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# The Lives and Works of Five Hispanic New Mexican Women Writers, 1878 - 1991

Merrihelen Ponce

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UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO, ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO 87131

**Working Paper #119**

**Summer 1992**

**THE LIVES AND WORKS OF FIVE HISPANIC  
NEW MEXICAN WOMEN WRITERS, 1878-1991**

**By,**

**Merrihelen Ponce  
University of New Mexico**



**Southwest  
Hispanic  
Research  
Institute**

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

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	<b>Page</b>
<b>I. Introduction</b>	<b>1-4</b>
<b>Photo: Fabiola Cabeza de Baca</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>II. Biography of Fabiola Cabeza de Baca</b>	<b>6-15</b>
<b>Photo: Carmen Gertrudis Espinosa</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>III. Biography of Carmen Gertrudis Espinosa</b>	<b>17-26</b>
<b>Photo: Cleofas M. Jaramillo and Sister</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>IV. Biography of Cleofas M. Jaramillo</b>	<b>27-37</b>
<b>Photo: Aurora Lucero-White Lea</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>V. Biography: Aurora Lucero-White Lea</b>	<b>39-48</b>
<b>Photo: Nina Otero-Warren</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>VI. Biography: Adelina (Nina) Otero-Warren</b>	<b>50-59</b>
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>60-63</b>
<b>Endnotes</b>	<b>64-67</b>
<b>References</b>	<b>68-69</b>

THE LIVES AND WORKS OF FIVE HISPANIC NEW MEXICAN WOMEN  
WRITERS, 1878 - 1991

Historically, little is known of the lives and works of Hispanic women writers of the American Southwest such as Fabiola Cabeza de Baca, Carmen Gertrudis Espinosa, Cleofas M. Jaramillo, Aurora Lucero-White Lea, and Adelina (Nina) Otero Warren, all of whom write of the Hispanic Southwest experience. Less is known of their lives. Each woman wrote works that are historically significant yet are ignored by the American literary tradition.<sup>1</sup>

The American literary canon has systematically excluded literature by Hispanics/Chicanos, as have Southwestern literary historians. Major anthologies, bibliographies, and literary biographies focusing on Western American writers also omit works of people of color.<sup>2</sup> Accounts of Spanish explorers Alvar Cabeza de Vaca, Juan de Oñate and Pedro de Vargas are well known, as are the writings of Fray Angelico Chávez. Yet Hispanic women writers have not received the recognition they merit.<sup>3</sup>

Current interest in regional literature has resulted in a spate of works by and of American regional writers. Still, most publications discuss works solely by Anglo males. In rare cases regional anthologies include Anglo women writers Gertrude Atherton and Willa Cather. But for the most part, they too are excluded.

In recent times literary historians have begun to address the works of other than Euro-Americans and more importantly,

the influence of region to literature in general, and the American Southwest in particular. Among these Harold P. Simonson's Beyond the Frontier: Writers, Western Regionalism and a Sense of Place raises important questions about the influence of region to literature. A Literary History of the American West considers the significance of the Hispanic population to literature, while Twentieth Century Western Writers cites the regional narratives of Mary Austin.<sup>4</sup>

Literary journals such as Confluencia, The America's Review, MELUS and Third Woman have in recent times devoted entire issues to ethnic American literature.<sup>5</sup> Still, the corpus of works by nuevo mexicanas as well as their life stories are virtually unknown.

It is important to recognize the contributions of five writers who in the early 1900s, sought to reaffirm their Hispanic roots through literature. They published family history and folklore: cuentos, dances and songs, and translated the dichos and corridos the Hispanic oral tradition that still today exists. As such, they preserved the rich culture of a particular region.<sup>6</sup>

The American Southwest and New Mexico in particular gave birth to a large number of Hispanic writers. Indeed, during the turn-of-the century, Colorado and New Mexico were home to Spanish-language newspapers with a literary page that featured declamaciones, sonnets, and poems credited to women because of their romantic nature. It is clear that the Hispanic

literary tradition that flowered was partly rooted in the New Mexican literary tradition.<sup>7</sup>

The Chicano literary movement of the 1970s gave Hispanics/Chicanos the impetus to search for their literary roots. Scholars rediscovered unknown authors identifying them as precursors of Chicano literature. However, the early works cited by critics were for the most part written by men; women were ignored.

Recently however, Chicanas have begun to research early Chicana writers. Tey Diana Rebolledo's "En donde estaban las mujeres (NP)," questions the exclusion of Hispanic women writers within mainstream and Chicano literature. Gloria Velásquez Treviño's germinal study cites the "cultural ambivalence" of early women writers while another critic claimed that the women romanticized a harsh experience.<sup>8</sup>

Women scholars, Hispanics in particular, now recognize the importance of reconstructing the traditional (male) literary canon to include women writers.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, new studies cite the importance of region and landscape to women's writing. In "Signatures of Landscape: Hispanic New Mexican Writers," in The Desert is No Lady Rebolledo argues that early writers had a strong attachment to the land. Other studies analyze the narratives of nuevo mexicanas.<sup>10</sup> Still, more research is needed to give Hispanic women writers their rightful place within American letters.

This study of five New Mexican Hispanic writers is the

first attempt to document their works and lives. While the writings of C. de Baca, Jaramillo, and Otero Warren are better known, the folkloric works of Espinosa and Lucero White remain unknown.

These short biographies will shed light on the lives and works of five Hispanic writers of New Mexico who wrote prior to the Chicano Movement, and can be considered precursors of Chicana literature. Questions this study will ask are: Where and when were the women born? educated? What impelled them to write? to publish? What was their primary language? Who influenced their work? the FWP? Who was their audience? Purpose?

The oral tradition is said to be the basis for many early writings. This study will address several questions: Was the preservation of Hispanic oral traditions and folklore central to the writing of these women? Why was folklore their subject rather than historical and political events?

What were the role expectations of Hispanic women during the early 1900s and how did these women fit into them?

Finally, what did these women have in common, and how did this affect their subjects and approach?

Fabiola Cabeza de Baca in Spanish dress.  
Source: Stand Against the Wind. Biographical  
Sketchbook of New Mexico Women Eds.  
Maryann Ahkemeir and Laura Robertson  
Albuquerque Wabili Interprises 1977



FABIOLA CABEZA DE BACA (GILBERT)

1893-1991

PRIMARY SOURCES

Los Alimentos y su Preparacion. 1934, re.eds., 1937, 1942. New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts. Las Cruces, New Mexico.

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Fabiola Cabeza de Baca was born on May 14, 1894 in La Liendre, New Mexico, a ranch near Las Vegas, in northern Staked Plains, to Graciano and Indalecia Cabeza de Baca. Her birth followed closely that of her brother Luis. Two sisters, Guadalupe and Virginia, were born within the next two years. The C. de Baca's were said to have descended from Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Baca, a prominent family in Spain, who in the early 1600s explored New Spain's northern frontier with his Moorish slave Estevanico, became separated from the group, and for six years wandered the Southwest. Once reunited, he reported his exploits to the Spanish Crown, then returned to Spain. Later generations of C. de Baca's emigrated from Spain and settled in Mexico as 'espanoles mexicanos,' and in the 1800s ventured north and settled in a region said to resemble in climate and topography, Spain's Extramadura. Among these was C. de Baca's paternal grandfather.

Don Luis María Cabeza de Baca, Fabiola's great-great grandfather and father to Tomas C. de Baca, her paternal grandfather is immortalized in Fabiola's well-known book We Fed Them Cactus. In 1777 The Spanish Crown granted Don Luis

a land grant and he increased his holdings by the mid 1850s. Indeed, by this time the family too had multiplied so that the area in and around the Staked Plains was populated by blue-eyed C. de Bacas.

During the 1800s, Fabiola's grandfather owned thousands of heads of cattle. With the coming of the railroad in the mid 1870s, ranching became more profitable; cattle were shipped east to a lucrative market. Don Luis C. de Baca employed many of the 'independent cowboys' described in C. de Baca's works. A prosperous rancher, he built a spacious home with many bedrooms, patios, and a huge kitchen. With the help of his seven sons he oversaw the operation of the ranch. "The Baca brothers from upper Las Vegas, Don José, Don Simón, Don Aniceto, and Don Pablo jointly ran half a million head of sheep in the 1870s" [Cactus: 1954:31].

When her mother died in 1898, Fabiola, her brother Luis, and sisters Virginia and Guadalupe, went to live with their paternal grandparents. Guadalupe was sent to an aunt where she remained for twelve years [Interview:1988].

She recalls the wonderful, carefree days spent on the family ranch where "we children rode our ponies and picnicked in the meadows. Papa would take us on long rides, then at night tell us stories." [Ibid.] Her remembrances of ranch life were the basis for her written works.

When Fabiola's brother Luis turned five, the grandparents moved to Las Vegas, where Luis was enrolled in a Catholic

school for boys operated by the Christian Brothers. Fabiola, a precocious child of four, insisted on going to school too. Although it was highly unusual, permission was granted. She enrolled at Loretto Academy, run by the Sisters of Loretto, a Kansas City order, who in the early 1800s established a series of convents and private schools in the Southwest. In a 1983 interview C. de Baca recalls

That was my first school...with the nuns...I wasn't even old enough to go but...because my brother Luis went, I had to go too. He went to the brothers ... I went to the nuns [Sanchez:1985].

The C. de Baca's, schooled in Spain and Mexico, were most concerned with their children's education. Indeed, by the mid 1890s, most C. de Baca sons went East to Ivy League schools, as did Adelina (Nina) Otero and her cousin Miguel A. Otero Jr., first Territorial governor of New Mexico. In a 1983 interview Fabiola recalls:

My grandfather was highly educated...he was educated in Mexico...he had five sons who were also educated ...the only one that stayed on the ranch ...was my father Luis. Some were lawyers...it was an interesting family [Sanchez:1983].

During the early 1900s, daughters of Hispanic elites attended Loretto Academy in Santa Fe. Cleofas M. Jaramillo, of the well-known Martínez clan of northern New Mexico, a contemporary of Fabiola and noted author, attended this school as a boarding student. Students were instructed in the basics: Latin, math, history, and music. Fabiola, it is said, excelled at school; she was a joy to the nuns.

"At first I spoke only Spanish," recalls Fabiola, "but by

the first year I spoke mostly English." [Ibid.]

During the many summers spent at the ranch, Fabiola worked alongside her grandmother at the numerous tasks that befell women. She saw at first hand how her grandmother, as wife to the patron, worked from dawn to dusk. The ranch owner was responsible for ranchhands; his wife was expected to work just as hard. Women rose with the dawn to cook, clean, and prepare food for the workers. C. de Baca's grandmother was a curandera. She gathered, dried and stored herbs to heal the sick. "There were no doctors nearby... people learned to rely on women like my grandmother...She often delivered babies, and cured other ills" [Ibid.]

C. de Baca was the family historian, and as such memorized and documented local history. Her grandfather knew well the history of the Staked Plains, and nightly relegated friends and neighbors with tales of times past [Cactus:1954].

While at the ranch, C. de Baca never disdained the hard work inherent in country life. She, more than her siblings preferred ranch to city, and rode her pony all day long. A relative recalls "grandmother dressed her favorite granddaughter in lace dresses and silk ribbons...She returned with her dress in tatters and scuffed shoes" [Sanchez:1988].

In 1912, C. de Baca graduated from Normal School in Las Vegas, New Mexico, with a "First Certificate" that entitled her to teach elementary school. New Mexico, then a territory, was the first bilingual state in the Union; there was a dire

need for teachers of English and Spanish. More importantly, this was one of the few careers open to women at that time.

She boarded at the Santa Rosa Hotel for \$15.00 a month, and each day walked the two miles to school. Of her first teaching experience she recalls:

"The Santa Rosa schoolhouse was six miles from the ranch ...a great distance on horseback "[Cactus:1954:160]. Within a few days she decided not ride back and forth each day, but boarded with a local family.

One family lived close to school. They were simple folk, but gracious. They arranged to give me room, board and laundry for \$12.00. My salary was then \$70.00 a month [Interview:1985].

While C. de Baca enjoyed teaching elementary grades, she was also ambitious. She enrolled at Highlands University in Las Vegas, and in 1921 she received a B.A. in pedagogy. A highly energetic woman, she continued to teach for both the El Rito School District and in San Miguel County. Once more she took one year off to study in Spain. In addition to regular classes, she researched C. de Baca family history. Her interest in genealogy continued for years. Soon after she commissioned a C. de Baca Coat of Arms. "When the drawing was delivered, she called it 'ugly,' and stuck it in the garage" [Sánchez:1989].

During the early 1920s and 30s, in an effort to educate rural New Mexican women in food preservation methods, the New Mexico Department of Agriculture organized the Agricultural Extension Service (AES) to recruit agents to work in Hispanic

villages and Indian pueblos. The first to be hired was C. de Baca. She was bilingual and more importantly, by this time had an advanced degree in Home Economics from New Mexico State University. She was assigned to six northern counties where she taught basic nutrition, food preparation, and home-canning techniques to Indian and Hispanic women. A concern with noblesse oblige inherited from her grandmother, la patrona, led C. de Baca to organize Four-H and Girl Scouts Clubs for school-age girls [Montoya:1989]. She is also credited with reviving Hispanic folk arts [Sánchez:1991].

In 1929, much to the disappointment of her family, C. de Baca married Carlos Gilbert, a divorced man. Little is known of the marriage, which produced no children and ended in divorce. Soon after she was involved in an accident. Her car was hit by a train near the railroad crossing in Romeroville, a town near Las Vegas. Severely injured, she later lost a left leg due to gangrene, and a lack of penicillin. Still, she recovered and returned to her job with Extension. She divorced sometime later, and continued to work with community and civic groups.

In 1950 C. de Baca was "loaned" by Extension to the United Nations (UNESCO) to teach Latin American students in Mexico domestic skills, nutrition, and food preparation. She remained for over a year, then returned to her work as Extension Agent. She remained friends with former students, some of whom visited her in New Mexico.

C. de Baca's writing career began with Extension. She was asked to compile a nutrition pamphlet, Los Alimentos y Su Preparacion, for rural Hispanic women. This 1934 publication was well received and reissued in 1937 and 1942. In 1939 she published Historic Cookery, a compilation of New Mexican recipes learned from her grandmother. Much of the success of the cookbooks was due to the regional recipes favored by Hispanic New Mexicans. She recalls "They asked me if I knew about Mexican foods...I said no, but I know New Mexican food...So I put together a small pamphlet...which everyone could use. All the recipes were those I had learned at home" [Interview:1983]. To C. de Baca, the distinction between Mexican and Spanish foods was important. She made it clear she knew best New Mexican Hispanic cookery. The success of her publications for Extension were the impetus for C. de Baca to write other works.

When in 1945 C. de Baca published The Good Life, a series of folkloric vignettes interspersed with recipes, folklore, and New Mexican history, a new career as regional writer began. This work describes the Turrieta family (which closely resembles that of C. de Baca), seasonal foods and events in a Hispanic village. The woman in "The Herb Lady" closely resembles her grandmother claims one critic. [Rebolledo: 1987].

C. de Baca's best known work, We Fed Them Cactus established her as an important chronicler of New Mexico's

Staked Plains. In the preface she claims "all of the chapters present authentic historical facts...I consulted New Mexico histories and the Spanish Archives of New Mexico. This is the story of the struggle of New Mexican Hispanos for existence on the llano, the Staked Plains of northern New Mexico" [Cactus:1954]. A major theme is the isolation inherent in ranch life. "Women had to be a tough breed to survive in the ranch...when she married a rancher she left behind her family and friends" [p. 46].

In Cactus C. de Baca reveals a concern with

the economic and social fortunes of Hispanic New Mexicans living through the change from Hispanic...to Anglo New Mexico...The book title refers to the drought of 1918 when Hispanic ranchers fed cactus to cattle for survival... [Rebolledo:1987].

Critics claim C. de Baca wrote from a "hacienda" mentality, and she is condescending to Mexicans and Indians [Paredes:1978]. Others claim she romanticizes the harsh pioneering experience [Rebolledo:1987]. Cactus is devoid of social criticism of Anglo encroachment and briefly cites the las Gorras Blancas a vigilante resistance group who fought Anglo land dominance by dismantling the fences that wreaked havoc in San Miguel County [Cactus:1954].

The importance of C. de Baca's work cannot be denied. Her work is rare in that it describes women's roles in Hispanic ranch society - and some of the romance. Although her works tend to romanticize the Hispanic experience, she was a role model for aspiring Hispanic teachers, folklorists and writers.

Cactus is today considered an important contribution to early Hispanic/Chicana literature.

In 1959, when she retired from Extension, Fabiola Cabeza de Baca was honored at a testimonial dinner attended by her sisters Guadalupe and Virginia. On October 14, 1991, Fabiola Cabeza de Baca, a victim of Alzheimer's disease, died. Her funeral was quiet; she had outlived most of her friends. As she requested "The Last Roundup" was sung at her funeral. She is buried alongside her brother Luis in Newkirk, New Mexico

Much more needs to be discovered of this kind and gentle woman who rather than live a life of leisure, as did many of her contemporaries, learned early in life to give of her time and skills to those less fortunate. As a writer she gave a rich account of New Mexican history.



*Darinosas  
Saludos a la  
Empatica  
Carmen*

Taken in 1947, this photo of Carmen G. Espinosa, wearing an 1894 dress of dark green satin with yellow roses is from her dress collection.

Source: Shawls, Crinolines, Filigree: The Dress and Adornment of Women of New Mexico, 1737-1900. El Paso Texas Western Press 1985

CARMEN GERTRUDIS ESPINOSA  
1905-1987

PRIMARY SOURCES

"Color For Mi Casa," New Mexico Magazine. 15:5 (May:1949) pp. 18-21

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"Miss Espinosa To Be Feted by City Group" Albuquerque Journal May 15, 1975.

"Director of Spanish Dances Committee of Santa Fe Fiesta," in El Palacio 17:6 & 7 [June:1955].

Carmen Gertrudis Espinosa was born Maria del Carmen Gertrudis Espinosa in Southern Colorado in 1905. She is a direct descendent of Marcelo de Espinosa, one of the Spanish captains who in 1598 accompanied Juan de Oñate to New Mexico. She is also related to renowned New Mexican author, linguist, translator, and scholar, José Aurelio Espinosa. She attended local schools in Colorado and New Mexico.

In 1917, as part of the Progressive Party's concern with keeping farmers on the land, and in concert with the Country Life Movement, which attempted to keep families on farms, the

New Mexico Agriculture Extension Services recruited workers to work with farming communities, families in particular, in rural areas of the state. Espinosa was the first Hispanic woman hired by the Extension Service, although it has been written that Fabiola Cabeza de Baca was the first hispana hired by this government agency. As an Extension worker - and more importantly because she was bilingual - Espinosa was assigned to work in rural villages and pueblos.

Espinosa began to translate bulletins on cooking, sewing, and poultry raising into Spanish. She spoke to parents before organizing children. She visited over three hundred homes of Hispanic women and gave canning demonstrations. [Jensen:1986:173]

During her one year tenure, she and Anglo agents brought nutritional and "domestic sciences" to rural families in various New Mexico counties. She was involved in over 162 demonstrations (in Spanish) in seven different regions, a fact that only recently has come to light. As a result of Espinosa's work, the Extension Service realized how crucial to their program was the inclusion of bilingual agents who could communicate with Spanish speakers. Within a few years Hispanics were placed in key positions, specifically as county agents with this organization. It is almost certain that Carmen Gertrudis Espinosa paved the way for other Spanish-speaking workers later hired by the Extension Service.

In 1925 Espinosa went east to attend the University of Wisconsin and the University of Illinois. She received a bachelor's degree in romance languages and taught at the

University of Wisconsin. She taught in the Department of Spanish at these universities while she continued her studies, and in the summer of 1930, traveled to Spain to study Spanish history and art [Albuquerque Journal 1975]. While there she enrolled at El Colegio de los Pirineos near Barcelona where her fluency in Spanish facilitated her studies. As a result of her studies in Spanish art and culture, she immersed herself in the study of Spanish fashion, in particular women's dress of early Spanish settlers.

Espinosa returned to New Mexico in 1935 and went to work for the Department of Education. As an educator with advanced degrees in Spanish language and culture, she was responsible for the preparation of art and Spanish lessons for New Mexican rural schoolchildren. As such, her duties included writing cultural publications, an avocation believed to have precipitated her stint as a guest columnist for a local publication [New Mexican Magazine: 1939]. She was active in various groups, and handled publicity for the Santa Fe Fiesta Committee. She wrote numerous articles commemorating the 200th anniversary of the city of Albuquerque, celebrated in 1953 [Albuquerque Journal:1975]. She was active in community and civic organizations, and a "prime mover in organizing the Folklorica de Santa Fe." [Ibid.] In 1936 Espinosa was chosen Queen of the Santa Fe Fiesta. She presided over her court dressed in an antique dress of Spanish lace and beadwork.

Espinosa's interest in Spanish fashions began while she

pursued studies in New Mexican culture and history, in particular travel accounts by early traders after the American occupation. She was dismayed at trader descriptions of the dress of pioneering Hispanic women of New Mexico, none of which she considered complimentary. Much of the early American travel literature was replete with descriptions of "dirty Mexicans" [Paredes:1978]. Josiah Gregg's 1844 account is a typical example of this type of reference

The Mexican woman is scarcely without her rebozo or shawl...indoors it is loosely thrown about her person, out of doors about her head...This garment affords a facility for the concealment of the person [Shawls:1970:52].

She became recognized as an expert on Spanish Colonial fashions and spoke on this topic to numerous organizations in New Mexico, Texas and Arizona. In the 1940s she was a guest speaker at the Inter-American Affairs organization that sprang up during World War II [Journal:1970]. She continued to study New Mexico cultural history, in particular the clothing and jewelry of Spanish women of an earlier time. The idea for a work on Spanish dress that would dispel negative travel reports - and affirm the positive contributions of hispanos, took shape.

In the following years Espinosa immersed herself in the study of Spanish fashion. In her research she discovered that among the Spanish elite of New Mexico, Santa Fe in particular, women's elaborate dresses were named as property in recorded wills. She examined numerous documents dealing with the

extent, value and ownership of land and property, to find that among Hispanics, elaborate women's garments from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were considered as property. The dresses, of lace and antique satins were mostly of the Spanish Colonial era. Many were decorated with semi-precious stones and costly pearls. In the wills the garments were described in minute detail and were considered as property because of their high value. Espinosa obtained copies of selected wills and dress descriptions for her best known publication Shawls, Crinolines, Filigree: The Dress and Adornment of the Women of New Mexico, 1739-1900.

Espinosa relocated to Albuquerque in 1947 and for seven years worked in the office of Senator Dennis Chavez, her brother-in-law. She joined the Albuquerque Historical Society where her expertise in Hispanic New Mexican arts and crafts were welcomed. The New Mexico Folklore Society, which she also joined, elected her president within a short span; she served in this capacity on four different occasions. She later was director of the Albuquerque Pan American Round Table, a group instrumental in keeping alive Hispanic folk customs in the area [Ibid.].

Espinosa's reputation as an expert on Spanish art and folklore was now legendary. Within a short time she was commissioned to paint the reredos in the University of New Mexico chapel, and also the glass doors and windows in La Placita Restaurant in Old Town [Ibid.].

Still, Espinosa's primary love - and interest - was of Spanish fashions, and was an impetus for the fine collection of Spanish dresses she soon acquired. Many of the fancy dresses had been worn by relatives at an earlier time and as such, were considered priceless. She began to design and have made, clothing copied from historical Spanish fashions. Espinosa herself modeled many fancy gowns during the Santa Fe Fiestas. In the ensuing years - and in anticipation of her book - she continued with this interest.

In Shawls, Crinolines, Filigree, her best known work, Espinosa not only treats the reader to a full description (and photographs) of Spanish dress, but cites the historical events that led to developments in dress codes for Spanish men and women during the reigns of Charles I (1500-58) and King Phillip V (1601-1665), to the coming of the Spanish to New Mexico, and the commerce opened by the coming of the railroad in the 1870s. She claims

The court of Charles (I) was the strictest and most punctilious in Europe. When the ladies of the court were informed they could no longer bare their bosoms, they conformed...by wearing...chemises under their low-cut bodices. [p.1]

A careful reading of this work shows the dedication of a scholar. In Shawls, specific dates, descriptions, and whenever possible, photographs enrich the work. She describes not only clothing, but also the evolution of certain garments. For example, she explains the use by Spanish women of an outer garment called the guardainfante (guard infant)

...the guardainfante was worn over heavy garments, without a bodice, held by tape over the shoulders. Legend has it that this garment was designed for the Spanish queen to hide her state of pregnancy... [Shawls, p. 2.]

In "Color for Mi Casa," Espinosa examines New Mexican architecture and home decoration, much of which she claims is based on Spanish and Mexican Colonial styles ... "the Crown issued definite rules and regulations for the building of houses." [p.19] She chronicles the development of patios and corrals that according to Spanish guidelines, patios had to be rectangular, and describes how New Mexican homes have undergone change, from mud huts to ornate homes with numerous bedrooms and patios [New Mexico Magazine:1949].

For this article, Espinosa researched not only design and function, but also the predominance of white walls within most Hispanic homes. She describes in great detail the walls found in most New Mexico public buildings, especially those considered historical landmarks. Espinosa claims that the walls are first plastered with mud using sheepskin rather than trowels, then treated with yeso, calcined gypsum. This, she states ... "sets off to advantage wall hangings, paintings, and other articles of native make that have been revived." [Ibid.] The beautiful vigas and corbels prevalent in Spain, Espinosa argues, are still in use today. The vigas, she adds, are sometimes carved [Ibid.].

Espinosa, like Cleofas Jaramillo, had an intense interest in local folklore, in particular, the oral tradition.

Espinosa focused on Native American legends and myths, in particular the origin of New Mexican Indian "creation" myths.

In 1985 the University of New Mexico published Espinosa's The Freeing of the Deer and Other Stories: Se da libertad al venado y otras leyendas de los indios de Nuevo México.

In the preface to this work Espinosa explains:

I was approached by Dr. E.L. Hewett, head of the Anthropology Department at the University of New Mexico...to accompany students...excavating in ...Jemez Pueblo. He wanted me to get information on Indian legends. I accepted the invitation [p.ix].

Espinosa was given permission to publish the collected legends but did not immediately do so. Rather, she brought them to the attention of the University of New Mexico Press. She contacted an aged Indian in her area who approved and verified the legends as authentic. She adds "some tales came from Zuni Pueblo, some from Jemez. Many legends are shared among the Pueblo people with variations" [p.x].

This original work flows from Spanish with an exemplary clarity. There are no awkward pauses. Rather, the stories read equally well in both languages.

In the 1970s Espinosa retired from the Albuquerque Board of Education and settled in Albuquerque, her home until her death in 1987. She willed her extensive collection of Spanish fashions: dresses, shawls, mantillas, and embroidered fans, and her antique silver jewelry collection to the Santa Fe Folklore Society she helped found, and by whom she was honored during her lifetime.

Although Espinosa wrote Shawls as a response to negative stereotyping of Hispanic and Mexican women by Anglo traders, she went beyond this task. Rather than describe only the clothes, she cites their historical origin, and deflected rumors by Anglos of Hispanic women as slovenly.

Espinosa wrote to validate Hispanic culture. While C. de Baca chronicled the plight of land-poor Hispanic ranchers of the Staked Plain, Espinosa, an urbanite, concentrated on Hispanic women's adornment: jewelry and clothing. Her scholarly and informative accounts of Spanish Colonial fashions and adornment, folktales, and Spanish architecture, are an important contribution to New Mexican history and culture. More importantly, they revise negative stereotypes of hispanas of this state.

This study found that Espinosa, like Lucero-White Lea, is unknown to the general public; her books are rarely cited by scholars, yet she served as consultant to many who came to this state to collect local lore. Apart from regional folklorists - and few of those - critics rarely cite her writings. Her work as an educator and civic worker is acknowledged by most Hispanic New Mexicans, yet Shawls, a well documented work has been overlooked by Hispanic scholars. Espinosa's works have not received the recognition they merit. However, future studies will no doubt tell us more of her life and works.



Cleofas M. Jaramillo and her younger sister. Taken in 1901  
santa Fe Scene August:1958

CLEOFAS M. JARAMILLO

1878 - 1956

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"The Romance of Cleofas M. Jaramillo" Santa Fe Scene [August:1958]

Cleofas Martinez Jaramillo was born on December 6, 1878 to Marina Lucero Martinez and M. Martinez. Don Manuel Martinez, her paternal great-grandfather, had received a huge land grant in Tierra Amarilla in northern New Mexico. Her grandfather Vicente built a seventeen-room house in Arroyo Hondo where her parents later lived and raised their family [Santa Fe Scene:1958:4]. Her father raised cattle, sheep and race horses. The Martinez family was also involved in the mercantile trade generated by the coming of the railroads in

the late 1890s. Jaramillo lived a life of privilege. She and a sister shared a nanny, and were waited on by numerous servants.

Jaramillo's life was somewhat regulated by Catholicism. The house boasted a private chapel in which the family met for evening prayer. They observed all religious holidays and in addition, were host to traveling clergy who knew well the hospitality that awaited them in the Martinez home. Catholic religious observations and the rituals inherent in these were important to Jaramillo, who recalls "Prayer entered into every undertaking. Even when cooking, women evoked the...Holy Trinity to ensure bread would be good. A cross was marked on bread before it was set to rise." [Shadows of the Past 1939:22].

During the early 1900s, the Loretto Academies, staffed by the Sisters of Loretto, a Kansas City order, were located in both Taos and Santa Fe. Hispanic Catholics considered them the best school for young women. When nine, Jaramillo attended Loretto Convent School in Taos as a boarding student. Classes were conducted both in English and Spanish. While there she learned to play the piano and to do fine embroidery. Jaramillo attended as a boarding student; each weekend her father picked her up in a buggy for her return home. She studied at Loretto Academy for nine years. From there she transferred to Loretto Academy in Santa Fe where she remained until her graduation.

While at a relative's wedding

shy, petite Cleofas met Venceslao Jaramillo... she began receiving little gifts from the young Romeo who was then in the Legislature...although he had just turned 21. Governor Otero conferred on him the rank of colonel. [Santa Fe Scene:1958].

When she was twenty, Jaramillo became engaged to Colonel Venceslao Jaramillo, scion of the wealthy Jaramillo family. Although the marriage was not arranged by her parents, their approval was necessary. He and Jaramillo had earlier exchanged notes - and gifts - and agreed to marry. Once the marriage was approved, Col. Jaramillo sent Cleofas an engagement ring through the mail.

The Martinez-Jaramillo nuptials took place on July 27, 1898, and were considered society's highlight of the year. Everyone who counted was there, from politicians to ranchers to merchants. Jaramillo's bridesmaids were mostly women with English surnames. Still, it was an honor for Hispanic young women to be included in this wedding, one Jaramillo later described in detail

At the appointed hour of seven o'clock in the evening, the spacious church filled to capacity with guests...we had attended the six o'clock mass...that morning, so now it was just the marriage ceremony [Romance:79].

Among the guests was Governor Miguel A. Otero Jr., and his huge entourage, which necessitated the wedding ceremony be held in Our Lady of Guadalupe in Taos

Although she wanted a quiet wedding in the capilla of her family home, her husband reminded her...even a spacious hacienda could not accommodate Governor Otero [Jensen:1983:157].

Their honeymoon trip took them East and to California, where they took an official wedding portrait. Upon their return they moved into spacious quarters in Santa Fe. "As a rich and member of the influential Martinez family, Jaramillo was acquainted with Hispanic and Anglo political and religious leaders" [Jensen:1983: 154]. Of the three children born to them, two died in infancy. A daughter Angelina lived to age seventeen.

When Col. Jaramillo was elected state senator, the family moved to a large house near the state capitol. Cleofas learned to entertain the many guests that flocked to their numerous receptions and parties. In Romance she describes this as a happy time. She was active in political social circles of life and had a large staff to serve her. Her command of English, she claims, was faulty, and led to a problem of communication with English-speaking visitors. Her happiness was short lived due to the death of Col. Jaramillo within a few years of their marriage. Her one surviving child was murdered when an assailant broke into the family house.

Jaramillo's interest in writing was spurred by the Federal Writers Program (FWP), based in Santa Fe and Taos. Her writing was stimulated by the artistic climate of Santa Fe in the 1940s. "Writing and art are contagious in this old town. We have caught the fever from Mary Austin...and some of us have the courage to try...[Rebolledo:1987:167]. Her brother Reyes, however, collected Hispanic oral histories for the group.

Earlier Jaramillo had begun to collect and translate the Spanish fairy tales her mother told her. She also compiled a recipe book of New Mexican foods. Although not active in the FWP, she saw how Anglos appropriated Hispanic folklore. She became suspicious of those who asked to "borrow" her materials. Thus, her first works were published by trusted friends at Seton Village Press in Santa Fe. Later, her two major works went to the Naylor Company in San Antonio, Texas.

Jaramillo's first publication, Cuentos del Hogar (Spanish Fairy Tales) (1939) is a Hispanic fairy tale collection based on cuentos told to her in childhood:

Spanish stories...like Spanish songs, have been orally transmitted from one generation to another. These...are not as entertaining when read as when heard...but realizing that we modern mothers no longer have time nor the patience to sit and tell our children these stories, I...translated a few [Cuentos:1939:5].

Some of the works in this book are religious, among them "Maria Santisima." "La Matuchita," "La Ranita," and "Marquita Linda," are similar to the English fairy tale "Cinderella [Ibid.].

Jaramillo collected regional lore. One favorite is "La Flor" told by an old man named "Old Joaquin," whom Jaramillo's family befriended:

The blind man was led to our door frequently by his grandson. He would sing us a 'decima' for an alma. On hearing his song one of the children would ask him... to sit on the 'banqueta' on the porch and tell us a story. [p.51]

In Genuine New Mexican Tasty Recipes/Potajes Sabrosos

(1939), Jaramillo explains "In this collection of Spanish recipes only those used in New Mexico...are given, excepting one or two Old Mexico recipes [Genuine:1939:1]. This work lists "Pollo con Arroz/Stewed Chicken," "Canffainita," a mutton dish, "Pollo Relleno," stuffed chicken, and other regional foods. Unlike C. de Baca who peppered her recipe books with anecdotes describing their origins, in the 1939 edition Jaramillo merely lists the ingredients. Like most hispanas, she took pride in keeping alive Hispanic traditional foods and practices. A 1981 reprint of this work includes recipes, a short biography of Jaramillo, and short anecdotes by Jaramillo. Her brother Reyes contributed "Foods of the Southwest" and "Pinon Picking," a glossary of Spanish names, and a description of New Mexican herbs and spices [Genuine:1981:43].

Shadows of the Past (1941), like C. de Baca's We Fed Them Cactus and Otero-Warren's Old Spain in Our Southwest, is steeped in nostalgia. Jaramillo relates how her ancestors settled Arroyo Hondo, near Taos. She speaks with pride of her grandparents, and describes numerous fiestas. In "Memorias" she describes her widowed Aunt Dolores, who

...strictly adhered to the Spanish customs and was one of the outstanding examples of the dignified lady of the past [Shadows p. 24].

Aunt Dolores never exposed her face to the sun for fear of getting freckled. Moreso, this lady slept smothered in veils, with all bedroom windows closed, fearful of humores, the bad

humors that brought disease. She was equally vain about her white skin, a sign of pureza de sangre.

In Shadows, Jaramillo's female relatives spent their days supervising maids, making elderberry wine, or embroidering altar cloths. There are few references to actual work by other than Indian or Mexican servants.

Hispanic women born to privilege, with an abundance of servants, appear overly concerned with propriety and social class. Jaramillo claims..."hispanas wore silk rebozos with two fringed ends. The length of the silk fringe denoted the wealth of the owner" [p.31].

Jaramillo's work has received some attention from critics. Romance chronicles late 19th Century Hispanic society, in particular courtship and marriage patterns. Jaramillo has a keen eye for detail and for painting images that remain vivid and fresh. It is of historical value, although critics claim Jaramillo romanticizes the experience of early settlers to Arroyo Hondo, most of whom, due to loss of grazing lands, were reduced to tending small country stores. "Jaramillo had a clear sense of the passing of Spanish culture...and the need to record it before it is lost" [Rebolledo: 1987:53].

In Romance of a Little Village Girl (1945) Jaramillo chronicles the events that led to her wedding. In "School Dreams Blossom into a Wedding," she tells of traveling to Denver in the company of her fiancé, his mother and two sisters, to buy her trousseau. She describes the excitement

of staying in a large hotel and "having French waiters place footstools under my feet and setting silver platters before me" [Romance:73]. She further describes her wedding gown:

The wedding gown was of duchess white satin, veiled in embroidered silk grenadine, trimmed with myriads of chiffon frills and pearl passementerie. I could hardly carry the weight of the long train [Ibid.].

An incisive 1983 study of claims Jaramillo describes life in Hispanic northern New Mexico primarily in terms of romance and religion..."Her interest in romance reflects a personal and societal concern and characterizes her writing style...Both themes pervade three of her four books." [Jensen:1983:153]. It is clear that Jaramillo accepted marriage as her destiny and relished the excitement of being a bride, and as such, the center of attention. More to the point, Hispanic women in general, upper-class women in particular had few career options. At Loretto Academy Jaramillo learned well the skills necessary to run a home. She was steeped in the fashions of the day and as a lady of leisure, more than fulfilled role expectations of women of her class. Indeed, it appears that her wedding was the highlight of her life.

In Shadows Jaramillo argues that few class differences existed between Indians and Hispanics, a theme also discussed in the works of C. de Baca's Cactus. Native-Americans it seems, were treated alike, and during fiestas, ate at the same table with the patron. [Shadows:1939:73]. Still, the importance of race and class to Hispanics is apparent

throughout her works.

Leisure time for Hispanic upper-class women denoted their class, as did having light skin and blue eyes. In Romance, Jaramillo bemoans her looks, saying she was the "ugly duckling," but blonde, like her mother [Shadows:1939:165].

The influence of landscape in Southwestern women's literature has in recent years become a topic of interest. A recent study claims the New Mexico landscape is a major influence in women's art, and expressed in pottery, weavings, and writing [Rebolledo in Norwood:1987]. As we have seen, both landscape and tradition came to influence the writings of women like Jaramillo.

Jaramillo integrates the landscape throughout her books. She, like C. de Baca, writes with fondness of the New Mexico landscape, and the clear blue skies. Her work is most descriptive, in particular when describing the flora and fauna of her birthplace:

Arroyo Hondo is a fertile, green refuge, hidden  
in the plain...stretching west from the Taos  
mountains [ibid].

The influence of Mary Austin, prolific writer and illustrator of the American Southwest is evident in the works of Jaramillo, who in detail describes every rock, ridge and arroyo in her immediate environment [Rebolledo:1987]. Like Austin, a gifted illustrator, Jaramillo includes landscape sketches in her works, although not as detailed. Indeed, the influence of Austin, who settled in New Mexico in the early

1900s, and in her books recaptured the vast beauty of this state, is apparent in Jaramillo's work, Shadows, in particular.

Across the garden...stood the private chapel built by my grandfather Don Vicente, in thanksgiving for the safe delivery of the family...from the attacks of the Indians, who once in a while raided the village.

. . .

When the cry, "Indians" spread through the village ...this chapel bell would ring...calling all the villagers to gather. The hand-hewn doors of the...saguan, and the massive double doors were then locked [p. 14].

A common interest of all five writers is their interest - and love - of regional folklore. Jaramillo, like Espinosa and Lucero-White Lea, became immersed in collecting Hispanic cuentos, songs, and folktales. Early on she collected and transcribed folktales, legends and recipes, aware that in time most Spanish customs and traditions would be lost to modernity. She like the other women profiled here, was committed to preserving the rich lore of this state.

Like C. de Baca and Otero-Warren (a second cousin), Jaramillo enjoyed being a hispana, and all the trappings that went with that image. She was prominent in most Santa Fe Hispanic organizations and although not an educator like the others, dedicated her life to her remaining child - and to documenting the Hispanic experience for posterity.

It is debatable whether or not Jaramillo is a precursor of contemporary Chicana literature. For one, she identified as Spanish, and not Mexican. The fashions, foods, and folklore

she writes of were in the Hispanic tradition. Her works, while steeped in nostalgia, tend to romanticize the pioneering experience of early Spanish settlers. They give the reader a sense of the lives of upper-class Hispanics within a historical context. As such they are an important contribution to Hispanic/Chicano literature.

Jaramillo spent her last years in Santa Fe. She was a founding member of the Santa Fe Folklore Society, and for many years, a businesswoman.



Aurora Lucero-White as a young woman. Photo taken sometime  
in 1915 when her father Antonio Lucero was New Mexico  
Secretary of State. Santa Fe Scene January 1960

AURORA LUCERO-WHITE LEA  
1894 - 1965 ?

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Aurora Lucero White, known best for her folkloric studies of early New Mexican dances and folk drama, is a direct descendent of Francisco Lucero de Godoy, who took part in the De Vargas Expedition of 1692. She was born on February 8, 1894, the first child of Julia Romero and Antonio Lucero of Las Vegas, New Mexico. Her father was New Mexico's first Secretary of State (1912 to 1917), publisher and co-owner of La Voz del Pueblo. Her mother was related to the Romero and Baca families listed in Fray Angelico Chavez's "Origins of New Mexico Families." Her parental grandfather was of the wealthy and political Luna family that settled in southern New Mexico.

A maternal uncle, Salomon Luna, controlled much of the Hispanic vote around the area known today as Los Lunas. Lucero-White was a cousin of Adelina (Nina) Otero Warren, New Mexican suffragist. In the early 1900s Lucero White was politically active and help her cousin lobby to secure the voting franchise for American women [Jensen:1986:310]. She recruited Hispanic women of Santa Fe, the center of Hispanic politicos, with some success.

Lucero-White attended public school in Las Vegas and Normal University, now Highlands University. When her father became Secretary of State the family relocated to Santa Fe. Lucero-White remained in Las Vegas, but excited by the numerous events in the capitol, she left her studies to join her family - and enjoy the social whirl: dinners and dances - where she and other Hispanic elites held court. She worked

in her father's office for a time and helped with the New Mexico art exhibit at the San Diego Exposition. She accompanied her father to Washington D.C. and was named a delegate to the Ladies Delegation Aides, a women's political group.

In 1919 she married George White and later gave birth to a daughter, Dolores. She returned to New Mexico and re-entered Highlands University and also attended the University of Southern California where she majored in Spanish. She graduated from Highlands with a Bachelor of Pedagogy degree. Like Fabiola Cabeza de Baca and Nina Otero-Warren, Lucero White was recruited to teach in the first bilingual state in the Union. To New Mexican educators, it was imperative they hire instructors fluent in both English and Spanish. Her first teaching assignment was at Tucumcari High School in 1916 [Santa Fe Scene:1960].

She was appointed assistant professor of Spanish at Highlands University in 1927. Her father, a renowned scholar, had taught in the Spanish department at an earlier time. Lucero-White returned to school to continue her studies. In 1932 she received a Masters Degree in Spanish Literature from Highlands University where she excelled as a linguist, and translator. She was a member of Alpha Zeta Pi, a Romance Language Honor Society, and Sigma Tau Delta, a dramatic society.

Folklore was Lucero-White's first love, an interest

sparked by family history and intensified by contact with Hispanics in rural areas. She was hired as Superintendent of Schools in San Miguel County from 1925-27, and as such traveled throughout the state on educational matters. She often stopped in small villages where "she would happen upon a wedding, a baptism, or a baile" [ibid.]. She established rapport with villagers and began to document the abundant folklore of the area. Her master's thesis was entitled: "Coloquios de los Pastores," a text that reflected this great interest. Like Carmen G. Espinosa and Cleofas M. Jaramillo, Lucero-White was determined to retain Hispanic customs and traditions. In 1934 she was appointed assistant superintendent of instruction, and as such, was instrumental in including folklore in the general curriculum. Because of her vast knowledge of folk tales, songs, dances, and dichos, she was recognized as an authority on New Mexico folklore. According to Scene "She served as consultant to eminent folklorists" [Scene:1960:5].

As a member of a political family, and because of the time spent in Santa Fe with her father, Lucero-White was greatly influenced by historical events of her time. Primarily interested in folk drama, she found a way to combine these two loves within select folk plays. Los Pastores [1936] is based on Spanish folk-drama from the 13th Century. However, Kearney Takes Las Vegas is a historical work based on actual events. A preface to this work claims "The latter was based on the

actual proclamation as reported in 'Notes of a Military Reconnaissance, 30th Congress, Senate Document, Executive No. 7, 1848, August 15, 1846'" [FWP Mss # 93].

One theme in this work is of arranged marriage, a common practice among New Mexican Hispanics, concerned with keeping the blood lines "pure" [Stephens in Jensen:1987:258]. This play also touches upon how ... "women of Spanish blood marry not for love but for convenience...and who knows better than the parents how to choose a husband for convenience" [FWP Mss. # 93]. The bride-to-be is told by her father, the mayor of Las Vegas, "everything will pass after you are married... Love...that is a thing apart, that will come later" [FWP:4].

The plot chronicles the arrival of Lt. Robert Kearney, nephew to General Kearney, to Las Vegas. Housed with the mayor's family, he falls in love with Dolores, the mayor's daughter now engaged to another. The arrival of the United States military split Hispanic family loyalties. Some welcomed the U.S. army; others fled to Mexico, as does Lorenzo, fiancé to Dolores. In the end Dolores is spared a loveless marriage. Lorenzo leaves for Mexico and frees her to aspire to a love match. Dolores remains in New Mexico, saying: "I prefer to be an American" [p.11].

This short dramatic piece touches on the ambivalence felt by New Mexicans who felt Mexico had not rallied to their cause, thus welcomed the Americans to their city. More importantly, it describes how within Hispanic culture, women

were subservient to males, fathers in particular, and often married men selected by their parents.

In "More About the Matachines" [1963-64] Lucero White (now Lea) examines the origin of this folk-drama, and compares how Indians and Hispanics perform this piece. This scholarly article cites the historical development of los matachines as a

...grafting of Christian concepts upon rituals of Pagan origin...the word matchin comes from the Arabic...and was used to describe a man who put on a face (mask), or to men who faced each other as in the dance...was widespread in Renaissance Europe...brought to America by the missionaries and colonists [White-Lea:1964:7]

In this work Lucero-White describes New Mexican versions of the Matachines, claiming these dances are unique since they were performed both by Hispanos and by Pueblo Indians as part of the Ceremonial Dances. She found that Indians, like Hispanos, use a violin and guitar, and also dressed alike. She further claims that many of the dance patterns are descended from Mexico's Tarahumara Indians. Her interest in folk dance and dance patterns is also evident in her best known publication Literary Folklore of the Southwest [1953].

In the introduction Lucero-White explains this work is an effort to

transplant folk-dances from their native background to a modern ballroom...and the accompaniments of these, as played by native musicos [Lucero-White:1953:x].

The dances described include "La Indita," "El Vaquero," "La Varsoviana," and "La Camila."

Lucero-White chronicles the historical development of Spanish colonial dances and their interpretation, specifically as part of the Santa Fe Fiesta which began in 1712. She claims

This is the annual playtime for thousands, many of them descendants of the Spanish-Colonials. Forgotten plays, old ballads, and the traditional dances come to the fore. Native musicians are called upon to play their repertoire of ballads...and the gente, attired in old Spanish-Colonial costumes, dance the patriarchal bailes honestos de antano. [Lucero-White:1953:11]

Unlike C. de Baca, who insisted she knew nothing of Mexican cookery, Lucero-White explains how some of the dances in this study were kept alive as "discreet diversions and genteel entertainment" by the people long after Mexico, from whence the dances are found to have come, replaced them with other dances [Lucero-White:1953:14].

Lucero-White, as did her Hispanic contemporaries, felt it important to document and thus reaffirm, Spanish Colonial culture. While Espinosa concentrated on women's clothing and jewelry willed by Hispanic Colonials as property, Lucero-White cites the importance of dance both as a social outlet and a way to preserve traditions. She notes the significance of Moorish influences to Hispanic dances and tells of Pueblo Indians who adapted both music and dance patterns to their particular dance rituals.

Unlike Aurelio Espinosa, noted Hispanic scholar and translator who argues that authentic Hispanic legends are based in Spain and not Mexico, Lucero-White Lea claims

there is nothing in the Spanish-Colonial dances which would tend to link them with the folk-dances of the Iberian Peninsula...flamenco dances undoubtedly originated in the gypsy barrios [Folklore: 1953:11]

Lucero-White Lea was involved for a short time with the Federal Writer's Project during the early 1900s. She and Reyes Martinez, brother of Cleofas M. Jaramillo, were among those who collected and classified Hispanic regional folklore: fairy tales, songs, dances, and dichos. She was especially interested in the Spanish indita and to her credit, cites the importance of Indian dance patterns to hispano folk dances.

Her first publication, Los Pastores [1940] (English and Spanish) was followed by the 1941 publication by Seton Press, Santa Fe, of Volume 1 of The Folklore of New Mexico. This extensive work was later incorporated into The Literary Folklore of the Hispanic Southwest first published in 1948, later retitled The Literary Folklore of New Mexico [Santa Fe Scene:5].

Lucero-White Lea's best known work The Literary Folklore of New Mexico [1953] was well received and joined similar works by other Hispanic women, namely Cleofas M. Jaramillo and Nina Otero Warren. The book received praise from literary critics who claim

The literature of the Southwest has at last been brought together by Aurora White Lea...There are splendid plays which the author found in manuscripts dating back to medieval days...religious folk plays, children's games, and variations of ballads [p.6].

Throughout her life Aurora Lucero-White Lea continued to develop her interest in Hispanic folklore. With Jaramillo,

she helped found La Sociedad Folklorica based in Santa Fe. Meetings and business pertaining to this organization were conducted in Spanish, as per the by-laws. She was a member of the New Mexico Folklore Society which in the 1970s paid honor to her contributions. She is listed in "Who's Who in New Mexico" [1957] and appears in "This Is New Mexico," published by New Mexico Magazine [1957] and was profiled in the Santa Fe Scene [1960].

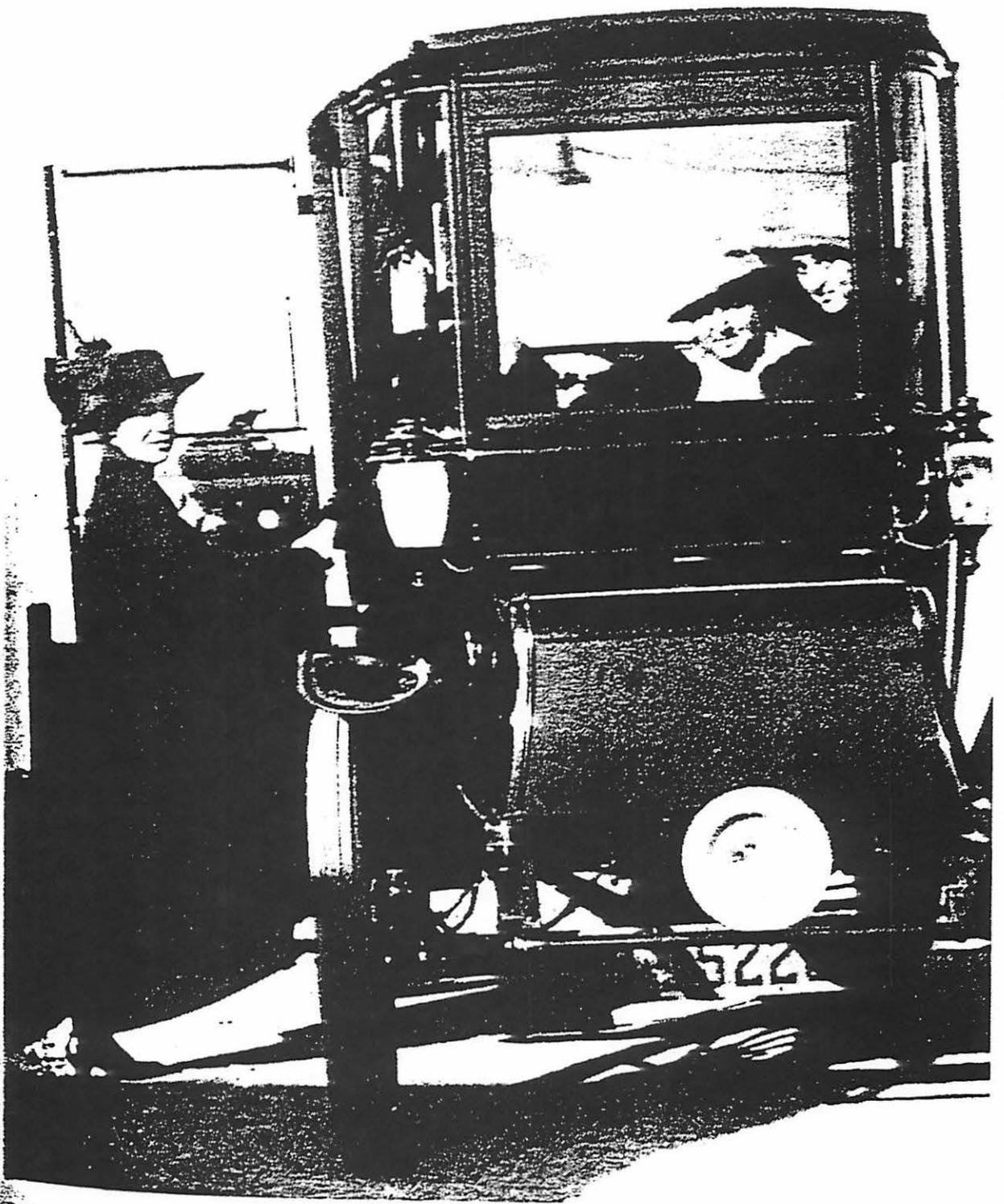
Lucero-White Lea retired from teaching in 1960, claiming her happiest teaching experience was at Highlands where her students performed her folk plays. With her husband P.K. Lea, she lived her last years in Santa Fe. Her home, once a dance hall in the 1880s was filled with heirloom pieces and folk art.

Criticism of Lucero-White Lea's work is to date minimal. Much of this is because few literary historians are interested in Hispanic writers in general, and women in particular. Moreover, Lucero-White Lea is a regional writer, and as such has garnered less attention. She, like the other women in this study, wrote on regional themes: Spanish culture and folklore, and affirmed the legacy left them by Spanish ancestors. Still, Lucero-White Lea may be considered a precursor of what is today Chicana literature, although she, like C. de Baca identified as Spanish European, and tended to romanticize the experiences of early Hispanic settlers.

Equally disturbing is the omission of Lucero-White Lea in

a 1984 exhibition of prominent New Mexican women commissioned by an Albuquerque women's organization. Indeed, only C. de Baca was included. Anglo women writers not as prolific as Lucero-White Lea were included in this historical event. In addition, contemporary anthologies of western women writers also fail to cite Lucero-White Lea. Efforts to learn more about this writer yielded scant information. The Santa Fe Scene, a short lived periodical, was the sole reference found.

Much more needs to be written of this talented and giving woman who although born to privilege, as an educator used her talents and energies to help those less fortunate. Moreover, through her writings she documented the impact of Hispanic folklore to New Mexico.



*Nina Otero-Warren campaigning, 1923. (Bergere Family Collection, Photo No. 21252, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico.)*

ADELINA (NINA) OTERO-WARREN  
1882-1965

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Adelina (Nina) Isabel Emilia Otero Warren was born on October 22, 1881 in Los Lunas, New Mexico to Eloisa Luna de Otero and Manuel Luna. Both parents were descendants of 17th Century Hispanic settlers to this state. The Oteros were prominent in southern New Mexico, specifically in the area of Los Lunas, a town named for them. Her mother was a daughter of Antonio Jose Luna and Isabel Baca, and related to Domingo de Luna who after the 1693 Reconquest, settled in Los Lunas. Otero Warren was still an infant when in 1883 her father was killed by James G. Whitney in a land dispute. In 1886 her mother married Alfred Maurice (A.M.) Bergere, a wealthy merchant [Bergere Family Papers: State Records Center & Archives].

The Oteros were not only wealthy but active in local and state politics. A maternal uncle, Salomon Luna, was a wealthy sheep raiser and president of the Bank of Commerce in Albuquerque. He served as sheriff, probate clerk and treasurer of Valencia County, and in 1910 was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention. He, like his niece, was a staunch Republican [Ibid.].

Otero Warren, like other daughters of Hispanic elites, went East to college. She attended Maryville College of the Sacred Heart in St. Louis, Missouri, her mother's alma mater, but did not complete a degree program. The Oteros, as did other hispanos, felt it important to educate their children, sons in particular, in eastern Ivy League colleges. Although

some sons were sent to schools in Mexico and Spain, many others went East, as did Miguel A. Otero Jr., the first Territorial Governor of New Mexico, and cousin to Otero Warren. To be schooled in the East made for valuable business and political connections, many of which, in the case of Otero Jr., were important to him as governor.

As the niece of Solomon Luna, considered the most powerful man in the state, and owner of the Luna Mansion, Otero-Warren was exposed to politics. She learned at first hand the importance of the vote for Hispanics who aspired to political office, many of them relatives.

Otero Warren is said to be the first woman to hold the rank of colonel on the staff of former Governor Richard Dillon, although it is not clear when or where she served in the U.S. military [New Mexican:1965]. In 1904 she married Rawson Warren, a Colonel in the United States Army and remained in the East. No children were born of this union; the marriage ended later in divorce, although Otero Warren referred to herself as a widow. In the 1900s, Hispanic Catholics viewed divorce as a social stigma, one to be avoided at all costs. For Otero Warren, being a divorcee later proved detrimental to her political career.

From 1912 to 1914 Otero-Warren worked in New York with the noted settlement house organizer, Ann Morgan. While there she worked with poor children of the urban areas. That same year Alice Paul, an activist with the women's suffrage movement,

specifically the Congressional Union [CU] sent Ella St.Clair Thompson, a close friend and fellow-suffragette, to recruit Hispanic women of New Mexico. She contacted ... "three nieces of Solomon Luna, among these 34 year old widow, Adelina Otero Warren, who became the most influential New Mexican woman in the CU" [Jensen:1986:310]. Otero-Warren, coached by Thompson, began to recruit Hispanic women of New Mexico.

...when Thompson arrived she made efforts to recruit daughters of Hispanic politicians. Aurora Lucero, daughter of the Secretary of State, joined [Jensen:1987:310].

Upon the death of her mother, Otero Warren, still living in the East, returned to New Mexico to care for her nine siblings. She became active in numerous women's clubs, in particular those determined to pass prohibition laws. She was also involved in political organizations, most of which lobbied for the franchise.

In 1917 Alice Paul asked Otero Warren to head the state group of the CU. It is said... "she began as a timid woman, but gradually became a political force" [Ibid.]. Soon after, that same year, Otero Warren was appointed by Republicans as Superintendent of Schools for the Santa Fe area. Under her tenure she stressed adult education, established a county high school, a nine-month school term, higher teaching standards, an increase in teacher's salaries, and saw to the repair of antiquated schools. She was later defeated by a male opponent to continue in this position [Ibid.].

Otero Warren continued her work with the Republican party,

in particular with the Republican Caucus. In 1920 she lobbied for the vote for women, but the bid for the franchise was soundly defeated. "Her impact, and that of other women, was to be a big factor in the next election" [Jensen:1987:311].

When in 1922 Otero Warren ran for the U.S. House of Representatives, she did not win enough votes to defeat her male Democrat opponent, but did carry four of five Hispanic counties. Three kinds of criticism were leveled against her campaign. The first two dealt with her party affiliation (the Republican party was not as prominent then), and her gender. Criticism from her cousin Miguel A. Otero Jr. did not help. Otero Jr. was a staunch Democrat and was still smarting from the loss of prominent Hispanics to the opposition. Moreover, he did not approve of women in public office. It is said that during the campaign he leaked the "news" that Otero Warren was not a widow, as she had long claimed, but a divorced woman. To the voters at large, the notion of a divorced Catholic Hispanic woman holding high office was not palatable. When the vote was tallied it was found that Otero Warren did not have enough votes to defeat her Democrat male opponent. She lost the election, but carried four out of five counties [Jensen:1987:322]

Otero Warren left politics but continued to work with various government agencies such as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), State Health Board, and as one of five inspectors of the Indian Service in the Department of the

Interior, was instrumental in developing curricula. In this capacity she investigated conditions of the Santa Fe Indian School and also supervised adult education and literacy programs [Bergere Family Papers].

Her work as an educator was a boon to those supportive of Indian education. She set out to work with missionary zeal, and is credited with making innovative changes in teaching methods. Among the pamphlets and reports she authored are "Teaching English to Non-English Speaking Adults," "Manual on Report Making," "The Art of Living Together," "Practical Arithmetic," and "Aids to Teachers of Literacy, Naturalization and Elementary Subjects for Adults" [Ibid.]

Otero Warren's importance as a progressive educator was further recognized when in 1941 she was appointed special consultant for the Works Progress Administration (WPA). As with Indian Service, she worked diligently to raise educational standards in general, among Indians and Hispanics in particular. Otero Warren organized and presided over literacy workshops and proposed a bilingual curriculum that would ensure access to education for all New Mexicans.

In this same year Otero Warren was sent to Puerto Rico by the WPA to direct an adult education program. While there she directed learning programs similar to those developed earlier. Reports of her work are highlighted in "My Work on the Island- An Account of the WPA Adult Education and Public School Projects in Puerto Rico" [Ibid.]. While there she took an

interest in local politics, and made a political speech regarding coal lands in San Juan County [ibid.].

Like her contemporaries, Otero Warren had a keen interest in New Mexican folklore as evident in a proliferation of folkloric vignettes such as "Christmas in New Mexico," "Corridos," "Dichos and Adivinanzas," "Songs and Stories," "The Wind in the Mountains," "When Easter Comes to New Mexico" and "Versos," works later incorporated in her book [Ibid.]. Unlike Carmen Espinosa who authored a bilingual work of New Mexican Indian legends and tales, Otero Warren's focus was primarily to recapture Hispanic history. Her emergence as a writer began.

In 1936 Otero Warren published Old Spain in Our Southwest. This was one of the first works published by a Hispanic New Mexican woman, and preceded the works of both Jaramillo and C. de Baca. Although the Federal Writer's Project based in Santa Fe was then at its zenith, there is no mention in publications by and about this group of Otero Warren's involvement. Moreover, she was published by an Eastern Press, which was highly unusual.

Old Spain is a combination of folklore, New Mexico and family history. In the preface she explains that she is writing of events long past. She reconstructed the arrival of Coronado in 1540, followed by that of Cabeza de Vaca and Estevanico, his Moorish slave. She speaks in lofty terms of Hispanics, all of whom she claims were of the elite, claiming,

The Spanish descendant of the conquistadores may be poor, but he takes his place in life with a noble bearing, for he can never forget that he is a descendent of the Conquerors [Old Spain, p.9].

She chronicles the fiestas, foods and religiosity central to early hispano settlers. Unlike Jaramillo, whose works are replete with references to visiting prelates and the obligatory morning Mass, Otero Warren does not dwell on religiosity. Instead, she describes in detail local flora and fauna, and delineated the importance of water:

Water, not money was important to the hispano. Prayers were offered each day for rain to fall on the parched land [Old Spain, p. 74]

In "The Wagon Pole Cross" she tells of commerce between colonial New Mexico and the United States during 1804:

Merchandise was transported on wagon-trains drawn by oxen...along the Missouri River...This was a profitable business...until 1846 when New Mexico was annexed as a Territory to the United States [p.154].

"Spanish Place Names," an anecdote, explains the origins of New Mexican villages:

Tesuque is an old Tewa Indian name meaning "Spotted Dry Place," because...the Tesuque River disappears in the sands...is ever shifting, and filled with mystery...Pojoaque was at one time a Spanish mission." [p. 94].

Critics of Old Spain in Our Southwest claim Otero Warren, idealizes the harsh life of the Spanish-speaking settlers, and writes from a 'hacienda' mentality [Paredes:1978]. Unlike C. de Baca, she omits the contributions of Hispanic women. By the mid 1930s, Anglo encroachment and land loss put hispanos in debt to the "company store," yet Otero Warren does not elaborate. In truth, many were then trying to hold on to the

land. Like Jaramillo, Otero Warren was dedicated to affirming Hispanic culture in all its complexities.

In this work it is clear that Otero-Warren relished being a descendant of Hispanic settlers to the Southwest [Rebolledo:1978]. Contemporary historians, however, claim that those who in 1598 marched with Oñate were "second sons," with no inheritance to speak of, thus left Spain to seek their fortune. Moreover, many were uneducated and destitute, but once deeded land, worked hard to bring to the region the glory that was Spain. Today many traditions brought by them remain [Armas:1986].

Otero Warren's book acknowledges class differences among New Mexican hispanos. Spanish courtship and marriage customs still predominated. The ideal for Hispanics was to marry within their class and keep blood lines "pure." After the U.S. takeover many Hispanic women married Anglo men, as did Otero Warren. Her step-sisters each married prominent Anglos [Bergere Family Papers]. Still, Hispanics preferred to marry within their race and class [Jensen:1987:204].

As Europeans with light skin and blue eyes, hispanos disdained being lumped with Mexicans. In Old Spain Otero Warren often cites her pedigree. One incisive study of early Hispanic writers claims they were victims of "cultural ambivalence." They wrote of Indians and Mexicans in a patronizing way to reaffirm their Spanish roots [Velasquez-Trevino:1982].

Indeed, of all nuevo mexicanas in this study, Otero Warren was the most progressive. She wore plummed hats of that era (1920s), drove a snazzy car and generally appeared quite liberated. She was the first Spanish-speaking New Mexican woman to hold prominent public posts, and distinguished herself as an educator, suffragist, and writer [Tatum:1990:145]. In 1938 Otero Warren was awarded an honorary degree in Literature from Maryville, New York. She worked as a consultant with the WPA to Puerto Rico, where earlier she directed adult-education programs. After her retirement, Otero Warren spent many years as a businesswoman. She founded the "Las Dos" Realities and Insurance Agency in Santa Fe, where she worked until her death in 1965.

As a writer Otero Warren gave voice to Hispanic settlers of this region long ignored by Euro-American historians. While she did not fully address the dynamics of local politics (and her defeat) in detail, she brought to light the contributions of espanoles mejicanos to New Mexico.

## CONCLUSION

Some commonalties are evident in the lives of all five women. All but Espinosa were from upper-class families with a strong attachment to the land - and its history.<sup>11</sup> All expressed an affinity for Spanish culture and were adamant about being perceived as Hispano, not Mexican.<sup>12</sup>

Education was important to the women profiled here. With the exception of Espinosa, all were educated in private Catholic schools. Otero Warren went East to an exclusive Catholic boarding school, while C. de Baca studied in Spain on two separate occasions. Jaramillo went from the classroom to marriage.

The New Mexican Hispanic schoolteacher tradition unique to this bilingual state influenced the women to teach. Of the five, all but Jaramillo obtained a teaching certificate. C. de Baca's female cousins all taught school; Espinosa's brothers were renowned scholars, and Lucero-White taught at her Alma Mater. All had a respect for education.<sup>13</sup>

Each woman held dear the Hispanic oral tradition. Each collected and discussed local lore in her written works. Espinosa, Jaramillo, and Lucero-White translated fairy tales and legends from Spanish to English. C. de Baca and Otero-Warren considered themselves the family historian, yet interspersed their narratives with folklore. Jaramillo's nostalgia for Hispanic courtship and marriage customs, and her celebrated wedding, dominated her works.<sup>14</sup>

Each author's perspective on race and class is reflected in the individual works. All but one reflects the landed gentry from which they sprang. Although land poor, they shared a common ancestry, that of hidalgos. Espinosa's father, a school custodian, put five children through university, yet she delighted in the dress and adornment of wealthy Spanish colonials. C. de Baca speaks of her "aristocratic breeding," but insists Indians, Mexicans and Spaniards shared meals. Jaramillo's family lost their land and became local merchants. Her aunt embroidered altar cloths while Indian servants cleaned. Otero Warren moved in highly placed political and social circles. Still, their works extend beyond an elitist mentality to describe village fiestas and local foods. C. de Baca wrote about the "independent cowboys," vaqueros on her father's ranch. She describes the bandit Vicente Silva as a "Mexican" thief. Still, Chicano critics claim early New Mexican writers wrote from a "hacienda mentality;" their works steeped in nostalgia for a dying culture. Indeed, careful reading of these works show a disdain for other than hispanos.<sup>15</sup>

Of the five women in this study, Lucero-White and Otero Warren were the most politically active. Otero Warren, a personal friend of American suffragist Alice Paul, recruited Hispanic women to vote. Her cousin Lucero-White, of the powerful - and political - Luna clan, lobbied for the women's franchise. In 1923 Otero Warren ran for the New Mexico

legislature but was defeated.<sup>16</sup>

The personal lives of the women varied. All but Espinosa married. Lucero-White and Otero Warren married and divorced non-Hispanics. C. de Baca and Jaramillo married prominent Hispanics. Jaramillo married at twenty; C. de Baca in her thirties. Only Jaramillo and Lucero-White had children. After a brief first marriage, Lucero-White returned to college to complete an advanced degree.<sup>17</sup>

It is not clear whether the Federal Writer's Project (FWP), influenced the women to write. This organization mostly benefited Euro American artists eager to work during the Great Depression. Few nuevo mexicanas were active in the FWP, other than Lucero-White, who collected and published folk drama, and Jaramillo's brother Reyes Martinez, who recorded Hispanic oral histories.<sup>18</sup> Most were suspect of Anglo interest in local folklore, and equally disturbed by new-born folklorists who descended on unsuspecting hispano in droves. Dichos and songs handed down through generations were appropriated. Articles on "traditional" New Mexican foods by Anglos soon graced local newspapers. Jaramillo's work was "borrowed" often; she spirited her manuscripts out-of-state. Others followed suit. The Naylor Company, a Texas based press, became a literary haven for New Mexican Hispanic writers. While the FWP produced important books on New Mexican placenames and tourism, participation by Hispanics was minimal.<sup>19</sup>

All five writers were fluent in English and Spanish. Espinosa and Jaramillo translated fairy tales from English to Spanish. C. de Baca peppered her stories with Spanish idioms. Most mainstream publishers were interested only in literature written in English. For Hispanics seeking publication, English was the preferred language.<sup>20</sup>

Each woman participated in civic and community work. C. de Baca, Espinosa, Jaramillo, and Lucero-White were active in the Sociedad Folklorica de Santa Fe. Espinosa served as President four years. C. de Baca organized 4-H Sewing Clubs in remote villages as part of her Extension work.<sup>21</sup> Otero-Warren developed educational programs for Indians.

Each writer lived to a comfortable old-age. C. de Baca was 97 when she died in 1991. Jaramillo and Lucero-White lived into their seventies. Espinosa and Otero Warren lived past 80.<sup>22</sup>

These brief biographies, it is hoped, have provided a window into the lives of five Hispanic writers who sought to affirm hispano culture and document their history. They wrote of what they knew best: family, folklore, local history and landscape. Their respective works have kept fresh the Hispanic customs and traditions which still today predominate.<sup>23</sup> Future studies will hopefully yield more on their personal lives, aspirations, and works, and as such, generate interest in Hispanic/Chicana literary biographies.

## ENDNOTES

1. Fabiola Cabeza de Baca published a nutritional pamphlet Los Alimentos y su Preparacion in 1934, followed by Historic Cookery (1939) and The Good Life (1949). Her best known work is We Fed Them Cactus (1954). Carmen Gertrudis Espinosa published late in life, although she had for years collected folk and Indian legends of New Mexico. Cleofas M. Jaramillo's historical Shadows of the Past/Sombras del Pasado was well received although Romance of a Little Village Girl is her best written work. Aurora Lucero-White (Lea) is the only writer in the group to publish with the Federal Writer's Project in 1937, and is best known for folkdrama. Adelina (Nina) Otero Warren published educational papers as part of her work but one major book. She is remembered more for her political activities during the 1920s. C. de Baca and Otero-Warren are listed in American Women Writers: A Critical Reference Guide From Colonial Times to the Present, ed. Lina Mainiero. (N.Y. Frederick Unger Pub. Co. 1980, pp. 123-25)

2. Generally recognized as the definitive work on Western American writers is Thomas and Mabel Pearce's Southwest Heritage: A Literary History With Bibliography (Albuquerque University of New Mexico Press:1938, 1972) which excludes Hispanic Southwestern writers, as does Harold P. Simonson's Beyond the Frontier: Writers, Western Regionalism and a Sense of Place (Fort Worth:Texas Christian University:1989), although published in 1989. A recent work Twentieth Century Western Writers Ed. James Vinson, et al, (Detroit:Gale Research Co. 1982) cites literature by Mary Austin, Willa Cather and Gertrude Atherton. A Literary History of the American West (Fort Worth:Christian University Press:1987) mentions the Hispanic population but omits their literature.

3. While Asian and Black women's writings are today well known, those by Hispanic/Chicanas, are not. In fact, most Chicana writers depend on small Hispanic or women's presses for publication. Among these are Arte Publico of the University of Houston, Bilingual Review, Kitchen Table Press, Aunt Lute/Spintzers Ink and Third Woman.

4. Mary Austin is among the best known of Southwestern writers. Recent studies that focus on her work are "The High Priestess of Regional Literature: A Review Essay," by Necah Stewart Furnman (New Mexico Historical Review:55:4 1980) which claims Austin glorified in her...prose the Southwestern landscape. Ralph Vigil's incisive review essay "Willa Cather and Historical Reality," (New Mexico Historical Review:50:2 1975) argues that in her novels, Cather distorts history.

5. MELUS, journal of the Multi-Ethnic Literature of the United States is at the forefront of journals dedicated to literature by ethnic Americans. A 1979 issue claims literary works by ethnics in this country is based on a common oppression (Raymund A. Paredes,

"Oppression and American Ethnic Literature: An Introduction," MELUS:6:1 (Sp. 1979). Third Woman has consistently published the writings of women-of-color. A recent issue focused on Chicana Lesbians.

6. All the writers profiled here had a deep interest in local folklore. C. de Baca and Jaramillo compiled recipes; Espinosa, Jaramillo and Lucero-White translated local folk tales from Spanish to English.

7. Chicano literary historians and critics cite the New Mexican literary tradition as crucial to the development of the Chicano literary canon. See for example Francisco A. Lomeli's study of Eusebio Chacon ("Eusebio Chacon: A Literary Portrait of 19th Century New Mexico") considered a precursor of Chicano writers. Noted scholar and historian Fray Angelico Chavez still today writes of Hispanic New Mexicans.

8. Rebolledo's forthcoming article "En donde estaban las mujeres?" laments the exclusion of early New Mexican women writers within American letters. Her earlier studies (1982, 1987) were among the first to discuss the importance of landscape to hispana writers. See also Genaro Padilla's "Imprisoned Narrative? Or Lies, Secrets, Silence in New Mexican Women's Autobiography" (Criticism in the Borderlands: Studies in Chicano Literature, Culture and Ideology, Eds. Hector Calderon and Ramon David Saldivar, London: Duke University Press:1991) a study of the narrative voice in early Hispanic literature.

9. In "Reconstructing the Canon," a 1987 University of New Mexico lecture series by prominent Chicano critics and writers called attention to the dearth of criticism of literature by Chicanas.

10. In "Tradition and Mythology: Signatures of Landscape," (Vera Norwood and Janice Monk, Eds. The Desert is No Lady: New Haven: Yale University Press:1987:96-124) Rebolledo accesses the influence of landscape to New Mexican writers, and C. de Baca and Jaramillo's connection to the land. C. de Baca wrote of the Staked Plains; Jaramillo of Arroyo Hondo. Rebolledo, et al,'s anthology Las Mujeres Hablan (Albuquerque: El Norte Publications: 1989) centers on nuevo mexicana cuentos, essays, oral histories and poetry. Sin Embargo/Nevertheless: A Woman's Journal, Vol 1 (Albuquerque: Southwest Hispanic Research Institute Monograph Series: 1989) includes oral histories of elderly New Mexican women, poetry and prose.

11. It is not clear if Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca was C. de Baca's relative. She claims the first C. de Baca arrived in New Mexico in the early 1700s. Espinosa's ancestors also came from Spain, yet there is no evidence they received land grants. Rather, the Espinosa's have excelled in education. Aurelio M. Espinosa is a noted linguist with extensive publications. Of the writers,

Espinosa does not appear rooted to the land, only to Hispanic culture in general.

12. Lucero-White credits certain dance styles and steps to Mexico. C. de Baca and Jaramillo were adamant in claiming their recipe books were based on Spanish and not Mexican foods. At one time C. de Baca commissioned a family genealogy which indicated members of her family lived in Mexico City (possibly on their way north). She however, does not allude to a "Mexican connection."

13. Few studies have been done on the New Mexican Hispanic teaching tradition, although this state, since the 1920s, has had a high incidence of Hispanic teachers. C. de Baca's cousins, sisters and friends were all schoolteachers.

14. Carol Jensen's study "Cleofas M. Jaramillo on Marriage in Territorial Northern New Mexico" (New Mexico Historical Review:52:8:1983) cites the importance of religion to Jaramillo. Indeed, Jaramillo's works are replete with references to religious observances, visiting prelates and prayer.

15. Critic Raymund A. Paredes ("The Evolution of Chicano Literature," Three American Literatures: Essays in Chicano, Native American and Asian Literature for Teachers of American Literature Ed. Houston A. Baker, Jr., N.Y.: Modern Language Assn. of America: 1982) claims early Hispanic New Mexican writers suffered from a hacienda syndrome and wrote ...out of fear and intimidation...about a culture that had fallen into decadence...(p.52). An unpublished dissertation "Cultural Ambivalence in Early Hispanic Writers" by Gloria Velasquez-Trevino (Stanford University:1985) claims early Texan Hispanic women writers were mired in a "cultural ambivalence," or double-consciousness, thus wrote of Mexican-Americans as did the dominant (Anglo) culture.

16. See for example, Joan M. Jensen's "Disfranchisement is a Disgrace': Women and Politics in New Mexico, 1900-1960" (New Mexican Women: Intercultural Perspectives, Ed. Joan M. Jensen: Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press: 1987). Otero-Warren's political career ended when her cousin Miguel A. Otero Jr. leaked to the press the news that Otero-Warren was not a widow, but a divorcee!

17. Espinosa did not marry. Lucero-White remarried after an early divorce. C. de Baca and Otero-Warren both divorced yet continued to use their married names in publications. C. de Baca published both under her maiden and married name (Gilbert).

18. Martinez, a young man during the 1900s, collected oral histories for the FWP. His work is part of the FWP Collection. See Marta Weigle and Kyle Fiore's Santa Fe and Taos: The Writers's Era, 1916-1941 (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press: 1983) for a detailed

account of the in-fighting within this group.

19. Joe Naylor Sr., founder of the Naylor Company, was a former New York journalist. He published both of Jaramillo's works. The company closed in the 1970s.

20. Except for Otero-Warren, all the writers published first in Spanish. C. de Baca's work with Extension required her to reach a Spanish-speaking audience. Jaramillo was a founding member of the Sociedad Folklorica de Santa Fe, whose by-laws stipulate that all business be conducted in Spanish.

21. Espinosa and Lucero-White were honored by the New Mexico Historical Society in recent years.

22. C. de Baca retired from Extension in 1959 but continued to write on her favorite topic: New Mexico history and culture. Jaramillo went into business, as did Otero-Warren. Espinosa worked for her brother-in-law New Mexico Senator Dennis Chavez for a time.

23. New Mexican Writers Jimmy Santiago Baca, Denise Chavez and Rodolfo Anaya all write of the New Mexico landscape. In "Chicano Writing: The New Mexico Narrative," Jose Armas claims "Chicana literature in New Mexico...shows a direct relationship to the historical, cultural, and geographical landscape" (p.32) (Contemporary Chicano Fiction: A Critical Survey New York: Bilingual Press: 1986). See also Anaya's "The Writer's Landscape: Epiphany in Landscape," (Latin American Book Review 5:10 (Sp/Su:1977) for his discussion on the influence of landscape to writing.

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