-operative and a goat herd. Esequiel Hernández, Jr.—know as "Junior" in his community—took his family's goats out for grazing after unloading hay with his father and walked them to the Polvo Crossing on the banks of the Rio Grande (Evans and Bunch; Holt 1998; Paulsen 1998). The Hernández family raised their goats and farmed a small tract of land in the oldest part of Redford, called El Polvo. In this tiny and simple border town, the United States Marine Corps (U.S.M.C.) had begun conducting operations in small teams surveilling "the international border between the U.S. and México where USBP [United States Border Patrol] officials believed illegal drug smuggling occurred" (Coyne 1998). Redford became a part of a border militarization policy put in place by then Governor George W. Bush, though according to Drug Policy Forum of Texas (DPFT), there was little evidence of drug smuggling in the area when the U.S.M.C. was deployed. According to James H. Evans and Steven Bunch, members of the DPFT, "[t]here have been no reports of drugs being smuggled through Redford [and] no one can recall a seizure of illegal drugs in the town" (Evans and Bunch 1997).

Within a couple of hours after coming home from school on May 20, 1997 and just one hundred yards from his home, Junior was shot by a member of the U.S.M.C. and bled to death, his body thrown into a well from the force of the bullet, his legs askew and skyward. Esequiel Hernández Jr. became the first acknowledged civilian citizen to be



killed by United States troops on U.S. soil since the student massacre at Kent State in 1970 (Paulsen 1998). The U.S.M.C. declared the murder 'unfortunate,' but declined to prosecute the four Marines in spite of community outrage and investigations by themselves, the U.S. Department of Justice, Amnesty International and local officials (including the Texas Rangers). Though the Marines did not deem the shooting of Hernández a homicide, drawing on the multiple investigations I conclude Hernández's death was not accidental, and, in fact, consistent with a lynching "culture." I follow Moses' definition here, "a deliberate murder by a mob [of three or more people] having a common purpose and targeting… an unnamed person falling into a limited category [such as race, ethnicity or nationality]" (1997, xiv). As a male Mexican body on the border, Hernández was targeted, hunted, and murdered by four Marines. Though the U.S.M.C. would certainly object to the characterization of themselves as a mob, I suggest that the features of pursuit and murder are causal features of lynching.

Though the Border Patrol and the Marine Corps were accustomed to seeing local ranchers and farmers graze their livestock in the area—bringing their cows, horses and goats to the river—on the day that the U.S. Marines shot Hernández, the men claimed that they fired a deadly shot in self-defense as the teenager was carrying a .22 caliber antique gun which he used to scare javelinas and wild dogs that might attack his goats (Coyne 1998). The day of the murder, the four Marines hid in the brush camouflaged by "Gillie suits" they had crafted themselves from burlap and leaves. Their orders were to conduct operations moving only at night, when narcotics smugglers might appear, but on that day the four heavily armed Marines began to actively patrol the area around El



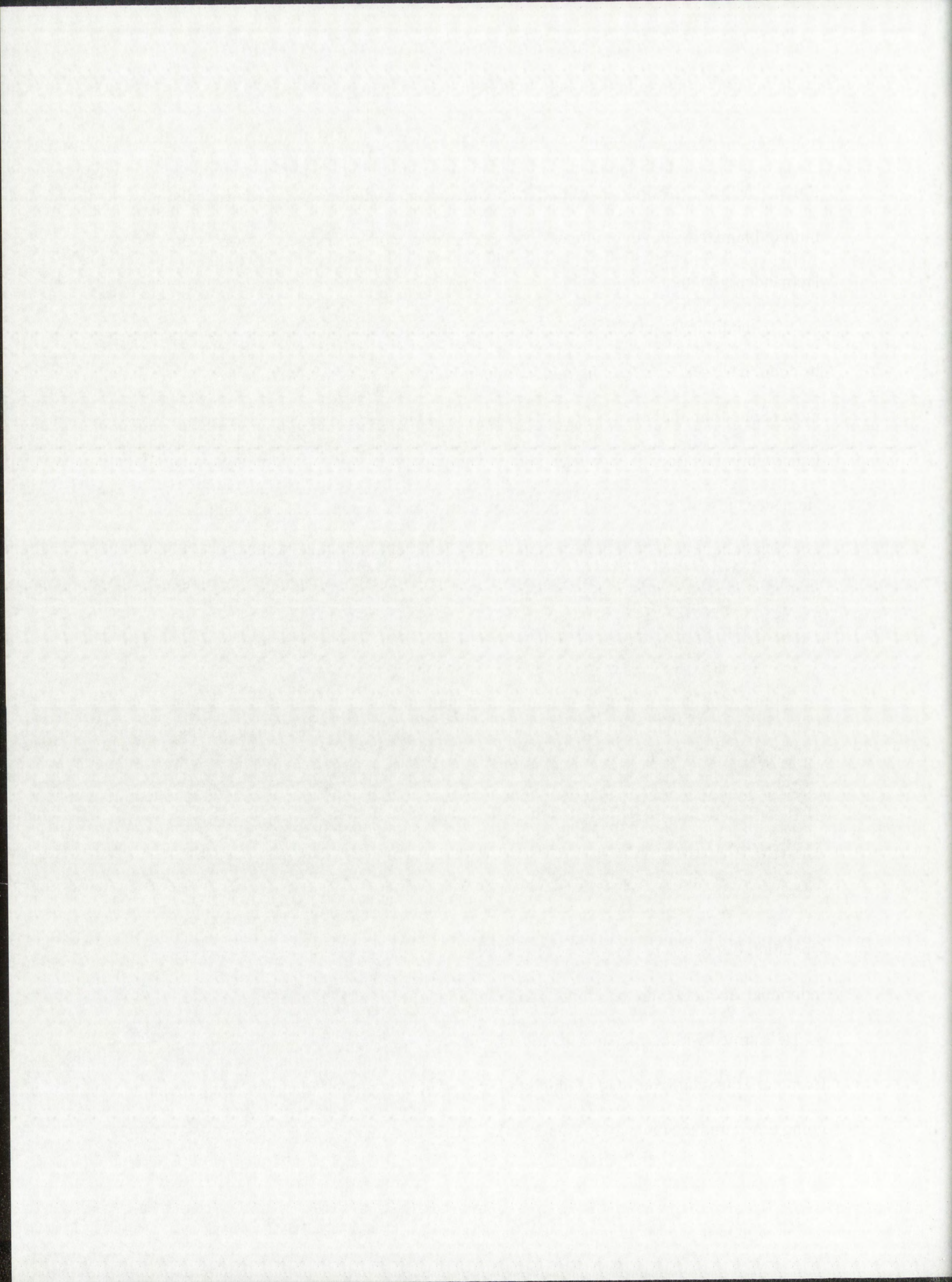
Polvo. The Marine Corps report that resulted from the investigation of Hernández's murder blamed the daylight movement for "beginning a chain of events" that resulted in Hernández's death.

The four Marines had clear sight of Esequiel Hernández Jr. though it is unlikely he could have seen the carefully hidden and crouching men as they tracked his movements from the brush. Corporals Clemente Manuel Bañuelos, Roy Torrez, Jr., and Lance Corporals Ronald H. Wieler, Jr. and James M. Blood caught sight of Esequiel Hernández just after 6pm and Corporal Bañuelos radioed to the U.S.M.C. Tactical

Figure 7a: USMC "Gillie Suit"

Figure 7b: Camouflaged Marine in "Gillie Suit" in the brush of El Polvo (Redford), Texas

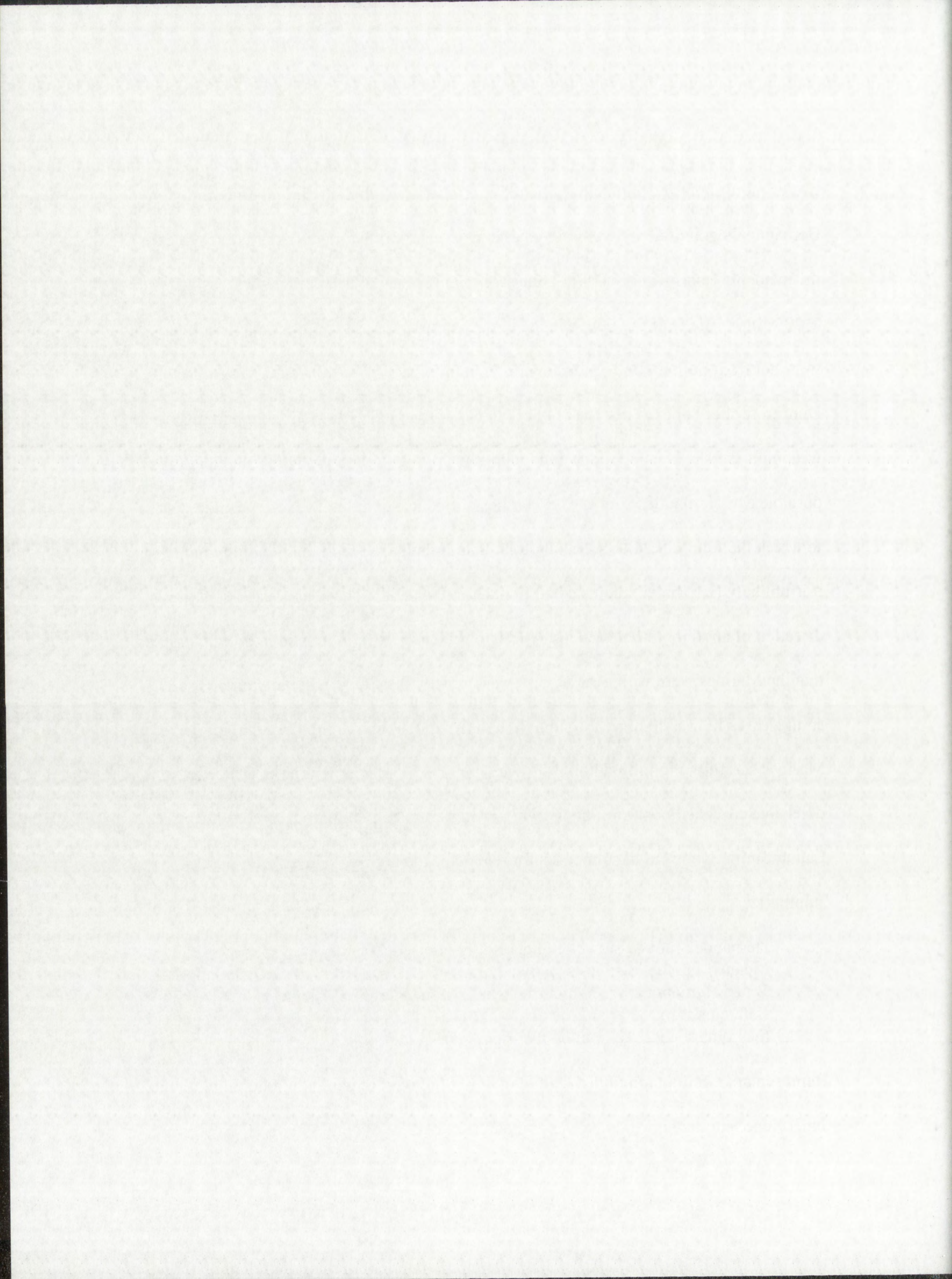
Operation Center (TOC) in Marfa, Texas saying, "We are at the OP. We have an armed individual, about 200 meters from us. He's in front of the old fort, he's heading towards us. He's armed with a rifle, appears to be in uh . . . herding some goats or something." Corporal Torres later recalled seeing a herd of goats nearby, with "the back few of them going down into the ravine" (Coyne 1998). The Marines then claim that Hernández fired



two or more shots and Bañuelos believed that the small antique rifle (inherited from Hernández's grandfather) was pointed at himself or the other Marines. After investigating the incident, Texas Ranger David Duncan explained that he found four shell casings from a .22 caliber rifle near the field where Hernández was shot, but he believes these shells were not from bullets fired on the day of the murder as they were well oxidated. Ranger Duncan further "opined that the only reliable evidence indicating Mr. Hernández fired his weapon is the shell casing recovered inside the rifle. As a consequence, he believes it's possible Mr. Hernández fired at the Marines only once" (Coyne 1998). Given the degree to which the four U.S.M.C. members were camouflaged in the brush, I would argue that it is unlikely Hernández knew he had fired (if in fact he did shoot his weapon) in the direction of anything other than a stray dog or other wildlife. Also, the radio call suggests that the Marines were well aware that it was unlikely they were pursuing a drug smuggler, as he was flanked by goats. After Hernández was said to fire his rifle, the Marines carefully monitored him, following him for over twenty minutes—they in defensive crouched positions, he upright and unaware. San Antonio Representative Lamar Smith, who sought subpoenas for release of the U.S.M.C. investigation summarizes:

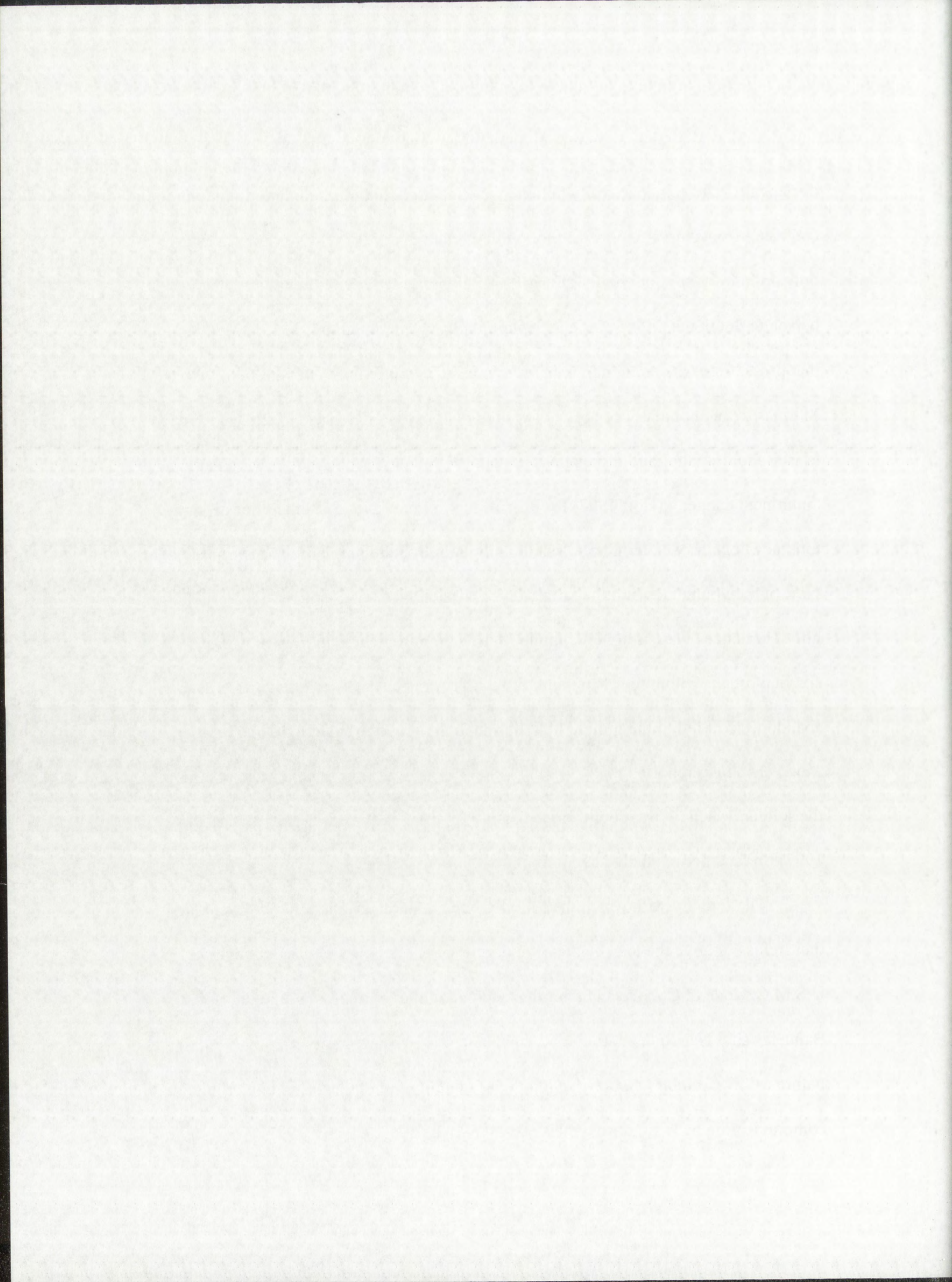
> Hernández moved slowly along a ridge, exposed from all sides. Meanwhile, the Marines shadowed him, maintaining their concealment. When Hernández raised his rifle again, Marine Corporal Clemente Bañuelos from 150 yards away put the cross-hairs of his scoped M-16 on the youth's chest and pulled the trigger (Lash 1998).

Representative Smith convinced that the Clinton Administration, U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno and the U.S. Justice Department had not done enough to prosecute the murder



demanded: "Did someone really believe that a youth with a .22 rifle had decided to conduct a frontal assault on a team of United States Marines? Did they think that their only option was to shoot him?" (Lash 1998). Representative Smith was not the only person to doubt the killing was accidental; many have pointed toward the twenty minutes that passed from the moment Hernández was said to have shot in the direction of the Marines to the moment when Bañuelos shot back "in self-defense." While the four Marines told various authorities that they shot Hernández because he placed them in "imminent danger," (Holt 1997) for over twenty minutes, the four-man Marine patrol took positions above Hernández, surrounding him from all sides. The Marines had a clear view of the young man and they carefully and quietly stalked Hernández over the dusty hills. Hernández was struck by a single M-16 5.56 millimeter slug, which ripped through six vital organs within the clear sight of the Marines, he staggered a few yards near an abandoned fort fell to the ground ("A Marine Team on Drug Watch" 1997). Further, *The New York Times* reported that "his fatal bullet wound indicates that he was not aiming at the soldiers when he was shot from a distance of about 230 yards" (Howe Verhovek 1997). In fact, he was facing away from his Marine assassin.[32]

The ferocity with which the Marines hunted Hernández is further exacerbated by their refusal to give the teen medical support or CPR after the shooting, though the U.S.M.C. Code of Conduct calls for this and one of the Marines was a medic. After Bañuelos shot Hernández through his right side, the Marines waited twenty-two minutes before calling for help, though they had radios readily available and had been communicating by radio during their pursuit (Coyne 1998; Montes 1997). The Marines



walked to Hernández and although there was a faint pulse, none attempted CPR. The U.S.M.C. report concluded:

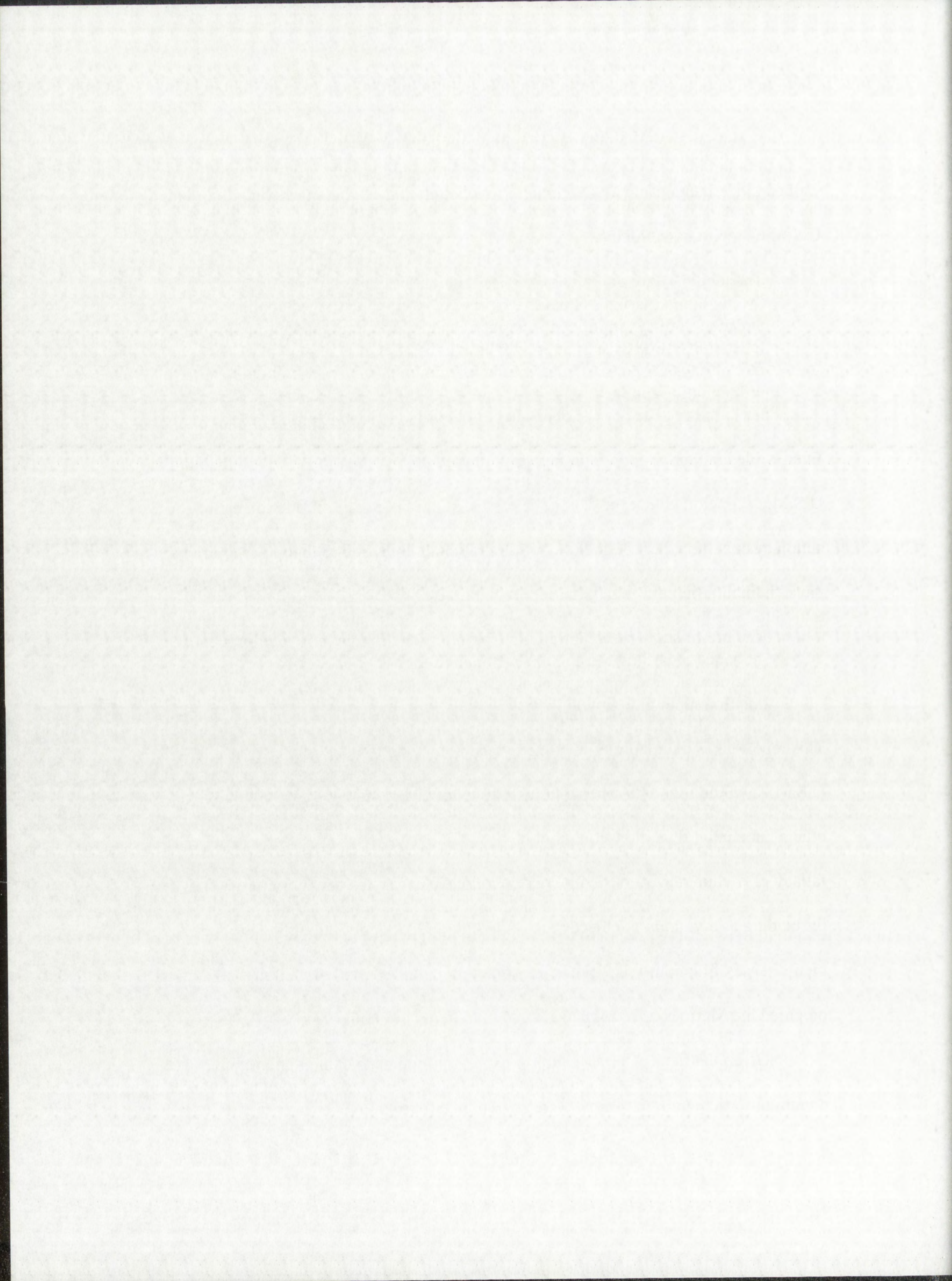
> The medical care given… to Mr. Hernandez was substandard as measured by any humanitarian standards…Corporal Torrez, the trained combat aidsman, took no significant action to evaluate and treat his injuries. While the actions of [the team] support their claimed belief that they remained at risk of physical harm, the failure to take minimal action remains problematic. The fact that not only they, but others, suspected a broken neck does not justify the decision to do nothing (Coyne 1998).

Even while condemning the Marines' lack of medical intervention after the shooting, the U.S.M.C. concluded that the death of Hernández did not require further investigation or action against his killers. Unbelievably, the rationale for this was that the Marines did not have "humanitarian training." The report continues:

> The pre-mission medical training Corporal Torrez received provided clear guidance regarding the appropriate medical steps to be taken for fellow Marines. No training prepared the Marines to recognize a humanitarian duty to render aid (Coyne 1998).

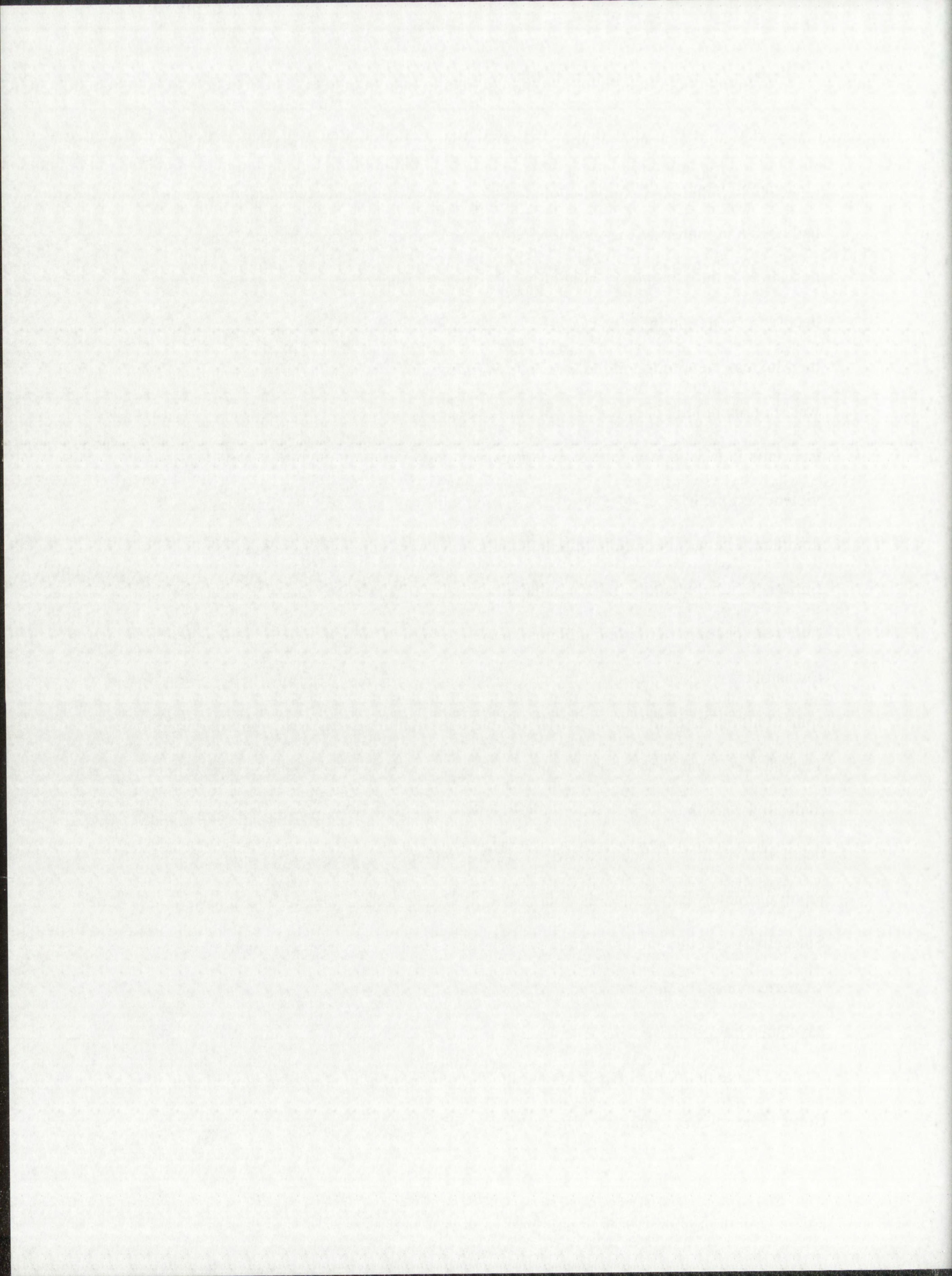
This report takes the ideology of citizenry and belonging to its deadly conclusion—the U.S.M.C. would argue that their Marines were not given "humanitarian training" to treat others humanely; thus, they could not be held responsible for Hernández's death. The fallacy of "dehumanization" is invoked as rationale in this instance for murder and bystanding as a young man bleeds to death—the U.S.M.C. not relying on their trained men's sense of humanity is clear as they determined innocence, explaining "No training prepared the Marines to recognize a humanitarian duty to render aid (Coyne 1998)."

Given the facts of Hernández's murder, it is understandable that the surrounding community was outraged—most were unaware that the U.S.M.C. was patrolling in their



area and all lamented the loss of a high school student who had been a library aide, who had been a volunteer at the Living History Project at the Fort Leaton State Historic Site, as well as at the Longhorn Cattle Drive at Big Bend Ranch State Park. Hernández was deeply interested in the history of the Big Bend Region, writing reports on the affects of the Mexican Revolution in his area. *The Big Bend Sentinal* reported that at the time he was shot, the young man was completing a research paper on the history of the Texas Rangers (29 May 1997). Esequiel Hernández's engagement in the history of institutional violence on the México-U.S. border was brought to an end by the very imperial dominance he was beginning to search and unravel. Local resident and family friend Enrique Madrid speaking for the gathered community told *The Houston Chronicle* "We're expecting murder indictments,' and he further explained that the one hundred townsfolk were convinced that the murder was not justifiable (Gonzales 1997). Yet in spite of all evidence, none of the Marines were pursued for murder or wrongful death. Though they hunted the young Hernández for over twenty minutes and left him bleeding to death for another twenty-two minutes before calling for help, insuring the young man's death, the Marines left the Redford, Texas area with not even a censure. The U.S.M.C. report ultimately exonerated the four Marines. We can parallel Bañuelos and Torres with Spiegelberg and the youths at Rancho Peñasquitos in a performance of loyalty to "Americanness" as they attacked a Mexican body because their own U.S. belonging may have been marginal.

Clemente Manuel Bañuelos was the first member of the United States Marine Corps to be acknowledged as killing a "fellow citizen" on U.S. soil. Four investigations

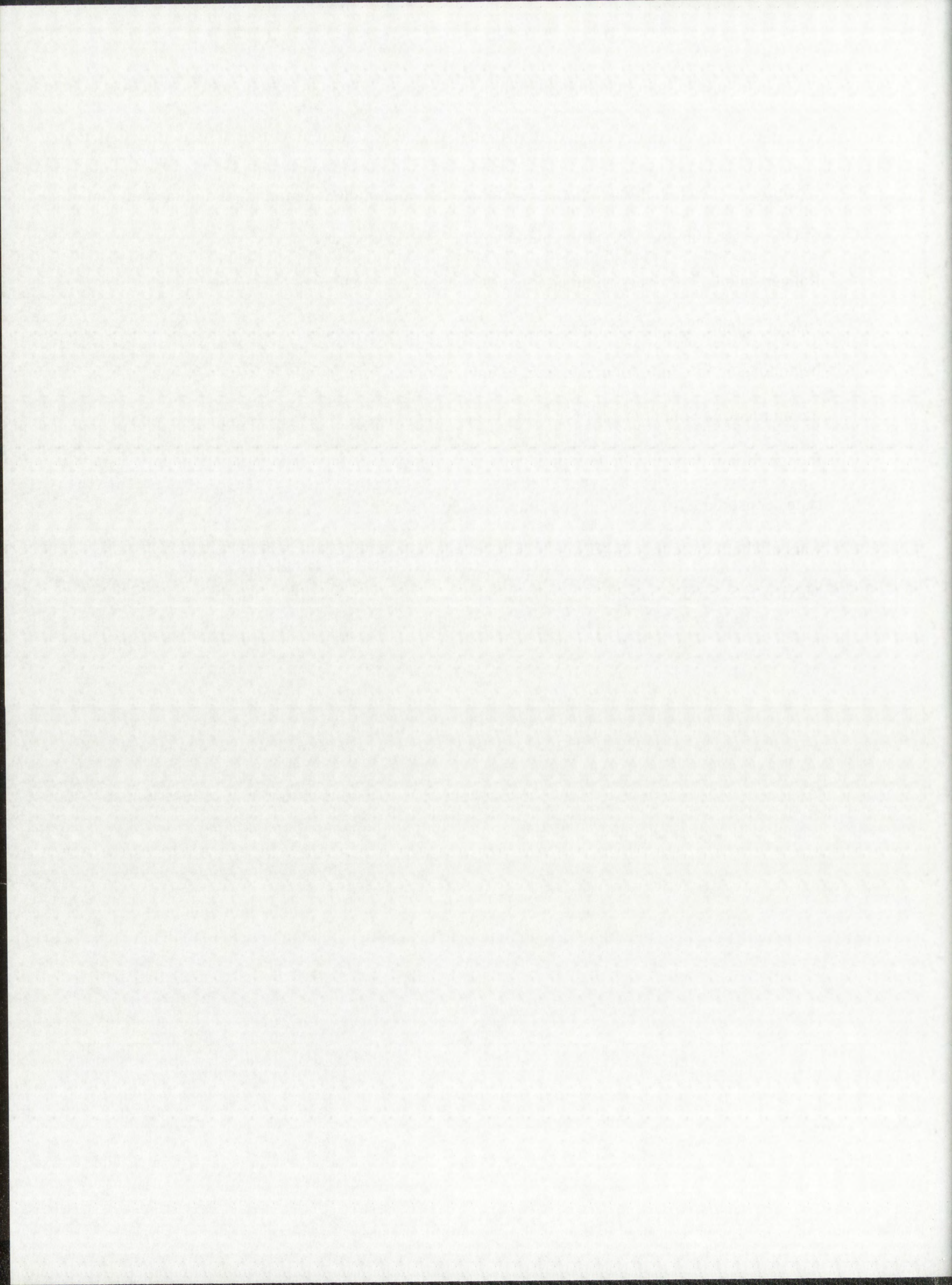


and three grand juries probed the May 1997 shooting resulting in the U.S. Government paying the Hernández family a $1.9 million settlement in their wrongful death claim (Paulsen 1998).

While the Hernández family and community crowded the scene of the murder, weeping in the brush near the bloodstained well, and as an elderly woman who is said to have lived in the abandoned fort just feet from the shooting was led away by a local Sherriff's Deputy, the four Marines left the scene. While Texas Ranger Duncan was on the phone attempting to contact the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the local District Attorney, the Marines departed to a hotel in nearby Marfa with U.S.M.C. Second Lieutenant Felcyn and Staff Sergeant Lillefloren, who had responded to the incident. The Border Patrol paid for hotel suites for the Marines, and offered to provide them with professional counseling. The Marines settled in to "execute additional written statements regarding the shooting incident for USBP use," and as they sat in one room, collaborating on their individual statements, Staff Sergeant Lillefloren brought them a six pack of beer (Coyne 1998).

Esequiel Hernández Sr. and his wife were left to walk the desert mesa his son walked, past foil packets of military rations and errant strips of burlap from the Marines' Gillie Suits. Junior's father continues to herd his goats in the shadow of his son's brutal murder. When asked about his loss, Esequiel Hernández Sr. responds softly "It hurts, it hurts and I cry" then turns back to his goats ("A Marine Team on Drug Watch 1997").[33]

Porvenir and El Polvo (or Redford), Texas are both small Mexican communities on the México-U.S. border; they are sites separated by seven decades, yet connected by

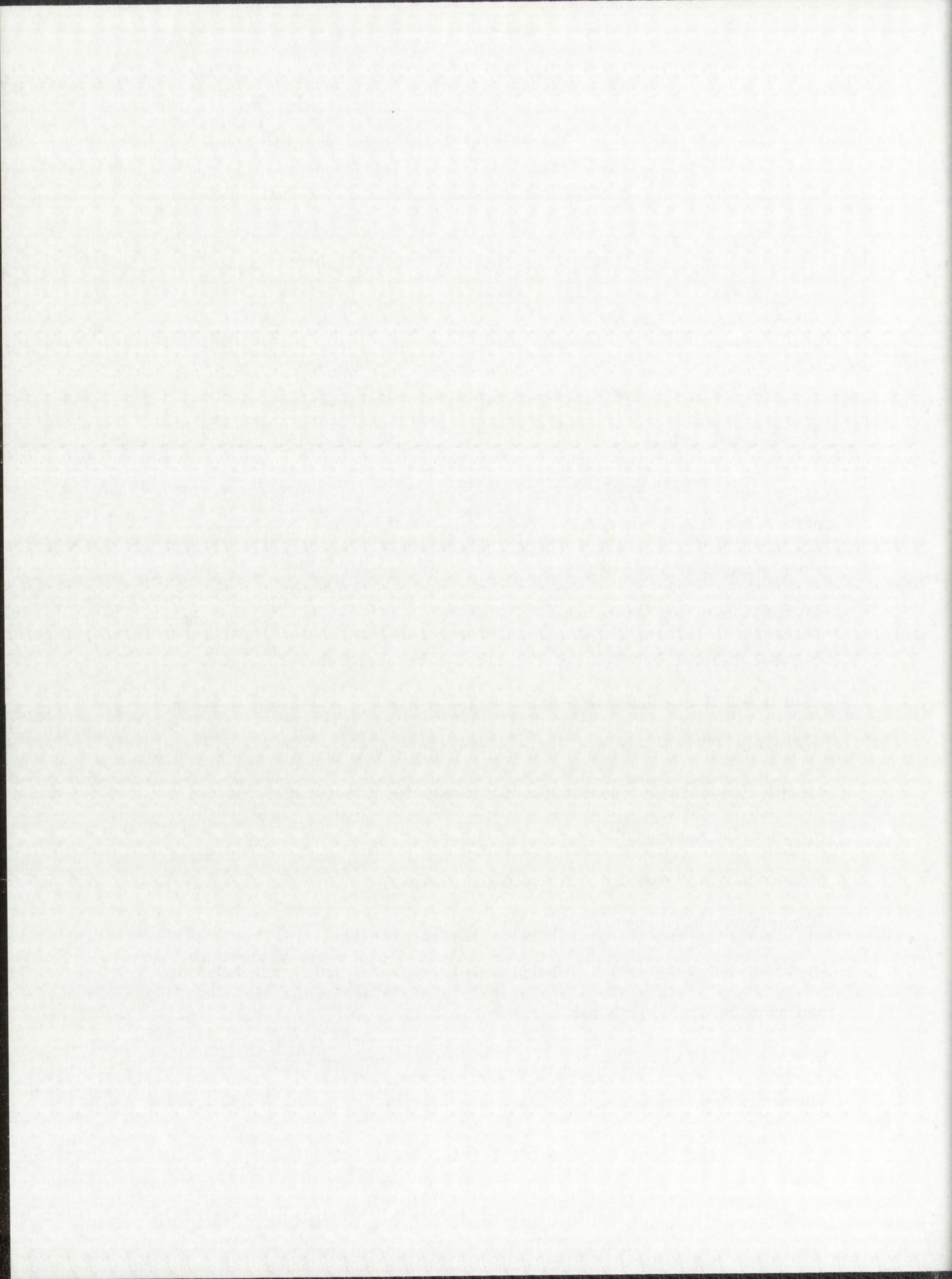


A photograph is a moral decision taken in one eighth of a second,
or one sixteenth, or one one-hundred-and-twenty-eighth.
-Salman Rushdie

The first question must always be: Who is using this
photograph, and to what end? -David Levi Strauss

Section Four
Souvenirs: Social Redistributions of Terror

On a hot April day in the desert outside of Tucson, Arizona (about ten miles north of the México-U.S. border), three young volunteers spotted a Mexican national crossing alone on foot. José Sepúlveda, twenty-six years old, had lost his family members a few days previous during their crossing and he hoped they had moved ahead of him into Arizona. The three volunteers, seeing that Sepúlveda was dehydrated in the midday sun, rushed toward him, offering food and water. One of the men, a twenty-four year old student from the University of California at Santa Barbara spoke a few words of broken Spanish. *"Muy delicioso,* Wheaties," said Bryan Barton, offering cereal to Sepúlveda (Berestein and Kammer 2005; Ziegler 2005). Recently, volunteers have increased their presence near the Sonora-Arizona border—for instance, *No Mas Muertos/No More Deaths* has had a continuous presence in the Southern Arizona desert since 2004 offering food, water and medical attention and greatly reducing the suffering and, in some case, preventing the deaths of migrants crossing to the United States.[34] José Sepúlveda, however, was met by a different group of volunteers. Bryan Barton was one of three Minutemen Project volunteers who waved Sepúlveda over, stalling the migrant as his

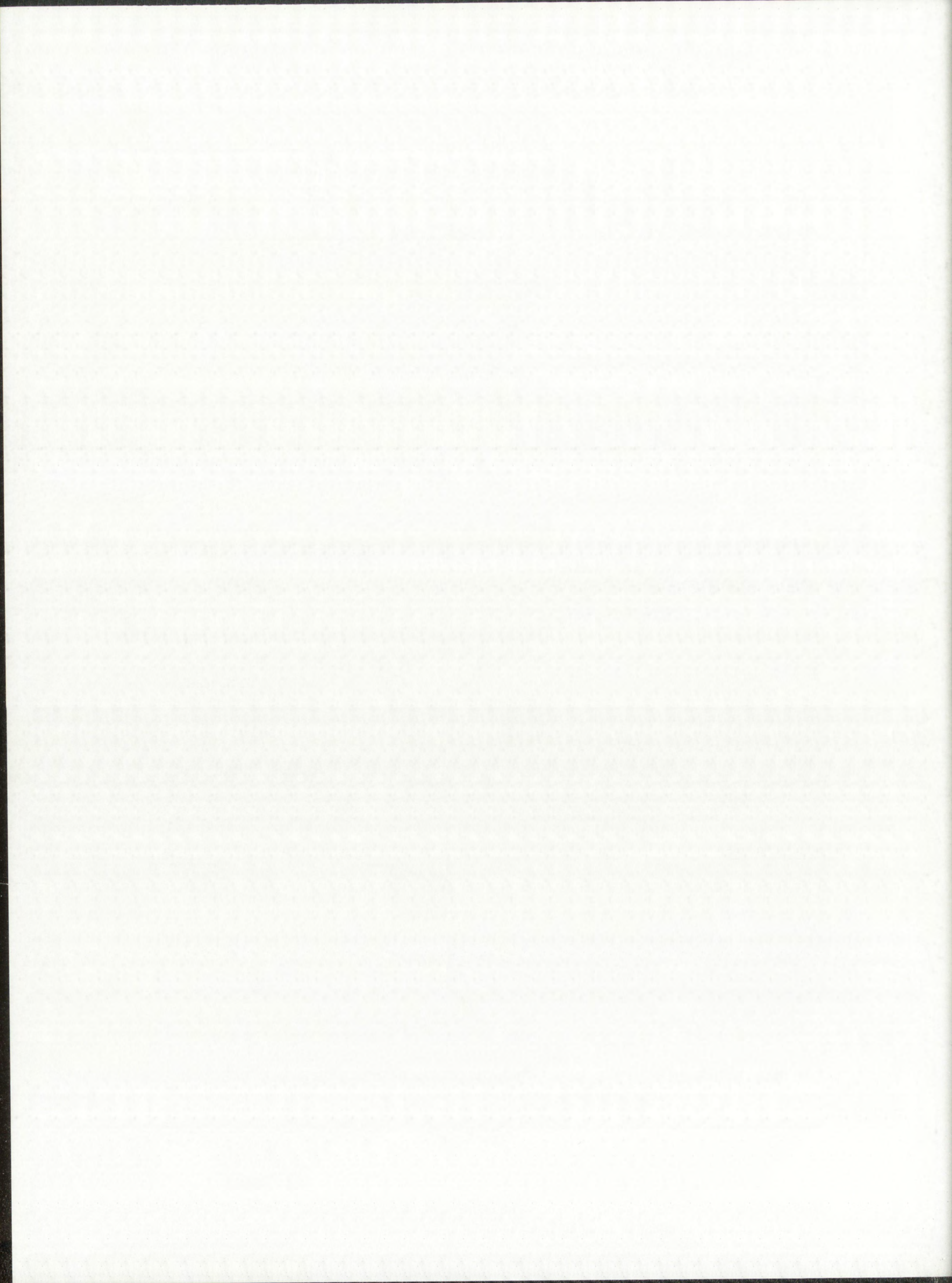


Minutemen companions called the Border Patrol. The Minutemen had stationed themselves near this trail during a month-long effort to report and detain undocumented migrants crossing in the San Pedro River Valley (Berestein and Kammer 2005; Rotstein 2005).

Before the Border Patrol arrived, Barton attempted to engage Sepúlveda with his broken Spanish, and offered him twenty dollars and a "change of clothes." José Sepúlveda explained he had no water, had not eaten for two days and lost his girlfriend and sister in the desert. He asked Barton if he was calling *la migra,* Barton did not answer but can be heard on the tape telling a friend to "call Gilchrist"—the founder of the Minutemen. Barton's two friends videotaped the exchange and took still photographs of Sepúlveda. Barton asked Sepúlveda to hold up his new t-shirt for the cameras. Sepúlveda complied, squinting into the sun as the young men commemorated the moment.

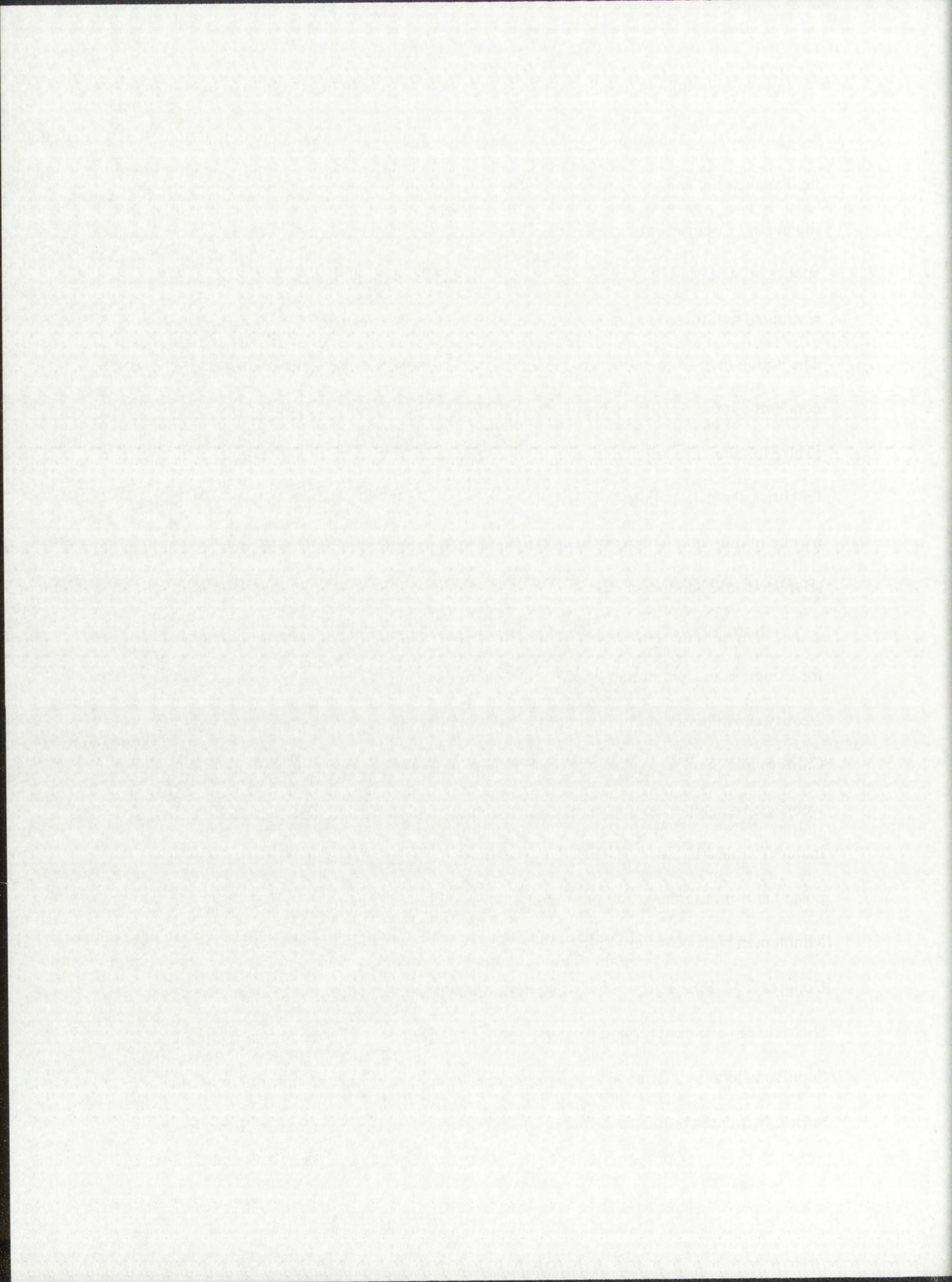
Figure 8: José Sepulveda outside of Tucson, Arizona

The t-shirt they offered José Sepulveda had a picture of Bryan Barton and read: "Bryan Barton caught me crossing the border and all I got was this lousy T-shirt" (Rotstein 2005; Ziegler 2005). The U.S. Border Patrol arrived as Barton and his companions were laughing and snapping photos. Border Patrol and Mexican officials later investigated the incident as a possible "unlawful detention" after Sepúlveda explained to that he had been



held against his will by the three young men. Border Patrol agents called deputies from the nearby Cochise County Sheriff's Office and Carol Capas, a sheriff's office spokeswoman, said the twenty-six year old Mexican man told agents he was physically restrained and forced to hold a shirt while his picture was taken and he was videotaped. The young men were never prosecuted, but after the CNN network played the video, condemning the actions, Bryan Barton told local authorities he "volunteered to leave [The Minutemen] after apologizing for any embarrassment he might have caused." Jim Gilchrist, the national organizer of the Minutemen Project responded, "It was an attempt by one of our naive young members to bond with someone from another country" (Berestein and Kammer 2005).

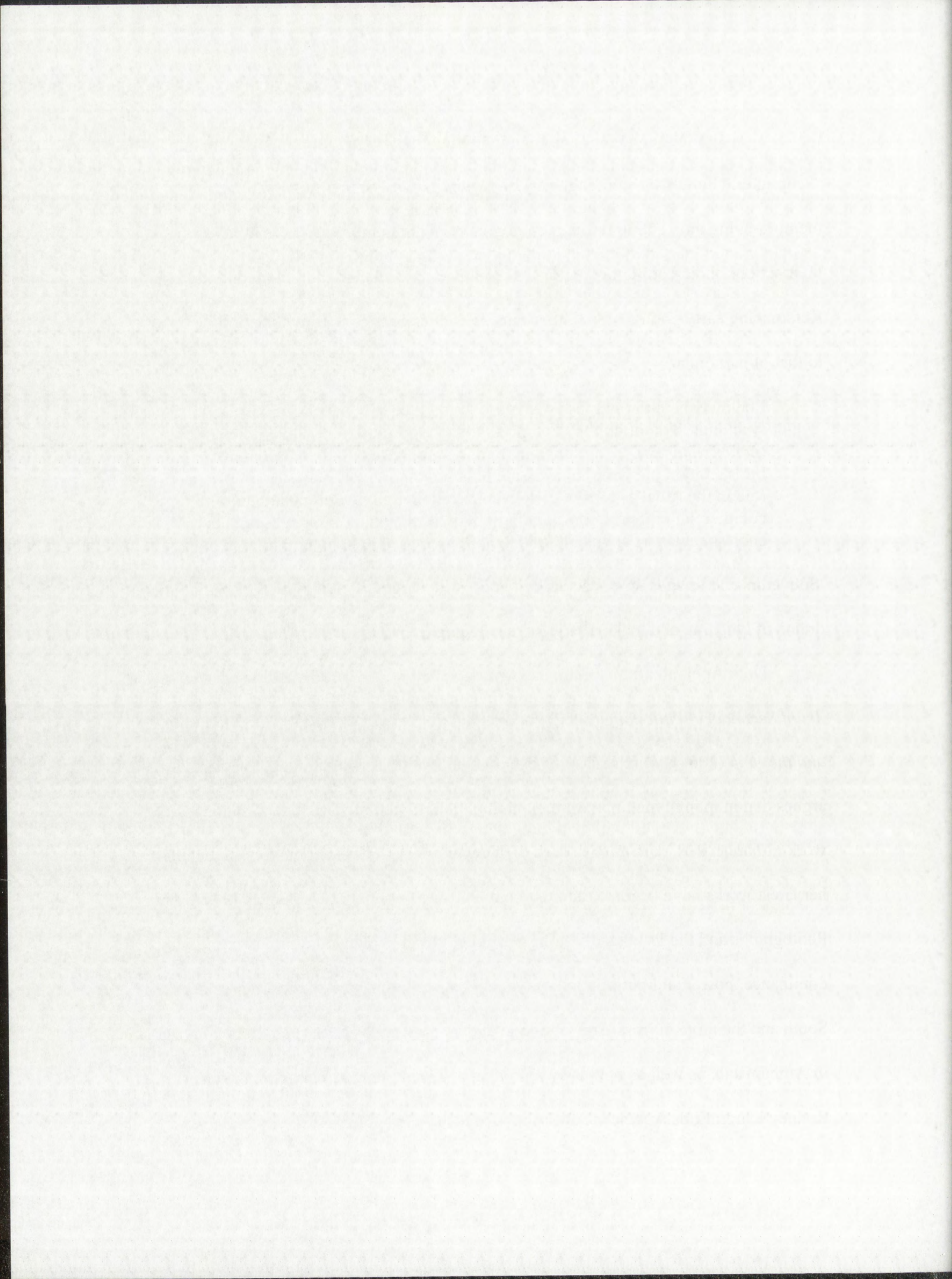
Barton has since capitalized on the attention brought by incident and began a bid for Congress in Central San Diego's 53rd district and has pitched an anti-immigrant "reality show" based on his activities, filmed and produced by his fellow University of California at San Diego accomplices. Barton's online presence includes a number of websites: first, a personal MySpace page with over 4,000 "friends" subscribed. This page includes videos in the style of CNN, yet called "BBN: Bryan Barton News." Barton has posted anti-immigration and pro-gun messages on his site and links to various Minutemen and anti-immigrant groups. In addition, he maintains a "Bryan Barton for Congress" MySpace group, which he began in 2005 as he ran for the 53rd Congressional District seat. His congressional campaign on-line group includes the photos of José Sepúlveda along with images of Barton at the border and in various anti-immigration rallies. In a video produced regarding his pro-gun stance, Barton is shown with a large



rifle, shooting into the desert brush, as he shoots, the face of Osama Bin Laden appears at the bottom of the screen with a red X making him out. In all, ten images of Bin Laden are figuratively "shot." In addition, on this same site, Barton has created videos in which he asks Asian and Latino immigrants to repeat after him—in broken English they repeat after Barton, "I am voting for Bryan Barton for Congress" to the amusement and delight of Barton and his cameraman. [35] Lastly, the José Sepúlveda video is again posted on another Barton website called "Vote Bryan Barton."

Gilchrist and other Minutemen members were likely not surprised by the photographs of José Sepúlveda because photography has long been in their arsenal. In their hands the camera has become another tool of humiliation and domination against Mexicans in the Southwest. Barton's web presence joins the countless on-line anti-immigrant groups, which multiply message and image infinitely. In fact, in the case of the elderly men beaten at Rancho Peñasquitos, films of earlier and later assaults on the *jacales* in the area were posted to the Immigration Watchdog website by Brook Young, who calls himself an "amateur documentary maker." Young runs the website, filled with images and videos of Mexican laborers in the San Diego area and also sells Minutemen t-shirts and paraphernalia (Garcia, Ana 2007). Videos and photographs by the Minutemen and other anti-immigrant vigilance groups available on their websites include assaults on the homes of immigrants and Mexicans (such as those from Rancho Peñasquitos) along with border action detentions of crossing migrants (such as those of Bryan Barton).

I assert that anti-immigrant groups desire to photograph and videotape their actions are linked to earlier lynching souvenirs—like photos, postcards and other bodily

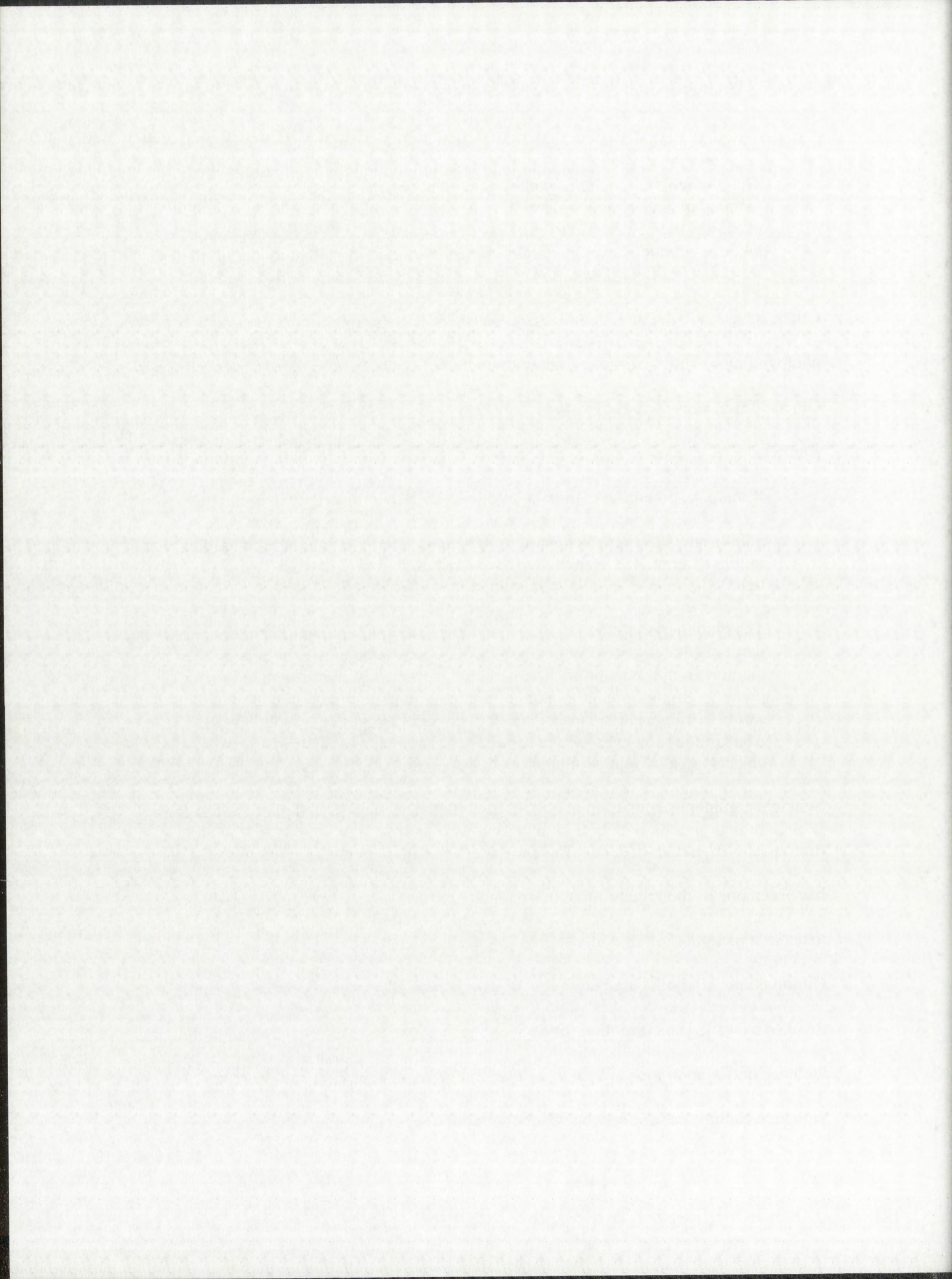


> The protocols of power fueled by desire have changed little over time, so that understanding lynching photos can give us insight into more recent photos of the humiliated racialized body in the public sphere… [photos] taken as private souvenirs assert the ability of those in power to "look" at the effects of their power and at the shame of helplessness (2007, 77-78).

Others have made the direct comparison between lynching photos and the trophy photography of U.S. troop and contractors in Abu Ghraib. In "Regarding the Torture of Others,"from *New York Times Magazine* (23 May 2004) Susan Sontag develops this parallel.

> If there is something comparable to what these pictures show it would be some of the photographs of black victims of lynching taken between the 1880's and 1930's, which show Americans grinning beneath the naked mutilated body of a black man or woman hanging behind them from a tree.
>
> The lynching photographs were souvenirs of a collective action whose participants felt perfectly justified in what they had done. So are the pictures from Abu Ghraib. The lynching pictures were in the nature of photographs as trophies—taken by a photographer in order to be collected, stored in albums, displayed. The pictures taken by American soldiers in Abu Ghraib, however, reflect a shift in the use made of pictures—less objects to be saved than messages to be disseminated, circulated" (26-27).

Sontag's argument seems to indicate that the lynching postcards and photographs from times past were not embedded with "messages to be disseminated and circulated." As we have seen one of the crucial functions of such imagery—like lynchings themselves—was to act as a recirculation of white supremacy against racialized bodies, as were the Abu Ghraib photos. In both cases messages of nationalism and racialized belonging are invoked as well. The current use of photography and video as a form of anti-immigrant violence draws upon the conventions of lynching. That the current anti-Mexican vigilance committees choose to take photographs to commemorate their acts of cruelty



speaks to their need to mediate a power hierarchy. In the case of these racialized bodies, representation is not an illustration of a reality but occurs when some *thing* needs to be mediated and/or confirmed.

The use of photography in lynching was widely acknowledged in the lynching of African Americans in the South, yet one of the widest redistributions of such collected imagery can be found in the 2000 *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photographs in America* collection compiled by James Allen, an antiques collector from Atlanta, Georgia. Allen had collected lynching souvenirs, photographs and postcards for over fifteen years and his collection expands the view of lynching to the murders of union workers, Jews, women, and locations outside of the U.S. south, including the West. Though anti-lynching campaigners had done much to document the lynching[37], the *Without Sanctuary* collection assembled an unprecedented number of lynching images in a single volume that froze both the victims and assailants in the frame.

Allen's collected images and artifacts amassed from flea markets and family albums demonstrated two important points: first that these souvenirs are held in private hands, rather than in archival or museum collections; and second that these keepsakes have acted as heirlooms, not evidence. Of the fifty-four lynching images, the majority depict African American victims (45) and there are seven Euro-American victims, with some mementos relating to Chinese immigrants, Jews and Sicilians. Though the Allen collection is the largest and most prominent of its kind, its striking omission of Mexicans was first noted by William D. Carrigan.

[N]either the exhibition nor the accompanying book contain any reference

crucial ways: Gonzales-Day first points to the expunging of Mexicans from the story of racialized violence and terror, writing:

> That lynching has long been thought of in terms of black and white racial categories has contributed to the general absence of information on cases involving other nonwhite communities, and it has ultimately served to lock blacks and whites in a false binary or race (2006, 13).

In addition, Gonzales-Day as a photographer has altered lynching photographs—removing the victim, but leaving the sites of violence, such as hanging trees, the assailants and witnesses crowded around where the viewer expects a body to hang—to further indicate to the erasure of non-African American lynching victims in narratives of racialized violence.[39] From Gonzales-Day's work a method can be formulated of how to approach racialized violence from where it is visible (such as in the images of lynched African Americans) to find that which remains invisible.

The photographic image must be understood as integral to the lynching ritual with the camera being directly implicated in the violence and as a component of the events rather than as incidental to them. Photography has not simply "captured" the ritualized violence, it has been a part of that ritualized violence. The circulated imagery of terrorized bodies reflects a socially constructed reality that exercises power and authority, and seeks to reinforce the subjugated position of racialized bodies.

The theaters of violence, the public staging of sadistic rituals upon racialized bodies bring to mind anthropologist Victor W. Turner, who adapts Hayden White's narrative theory of the "social drama" to socio-cultural systems. Turner explains that "social dramas are lived and experienced within groups of shared values and/or interests

[illegible] stories, such as [illegible] the experience of Blackness from the story of

[illegible] and better visions.

> The lynching has long been the spectacle [illegible] of Black and white [illegible] and communities [illegible] of information on cases [illegible] and white [illegible] ultimately served to [illegible] and white [illegible].

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The theory of violence [illegible] rituals upon racialized

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social dramas [illegible] groups of shared values and/or interests.

and, importantly social dramas invoke that group's 'real or alleged common history' (Turner 1981, 145). The performances produced and reproduced in the public sphere by groups with perceptions of shared values or histories have the interconnected aims of reflecting the attitudes of its producers or actors, reifying or shifting the perceptions of its viewers, and reproducing terror for its intended victim group. In the public performances against Mexicans, we witness the invocation of a shared "white American" history, constructions of belonging, and attempts at reproducing terror. The performative practices of groups targeting Mexicans and other racialized bodies can also be called "dramas of living" (a phrase coined by Kenneth Burke) where "[t]here is an interdependent, perhaps dialectic, relationship between social dramas and genres of cultural performance in perhaps all societies. Life, after all, is as much an imitation of art as the reverse" (Turner 1981, 149).

Turner's anthropological reinterpretation of White coupled with Richard Schechner's work on theatrical drama has generated the widening field of Performance Studies (Phelan 1998, 3), which has provoked questions regarding embodied signification. Analysis of performativity rituals—particularly intercultural performances that act to create or reinforce stances of exclusion and inclusion—are particularly salient in the discussion of violence against Mexican bodies. Lynchings that have been staged for the camera do the work of redressing particular ruptures in the social drama. The social drama consists of four phases: "breach, crisis, redress and *either* reintegration *or* recognition of schism" (Turner 1981, 145). The main actors in the social drama appeal to their "star group," which Turner sees as the group "to which we owe our deepest loyalty

and, temporarily, several dancers in the [illegible] a sort of altered cosmopolitanism

(Turner 1982, 55). The performances produced and reproduced in the public sphere by

[illegible] have the latter [illegible] as [illegible]

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as the reverse" (Turner 1981, 149).

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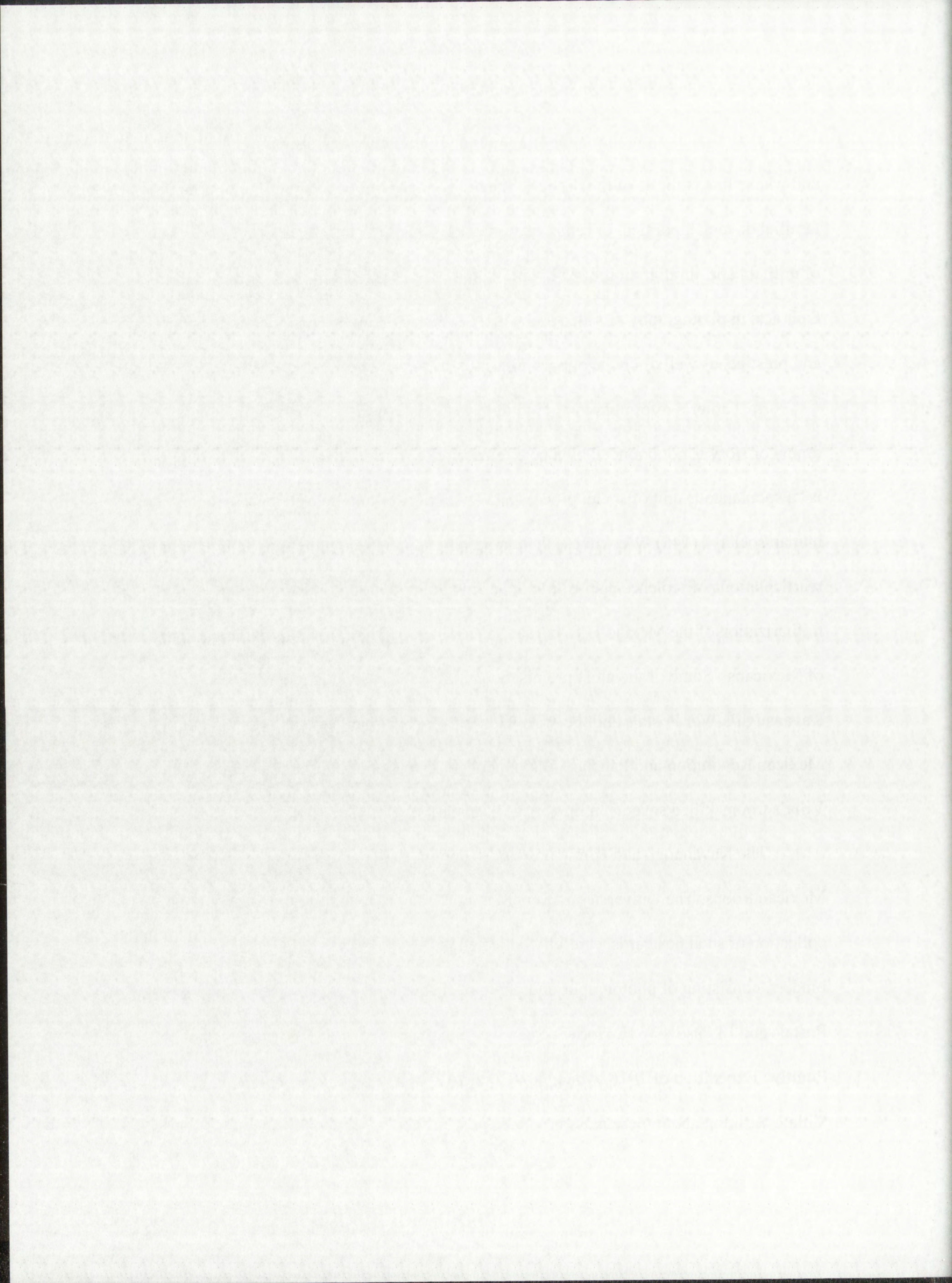
and whose fate is for us of the deepest concern"—these can be informal or formal, familial or social, political or religious groups (145). I note the appeals to the star group of militant anti-immigrant groups by individuals like Bryan Barton who memorialize their acts in photography or video and widely disperse them to achieve both recognition and prestige, as well as create opportunities for non-attendant participation.[40]

In Turner's reformulation of White's work on historical narrative, the social drama or story is not bounded by a beginning, middle or end; but, rather, the social drama is "a spontaneous unit of social process and a fact of everyone's experience in every human society" (145). We witness the temporally unbounded nature of lynching in the rearticulations of violence against Mexicans in the Southwest. The continual militarization of the México-U.S. border has resulted in a number of brutal images taken of Mexicans. Some of the most promiscuous have been postcards published by Kavanaugh's War Postals and the W.H. Horne Company that depicted scenes from the Mexican Revolution and Pancho Villa's incursion into Columbus, New Mexico where Villa's troops killed seventeen Euro-Americans in 1916.

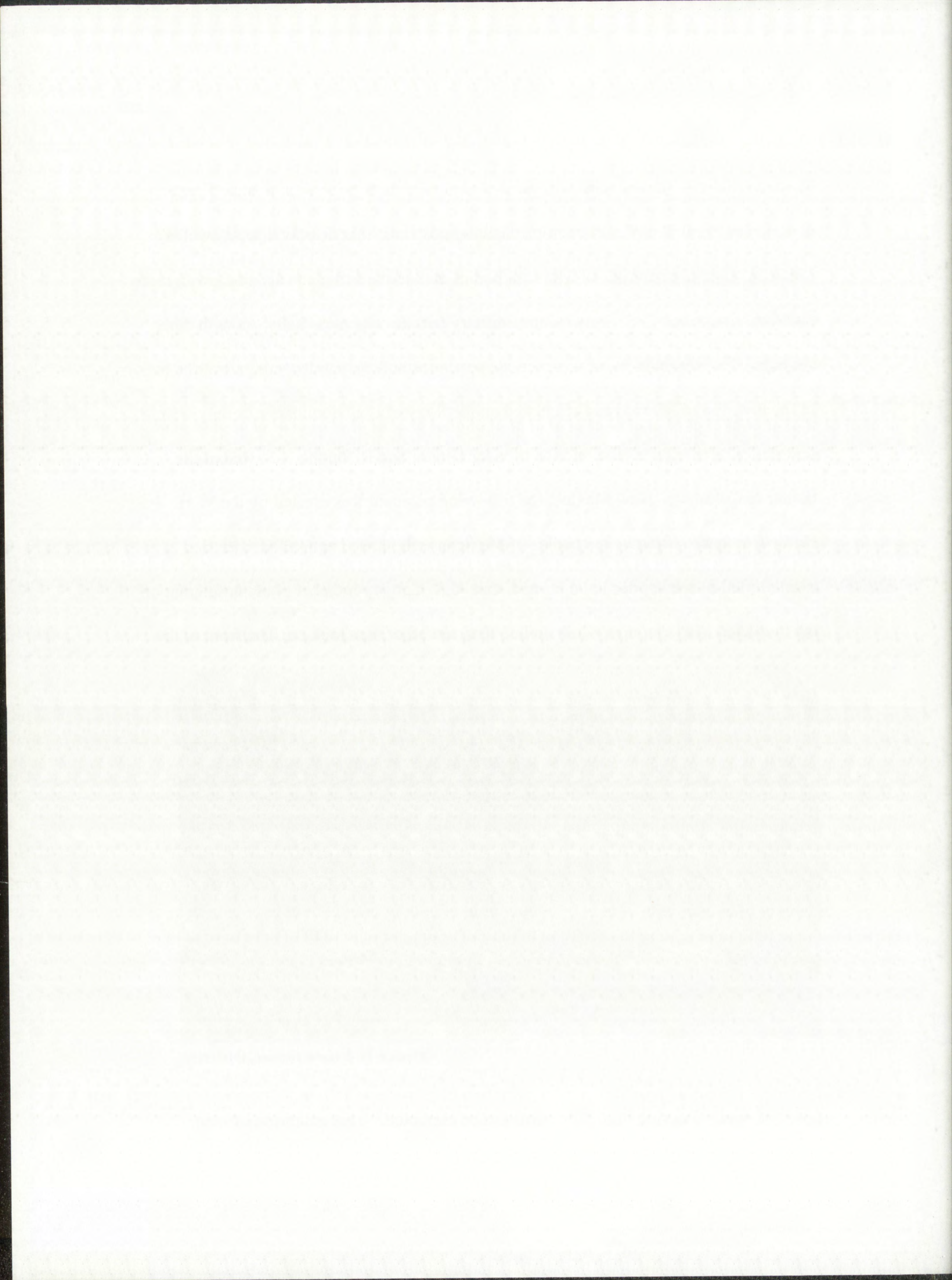
The Kavanaugh and Horne postcards capture "action shots" of both U.S. and Mexican troops. The University of New Mexico Center for Southwest Research houses a collection of such postcards, carefully collected into leather scrap book binders. The binders, consisting of photographs and photomechanical postcards by Kavanaugh's War Postals and El Paso's W.H. Horne postcard company, represent U.S. General Pershing's Punitive Expedition of 1916, which moved into México in pursuit of General Pancho Villa.[41] Striking about these mass produced postcards is the array of dead and mutilated



Mexican bodies—the souvenirs of war included snapshots printed on postcard paper, commercial "real photo" and photomechanical postcards that display disemboweled Mexican boys, mass burials of Mexican bodies and active firing squads along with more mundane images of U.S. army camps, military parades and mess halls. As with other versions of representations of violence, these photos and postcards were part of the action of the invasion of México and circulated an ideology of U.S. dominance as they were sent out of the border region into the broader United States. On the U.S. side of the border in Columbus, New Mexico, the following postcard was created by the W.H. Horne Company. It shows the bodies of Mexicans who have been killed, then tied together tied in wood piles to be burned. One U.S. Calvary member pours accelerant on the murdered Mexican men while no less than ten other men look on. The front of the

Figure 9: W.H. Horne Postcard, 1916-1917

postcard reads "Pouring oil on the bodies to be cremated." This gathering of men,

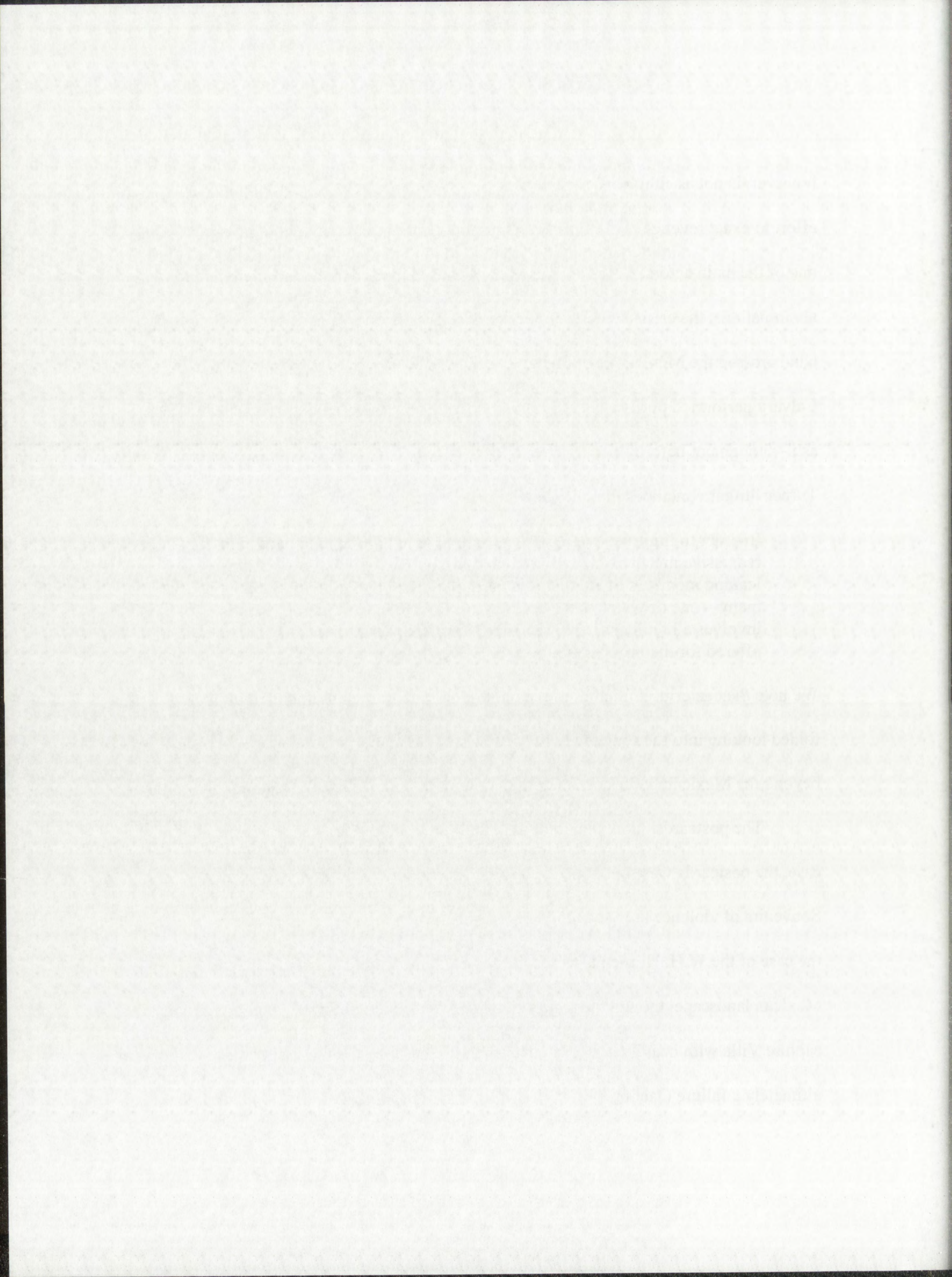


however, is not as simple as cremation, it is a ritual burning of Mexican bodies in an effort to exact revenge and to display power—a clear social drama with the camera as one of the main actors. Recalling the work of Mary Douglas on permeable boundaries as abominations, the crisis and breach for the Euro-American as a Mexican revolutionary band crossed the México-New Mexico border was profound. In response, the U.S. Calvary performed purity rites of immolation, reducing the offending Mexican bodies to ash—though not before freezing the act in a collectible and tradable representation. Turner further concludes that the ritual may be sacrificial. He writes:

> In order to limit the contagious spread of breach, certain adjustive and redressive mechanisms, informal and formal, are brought into operation by leading members of the disturbed group, the mechanisms for redress are many—one of which is the performance of public ritual. Such ritual involves a literal or moral 'sacrifice,' that is, a victim as scapegoat is offered for the group's 'sin' of redressive violence (1981, 147).

We note the centering of bodies in the photo-postcard with one soldier (right), hands folded looking into the camera smiling as the stacked bodies are soaked with oil. Just beyond the Mexican bodies centered in the postcard, more charred sacrificial bodies lie.

The postcards, like lynching postcards were sent to families and friends—in this case, the postcards was sent home by a soldier from South Carolina's 13th Calvary. Souvenirs of violence are "souvenirs of a particular world view" (Rogers 2006, 51). In the case of the W.H. Horne postcards they assert Euro-American dominance on a Mexican landscape, though the reality was that after sending in over 7,000 U.S. troops to capture Villa with heavily armored tanks and artillery, the Pershing Expedition was ultimately a failure (Jacobs 1997). Molly Rogers, in the *History of Photography* journal,



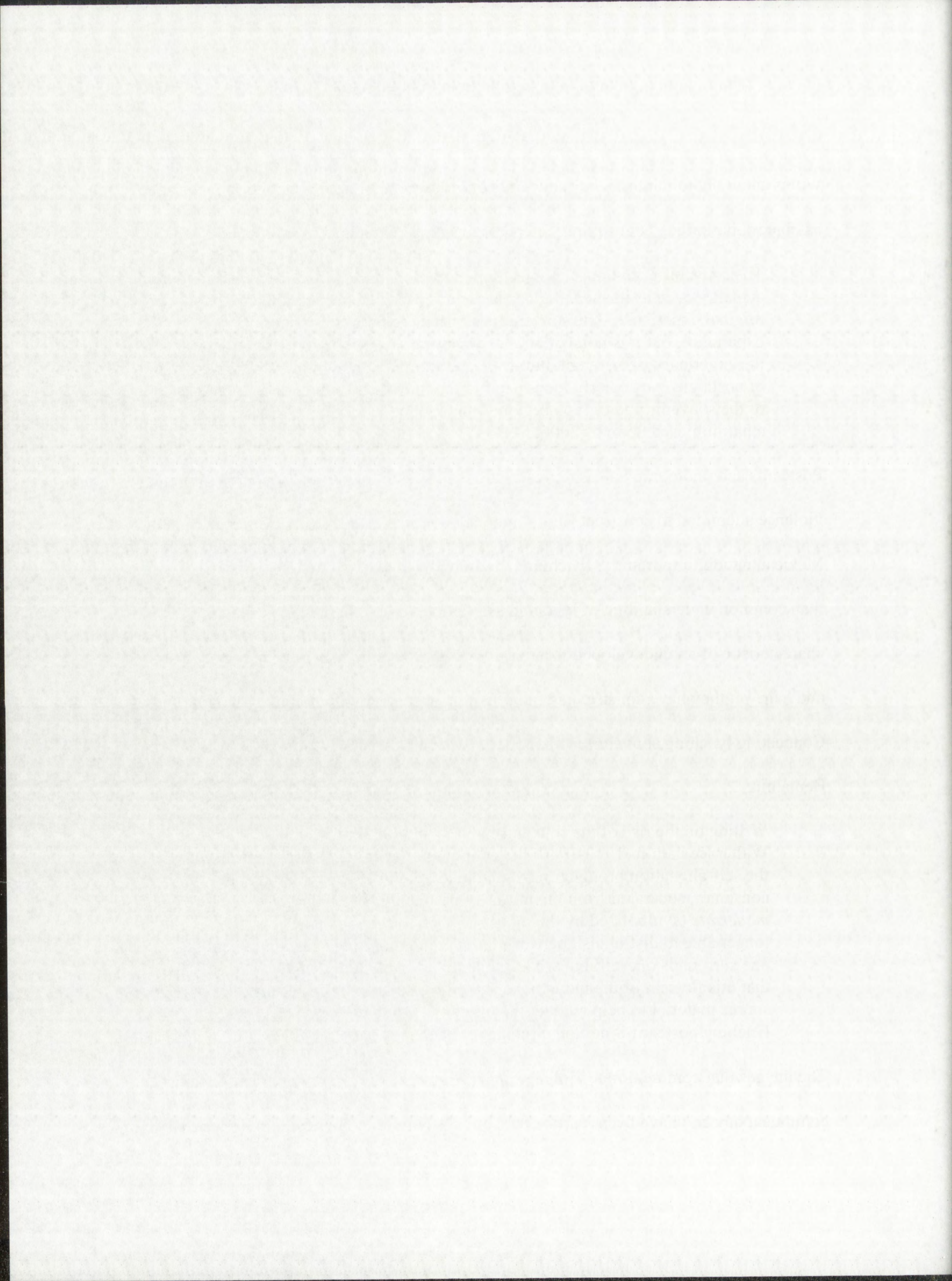
writes about photographs as key souvenirs of modernity. Rogers, defining souvenirs not as objects, but rather "signif[ying] site[s] of meaning" explains:

> The souvenir is an unusual object; one that is invested with an aura of actuality even as its meaning is constructed by elements unrelated to the original experience. The souvenir is a visual record of a singular experience, but it is not evidence of what one saw, it does not encapsulate the experience of an event, but its meaning… The photograph as an object of nostalgia, particularly lends itself to the role of souvenir… The subject of the souvenir photograph becomes imprisoned in an idea, forced to play a part imposed upon it (2006, 51).

Postcards and photographs—as representations of social dramas and souvenirs of border violence attempted to construct Euro-American dominance over Mexican bodies and the Mexican nation. Importantly, lynching is profoundly connected with the modern, rather than common understanding of lynching as primitive, ignorant, lawless, and characteristic of an undeveloped frontier. Lynching souvenirs have included body parts and hair, yet they have consisted as frequently of photographs, postcards, and film. Connecting lynching souvenirs with modernity, Ken Gonzales-Day invokes Walter Benjamin:

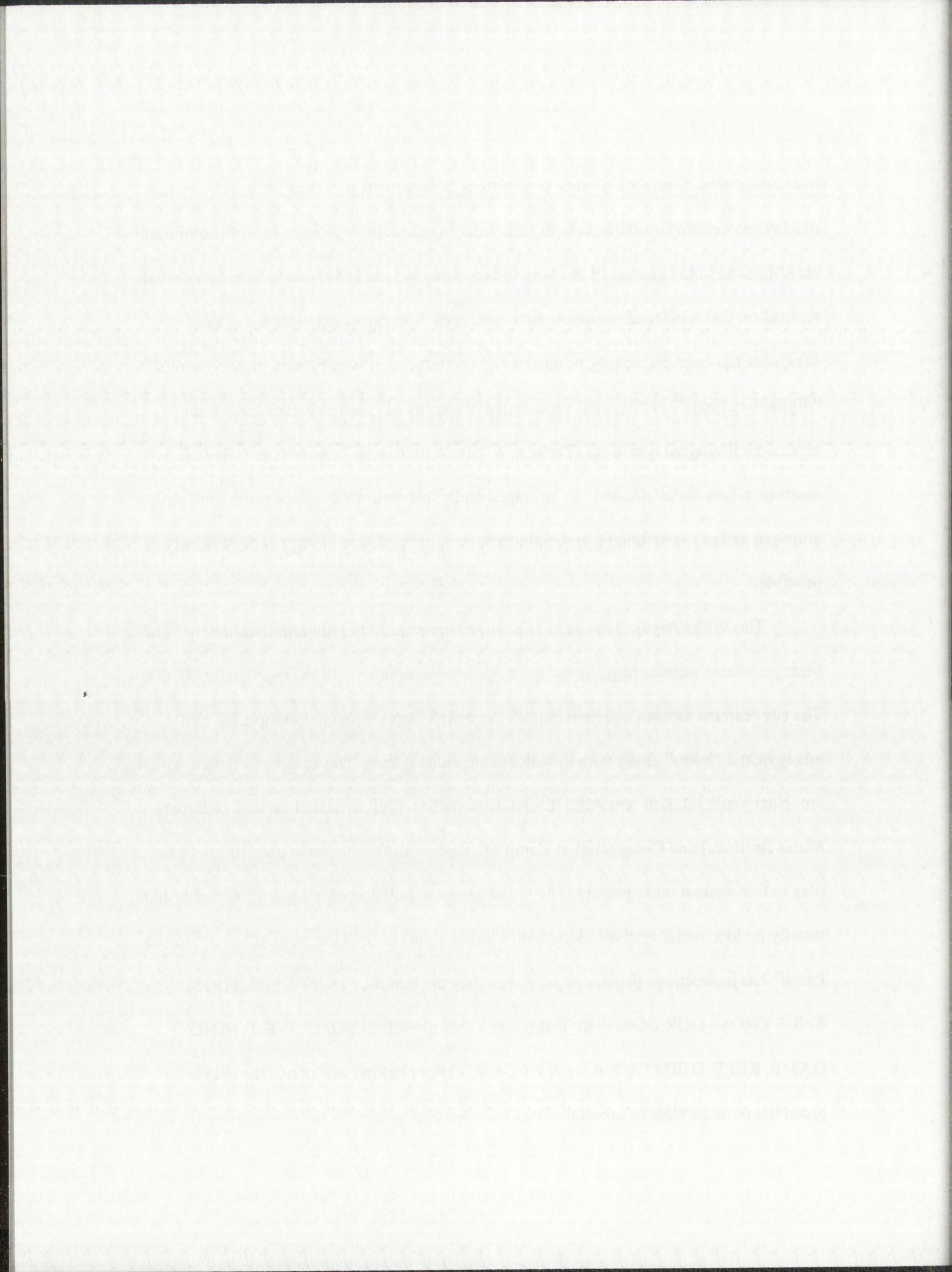
> Writing on the rise of the souvenir industry in nineteenth-century Europe, Walter Benjamin (1842-1940) linked the industry produced souvenir to the self-alienation brought on by commodity culture. He argued that the consumer, separated from the means of production and seduced by *la modernite* (symbolized by the industrially produced memento), was no longer able to distinguish between the self and those objects with which one surrounds oneself, but what Benjamin probably never imagined was that this flotsam of the industrial age would also become the primary source material to help recover the history of lynching—for what is the lynching postcard if not the ultimate in "dead possessions" (2006, 113).

The images that commemorate violence and attempt to assert Euro-American dominance continue today and have been rearticulated and intensified by the viral possibilities of



internet forums. Today's vigilance committees' assertion of power utilizes websites that display moments of brutality in both still and moving pictures along with anti-immigrant/ anti-Mexican video games. In this way the community ritual of lynching finds unlimited replication that transcends chronotopic boundaries. The ritualized violence against Mexicans has been effectively produced and reproduced in web forums that accomplish "digital lynchings"—collectors' sepia toned postcards of lynched bodies have been replaced with digital lynchings. These new "sites of meaning" also become sites of *meeting*, where social dramas can be staged and cyber swarms of people with collective aims can gather to celebrate racialized ideologies and violence in ways not previously possible.

The White Aryan Resistance is a white supremacist organization headed by Tom Metzger whose website http://www.resist.com has a monthly "hit average" of 7,600, 000. The site features articles and merchandise, and also features racist, homophobic and misogynistic "jokes" along with downloadable video games. The games—a few of which are: Nazi Wolf 3D, Kill 'em All, NES KKK (which is a reformulated version of Super Mario Brothers) and Concentration Camp Manager—allow players to play singly or to play online against other players. The video games are all somewhat interchangeable and usually include racial epithets along with shooter style action. One game offered "Border Patrol" has instructions that are as simple as they are hateful: "DON'T LET THOSE SPICS CROSS OUR BORDER! THERE IS ONE SIMPLE OBJECTIVE TO THIS GAME. KEEP THEM OUT AT ANY COST!" After clicking on "play," the player is given the point of view of crosshairs and awarded four points for each immigrant they

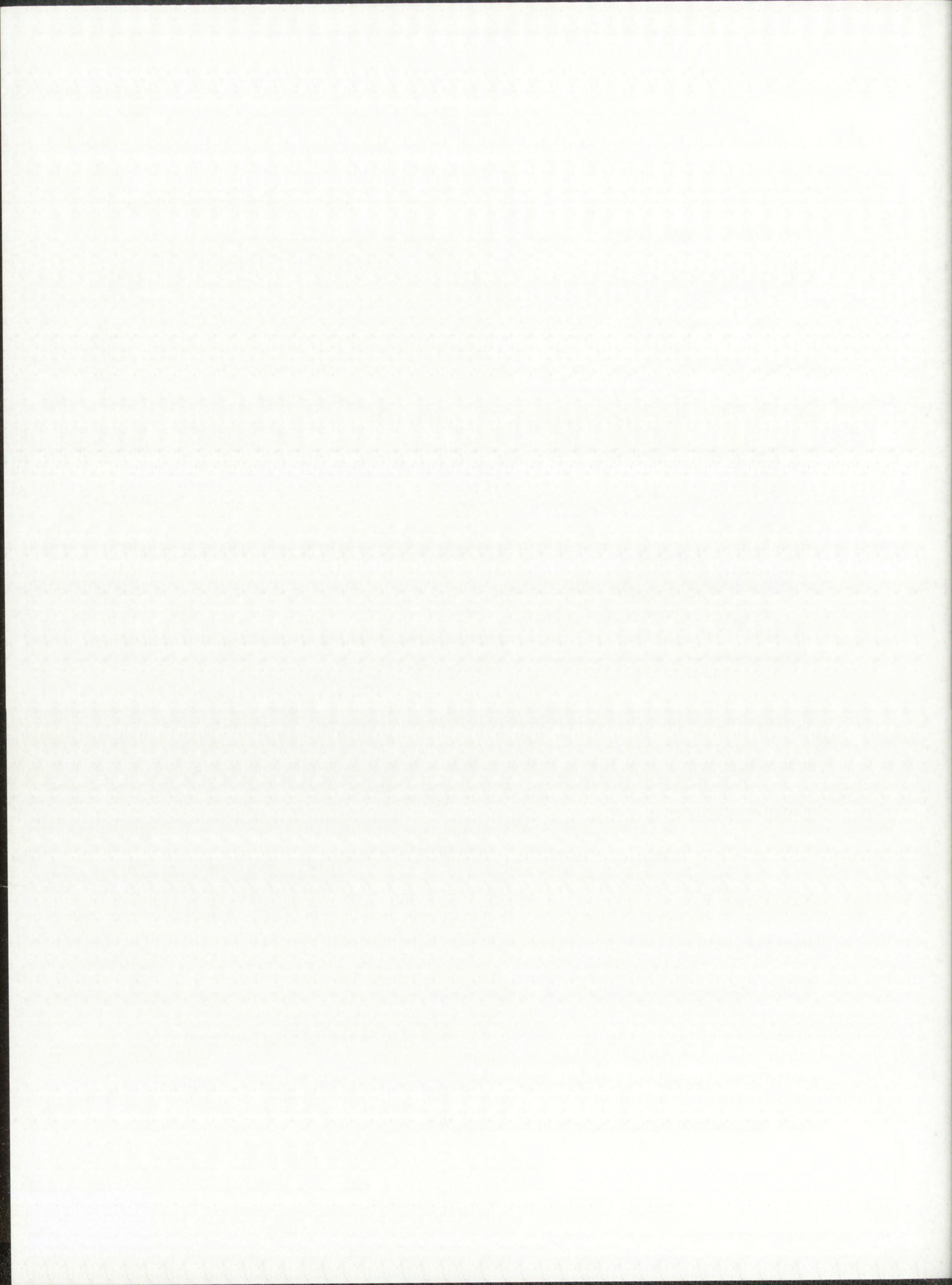


shoot. The caricatured images of the immigrant running across a virtual river include a Mexican bandit, a sombrero-ed drug trafficker, and a pregnant woman with her husband and children. The goal of the game is straight forward and as the player "shoots" their weapon, the bodies of Mexicans spout blood in all directions. Shooting the pregnant women, called the "Breeder" results in a tripled gore as she, along with her family--including three children--explode, their blood spurting out along with their eyes. At the end of the game, the results read: "You shot – out of 88 immigrants." The ability to utilize a webshare program for such games allows a faithful replication of mob violence.

Figure 10: Border Patrol Online Game by White Aryan Resistance

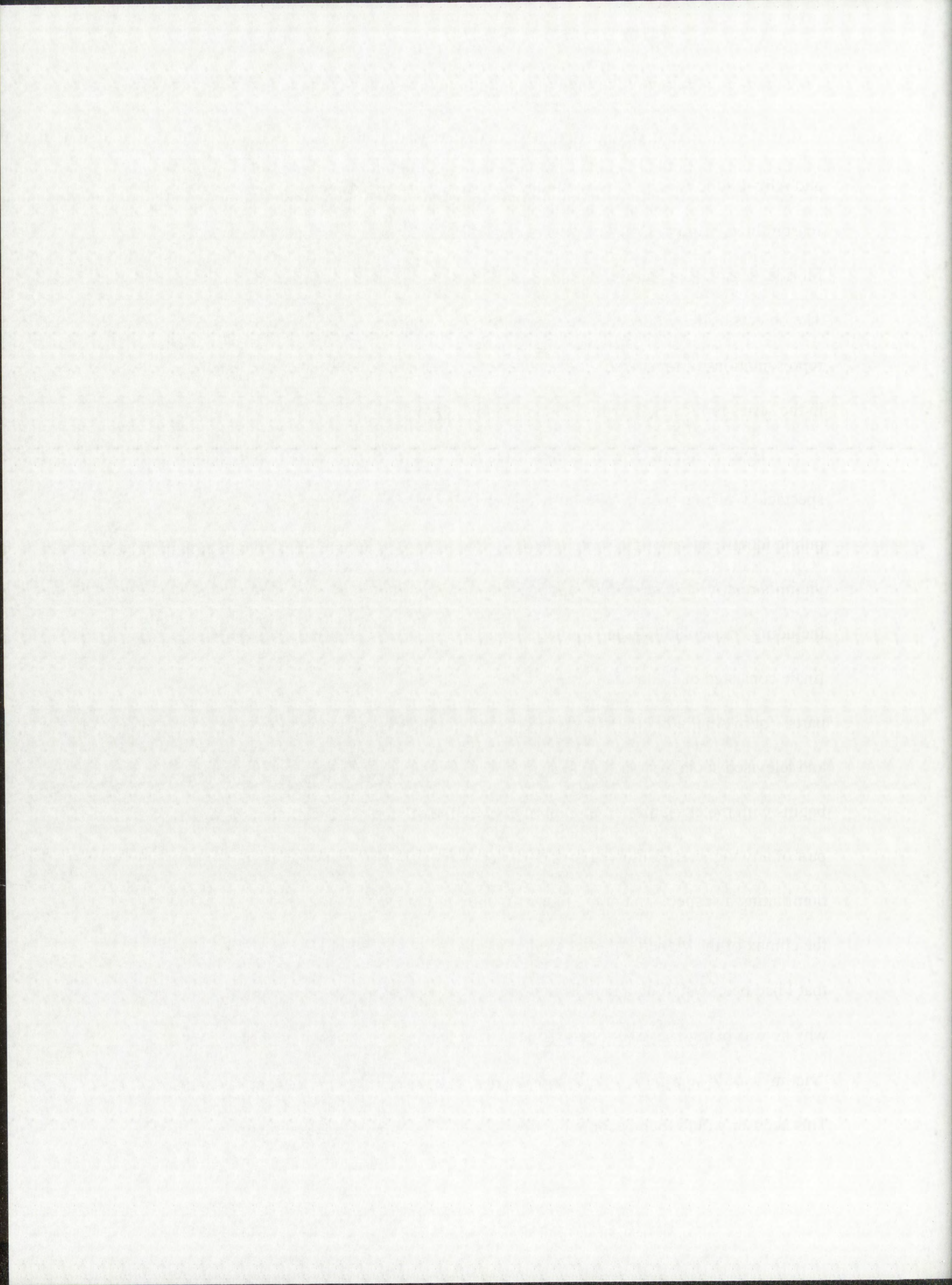
Such violence against racialized bodies is not marginal, however. The websites themselves boast large audiences, yet even mainstream television has been a participant in digital lynchings.

The Fox Television channel introduced the series "Cops" in 1987; it adopted a documentary style and followed police enforcement officials as they pursued suspects—though on the show they are most often called "criminals," rather than criminal *suspects*. "Cops" has since taped over 700 episodes in over 140 U.S. cities. The series began its first season in Broward County, Florida as the Sherriff's department pursued individuals suspected of drug offenses and prostitution (Episodes 1-14). This launched a fixation on racialized bodies in impoverished areas—focusing the camera in on African Americans



and Afro-Latinos. Season two included San Diego and Los Angeles (Episodes 29-45), season three, Tampa, Houston, Riverside and Las Vegas, season four Miami and South Florida, season five San Bernadino, Fort Worth and Phoenix and so forth in that fashion. The objects of the producers' gaze certainly point to the regimes of power replicated in representations of racialized violence, and in addition, the narrative arch of each episode in the series replicates the ritual choreography of lynching.

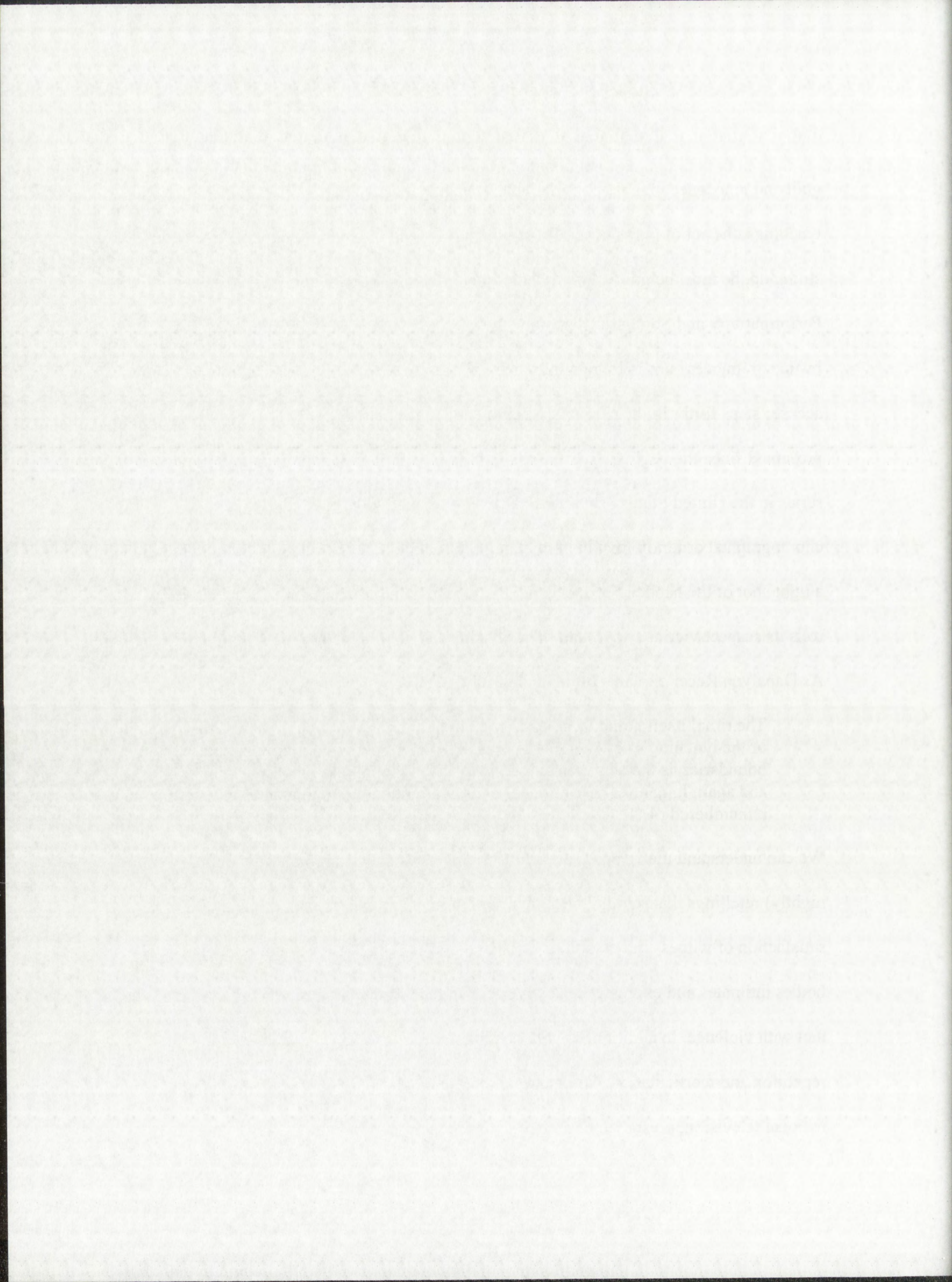
Here we recall Grace Elizabeth Hale's details of the well "choreographed" spectacle lynching which "opened with a chase or jail attack, followed rapidly by the public identification of the captured African American by the alleged white victim or the victim's relative… The main event then began with a period of mutilation—often including emasculation—and torture to extract confessions and entertain the crowd… the finale consisted of frenzied souvenir gathering and display of the body and the collected parts" (qt in Apel 2007, 24). Similarly, "Cops" has become a televised spectacle event and televised social drama. The sequence is as formulaic as a lynching: The episode begins with the chase from the point of view of the officer(s) (this is often the longest part of any vignette), followed by the capture (here throwing a suspect to the ground, humiliating a suspect, and dragging across the floor or road often occurs), then just before the climax of the vignette, the accusation is stated. As a viewer, this is when I realized that I had been watching a racialized body chased by multiple officers without knowing why he was being chased—this is the logic of a lynching, just as when in lynchings a "victim" would step forth, often a woman or child, to point toward the manacled victim. This accuser would then become the final voice of judgment. What is important is that



guilt and innocence play no part in this theater. In both the "Cops" series and in lynchings, the act of pursuit is self-justifying. The logic of lynching says: If he is being strung up, he must be guilty. As Michael Hatt writes in "Race, Ritual, and Responsibility: Performativity and Southern Lynching" the spectacle theater of lynching reverses the justice of innocent until proven guilty; indeed, the act is nearly complete before an accuser steps forth. In the case of a lynching and in the episodes of "Cops," guilt has been presumed since the beginning of the chase. "Cops" one of the longest running television series in the United States has, for nearly twenty years, replicated and televised the choreographed order of lynching—the long, adrenaline triggering chase, the capture (with a tight shot of the handcuffed racialized body), and then the accusation before the car rolls its suspect/victim away. And the television audience is the new crowd—the witness. As Danalynn Recer explains of the racialized violence:

> The ritual itself gained a cultural potency in the South whereby the telling of the lynching story was just as crucial to the process of defining cultural boundaries as the acts themselves. Any given victim was lynched again and again long after he was dead as his death ritual was retold and remembered (4).

We can understand the "Cops" series functioning as weekly (in rebroadcast reruns, nightly) retellings that remind the audience of cultural boundaries and allow the satisfaction of witness the pursuit of racialized bodies. The anxious focus on racialized bodies intimates and expresses a Euro-American race panic and fear of invasion that is met with violence. In addition, as with lynching, these violences are augmented by their repetition and rearticulation. The scenes of Mexicans and Afro-Latinos being pursued on national television, presumed of guilt, recalls the theaters of lynching—only instead of



gathering around the warm fire of bodies, U.S. watchers gather around the glow of the television set.

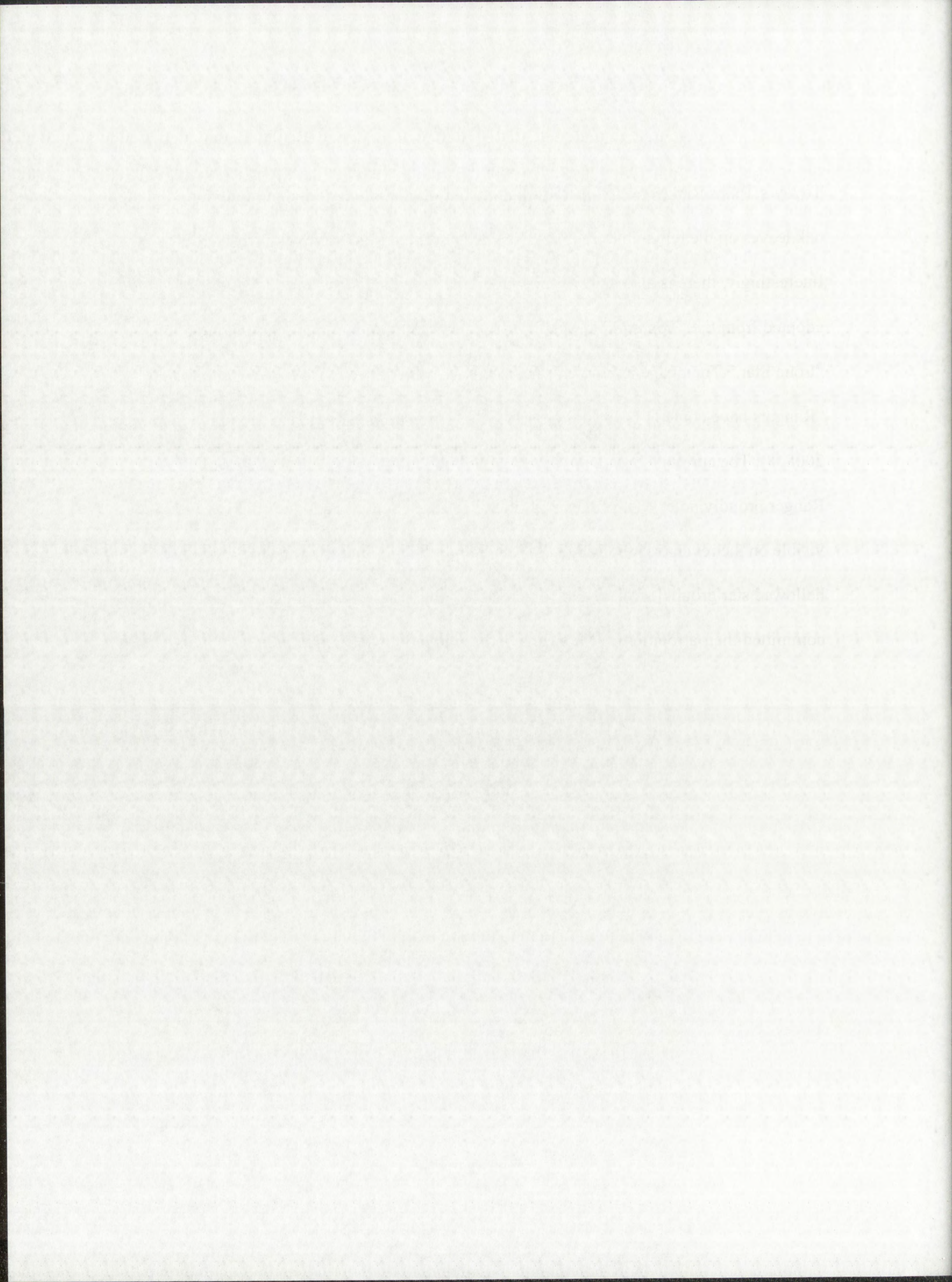
Souvenir images of social drama meant to redress crisis or breach—whether still or moving—activate ideologies and they are drawn upon for succor by Euro-Americans who feel besieged. The actions of Minuteman Bryan Barton that include photographic souvenirs, the postcards of burning Mexican bodies, the silent films of the Mexican siege of the Alamo, the viral web meeting places for video game murder and digital lynching, and the television images of pursued racialized bodies all speak to the continued attempts at geographical racial domination.

One of the most haunting souvenirs of attempted domination is the very badge of the Texas Ranger. The first Texas Ranger badges were made in the 1880s for individual

Figure 11a: Mexican Cinco Peso Piece

Figure 11b: 1880-1890s Texas Ranger Badge

from Mexican cinco peso coins. Rangers stamped their authority, worn on their breasts, out of Mexican silver pieces. The original justification for the Mexican silver badges may have been the lack of an operation mint in Texas, however, this souvenir tradition of stamping Euro-American domination into Mexican currency continues to this day.



> There are only acts and decisions of men and women in a society now past, and a responsibility which, because the outcome remains provisional, we are obliged to share with them.
> -Barbara Jean Fields

> The past is all that makes the present coherent, and further, the past will remain horrible for exactly as long as we refuse to assess it honestly...
> -James Baldwin

Conclusion

Exploring the lynching of Mexicans in the Southwest has taken me on unexpected routes. And in many ways I have chosen sites of exploration that are unlike those chosen by scholars, such as William D. Carrigan; the choices I have made reflect my resistance to becoming a statistician of bodies, merely counting up nameless hanged Mexicans. Instead, I chose cases that allow for more nuanced narratives of the victims and/or assailants and that give a fuller picture of lynching, rather than focusing on the objectified bodies that almost seal their own inevitability. Though I have chosen cases that are atypical, in particular for the witnesses and narrative possibilities they offer — there are crucial connections between them that speak to the more general features of lynching in the Southwest. I have also been concerned with the role that lynching has had in the Southwest—its meaning, aim and function.

The attacks on the migrants of Rancho Peñasquitos are reminders of the Ku Klux Klan links to San Diego's Camp Pendelton in the original "Border Watch" actions. Further the assailants at Rancho Peñasquitos exhibited the same anxieties of immigrants' attempts at cultural and national belonging through their salient acts of violence. Clearly

the [illegible] in [illegible] violence [illegible] geographical,

and speaks to the continued militarization of the Rio Grande region of Texas and the state-

sponsored violence against Mexicans in the Southwest. All of these cases I have developed

occurred in areas where [illegible] and systems were firmly in place, to imply [illegible]

that lynching is not [illegible] [illegible] extra-legal community ritual that

serves to [illegible] [illegible] on the [illegible] of Mexicans.

[illegible] in fact, we look at the continuing function of violence in

our martial U.S. culture — whether we look at [illegible] events that still occur in the

Southwest or [illegible] such as [illegible] lynchings and [illegible]

[illegible] or the [illegible] and [illegible] culture via digital [illegible]

and the continued systems of [illegible] violence [illegible] at dominance.

Mapping the continued attempts at Euro-American racial dominance and Mexican

[illegible] consents [illegible] — a landscape disfigured

by brutality [illegible] borders. Exploring this historical terrain of violent

[illegible] as [illegible] writes: "lynching and other forms of

community-driven violence were deeply linked to the formation of our young nation;

from vigilance committees to the antilynching movement, the history of lynching has

touched many communities and continues to serve as a powerful catalyst for thinking

about race, ethnicity, and national identity (2005, 4). This catalyst has led me to make

further inquiries, as this study is merely a beginning. Further work must be done on the

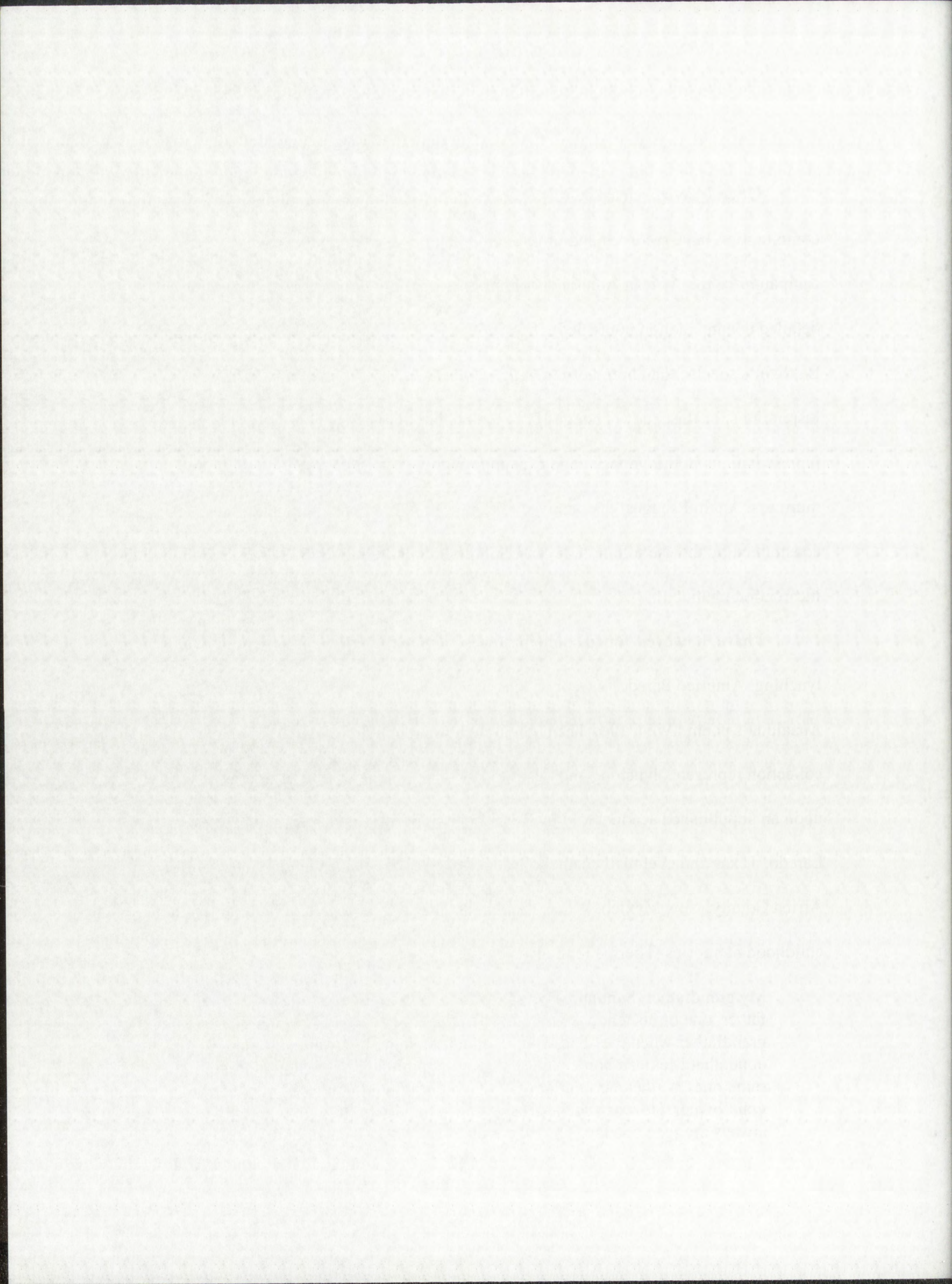
reconstruction of [illegible] the continuing [illegible] violence and its

relation to ideologies of race and citizenship.

Often I have been asked if Mexican communities, violently subjugated Mexican communities, have recorded and/or resisted lynching? Certainly, the anti-lynching campaigns of the African American community helped to document lynchings and this detailed documentation nourished African American cultural production, such as James Baldwin's spectacular short story "Going to Meet the Man," one of my earliest inspirations for this study. Though I have pointed to the relative absence of lynching representations in the Mexican and Chicano narrative traditions, there are hints and murmurs. Again I suggest that many studies on Euro-American dominance have been constrained by the use of only U.S. and English language sources (this study in its present incarnation included).

I have, however, found some instances in which Mexicans have narrativized lynching: Americo Paredes's *George Washington Gomez* represents lynching, Gloria Anzaldua's poem "We Called Them Greasers" from her *Borderland/La Frontera* collection represents lynching and ties it to land disentitlement, and intriguingly, I came upon an unpublished account told by Reies Lopez Tijerina, land activist who grew up in Laredo, Texas and eventually came to lead a struggle for Spanish land grantees in Rio Arriba County, New Mexico. When asked in an interview with Peter Nabokov about his childhood memories, Tijerina replied:

> My grandfather, Santiago Tijerina, was hanged by Texas Rangers. My father, one of his tendons was cut when three men ganged up on him. My grandfather when they had strung him up for something someone else had done, that Mexican border judge said 'wait a minute, I'm not sure it's the same one,' so they cut him down… My father was a Laredo border land grant owner. He was attacked many times. Finally he survived, but he always dragged one leg. They'd cut him back here—he couldn't work



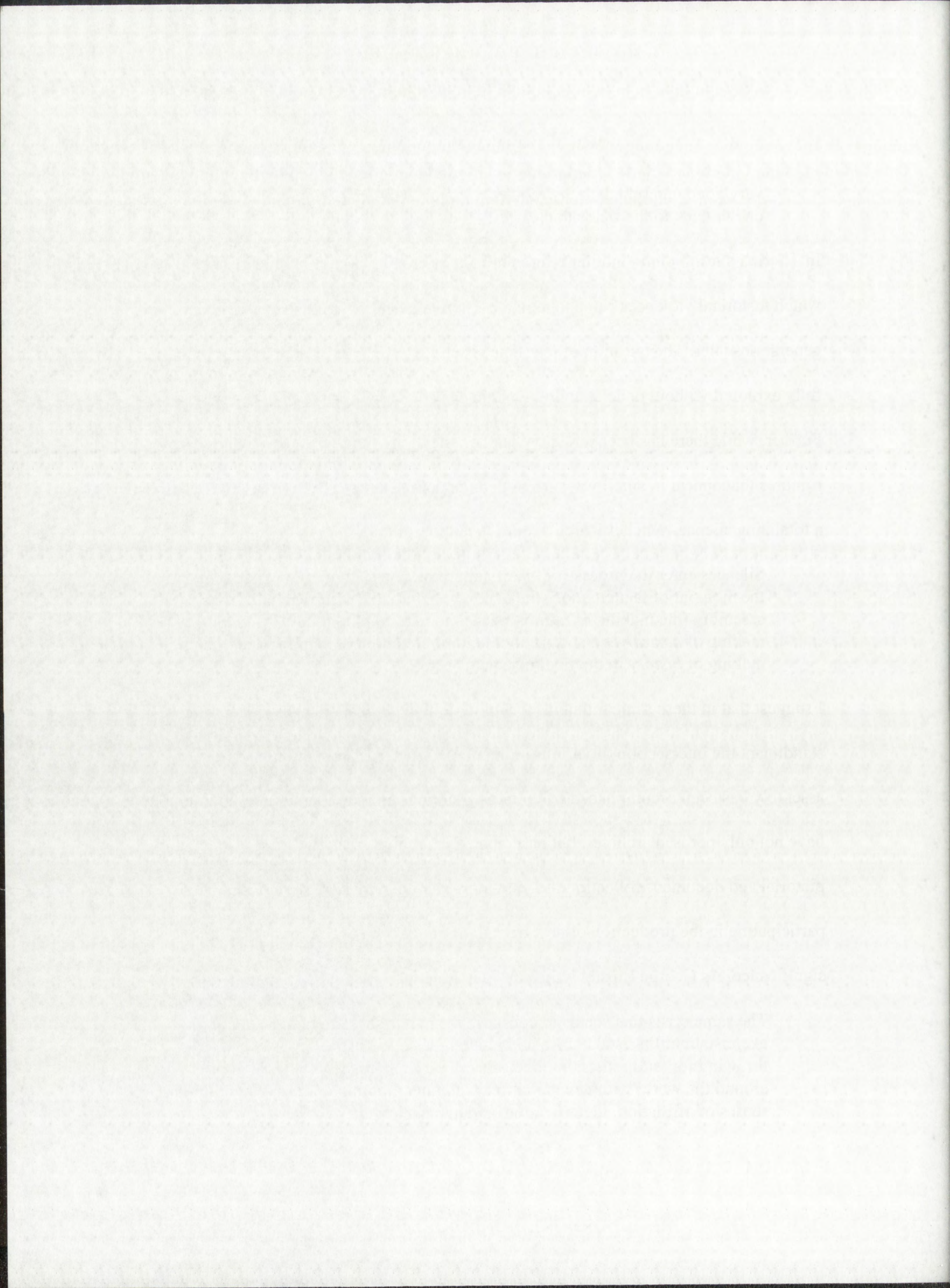
> very good and relied on my mother. I remember seeing her carrying him on her back to the fields to clear the land.[43]

In Tijerina's *testimonio*—not far removed from those of Porvenir—we realize the way in which historical violences came to animate Tijerina's land struggle in New Mexico generations later. The question of resistance is an important one, but one that cannot be fully explored without understanding lynching as an overlying system of dominance. Further, while there has been a relative lack of attention to the lynching of Mexicans, the ruptures that appear in small ways insist that the dominant narratives need not accomplish a totalizing silence. Michel-Rolph Trouillot cautions that

> Silences enter the process of historical production at four crucial moments: the moment of fact creation (the making of *sources*); the moment of fact assembly (the making of *archives*); the moment of fact retrieval (the making of *narratives*); and the moment of retrospective significance (the making of *history* in the final instance)" (26).

I suggest that in these same moments we may begin to address silences. I see myself as standing at the intersection of various moments of historical production—some fact assembly has been accomplished by collecting stories ignored otherwise, in addition, I have not only perused archives, but participated in archive creation through oral history, pictorial and document collection. It is my hope that this project is the beginning of participating in the production of new narratives in this moment of retrospective significance. As George Lipsitz writes in "Our America"

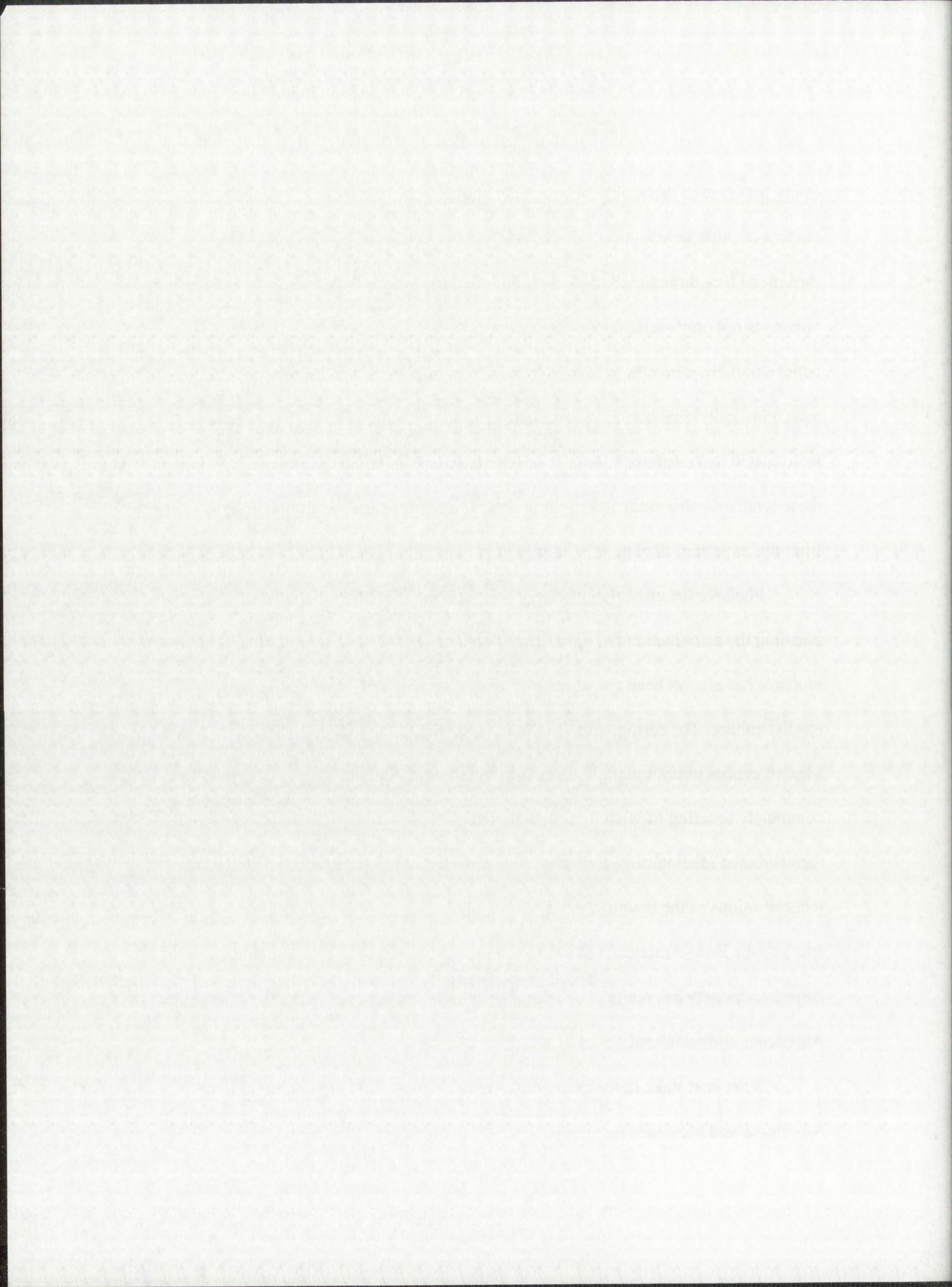
> The same crisis that seems to constrain the culture of America to a narrow exercise in militaristic, racist, and plutocratic self-justification is also throwing forward artists, intellectuals, and activists inside the U.S. and around the world with new cognitive mappings and imaginaries, new senses of affiliation, identification, and association (1998, 138).



In my first note to this study, I explain my choice to use the word Mexican rather than a number of other terms—this note partially begins my argument about affiliation that is the crucial lens through which I have conducted my work. The devaluation of Mexican victims is not only ascribable to the "culture of America;" instead I have also tracked the collusion of Hispano elites, Chicano revisionists historians who have constructed masculine individual heroes (ignoring dead victims), and postmodern theorists who have recirculated and reinforced ideas of dehumanization. My affiliation does not lie with these scholars—this study has in some ways tracked my struggle to find affiliation away from these regular scholars of atrocity.

I believe the critical move away from early works that catalog bodies with pursuing the machinations of power though racialized violence is crucial. Spectacle violence has always been constitutive of the nation and part of the continuum of U.S. martial culture. The cartography and literal mapping of the U.S. expansion into northern México echoes today's mappings of border fences—the tenuous border, incapable of completely severing México from its colonial U.S. master has been constructed and reconstructed ideologically and physically since the U.S. war of aggression. The ritual reconstitutions of the boundaries marked on the land have always been permeable and speak to the Euro-American anxieties of Mexican invasion and contamination. Euro-American anxiety has rearticulated these boundaries on the bodies of Mexicans, African Americans and racialized others.

What is at stake in the shared histories of violent racial oppression for African Americans and Mexicans remaining separate? The continued hysteria over the "browning



of America" has displaced the Euro-American anxiety and history of violence into a Black versus Mexican discourse. The understanding of the lynching of African Americans as a strategy to reinforce normative Euro-American belonging and to police citizenship in the South is fatefully coupled to the lynching of Mexicans in the Southwest. Yet, these histories have been severed. I believe that in relinking the shared histories of these communities, we may also chart their combined destinies. Richard Rodriguez, responding to an interviewer, who asked about the "browning of America"—where it is claimed that Mexicans and Latin Americans are replacing African Americans in inner cities, the political economy and popular culture—replied, "It's not only irresponsible. It's outrageous. It seems to me that we do not replace African Americans. I owe my existence to African Americans. I mean that literally. I owe the fact that I have this voice, this determination and this confidence in America to their story, to their lives, to their voices... The notion that I replace them is ludicrous" (Hansen 2002).

[illegible] other than those that come with slavery and the history of violence and a[illegible]

Black Americans [illegible]. The [illegible] of the [illegible] of African

Americans as a [illegible] to [illegible] American [illegible] and to [illegible]

[illegible] of the [illegible] by the [illegible] of Mexicans to the

Northwest. Yet, [illegible] have been [illegible]. I believe this in [illegible] the [illegible]

[illegible] of these [illegible], we may [illegible] their [illegible]

[illegible] to [illegible], [illegible] the [illegible] of [illegible]

where it is claimed that Mexicans and Latin Americans are replacing African Americans

[illegible], the [illegible] and [illegible]

[illegible]. It seems to me that we do not replace African Americans,

owe our existence to African Americans. I [illegible] the fact that I [illegible]

this voice, this determination and this [illegible] in America to their story, to their lives,

to their voices.... The reality that I replace them is [illegible]" ([illegible] 2002).

Notes

[1] Josephine Baker, in response to the East St. Louis Riot that left over two hundred African Americans dead and over six thousand homeless. Quoted in *The Future of the Race*, Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Cornel West (New York: Knopf, 1996).

[2] I have chosen to use the word Mexican throughout this manuscript rather than to identify persons as Hispano, Hispanic, Mexican American, or Chicano though many of the subjects herein bear U.S. citizenship. I arrive at the general term "Mexican" for the following reason:

'Hispano' and 'Spanish' are inadequate for the subjects of whom I speak as many are not part of the legacy of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo due to regional point of origin, or because they fall outside of the annexation period. In addition, the use of the word Hispanic, newly coined in the 1970s by a U.S. governmental bureau, is simply ahistoric when referring to individuals born before 1970.

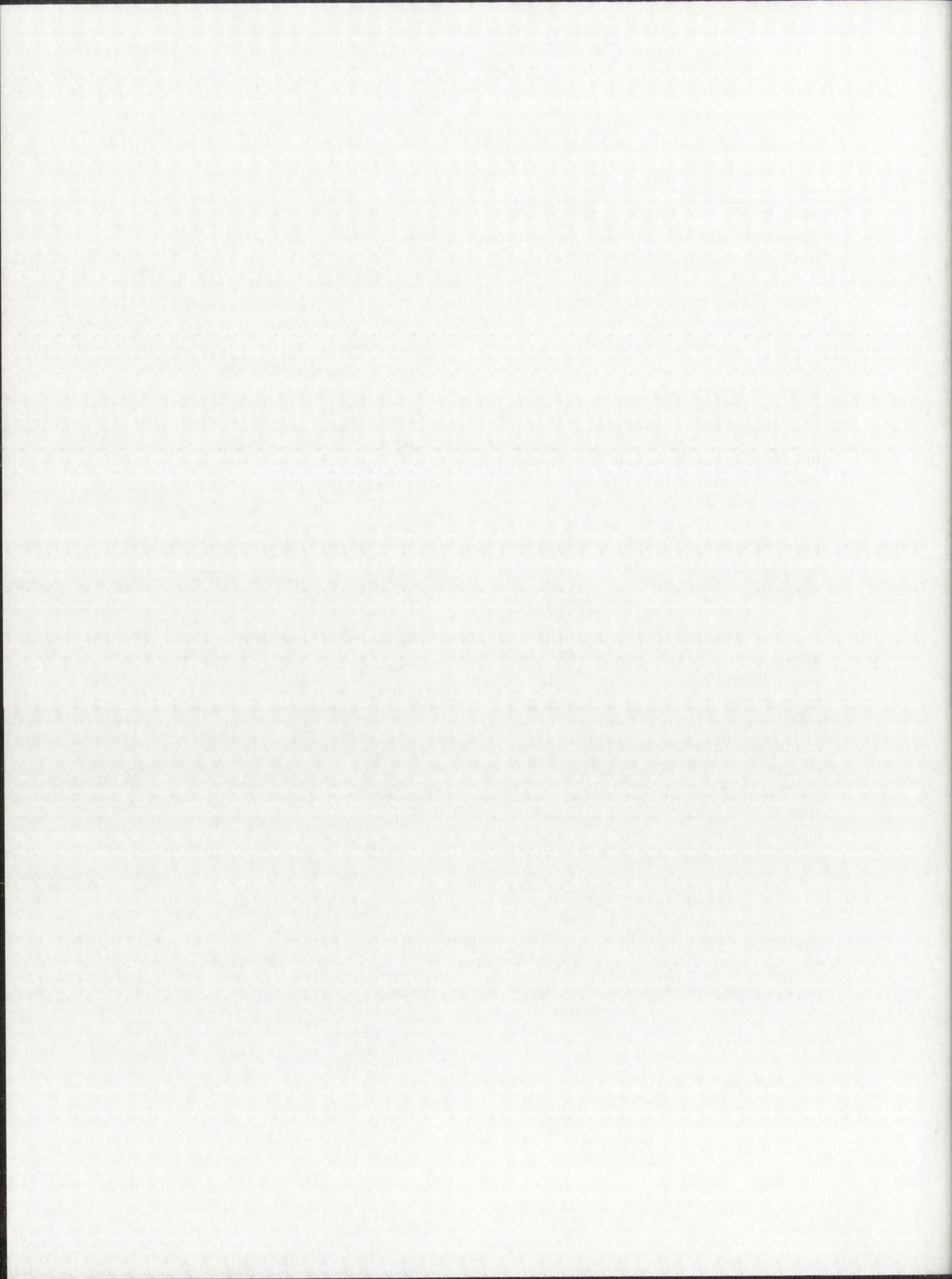
The words Mexican American and Chicano are also similarly ahistoric. The term Chicano is a socio-political construction, popularized during the U.S. Civil Rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s, and imbedded in the term Chicano is a claim of U.S. citizenry. Part of the "Chicano" ideology is that Chicanos are U.S. born, and this separates them from Mexican-born Mexicans. I do not believe in such a separation, as this belief is animated by an acceptance of difference *created by* the national boundary enforced after a U.S. war of aggression.

[3] Quoted in Sandoval, *LULAC: Our Legacy, the First Fifty Years*, 4. From The Refugia Castillo League of United Latin American Citizens Papers, MSS 759, University Libraries, University of New Mexico, Center for Southwest Research (Box 1, Folder 1).

[4] The *Eagle* serves as a seagoing classroom for approximately 175 cadets (future Coast Guard officers) and instructors from the U.S. Coast Guard Academy. It is the only active commissioned sailing vessel in the U.S. maritime services. The ship was built in 1936 in Germany and named *Horst Wessel*. At the close of World War II, the ship was taken as a war prize by the United States. See "The Eagle, 1946" in U.S. Coast Guard Military History, http://www.uscg.mil/History/WEBCUTTERS/Eagle_1946.html and "Captain's Welcome" in U.S. Coast Guard Academy, http://www.cga.edu/display.aspx?id=357 Accessed 29 April 2008.

[5] According to William D. Carrigan, between 1848 and 1870, "Records indicate 473 out of every 100,000 Mexican migrant workers during this time period died as victims of a lynching" (Winter 2003).

[6] Of his own work, Ken Gonzales-Day writes: "[T]he recovery of California's history of lynching is not driven by the monetary value of objects that reference the practice of lynching but by the lack of *value* placed on the Western history of lynching



[13] Here I reference Anderson's "imagined community." Amy S. Greenberg writes "As Benedict Anderson has explained, the ability of nationalism to turn 'chance into destiny' is dependent on participants imagining a community or nation 'as a deep horizontal relationship,' regardless of 'actual inequality and exploitation.' Territorial expansionism enabled participants to imagine themselves part of the American community" (2005, 44).

[14] Jacobson couples the U.S. racial hierarchy with U.S. imperial projects. As Jacobson concludes, the racial hierarchy of U.S. nationhood defined boundaries of belonging via 'whiteness' throughout the generations and the historical U.S. global imperial incursions. He writes, "the distinction between whiteness and nonwhiteness never fully lost its salience in American political culture. Mexican annexation, black Emancipation, Reconstruction, Jim Crow practices, Indian Wars, Asian immigration and Exclusion, Hawaiian and Puerto Rican annexation, and Philippine conquest—all would keep whiteness very much alive," (1999, 37).

[15] See Chapter Three "From Colonial Subject to Undesirable Alien: Filipino Migration in the Invisible Empire," in Meg Ngai's, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America,* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005, 96-126.

[16] "Lynch Law in Arizona," in *The New York Times* 25 August 1873.

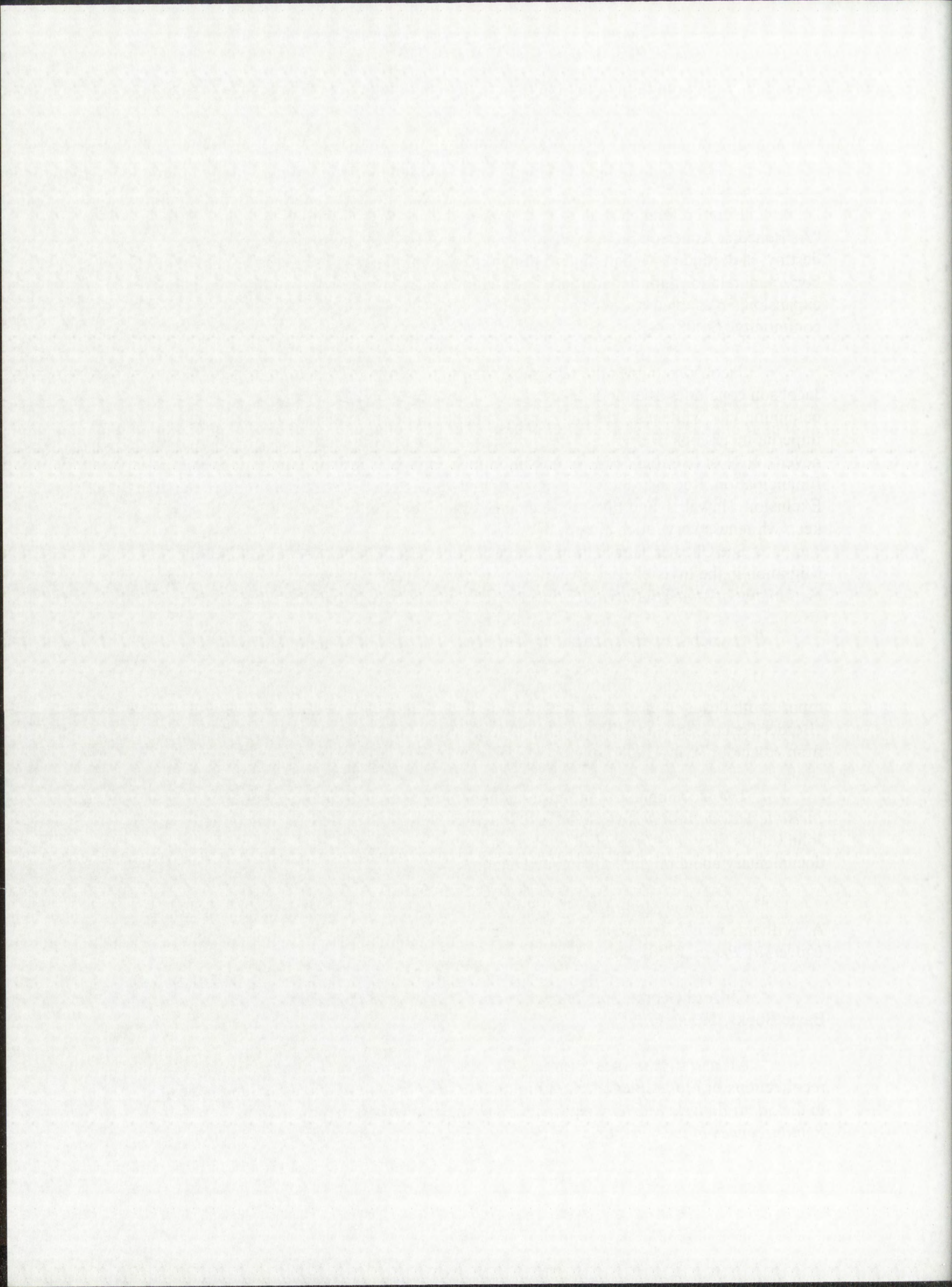
[17] Most recently, fortifications to the San Diego, California include border fences topped with deadly concertina (or razor) wire installed in 2008. See Richard Marosi's "Border Fence Gets Razor Wire—Critics Assail Move U.S. Says Will Protect Its Agents from Attack" 17 May 2008 *Los Angeles Times.*

[18] Two documentaries on the migrant communities in Rancho Peñasquitos, *The Invisible Mexicans of Deer Canyon* and *The Invisible Chapel* have been done by filmmaker John Carlos Frey. *The Invisible Mexicans of Deer Canyon* is the first feature-length documentary about migrant life in San Diego.

[19] *Johnson v. McIntosh* 21 U.S. (8 Wheat) 543, 573 (1823), as quoted by Robert A. Williams in *The American Indian In Western Legal Thought (Oxford: Oxford University Press,* 1990), 360.

[20] Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 62.

[21] All narrative quotes regarding the Spiegelbergs are drawn from typed recollections of Flora Spiegelberg. Flora Spiegelberg was a prolific writer and published in the *Santa Fe New Mexican* newspaper and she also collected her memoirs in *Reminiscences of a Jewish Bride of the Santa Fe Trail.* Spiegelberg's "A Lynching Party



in Santa Fe in 1877," can be found in the manuscript and archive collection at Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico, Flora Spiegelberg Papers MSS 18 SC, (Folder 1). Her *Reminiscences of a Jewish Bride of the Santa Fe Trail* is available at the New Mexico State Records and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

[22] Griswold del Castillo's *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict* carefully explores each article of the Treaty as well as proposed articles that were stricken or edited and the debates that surrounded the revisions to particular articles.

[23] Many of the Mexicans choosing to stay on what was now U.S. territory focused not on their newly acquired civil rights as part of the U.S. nation, but rather their property rights. The litigation that drew upon the treaty focused most often on the land rights of Mexicans in the newly acquired U.S. territories. In *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict,* Richard Griswold del Castillo explains, "About three-fourths of the cases decided since 1848 have been about land-ownership rights, and only a small percentage have been about civil rights under the treaty."

[24] See Linda Bolton's *Facing* the *Other: Ethical Disruption and the American Mind.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004).

[25] Raymond Williams has been instrumental in both defining 'culture' and in exploring the various manifestations of culture in music, literature, lifestyle, painting and sculpture, theater and film. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 87-93. I am most concerned with the idea that culture is a daily creation and enactment, thus Williams' concept of performativity—whether in dramatic theater or in the public theater—is what I draw upon.

[26] Emphasis mine. I notice also the consistent and repeated spelling of the word lynching as "lynishing," which might indicate accented language from either the ten pioneers, or Spiegelberg's own accented language. Other misspellings in the manuscript are clearly typographical errors that are not repeated. "A Lynching Party in Santa Fe in 1877," Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico, Flora Spiegelberg Papers MSS 18 SC, (Folder 1).

[27] Cutler's *Lynch Law,* a historical survey of lynching was released in 1905 and draws widely on the *Chicago Tribune,* which gathered detailed statistics about the causes, locations, and numbers of lynchings throughout the U.S. beginning in 1882 until 1918.

[28] Gode Davis on the making of "American Lynching: A Documentary Feature," upon the death of Juan Bonilla Flores in an excerpt titled "In Memoriam: Juan Bonilla Flores, Born: June 25, 1905 Died: March 25, 2007," http://www.americanlynching.com/main.html Accessed 28 July, 2007.

in Santa Fe, in 1972," can be found in the manuscript and New Mexico Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico, Hans Spiegelberg Papers, MSS 18 SC, Folder 1). Fiel reconstructed of a single part of the Santa Fe Fiesta is available at the New Mexico State Records and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

[22] Griswold del Castillo, *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict*, carefully explains each article of the Treaty as well as proposed articles that were stricken or edited and also discusses the subsequent treaties related to particular articles.

[23] Many of the Mexicans choosing to stay on what was now U.S. territory focused not on their newly conferred "rights as part of the U.S. nation, but rather their property rights. The Anglo and the Mexicans who many focused most often on the land-holding and Mexicans in the newly acquired U.S. territories." In *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict*, Richard Griswold del Castillo explains, "About three-fourths of the cases decided since 1848 have been about land ownership rights, and only a small percentage have been about civil rights or lex ownership."

[24] Brian Craig Hohl, "Staging the Past: A Cultural Complexity and the *Americans Abroad*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004).

[25] Raymond Williams has been instrumental to both defining "culture" and in exploring the various manifestations of culture in music, literature, lifestyle, painting and sculpture, theater and film. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976, 1983). I am most concerned with the idea that culture is a daily creation and enactment. Jesus Williams' concept of performativity—whether in dramatic theater or in the public forums—is what I draw upon.

[26] Emphasis mine. I assume that the consistent and repeated spelling of the word lynching as "lynching," which might indicate accented language from either the real protests, or Spiegelberg's own accented language. Other misspellings in the manuscript are clearly typographical errors that are not repeated. "A Lynching," Fiesta in Santa Fe, 1972, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico, Hans Spiegelberg Papers, MSS 18 SC, (Folder 1).

[27] Cutler's *Lynch Law*, a major early survey of lynching was released in 1905 and draws widely on the *Chicago Tribune*, which gathered detailed statistics about the causes, locations, and numbers of lynchings throughout the U.S. beginning in 1882 until 1918.

[28] Tom Davis on the making of "American Lynching: A Documentary Feature," upon the death of Juan Romilla Flores in an excerpt titled "In Memoriam: Juan Romilla Flores, Born June 25, 1903 Died March 28, 2007," http://www.americanlynching.com/main.html, Accessed 28 May 2008.

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[29] All quotes from "American Lynching: A Documentary Feature," http://www.americanlynching.com/main.html Accessed 28 July, 2007.

[30] This points to the enormous need for more work with Spanish language primary sources, in particular Spanish language newspapers' reportage of violence against Mexicans. I aim to delve into such work as this project moves forward.

[31] Slavery had been outlawed in México in the Mexican Constitution of 1824 (Griswold del Castillo 1990, 4-6).

[32] The USMC Coyne Report also notes this about the gunshot wound. Gonzales adds, "Autopsy results indicate Hernandez was felled by a bullet that hit his right side, causing some officials and residents to dispute the soldiers' self-defense contention. Hernandez would have been hit in the chest if he were positioned as the soldier described him, the local coroner said last week."

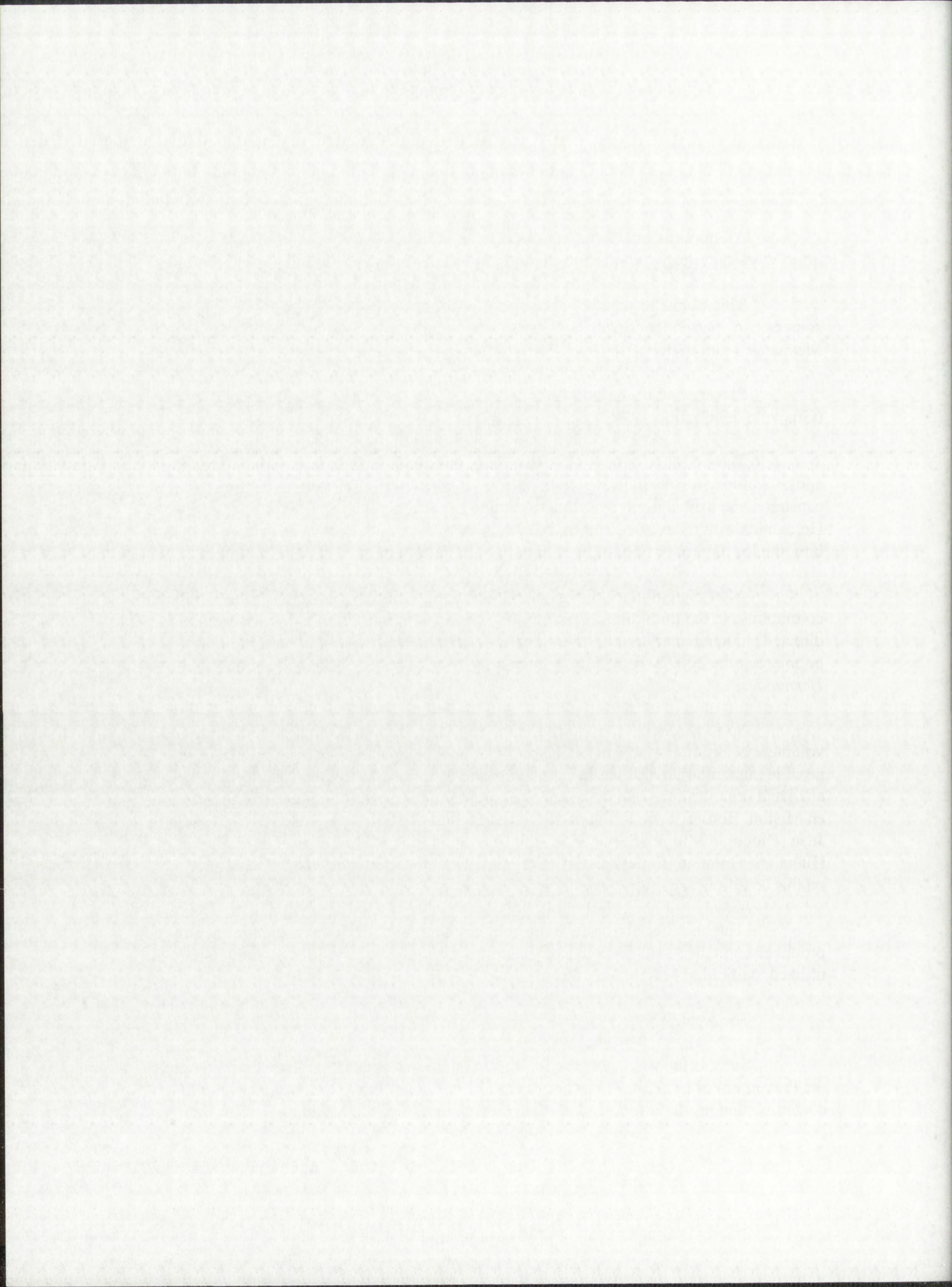
[33] After the publicity surrounding Hernandez's murder prompted by his family and community, in the tradition of *The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez*, filmmaker Kieran Fitzgerald directed a documentary featuring interviews with the community that received its world premiere at the 2007 Tribeca Film Festival. It was called *The Ballad of Esequiel Hernandez*.

[34] *No Mas Muertos/No More* Deaths began in April of 2004 as an interfaith volunteer coalition that organized the set up of base camps near well-traveled trails to provide humanitarian aid. These base camps are peopled by volunteers from a number of affiliated organizations on both sides of the border: Border Action Network, Campañeros en Mision, BorderLinks, Frontera de Cristo/Healing Our Borders, Samaritans, Casa San Juan (Diocesan Migrant Service Center), Christian Peacemaker Teams, Derechos Humanos, Humane Borders and The Migrant Welcome Center at Altar, Sonora. For more on this coalition, see: http://www.nomoredeaths.org/

[35] The use of humor by anti-immigrant groups, which mocks immigrants and produces comedic "skits," should be examined more carefully as this strategy is regularly utilized, particularly on internet forums.

[36] See Apel, 2004.

[37] Such as the work done by Ida B. Wells, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, and the American Crusade to End Lynching, along with contemporaneous news reports that often included images of lynched bodies.



[38] This photo, which would later become a postcard, is one of the most widely circulated images of lynching. It depicts the double murder of Thomas Shipp and Abram Smith in Marion, Indiana in 1930. James Cameron, age sixteen, who was to be the third lynching victim of the assembled mob of over 2,000. He was uncharacteristically released by the mob even after been beaten and the crowd had pulled a noose over his head, with the rope wound around the branch of a tree. Cameron later narrated his experience in his autobiographical account *A Time of Terror: A Survivor's Story* (Baltimore: Black Classics Press, 1982). His story is also told in Cynthia Carr's *Our Town: A Heartland Lynching, A Haunted Town, and the Hidden History of White America* (New York: Random House, 2007). Cameron was the only known survivor of a lynching at the time of his death in 2006 and he became an activist who helped found the first NAACP chapters in Indiana as well as America's Black Holocaust Museum in Milwaukee, one of the largest African American museums in the nation (Shinhoster-Lamb).

[39] Ken Gonzales-Day's projects have included a mapping and walking tour of Los Angeles lynching sites and two exhibits about lynching: "Searching for California's Hang Trees" and "The Wonder Gaze." "The Wonder Gaze is described by Ken Gonzales-Day on his website, with representative images. Explains Gonzales-Day, "[The Wonder Gaze] presents a series of appropriated lynching postcards and images in which the lynch victim and the ropes have all been been removed; a conceptual gesture intended to direct the viewers attention, not upon the lifeless body of lynch victim, but upon the mechanisms of lynching themselves: the crowd, the spectacle, the photographer, and even the impact of flash photography upon this dismal past. The perpetrators, if present, remain fully visible, jeering, laughing, or pulling at the air in a deadly pantomime. As such, this series strives to make the invisible visible. These absences or empty spaces become emblematic of the forgotten history made all the more palpable in light of the recent events surrounding the resurgence of the noose as means of intimidation and instilling fear everywhere from the workplace to the schoolyard." See http://www.kengonzalesday.com/index.htm for more on Gonzales-Day's projects and publications.

[40] Of 'star groups,' Turner explains that "[i]t is in one's star group that one looks most for love, recognition, prestige, office, and other tangible and intangible benefits and rewards. In it one achieves self-respect and a sense of belonging with others for whom one has respect" (Turner 1981, 146). He further analyses performances and concludes that "[s]ocial dramas are dominated by star groupers (Turner 1981, 147).

[41] For more on the expansion of war postcards during the Mexican Revolution, see David Dorado Romo's *Ringside Seat to a Revolution: An Underground Cultural History, 1893-1923*, 155-172. Romo uses numerous images generated in this period throughout his work as well.

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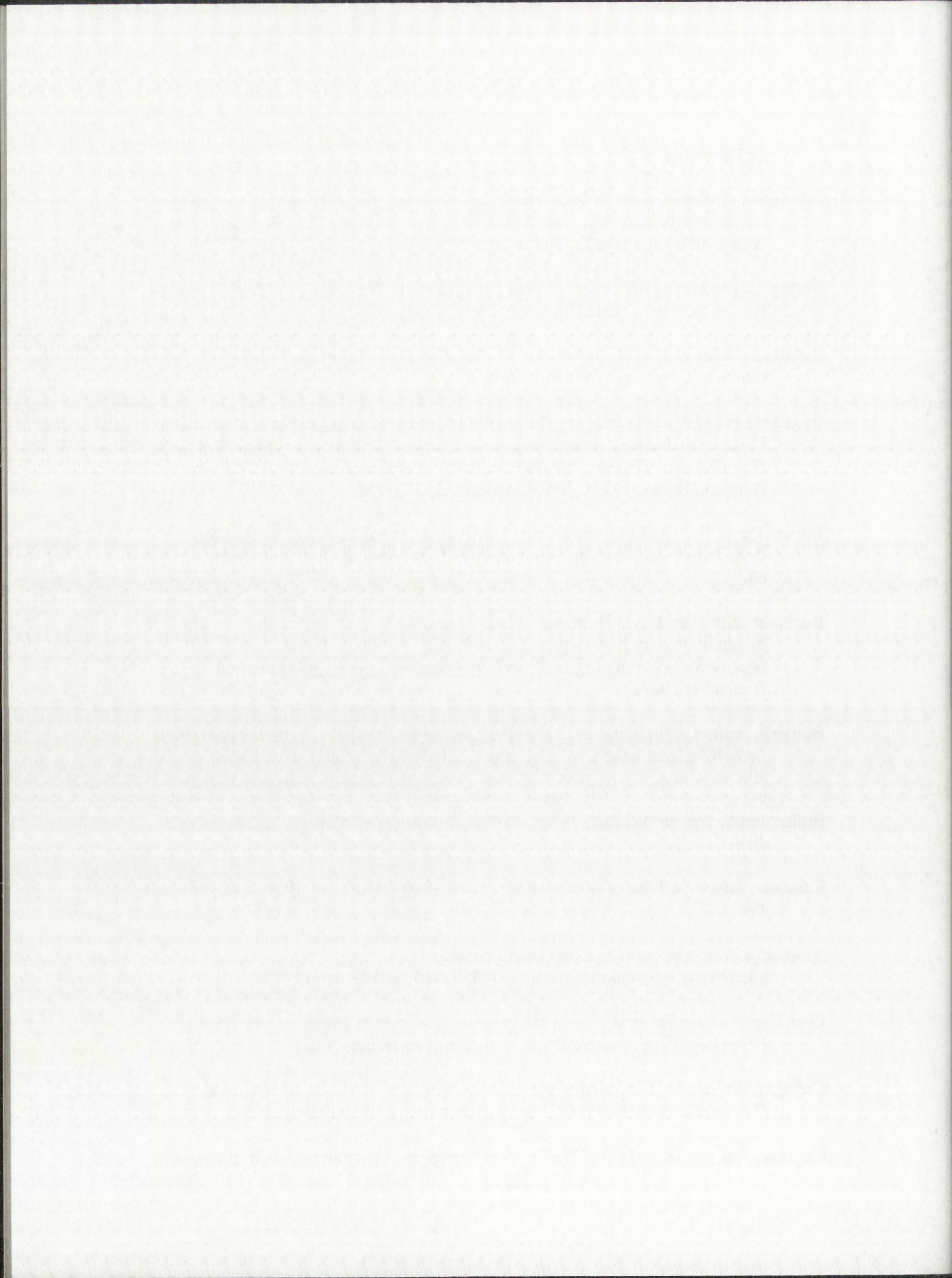

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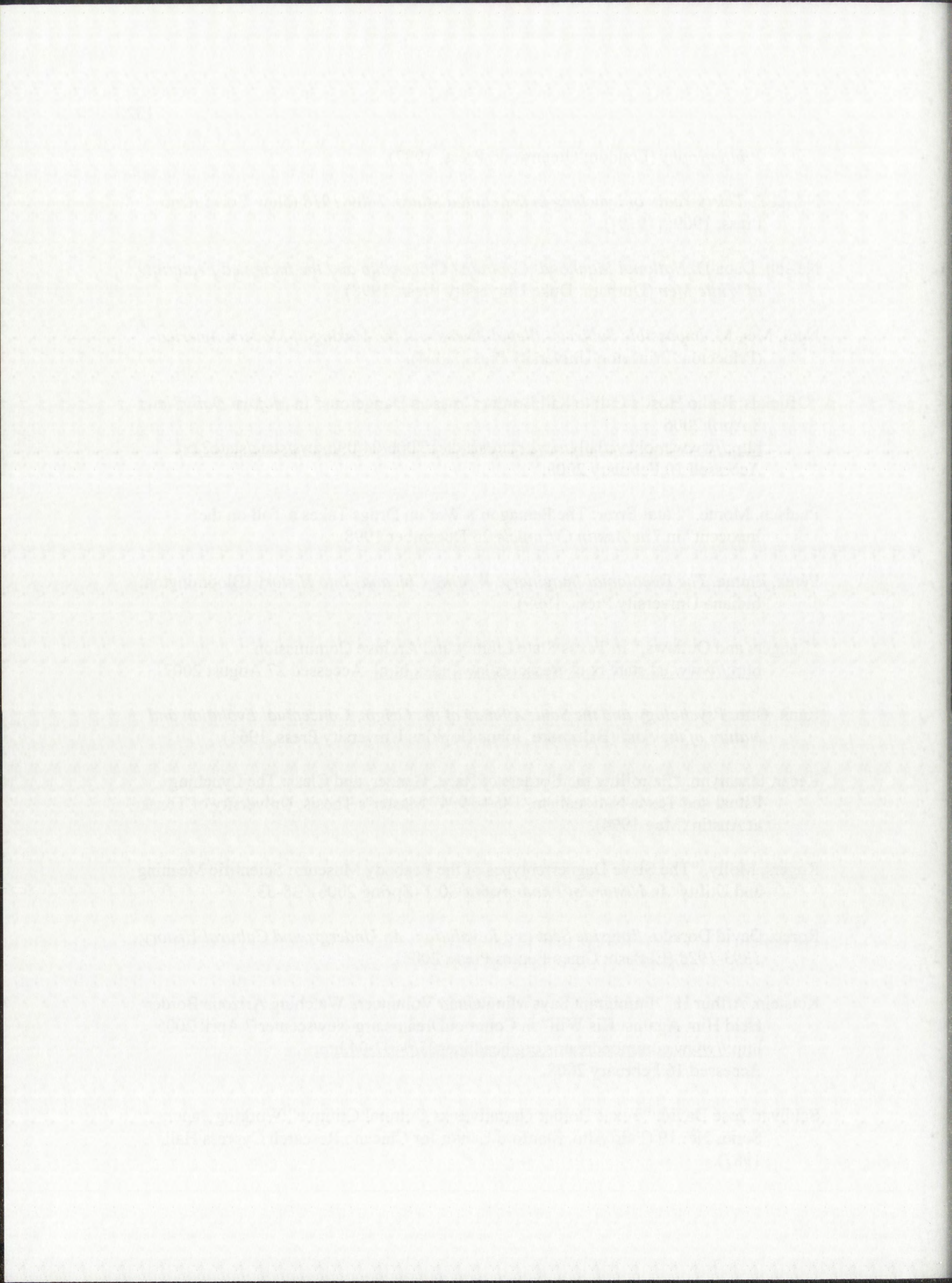

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