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**CONTESTING SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL ERASURE:
MEMBERSHIP IN LA PRENSA ASOCIADA
HISPANO-AMERICANA**

By

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University of New Mexico**



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Hispanic
Research
Institute**

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**Contesting Social and Historical Erasure:
*Membership in La Prensa Asociada Hispano-Americana***

[Abstract]

New Mexico's *periodiqueros*, Spanish-language journalists, on numerous occasions had voiced the belief that their work should lead to the establishment of a vigorous regional press whose mission would be to educate the masses and defend the interests of the Spanish-speaking *nativos* of the Southwest. This paper seeks to reconstitute the history of *La Prensa Asociada* and of its membership by documenting the establishment of the organization in the 1890s and assessing its work through the post-statehood era in New Mexico.

The paper chronicles the work of individual editors, who through membership in *La Prensa Asociada*, redoubled their commitment to the community they represented and issued a powerful challenge and response to Anglo-American hegemony and the threat of the cultural dispossession and historical erasure of the Mexican American presence in the Southwest after 1848.

El Periodista:--

Quien se mete á periodista,
¡Dios le valga! ¡Dios le asista!
El ha de ser director,
Redactor y corrector,
Regente, editor y cajista,
Censor, colaborador,
Repartidor, cobrador,
Corresponsal, maquinista,
Ha de suplir al prensista
Y á veces... hasta al lector.

La Flecha, Wagon Mound, New Mexico January 7, 1887 Tomo 2, No. 14

Introduction

New Mexico's *periodiqueros*, Spanish-language journalists, on numerous occasions had voiced the belief that their work should lead to the establishment of a vigorous regional press whose primary mission would be to educate the masses of the Spanish-speaking *nativos* of the Southwest. By the early 1890s such feeling began to include unifying the work of individual newspapers into a press association. *Nuevomexicano* editors would come together at an opportune time, for in no uncertain terms, Spanish-language weeklies had by this time eclipsed the effectiveness of newspapers published in English. Spanish-language weeklies were advantaged to the degree that they were able to communicate with the majority of New Mexico's citizens, a citizenry which read almost exclusively in Spanish.

Taking into account the high number of publications being issued in Spanish and their improving quality, *los periodiqueros* soon sought the benefits that could accrue to them as an organized membership. In December of 1891 journalists from across New Mexico met in Las Vegas, New Mexico to hold the first organizational meetings of *La Prensa Asociada Hispano-Americana*. In the months of that followed *La Prensa Asociada* scheduled region-wide meetings in Las Vegas, Santa Fe, Las Cruces and El Paso. *El Sol de Mayo* of Las Vegas reported in February of 1892 that sixteen editors from New Mexico, Colorado and Texas held membership in the association. Represented at that meeting were the editors of every important

Spanish-language newspaper in New Mexico and west Texas. By late March, *La Prensa Asociada* met formally to draft a preamble and to pass resolutions calling for the founding of an association.

Throughout the decade *La Prensa Asociada* met in earnest and with great regularity. José Segura of Santa Fe's *El Boletín Popular* reported that several of the most prominent Spanish-language journalists attended a meeting of *La Prensa Asociada* in Santa Fe in early December, 1893. Present at the meeting were José Escobar of *El Progreso* (Trinidad, Colorado), Teófilo Ocaña Caballero of *La Lucha* (El Paso, Texas), Marcial Valdez of *El Tiempo* (Las Cruces), Pedro G. de la Lama of *La Opinión Pública* (Albuquerque), and Marcelino Lerma of *La Flor del Valle* (Las Cruces). Other important Spanish-language publications from across the territory were represented at the meeting as well. *La Prensa Asociada* continued to grow throughout the decade and boasted of being the first and only such organization of its kind among the Spanish-speaking in the Southwest.

La Prensa Asociada was by no means an ideologically or politically homogeneous group. Even as the group espoused a defense of the interests of the community, the membership often held varying positions on how to solve societal problems. Member newspapers were drawn from the Democratic and Republican ranks and the political credo of individual editors was often a source of friction and political infighting. Nonetheless, the organization gave formal recognition to the idea that the Spanish-language press should act in concert to oppose injury to the community, expressing its purpose as, "Convenir en los medios y medidas que sean más propios y necesarios adoptar para el adelanto y mejoramiento del pueblo á quien ella representa." [To reach consensus on the measure and means best suited and needed for the progress and betterment of the community it [the association] represents].¹ Tantamount to this was the call issued by the organizers of *La Prensa*

Asociada for members to raise above the pitfalls of factionalism and solidify their shared agenda.

The formation of *La Prensa Asociada Hispano-Americana* reflects the vision commonly shared among *Nuevomexicano* journalists that the Spanish-language press would have a trustee relationship to the community it served, "... la prensa hispano-americana es naturalmente y por consecuencia debe ser el fideicomisario y defensor del linaje que representa," [... the Spanish-Speaking press, by nature and by consequence, should be the trustee and defender of the race it represents, ...]²

La Prensa Asociada is significant for another reason as well. It points to the idea that this journalistic movement was not limited to editors and writers in New Mexico. By 1893 the membership of *La Prensa Asociada* included journalists from southern Colorado, west Texas (mostly the El Paso area) and southeastern Arizona. *La Prensa's* first president was El Pasoan, Víctor L. Ochoa. Ochoa's election came within months of having moved publication of his paper, *El Hispano-Americano*, to Las Vegas, New Mexico.

La Prensa Asociada had the additional effect of enhancing informational exchange among its membership by formalizing what had been networks of syndication that editors had employed in the past. In the decade prior to the formation of *La Prensa Asociada*, Spanish-language editors as a matter of course often took and reprinted items from one another. They also spent much time citing the works of fellow journalists which they praised or derided as occasion dictated. This informal network of syndication had created a dialogical exchange among editors which foregrounded the creation of a formal association among *los periodiqueros*. Of equal importance was the fact that the network provided *Nuevomexicano* editors with a steady and inexhaustable source of texts that permitted the exchange of news and information from the border area, from the interior of Mexico and from other Latin American republics. This would have a

lasting and positive effect in maintaining language use and transmitting information about Latin American society and history to the Spanish-speaking communities in New Mexico. The organization also pressed railroad, telegraph, and postal officials to provide association members and the communities they represented with improved service.

The full extent of the work of *La Prensa Asociada* attains greatest acuity in the activity of individual editors and is best represented in the impact wrought by the enterprises they founded in community after community across the Southwest. In this regard the life stories of member editors which comprises a good part of what follows, provides an opportunity to examine the complexity and depth of commitment of *Nuevomexicanos* in their struggle to affirm their cultural integrity in face of dispossession and social erasure.

I. "Independent in All Things, Neutral in None"

Este periódico no ha faltado una sola vez en doce años, ni faltará en los sucesivos.

[This newspaper has not missed an issue in twelve years, nor will it miss one in the future.]

--José Segura on the constancy of *El Boletín Popular*, Santa Fe, June 10, 1897.

Much adulation accompanied José Segura's welcome to Las Cruces as President of *La Prensa Asociada* in April of 1894. José Segura had been a founding member of *La Prensa Asociada*. Yet from all accounts available Segura was a modest man who avoided fanfare and public recognition. It was his active and unflinching support of *La Prensa Asociada's* that made him the organization's choice to serve as its second president.

During his lifetime Segura held no prominent political posts and exercised no other profession apart from that of a journalist. Mention of Segura in newsprint nearly always appears in connection with his work as an editor. Indeed, in José Segura, the editor of Santa Fe's *El Boletín Popular* for over twenty years, one finds the first full-time professional *Nuevomexicano* journalist at work.

José Segura was among the most successful and accomplished of *Nuevomexicano* literary journalists. His work as editor gave rise to *El Boletín Popular*. *El Boletín Popular* began publication in Santa Fe in 1885 and under Segura's direction continued in publication for over 20 years. Throughout these years *El Boletín Popular* was the most constant and long-standing voice in *Nuevomexicano* journalism. Its impact and presence in Santa Fe was felt by all segments of the community. On the matter of *El Boletín's* following among *Nuevomexicanos*, F. Stanley remarks, "*El Boletín Popular* commenced publication in 1885 and continued to 1910. This gave lie to the theory that New Mexicans did not want Spanish reading, or that they couldn't read Spanish. This latter may be true of the post-war generations of the two World Wars, but up to 1912 many Santa Feans read and wrote in Spanish."³

In response to *El Boletín* and its growing importance among the Spanish-speaking, W.H. Manderfield owner-editor of the *Santa Fe New Mexican*, saw the need to publish a Spanish-language counterpart to his paper. Manderfield employed several *Nuevomexicanos* to edit *El Nuevo Mexicano* which began publication in 1890.

El Boletín Popular, which further described itself in its logotype as "Periódico político, literario y de anuncios," [A Political, Literary, Periodical with Advertisements] had a varied and informative venue which included local, regional, national, and international news. In addition, a segment of each issue was devoted to literature. *El Boletín* published a wide array of literary works. These ranged from the submissions of local *Nuevomexicano* poets, to regional works by *Mexicano* writers in the Southwest, to international works of literature with a heavy concentration on reknown authors from Latin America and Spain. The careful editing and attention to detail which José Segura lent to the paper also proved to be a positive reflection on the quality of Spanish-language publications.

El Boletín soon came to reflect the concerns and aspirations of *Nuevomexicanos* of all classes and walks of life. Many of the most prominent voices in the *Nuevomexicano* community spoke through *El Boletín* and upon its pages frequently appeared the works of J.M.H. Alarid, Eleuterio Baca, Eusebio Chacón, Camilo Padilla, José D. Sena and many others. Through editorials and commentaries, José Segura contributed some of the most important distillations of *Nuevomexicano* thought and concern during the period. Segura embodied the aspirations of a generation intent on leaving a cultural legacy to its descendants. He was a member of *La sociedad literaria y de debates de la ciudad de Santa Fe*, a literary arts group made up of *Nuevomexicanos* that met regularly to discuss literary topics, engage in debates and promote the general cultural welfare of the capital city.

Segura's lasting contribution was to act as an editor with the keen ability to recognize and value writings of importance and of consequence. He had exceptional familiarity with authors and works of world literature, particularly those in the Latin American. Segura's Jesuit education accounts in part for his knowledge of World Literature, but to this must be added Segura's extensive experience and travel in Mexico and the eastern United States. For *Nuevomexicanos* of his generation, Mexico and the eastern United States represented distinct cultural environments, which made incursions and travel to each of these destinations equally novel.

Evidence abounds in *El Boletín* that attests to Segura's sophistication in literary and cultural matters. Although events we would today consider as purely cultural or literary were few and far between in New Mexico, José Segura did make every effort to bring attention to the importance of such events through *El Boletín*. For example, Segura reported the visit of the noted Mexican writer and diplomat, Vicente Riva Palacio to Santa Fe in July, 1886.⁴ Vicente Riva Palacio, a poet and novelist, made a stop over in Santa Fe on his way to New York, his point of

embarkment for Spain and Portugal. Riva Palacio, an adherent of romantic dicta in literature, was well published in Mexico. Segura, knowledgeable of such trends, had often featured Riva Palacio's works in the literary section of *El Boletín Popular*. A decade later, when the general's death was reported by the Mexican press, José Segura made it a point to note the author's passing and recall the occasion of his visit to Santa Fe.

That José Segura would bother to record Riva Palacio's chance visit to Santa Fe and track news of the poet's life and deeds, in the broadest sense, speaks of the long-held desire of *Prensa Asociada* members to enliven the literary arts among the Spanish-speaking community.

El Boletín often noted the arrival of significant and important publications from both the eastern United States, Mexico and other Latin American countries. In May, 1894, Segura shared with his readership news of the arrival of the Mexican modernist journal, *La Revista Azul*. Segura's summary of the importance of the journal and of the literary group who had founded it, reveals that he was well aware of literary developments in neighboring Mexico,

"Nos han llegado los primeros números de *La Revista Azul* semanario literario de la Ciudad de México. No necesita más recomendación que decir que está redactada por los literatos mexicanos Sres. Gutiérrez Nájera, Carlos Díaz Dufoo, Luis G. Urbina y otros. Los amantes de la buena literatura en nuestro territorio, en donde mucho se necesita la lectura de buenos autores, no deberían dejar de suscribirse á tan interesante publicación."

[We have received the first numbers of *La Revista Azul*, a literary weekly from Mexico City. The weekly needs no other recommendation than to say that it is edited by the Mexican writers Señores Gutiérrez Nájera, Carlos Díaz Dufoo, Luis G. Urbina and others. The lovers of fine literature in our Territory, where the reading of good authors is so needed, should not miss the opportunity to subscribe to such an interesting publication].⁵

It can be argued, and justifiably so, that José Segura's knowledge of world authors and literature had, at best, only a slight impact on the average *Nuevomexicano*

SANTA FE, N. M., JUEVES, ENERO 22, 1890.



Hon. Benjamin M. Reid.

- Muchos vuestros hermanos unidos con
el Poder del Honorable Presidente M.
Rivad, en su capacidad de hombres ju-
stos.

Los de Ecuador,

Appendix

10
11
12
13

STRENGTH

Figure 2

Logotype, *El Boletín Popular*, Santa Fe, New Mexico, January 22, 1890

villager, nonetheless, it is important to note that Segura and others of his generation, did not discount the significance of such endeavors. Segura, like a number of other *periodiqueros*, saw his role as transmitter of such knowledge, as a guardian of the cultural ties New Mexico had to Mexico and other areas of the Spanish-speaking world.

It is in this regard that the work of José Segura and *El Boletín Popular* resonates with the educational objectives of *La Prensa Asociada*.

"*Zum!*... *zu-u-um*... era el éco que se oía á la distancia pero sin saber de donde emanaba, hasta que colocada mi mano sobre mi espaciosa frente (pues habrá de saberse que yo sí tengo cara en que persignarme) encontré un bordito y caí en la cuenta que era un mosquito y verdad era eso, pues á mi lado estaba el zumbador *Mosquito* de Mora.

Gusto me dio en verdad su aparición y casi me conjeturo por de seguro que su permanencia será aplaudida, pues en los tristes y duros tiempos que cursamos necesitamos la aparición de un *Mosquito* siquiera que en nuestra atolondradas horas de vicisitudes y soledad nos haga saber que estamos vivos, pues mal que nos pese, hay muchos entre nosotros que no abren los ojos hasta que la muerte con su mano helada viene á cerrárnoslos."

[*Zum!*... *zu-u-um*... was the echo that was heard at a distance not letting on where the sound originated, that is until, with my hand placed against my spacious forehead, (well it should be known that I certainly do have a face upon which I can make the sign of the cross) I found a small bump and I realized that this was a mosquito, indeed it was so, at my side was the buzzing *Mosquito* of Mora.

Its appearance gave me pleasure, indeed, and I can almost conjecture that surely its continuance will be applauded, since in the sad and difficult times through which we pass, we need the appearance of a *Mosquito*, if only to remind us in our bewildering hours of hardships and solitude, that we are alive, because, although we may lament it, there are many among us who will not open their eyes until Death with its cold hand comes to close our eyes for us.]

--"Un amigo retrata la visita de *El Mosquito*," [A Friend Paints the Visit of *El Mosquito*], Mora, New Mexico, December 10, 1891.

The life and work of publicist Camilo Padilla provides an important example of an individual whose entire life was given in service to building and sustaining a *Nuevomexicano* cultural movement in literature and the arts.

Padilla's contributions to the work of *La Prensa Asociada* span his entire professional life. Padilla, who was present at the outset of the *periodiquero* movement, was a founding member of *La Prensa Asociada*. Forty years later, as one of the last remaining Spanish-language publicists in New Mexico, Padilla, continued the work begun by *La Prensa Asociada* as the last president of the organization.

Camilo Padilla, owner-editor of *El Mosquito* and Felix Martínez, then owner of *La Voz del Pueblo*, were selected from the floor of *La Prensa Asociada's* first organizational meeting to draft a set of resolutions to guide the work of the association. The language of their resolutions reflects the goal of *La Prensa Asociada* to work to secure the civil and cultural rights of Mexicanos living in the United States. Martínez' and Padilla's resolutions recognize the failure of their society to insure the rights guaranteed to *Nuevomexicanos* under the Constitution. Questions of representation and of equal treatment under the law, as *Prensa Asociada* founders it, required the creation of an organization that would advocate for equitable treatment for the Spanish-speaking community,

Por cuanto el dogma de la sociedad y negocios prevalente en los Estados Unidos de América, en la presente época no ha satisfecho que á fin de guardar el rango que los derechos de la constitución americana nos garantiza se nos hace incumbente formar asociaciones para que nuestras fuerzas medren á la par de los demas de nuestros conciudadanos y con el objeto de que la dignidad de nuestra antecendencia y decendencia sea debidamente respetada. . .

[Inasmuch as the credo of society and of prevalent affairs in the United States of America have not proved satisfactory at this present time at keeping the standing which the rights of the American constitution guarantees us, it is incumbent upon us to form associations so that our capacities increase in equal measure to those of the rest of our fellow citizens with the goal that the dignity of our forebears and descendants be justly respected. . .]⁶

Camilo Padilla was among the best read and most seasoned travelers of his generation. His many trips to the east coast of the United States came to represent some of the earliest visits by *Nuevomexicanos* to the eastern states and to the seat of government of the nation. Through these visits Padilla received a first-hand understanding of the workings of government, commerce, industry, and education in the eastern cities of the United States. Padilla first visited New York, Virginia and other parts of the eastern seaboard in June, 1889, when he was just 19 years of age.⁷ In 1890, Padilla again traveled to Washington, this time serving as the private

secretary to Antonio Joseph, New Mexico's territorial delegate to the United States Congress. In the early years of the decade Camilo interspersed visits to Washington as Joseph's secretary with time spent time working on newspapers in Mora County when Congress was not in session.

During those periods of time spent back in New Mexico, Padilla began to lay the foundation for his own work in journalism. From July to September, 1890, he edited *La Gaceta de Mora*. In December, 1891 he began publication of his own paper to which he gave the feisty name, *El Mosquito*. *El Mosquito* added its voice to the growing number of *Prensa Asociada* newspapers established in the decade.

In the ensuing years of the decade Padilla would have several occasions to return to Washington. It was probably at the favor and through intercession of Antonio Joseph that Padilla obtained a position with the government printing office in Washington D. C., and was later employed as a translator at the State Department. From 1898 to 1901 Padilla resided continually in the nation's capital.

Padilla returned to New Mexico in 1901 and soon relocated to Mora, where he continued publication of *El Mosquito*. Padilla published *El Mosquito* for the next year and a half. Padilla retreated from journalism for a time after 1903 and taught school in Santa Fe County for the next four years. Padilla also served as president of the Board of Education in that county.

For reasons that are not yet clear, Camilo Padilla moved to El Paso, Texas in 1907, where he began the publication of *Revista Ilustrada*. *Revista Ilustrada* became the most important and best developed publication issued by any *Nuevomexicano* editor and publisher up to that time. In the years that followed, Padilla alternately published his *Revista* in El Paso and Santa Fe. For the first four years after its founding in 1907, *Revista Ilustrada* remained in publication in El Paso. Padilla moved his publication to Santa Fe in 1912, a move which coincided with New

Mexico's admission to statehood. For a time he published the magazine under the title *Sancho Panza*.

The complete record of Padilla's work as a publicist in Santa Fe has yet to emerge. Information regarding the issuance of his magazine is sketchy and incomplete, and is obscured by the fact that no extant issues of *Sancho Panza* have ever made their way to libraries or archival repositories. Added to this is the fact that the publishing history of *Revista Ilustrada* is marred by its issuance at different locations and in different cities and by an incomplete record of all issues of the magazine. Padilla reverted to using the earlier name *Revista Ilustrada* and continued to publish under that title in Santa Fe through the first decade of the twentieth century. Sometime in the 1920s, Padilla once again returned to El Paso and began to issue *Revista Ilustrada*. Padilla remained in El Paso until the summer of 1925. Shortly after, Padilla moved the magazine to Santa Fe for the last time. This time Padilla's motive for moving was made clear. Commenting on his return to Santa Fe, Padilla reported to the magazine's readership that he wished to fulfill a need to work in the city of his birth and to collaborate with friends and associates there. Padilla published *Revista Ilustrada* in Santa Fe until shortly before his death in 1933.

Camilo Padilla's contributions to *Nuevomexicano* journalism are important on a number of levels, not the least of which is that for most of his adult life Padilla was among the most active and dedicated of the *Nuevomexicano* *periodiqueros*. His collaborations with *Nuevomexicano* periodicals began early in his life. Among his first submissions to Spanish-language newspapers is a letter to the editor of *La Voz del Pueblo* in Las Vegas in May of 1889. Padilla's submission appeared with the title "Crónica nacional." The communiqué was meant to provide *La Voz* and its readership with news and information from Washington, D.C., where Padilla was living while in the employ of the territorial delegate, Antonio Joseph. During the early part of the decade, Padilla contributed many such items to Santa Fe's most

established newspaper, *El Boletín Popular*. Padilla's association with *El Boletín* was no doubt encouraged by the fact that José Segura, the editor and proprietor of the paper, was Camilo's first cousin. Through communiqués sent back to *El Boletín* Padilla came to be regarded as the paper's official correspondent in Washington. Padilla's items regularly appeared with the note, "De la capital nacional: Correspondencia particular de *El Boletín*" [From the nation's capital: Special correspondence to *El Boletín*.] Camilo often signed his communiqués with the pseudonym "Gus." Padilla made many other submissions to the paper, including editorial opinions, travel narratives and cultural observations.

Padilla's submissions to *El Boletín* are characterized by clear, concise and polished language. In them one finds the work of a keen observer and chronicler of people, places and events. For example, Padilla strove to share in great detail the experience of his travels with his readership back in New Mexico. Padilla was aware of the importance of providing such accounts to other *Nuevomexicanos* who had not shared in the opportunity to travel. He obviously was aware that his own experience and travel to the eastern United States was a rare privilege among *Nuevomexicanos* of his day.

Nuevomexicanos had little information and few means to clue them into the enormity of the socio-economic disparity that existed between New Mexico and the rest of the United States. This lack of understanding was exacerbated by the air of haughtiness and superiority that conditioned Anglo-American interactions with the native populations of the Territory. Padilla obviously sensed the importance of issuing his communiqués from Washington in which he attempted to register a sense of awe and excitement with his own discovery of eastern American cities. Camilo Padilla is among the first *Nuevomexicanos* to gain a measure of insight into the workings of the country that only a few decades prior had so profoundly affected and forever changed the fate of his homeland and life for fellow

Nuevomexicanos. In pieces such as "Camilio en Virgina" and "Historia Original Neo-Mexicana: Pobre Emilio," a short story Padilla published in *La Gaceta de Mora* using the psydonym "Zulu," Padilla began to delineate the social and cultural boundaries that conditioned interactions between *Nuevomexicanos* and Anglo-Americans in the realm of interpersonal relationships.

No dejes que nada te desvié de la senda que has tomado--ni la política, ni ningún interés particular-- y si por mala suerte algún día te ves obligado a retirarte a la vida privada lo harás al menos con la dulce satisfacción de que has hecho tu deber como patriota--como lo hace el hombre cuyo corazón palpita en consonancia con los sentimientos de un pueblo. Acepta mi mano de hermano que ambos anslamos la misma cosa--el engrandecimiento y prosperidad de nuestra gente--y créeme siempre.

[Let nothing divert you from the path you have taken--niether politics, nor self- interest-- and if by misfortune you should find the need to return to private life, you can do so in the sweet satisfaction that you have done you duty as a patriot--as does the man whose heart beats in consonance with the sentiments of a people. Accept the hand of a brother, for both of us desire the same thing -- the exhaltation and prosperity of our people-- believe this of me always].

--Camilo Padilla on the work of E.H. Salazar and *El Independiente*. Washington, D.C. July 24, 1894.

Journalists associated with *La Prensa Asociada* were unified by a cultural bond and such sentiment was often expressed in the professional fraternalism that greeted new publications into the fold of *La Prensa* membership. Enrique H. Salazar's work at *El Independiente* won him immediate praise with José Segura of *El Boletín*. Upon receiving the first issue of the paper, Segura made note of Salazar's professional credentials and superior craftsmanship in issuing the new publication: "Debemos decir que el nuevo colega, sobre estar elegantemente impreso, está escrito en buen castellano, circunstancia que no ha caracterisado (sic) al periodismo político de ese condado en muchos años." [We should say that our new colleague, beyond being elegantly printed, is written in good Castillian, a fact that has not always typified the politically oriented journalism of that county for many years].⁸

Enrique H. Salazar the editor of two of New Mexico most important Spanish-language newspapers was quickly drawn to participate in the work of *La Prensa Asociada*. As a young man in his early thirties, Enrique H. Salazar became associated with Nestor Montoya, a few years his junior, and together in 1889 they assumed ownership and management of *La Voz del Pueblo* in Santa Fe. *La Voz* began publication in the summer of 1888. At that time Hilario A. Ortiz, a prominent citizen of Santa Fe, was listed along with Nestor Montoya as the editor of the paper. Enrique H. Salazar was on the masthead as the paper's administrator. On February 2, 1889, Salazar and Montoya rededicated *La Voz* and continued to publish the paper in Santa Fe until June of the following year.

Throughout its many years of service to the *Nuevomexicano* community, *La Voz* would prove to have a Phoenix-like ability to rise up with renewed vigor and purpose at critical moments in its evolution. A year and a half after its founding Salazar announced to his readership that *La Voz* was relocating to Las Vegas. In August of the same year, Nestor Montoya who had served as editor of *La Voz* since its inception, abruptly ended his association with Enrique H. Salazar. No explanation is given for the severing of the partnership. By all indications, however, the partnership dissolved amicably and Salazar expressed regret at Montoya's, leaving vowing to continue on his own with the principles and ideals set forth in the program of the paper.⁹

With the removal of *La Voz* to Las Vegas in the summer of 1890, Enrique H. Salazar left Santa Fe, the city of his birth, to engage his life's ambition as a writer and journalist in Las Vegas, a city which at the beginning of the decade was teeming with new economic activity. By 1890, Las Vegas as the seat of San Miguel County had become the largest city in the New Mexico Territory. Conversely, and despite the promise of economic growth and prosperity on the horizon, Las Vegas was also a city beset by tremendous political strife and cross-cultural conflict between

Nuevomexicanos, who comprised the majority population in the area, and succeeding waves of newly arriving Anglo-Americans. According to Robert J. Rosenbaum, the roots of this deteriorating relationship between the groups can be traced to the rapid growth Las Vegas experienced in the years following the arrival of the railroad in New Mexico, "... Las Vegas rose to the first rank of New Mexico cities and changed its cultural balance--'New Town' sprang up around the depot on the east side of the Gallinas river. The railroad heightened tensions between Hispano and Anglo and intensified competition for resources." ¹⁰

Throughout his career as a journalist Salazar was keenly aware of the threat to the *Nuevomexicano* community represented by Anglo-American immigration to New Mexico. These newcomers knew little of the history of the area. They brought with them notions of cultural superiority and seemed bent on political and economic appropriation. Ethnic tensions and conflict in every aspect of life were played out on a daily basis during the period on the streets, in the courthouses and in hotel meeting rooms in Las Vegas. Ironically, Las Vegas, the city that was the point of entry and seat of Anglo-American commercial and banking interests in the 1890s, would be associated with the most powerful challenges to Anglo-American political and cultural hegemony in the area. The year 1890 saw the rise of the *Gorras Blancas* movement in San Miguel and Mora counties. The same year, dissatisfaction with the existing political parties lead to the creation of the *Partido del Pueblo Unido* which threatened to mobilize *Nuevomexicanos* into a strong third party alternative to Anglo-American political agenda. In subsequent years outbreaks of racial violence such as the Billy Green disturbance in 1894¹¹ further eroded inter-ethnic relationships in San Miguel County. Salazar, a staunch defender of *Nuevomexicano* economic, political, and cultural rights, strove headlong into the fray by relocating *La Voz del Pueblo* to Las Vegas, the vortex of cross-cultural debate and conflict.

Salazar was obviously aware of the strategic nature of relocating the paper to Las Vegas. He viewed *La Voz's* relocation as a tactical move, designed to locate the paper where it would be most conducive to influencing public opinion and articulating a *Nuevomexicano* cultural and social agenda. In the last edition of *La Voz*, issued in Santa Fe, Salazar used the metaphorical language of the military strategist to make clear to his readership that *La Voz* was caught in a battle of transcendent proportions, and that its staff and management were "the foot soldiers" preparing to defend New Mexico from the aggression of non-natives:

Nuestro periódico, con la excepción de locacion, velará continuamente por los intereses, honor, y adelanto de todas las secciones de nuestro gran Territorio. El bienestar del pueblo Neo-Mexicano y principalmente del pueblo nativo, será en toda ocasion el poderoso móvil que impulsará nuestros esfuerzos á mayor energía en la publicacion de nuestro semanario. Somos soldados del pueblo que velamos por sus derechos, de esta manera, creyendo que la lucha se acerca, deseamos plantar nuestras baterías donde tengan mas efecto y hagan mas daño al enemigo. Este es, en fin la razón por la cual nos trasladamos á Las Vegas.

[Our periodical, with the exception of its [present] location, will continue its watch to protect the interests, honor, and advancement of all the segments of our great Territory. The well-being of the people of New Mexico and principally of the native population will be at every instance the powerful motive that will impel with great vigor our efforts in the publication of our weekly. We are the foot soldiers of the community, guarding its rights; for this reason, believing that the battle nears, we wish to place our batteries where they are most effective and where they will cause the most damage to our enemies. This is, after all, is the reason for our move to the city of Las Vegas].¹²

In the ensuing years after 1890 Enrique H. Salazar strove to maintain autonomy and independence as a journalist who felt himself vested with the solemn duty to defend the interests of *el pueblo nativo*. After moving *La Voz* to Las Vegas he continued to administer and edit the paper, but gradually over the next three years he relinquished ownership of the paper to the rising business mogul, Felix Martínez. Martínez would then use *La Voz* to promote the political cause of the



Figure 3

"Office of El Independiente, circa 1900" (Facade of *El Independiente's* Office. Enrique Salazar atop delivery wagon with unidentified members of his staff and Las Vegas citizens behind him.)

Partido del Pueblo Unido in its bid to break the political domination of the Republican political machine in San Miguel County.

Whatever Salazar's particular motives in selling *La Voz* to Martínez, they did not include a retreat from the arena of journalism. In 1894 Salazar launched a new paper in Las Vegas which saw publication under the name *El Independiente*. *El Independiente* would be published as a Spanish weekly for the next 34 years. In *El Independiente's* salutation, Salazar outlined the program of his paper as "independiente en todo, neutro en nada." ["Independent in all things, neutral in none."]

Salazar declared that the paper would not be affiliated with any political organization or party. However, Salazar posited the caveat that as a matter of editorial policy, the paper would not recoil from addressing matters of accountability, corruption, and favoritism among *nativo* and non-native elected officials. As Salazar had repeatedly done, he committed himself and the work of his paper to the common good of the *Nuevomexicano* community. "Este periódico se dedicará al adelanto é ilustración del pueblo y a la defensa de los verdaderos y legítimos intereses del condado de San Miguel y del Territorio de Nuevo México." [This periodical shall dedicate itself to the advancement and enlightenment of the people and to the defense of the true and legitimate interests of San Miguel County and the Territory of New Mexico].¹³ Salazar ended his salutation with a note that his paper would strive to issue forth a professional newspaper equal to those that already had established a loyal readership in Las Vegas. Salazar maintained that *El Independiente* would use its autonomy from political parties to better express the concerns of the entire Spanish-speaking populace.

Like the majority of his colleagues in the field of *Nuevomexicano* journalism, Salazar was a graduate of St. Michael's College. He later learned the printer's trade and became familiar with other aspects of the journalistic craft in the office of the

Santa Fe New Mexican, which at the time was under the direction of W.H. Manderfield. After his apprenticeship at the *New Mexican*, Salazar worked for a time with Urbano Chacón, a well-known and respected journalist who had founded the Taos County paper, *El Espejo*. Salazar worked alongside Chacón from 1878 to 1879. Subsequently, he relocated for a time to Chihuahua, Mexico, where he was employed to manage a newspaper known as *Correos y Nuevas de Chihuahua*. Salazar returned to his native city of Santa Fe and upon returning married Agueda López, the daughter of the Lorenzo López, the sheriff of Las Vegas.

The non-aligned position Salazar espoused through *El Independiente* proved to be the paper's greatest virtue and asset. Throughout the 1890s, a period of intense infighting and political squabbles among *Nuevomexicano* civic leadership, Salazar's voice and opinion were not to be deterred from seeking the common good for the majority population. During Salazar's years with *La Voz*, and later throughout his editorship of *El Independiente*, nearly every issue of these newspapers carried on its front page masterful editorial essays penned by the hand of Enrique H. Salazar. Invariably and almost to the issue, these essays took up as their subject the condition and plight of the *Nuevomexicano* community.

When viewed cumulatively, the discourse established by Salazar in his editorial essays represents the clearest articulation of the *La Prensa Asociada's* socio-cultural agenda. In his essays Salazar addressed every major issue of concern to the *Nuevomexicano* community. His editorial opinions laid down the fundamental groundwork which allowed his readership to view the social condition and dilemmas faced by the native *Nuevomexicano* population of the territory. Salazar wrote on questions of history, education, literary development, the maintenance of language and culture among *Nuevomexicanos*, the land grant struggle and many other subjects. Not only were these essays timely, pertinent and descriptive of the

socio-cultural milieu of Salazar's time, but they were also well-written, elaborated pieces that made use of figurative and embellished language.

La Voz del Pueblo and *El Independiente* held membership in *La Prensa Asociada*. Both ventures proved to be successful seeing publication in Las Vegas for some thirty years. *La Voz* was first aligned with the third party movement of *El Partido del Pueblo Unido*, and then later with the Democratic Central Committee of the County. At the same time, *El Independiente* strove to avoid political instigation and factionalism in favor of a unity on the cultural and educational front. The staff of both papers maintained that they enjoyed large circulations, each claiming to have over three thousand subscribers. Supported by advertisements of *Nuevomexicano* businesses throughout the community each paper claimed to have over 3,000 subscribers. An early photograph of the offices of *El Independiente* gives some idea of the paper's success as a business enterprise. The photograph shows the paper's office housed in an up-to-date building of the period. Above the office, in large, bold letters, appears the name of the paper: EL INDEPENDIENTE. Pictured on the sidewalk are four members of the printing room staff and nine paper boys holding the latest issue of *El Independiente*. In the upper left hand corner, inscribed by an oval border is the portrait of Enrique H. Salazar with the caption: "Fundador."

Salazar's work, as a journalist was decisive. To his credit goes the founding and establishment of two of the most successful Spanish-language publications in the Southwest.

No nos proponemos ejercer la libertad de la prensa de una manera escandalosa, pero procuraremos hacer nuestro periódico tan moral que ninguno se avergüenze (sic) de presentarlo a su familia.

[We do not intend to practice freedom of the press in a scandalous way, rather we shall endeavor to make our newspaper so upright that no one will be ashamed to present it to his or her family.]

--Manuel C. de Baca, "El Sol de Mayo," Las Vegas, New Mexico, May 1, 1891.

Manuel C. de Baca viewed the effort to organize *La Prensa Asociada* as a bold and decisive move by *Nuevomexicano* editors and journalists. In March, 1892, Manuel C. de Baca's paper, *El Sol de Mayo*, reprinted a set of resolutions recently adopted by *La Prensa Asociada*. C. de Baca added the following editorial comment to their publication,

... llevan por tema regular con tino primeramente la defensa de nuestro pueblo y nuestro pais, nuestro linage (sic) debe por supuesto depender de buenas armas para su propia defensa y nuestra raza lo verá que la prensa asociada neomexicana tomará el escudo en sus manos para hacer su deber sin necesidad de maltratar ni injuriar á nadie pero si aseguramos que el tiempo esta muy oportuno cuando los hispano-americanos pondran fin á las repetidas injurias que muy comunmente se le cometen.

... [[the resolutions] have as their motto the defense of our people and of our homeland; our lineage should by all means have use of good armament for its defense, and our people will come to see that the New Mexican Press Association will take up the shield so as to do its duty --without the need to mistreat or insult anyone-- we are convinced, however, that the time is right for the Hispanos to bring to an end the repeated injuries that all too frequently are directed against them].¹⁴

Manuel C. de Baca had begun the publication of *El Sol de Mayo* in Las Vegas, New Mexico on May 1, 1891. In keeping with the lyricism of the paper's name, C. de Baca orchestrated the appearance of the inaugural issue to coincide with the first of May of that year. A staunch conservative in all matters, Manuel C. de Baca entered journalism ostensibly to deter corruption among public officials, sustain the merits of "honest men" and expose the misdeeds of those holding public office. He also took as his mission to end the corruption and widespread lawlessness that C. de Baca believed had taken hold of San Miguel and Mora counties in the early 1890s.

In the prospectus for *El Sol de Mayo*, Manuel C. de Baca laid down a program of moral vigilance his paper promised to uphold. C. de Baca opens his prospectus with a highly discursive introduction to his agenda of moral reform for his community. C. de Baca stresses the idea of hope and change as symbolized by the purifying rays of

el sol de mayo, the Spring sun. The image forged around the paper's name, ". . . el cual hemos adoptado esforzandonos armonizar tal nombre a las bellezas naturales del mes de Mayo, . . ." [We have adopted it [the name] in the effort to harmonize such a name with the natural beauty of the month of May. . . .],¹⁵ reflected a reverence that was traditionally accorded the month of May by New Mexico's Spanish-speaking community.

C. de Baca's debut as a journalist, obviously, discloses his bent toward the kind of figuration through language and writing that he would bring to the publication of the two regional novellas he would author in subsequent years.

Manuel C. de Baca's career as a journalist was framed by his public charge as an attorney and prosecutor. In an age in which the social order of pre-American days began to give way to factionalism and divisive politics, Manuel C. de Baca saw his role as moral guardian of an older, and to his mind, less conflictive time. In the arena of public morality and religious sentiment, much of his writing takes up where his public charge leaves off and reflects a definite desire on his part to root-out the moral lassitude and lawlessness he believed plagued society at the time.

At the time Manuel C. de Baca came of age, Las Vegas was undergoing profound social, economic and political changes induced in great part by the arrival of the railroad and Anglo-American economic exploitation of the region. Such pressures dislodged the populace from the well-worn cyclical patterns of agrarian and pastoral life which heretofore had typified life in northern New Mexico.

In the late 1880s the Las Vegas-Mora area was plagued by banditry and violence suffered at the hands of one Vicente Silva and his cohorts. In his public charge Manuel C. de Baca prosecuted several members of the Silva gang, and in doing so he incurred the enmity and wrath of members of Vicente Silva's *Sociedad de Bandidos*, [Society of Brigands]. Later in his life, C. de Baca, grew fond of retelling the details of threats made against him and his family during those turbulent times,

"It was in this same patio that, during the Silva terror, Uncle Manuel almost met his death. He and Uncle Eziquiel who later became Governor of New Mexico, were on Silva's blacklist. One night, as Uncle Manuel was leaving for an evening meeting, two masked men jumped from behind some lilac bushes. Don Manuel always carried a gun, but as he went to reach for it, the bandits fled."¹⁶

No sooner had the Silva matter been put to rest when in 1890 the *Las Gorras Blancas* movement was organized. Although the *Gorras Blancas* movement came to prominence on the heels of the common banditry of Vicente Silva, the aims and goals of the White Caps organization were political and social in nature. The railroad, which ended the isolation of the region, had also brought hundreds of Anglo-American emigrés to north central New Mexico. Many of these newcomers ignored prior land-tenure patterns and entered the region intent on making their fortunes in speculation and land-grabbing schemes. The *Gorras Blancas* movement of the 1890s arose as a response to this outside encroachment on the Spanish-Mexican communal land grants held by *Nuevomexicanos* throughout the region. C. de Baca, who had premised his public life and actions on moral rectitude and personal character, had little sympathy for the extra-legal modalities espoused by the *Gorras Blancas*.¹⁷

As a journalist, and later as the author of two novelettes, Manuel C. de Baca showed himself to be clearly at odds with the populist sentiment represented by the *Gorras Blancas* and the *Partido del Pueblo Unido*. Each of these movements, at times allied and at others not, championed causes that held widespread support and acceptance among *Nuevomexicanos* in the 1890s. In part, C. de Baca's attitude is the result of a kind of *noblesse oblige* tied to the prominence of the C. de Baca name in New Mexico.

By the time Manuel C. de Baca began publication of *El Sol de Mayo*, Las Vegas had two other well-established Spanish-language newspapers. The longest running

of the two, *La Revista Católica*, was in its seventeenth year of publication. The other, the sectarian, *La Voz de Pueblo*, had made its debut the year prior to its relocation to Las Vegas from Santa Fe

C. de Baca brought forth *El Sol de Mayo* as a public challenge to the populist sentiments espoused by Felix Martínez and *La Voz del Pueblo*. Throughout 1890 and 1891 the editorial comments of *La Voz* reflected a tacit alliance and support of the *Las Gorras Blancas*, a group consisting in the main of land grant heirs that openly opposed encroachment by Anglo-American homesteaders and speculators on lands claimed under Mexican and Spanish land grants. *La Voz*, too, had become a strong supporter of *El Partido del Pueblo Unido*, an independent third party populist movement whose agenda reflected the populist sentiments of *Nuevomexicanos* in the region who felt they were being unjustly dispossessed from their lands in wholesale fashion. That Manuel C. de Baca did not fully share this concern may have resulted from his status as a member of the landed class which in great measure insulated him from the effects of land-grabbers.

News of Manuel C. de Baca's intention to publish another paper in Las Vegas was met with enthusiasm. Earlier in the year the editorial staff at *La Voz del Pueblo* had greeted the news of the forthcoming publication of *El Sol de Mayo* with goodwill and published a note of welcome greeting the paper and its proprietor into the fold of *Nuevomexicano* newspapers. Manuel C. de Baca, however, left no doubt as to where he stood in regards to the *Gorras Blancas* movement and the politics ascribed to by *La Voz's* owner, Felix Martínez. Manuel C. de Baca stated that as a matter of policy his paper would be equally intolerant of the *Gorras Blancas*, as of other political rings and cliques: "señalando las transgresiones que podemos observar ya sea por particulares ó combinaciones, pues nuestros mayores enemigos á quienes no perderemos de vista son nuestros primos Gorras Blancas y Ruedas y Anillos políticos siendo estos elementos más perniciosos y mayores enemigos al

pueblo, . . . [. . . pointing out the transgressions we are able to observe, be they of individuals or groups, our greatest enemies, which we do not lose from sight are our kin the *Gorras Blancas*, and the [other] Rings and political circles, the most pernicious and greatest enemies of the people. . .].¹⁸ With his May 1st prospectus, C. de Baca began what would be a long running attack on populism in general, and on the most strident voice of that movement in San Miguel County: *La Voz del Pueblo*.

Between February and March of 1892 C. de Baca published a nine part novelette in *El Sol* on the *Gorras Blancas* movement. He entitled his text, *Noches tenebrosas del Condado de San Miguel*. The series was meant as an indictment of that movement. Perhaps due to Manuel C. de Baca's prior experience as a prosecutor, he equated this second movement with the banditry, violence and crimes that typified the Silva band. His descriptions and assertions concerning *Los Gorras Blancas* invariably rested on the view that its members were brigands who operated outside the framework of the law. The novelette quickly came to the attention of many *Nuevomexicanos* and the publication of *Noches tenebrosas* was noted along with a brief review in Santa Fe's *El Nuevo Mexicano* which C. de Baca reprinted in his own paper on March 31, 1892.

Manuel C. de Baca published *El Sol de Mayo* for most of two years. Perhaps bowing to the pressure of other professional obligations, or perhaps fearing reprisal from his enemies, C. de Baca turned over the editorship of the paper to his friend and associate, Manuel Salazar y Otero, in March of 1892. During the years C. de Baca edited *El Sol*, his hand is visible in frequent and bitter editorial attacks he made on the staff, management and editors of *La Voz*. Manuel C. de Baca's style is also apparent in many of his poems which are of a didactic nature. Often these poems sing the praises of family virtue, of the Virgin Mary and express the strong religious sentiment of the time.

II. A Voice for the People: La Compañía Publicista de *La Voz*

.... But there is none to do his work, none to speak his faiths and convictions, none to interpret his ideals, none to inherit his peculiarly felicitous eloquence, none to hold in hand at once all the vibrant fibers of intricate business organization, none to stand quite so typically as the representative and spokesman of two peoples, two races, two modes of thought, two schools of political philosophy-- of each to the other.

--Necrology for Feliz Martínez, *Old Santa Fe Magazine*, Santa Fe, New Mexico, July, 1916

Felix Martínez, the owner and proprietor of *La Voz del Pueblo* for most of its years of publication, commanded great presence as a speaker in the nineteenth century vein of political oratory in New Mexico. As far as can be determined, however, he authored few literary or editorial texts. His contribution to *Nuevomexicano* journalism was nonetheless an extremely important one from the standpoint of his work as proprietor and entrepreneur. Martínez, who was present at the founding of *La Prensa Asociada*, also helped draft the organization's resolutions and also was elected the organization's first vice-president.

Martínez was born in the small village community of Peñasco. He received a basic education with the Christian Brothers in Mora, New Mexico before embarking on a career in politics and merchandising, becoming an influential business and political leader in New Mexico in the last decades of the nineteenth Century.

With the purchase in 1890 of *La Voz del Pueblo* from Enrique H. Salazar, Martínez became proprietor and editor-in-chief of the first successful *Nuevomexicano* printing company to emerge from Spanish-language newspaper activity of the 1890s. Martínez ran the business end of the paper until the time of his death in 1916. A shrewd businessman and investor, Martínez managed to bring on board to the staff of *La Voz* some of the finest and best prepared journalists in the territory. He employed Ezequiel C. de Baca and Antonio Lucero as associate editors. *La Voz* also was housed in one of the largest and most impressive buildings on the Las Vegas plaza and had a well staffed and modern printing room.

In the political arena, Martínez lent outward support to the populist movements represented by the *Gorras Blancas* and the *Partido del Pueblo Unido*. These movements found in *La Voz del Pueblo* a strong advocate for change and reform at a time when dissatisfaction ran high among the majority of the Spanish-speaking. By appealing to highly charged issues such as Anglo-American encroachment on the communal land grants, bias in the legal system towards Mexicanos, a dual wage system in employment for Anglos and Mexicanos, unequal living standards between an Anglo East Las Vegas and the Mexicano West Las Vegas, *La Voz del Pueblo* drew into sharp relief the social disparity that existed between these communities. Martínez was elected to the Territorial Council of New Mexico on the *Partido del Pueblo Unido* ticket in 1893.

Martínez left Las Vegas in 1898 and moved most of his business interests to El Paso, Texas. In El Paso he quickly became one of the business leaders in that community. He held varied investments in real estate, banking, public works, newspapers and water reclamation projects. Martínez left an impressive record of accomplishments in the development of El Paso. He was a founding member of the city's chamber of commerce, assisted the El Paso and Southwestern Railroad with its business acquisitions and was one of the early proponents of the establishment of electric rail lines, which for many years ran between El Paso and Ciudad Juárez, Mexico. These projects were among the first to transform the border community into a progressive and modern urban center.

Throughout this period, Martínez maintained an active interest in newspaper companies that were beginning to spring up in New Mexico and west Texas. After relocating to El Paso he remained owner and principal investor in *La Voz del Pueblo*. *La Voz* represented a profitable business venture for Martínez for the better part of the years it was in publication. Before his death Martínez invested heavily in other newspaper ventures in both English and Spanish. In Las Vegas he



Figure 4

"Felix Martínez and Business Associates" (Martínez seated at center is shown with prominent civic leaders in El Paso, circa 1910)
Amador Collection: New Mexico State University Library

had held stock in the English-language *Optic*, at Albuquerque he was among the founders of the *Albuquerque Tribune-Citizen Co.* He published the *El Paso Daily News* from 1899 to 1907 and was a founder of the *El Paso Times-Herald*.

No other *Nuevomexicano* of his generation could rival Martínez' influence in business, politics economics, and international diplomacy. At the time of his death Martínez had become a man of power, influence, and public stature.

Felix Martínez' presence in *Nuevomexicano* journalism draws always from the creative, literary, and cultural side of this activity and pulls toward the entrepreneurial, commercial and business end of such activity. Nonetheless, his role proved to be crucial in allowing those writers and journalists who associated with him access to a well-established forum upon which to wage a campaign of social and cultural advancement for *Nuevomexicanos* at the turn-of-the-century.

La Voz del Pueblo gained notarity and was by far the most successful *Nuevomexicano* newspaper. *La Voz* was published for some 37 years and, while it remained in publication, its office functioned as a publishing organization that moved beyond the work of the lone editor in charge of copy editing, running the business office and seeing to the distribution of the paper. *La Voz* was a fully staffed business venture with Felix Martínez as its president, Ezequiel C. de Baca as business manager and associate editor, Antonio Lucero as secretary and associate editor. The paper had several other employees who took charge of advertisement, sales and general office management. In essence, Martínez' venture marked new possibilities for *Nuevomexicano* success in the field of printing and publishing.

Although Martínez was frequently called on to speak before public gatherings, he was wise to leave the business of writing and editing *La Voz* to those who were no doubt better prepared for such tasks. This, too, ultimately added to the quality and professionalism of the enterprise.

In many respects Felix Martínez personified the potential and possibility of a new era in which the *Nuevomexicano* sense of culture and identity might emerge intact and be compatible with the institutions and technological advances of the age.

Because Felix Martínez' accomplishments were so out of the norm for his time and because great inequities continued to be foisted upon the bulk of *Nuevomexicanos*, his death and passing, indeed, represented a void that would not soon be filled.¹⁹

Martínez, as the language of his obituary suggests, had begun to forge a role for himself as a bridge in the intercultural socio-dynamics of the Southwest. The possibility of weaving the interests of the Spanish-speaking into the social fabric of the Southwest was indeed ephemeral and short-lived. In retrospect, Martínez' early death looms large in an era of change and transition.

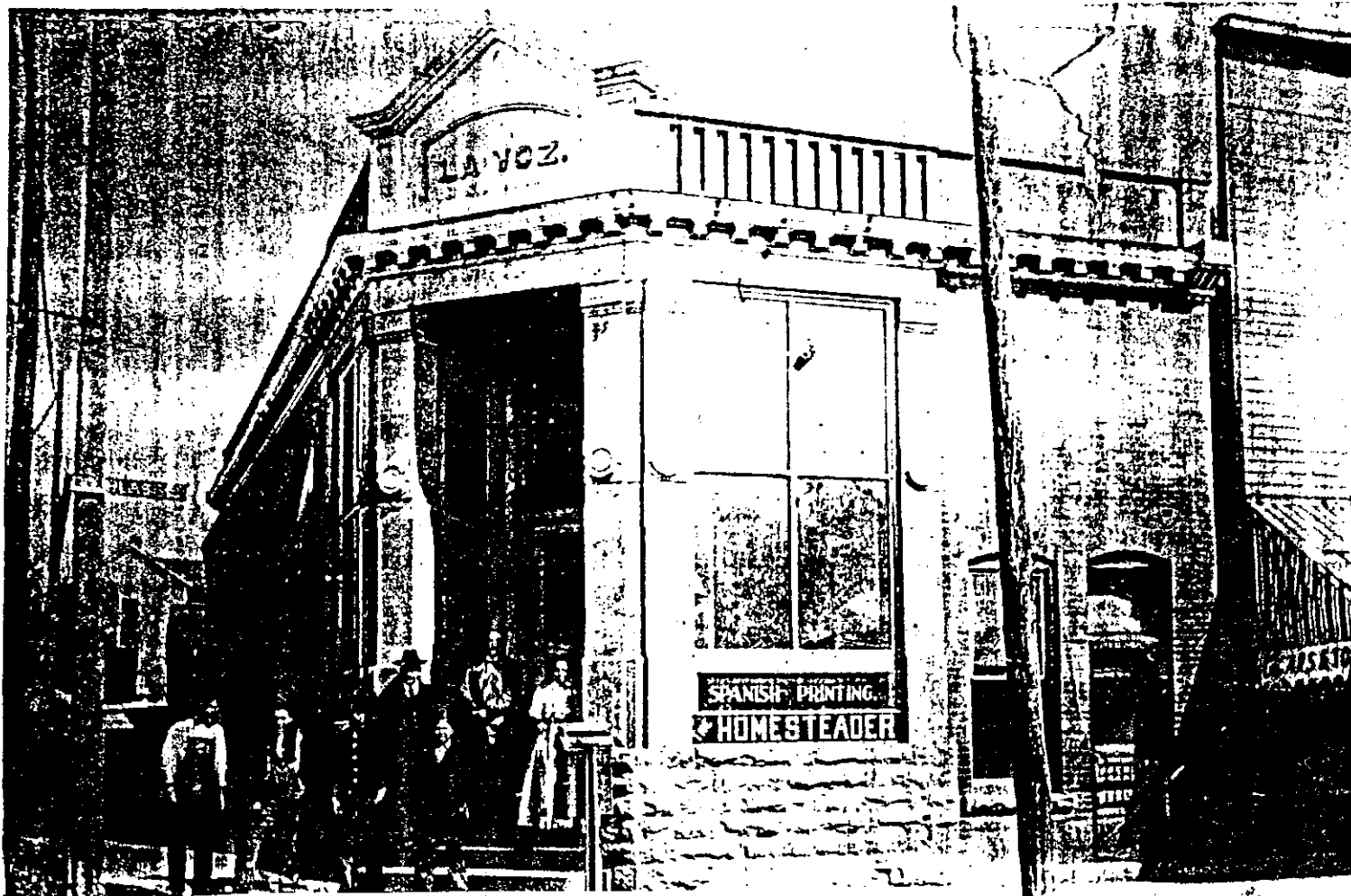
Ezequiel C. de Baca and Antonio Lucero were lifelong friends and associates. As children they attended the same schools, and as young men they studied with the same instructors at the Jesuit College of Las Vegas. Throughout their lives they shared similar ideals and used similar forums and avenues to put them into practice. Ezequiel and Antonio had long public careers, as members of *La Prensa Asociada* they served their community as spokesmen, leaders, and thinkers.

Ezequiel C. de Baca and Antonio Lucero were hired as associate editors of *La Voz del Pueblo* in 1891. Their association with *La Voz* catapulted them into the contentious milieu of territorial politics for the next twenty-five years. Both Ezequiel and Antonio would emerge from the political strife of these years as two of only a handful of *Nuevomexicanos* holding positions of leadership in the first years of statehood.

Ezequiel's work in his initial years at *La Voz* consisted mainly of reporting and copy editing. Like members of his generation, however, Ezequiel was particularly interested in fomenting education in the literary and dramatic arts. Ezequiel himself was a member of several educational circles that were being organized for

Figure 5

"Offices of *La Voz del Pueblo*" (View of *La Voz del Pueblo* Building at the Southeast corner of the Las Vegas Plaza. Pictured are Ezequiel C. de Baca (top of stairs) Antonio Lucero to his right, Marcelina Lucero to his left. Also pictured are Lorenzo Lucero, and José Ignacio García.)



this purpose. The *Nuevomexicano* community in Las Vegas had organized the *Sociedad literaria y de ayuda mutua*, [Literary and Mutual Aid Society], *La Sociedad por la protección de la educación* [Society for the Protection of Education], and *El Club Dramático de Las Vegas* [The Las Vegas Drama Club.] Ezequiel was a member of each of these groups and through *La Voz* supported their efforts to educate the populace at large in verbal and dramatic arts.

The altruism, lofty sentiments, and ennobling notions of art and literature of these organizations was offset by cross-cultural conflict, racial strife, and the intrigue of local and territorial politics. Ezequiel C. de Baca and his associates were clearly in the middle of these more pressing matters. Ezequiel's older brother, Manuel C. de Baca, proprietor and editor of *El Sol de Mayo* from 1891 to 1892 was at the opposite end of the political spectrum. Ezequiel favored the populist sentiments of *La Voz del Pueblo*, which vowed to defend the interest of "las masas de hombres pobres," [the masses of the poor] and the *Las Gorras Blancas*. Fabiola C. de Baca would later write, "He was a slave to the cause of the poor people and no one, perhaps, knew it as I did. In those days, being a member of the political party to which my father belonged in San Miguel County was indeed martyrdom."²⁰

There was a brief period of reconciliation and unity for the two brothers as the leadership in San Miguel County urged that quarreling political factions end their bickering and build on common ground to construct a united political front. The movement came on the heels of what would become known as the Billy Green incident.²¹ Such incidents of open disdain by the Anglo residents of Las Vegas,-- the Green disturbance was not the only one-- brought into clear focus the enmity that existed between the two communities.

For *Nuevomexicanos* the Billy Green matter made all the more apparent the need to set aside factionalism along political and ideological lines in favor of cultural and ethnic unity that would end such abuse. The staff at *La Voz* along with

other *Prensa Asociada* members geared up to do just that. During the summer months of 1894 *La Voz*, and even *El Sol* beamed with editorials and commentaries extolling unity in San Miguel, the county with the largest population of *Nuevomexicanos* in the territory. Earlier in the year, Manuel Salazar y Otero at *El Sol*, ran an editorial praising the work of Felix Martínez and *La Voz* for enjoining a call to unity among *Nuevomexicanos*, "Consecuentemente aunque el Sr. Martinez sea opuesto á nuestros principios políticos pero como nacional de nosotros mismos y como que el es uno de los que con su nombre, energía y áfanes (sic) ha dado honor y honra á su raza, nos tomamos la menor oportunidad por tales razones para darle el honor que merece. El Sr. Martinez es uno de los que componen la flor y nata de los neo-mejicanos." [As a matter of consequence and, although *Señor* Martínez opposes our political tenents, but because he is of our nationality and as he is one of those who with his name, energy and toil has brought honor to his race, we take the opportunity to give him the honor he deserves. *Señor* Martínez is among those who comprise the flower of New Mexicans].²²

Meanwhile, *La Voz* ran front page editorials such as: "Unión y prosperidad: El pueblo de San Miguel se Une Bajo el Gremio de un Solo Partido [The People of San Miguel Unites Under the Guidance of a Single Party] (August 4, 1894) and printed graphics of American eagles proclaiming "Viva la Unión del Condado de San Miguel: Nuestro Motto--Firmeza, Lealtad y Justicia" [Long Live Unity in San Miguel County: Our Motto --Strenght, Loyalty and Justice] (September 1, 1894) As associate editor at *La Voz*, Ezequiel C. de Baca was a key player in the success of this movement which galvanized the resolve of *La Prensa Asociada* to steer public sentiment towards unified political and cultural aims.

Throughout these years, *La Voz del Pueblo* became the most important vehicle by which the concerns of the Spanish-speaking community were reflected. In 1899 Ezequiel C. de Baca participated in the reorganization of *La Voz* which continued to

be published by the Martínez Publishing Co. Ezequiel assumed the position of business manager and was one of the editors of the paper. In this vein he continued to improve the content and presentation of *La Voz* in the years that followed.

In his work as journalist and spokesman for the *Nuevomexicano* community, Ezequiel C. de Baca had been at the center of political life in San Miguel County for twenty years before seeking public office. When finally he did so, it would be as representative and spokesman of the *Nuevomexicano* in the context of New Mexico's bid for statehood. On January 6, 1912, some sixty-six years after Kearny occupied New Mexico, and sixty-four years after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, New Mexico was granted statehood. In 1912 Ezequiel C. de Baca was elected New Mexico's first Lieutenant Governor. His rise to political prominence despite that fact that he had not held political office holds no contradiction. Historian Anselmo Arellano explains, "On the contrary, his political background was molded through his continuous presence and participation in political conventions, public meetings and his recognition as a popular journalist."²³ Ezequiel discharged his duties as Lieutenant Governor for the next five years and in 1916, backed by the endorsement of Felix Martínez, he became the Democratic party's gubernatorial candidate. Ezequiel C. de Baca wrestled the gubernatorial race from the Republican candidate Holm O. Bursum in November of 1916.

C. de Baca, who had become ill in the months before his election, removed himself to California where he hoped to rest before his inauguration. He returned to Santa Fe on January 1, 1917 and while appearing well and in good spirits at his inauguration his health continued to deteriorate. He was diagnosed with what was then called, "anemic pneumonia." Ezequiel C. de Baca died forty-nine days after taking office as the second governor of the state of New Mexico. During the last

month and a half he ran the affairs of the state from his hospital bed at St. Vincent's Sanitarium in Santa Fe.

Fellow journalist and lifelong friend Antonio Lucero delivered the eulogy for Ezequiel. Lucero praised C. de Baca's life and work as an individual whose loyalty and sincerity had honored his *Nuevomexicano* roots. Lucero cited Ezequiel C. de Baca's own words in alluding to steadfast commitment Ezequiel had shown to his community. C. de Baca's life was guided by the spirit of honor which he often invoked in the words, "I die poor, but I lived in honor."

For many years Antonio Lucero, along with his friend and associate Ezequiel C. de Baca worked as an editorial team that enhanced the pages of a *La Voz*. Their work represents a the new level of sophistication and professionalism achieved by *La Prensa Asociada* after 1900. Both men distinguished themselves in public life and were considered central figures in leadership circles within the *Nuevomexicano* community. ²⁴

Niether Lucero, nor Ezequiel C. de Baca were in the habit of including bylines to their work. Therefore, it is difficult to attribute authorship of specific writings to either editor.

Some inferences can be made. Lucero often accepted invitations to speak at public and civic ceremonies and dedications, and the texts of these speeches, some given in Spanish, others in English, offer proof that Lucero was a gifted public speaker. Undoubtedly, Lucero's knowledge and awareness of authors and writers in the Latin American and Spanish tradition determined to a large extent the literary offerings published frequently in *La Voz*. At the same time, Lucero maintained an abiding sense of loyalty to his *Nuevomexicano* roots, a subject he addressed with much conviction and insight in a 1913 article. In his "Homely Virtues of the Spanish Americans," Lucero was guided by his convictions as an editor of *La Voz*,

We speak a language, the English, in which, I regret to say, it has been for so many years the fashion of many to write in ridicule of the Spanish-Americans of New Mexico, and to give so little credit, or no credit at all, to the work that their ancestors and the Catholic pioneers did for civilization in these parts, that I have often felt the want of a conscientious writer who would take up this subject and discuss it in the press with the idea in mind to displace fiction and put in its place a genuine and conservative narrative of the facts.²⁵

Lucero's articles, written for the *Old Santa Fe Magazine* shortly after taking office as Secretary of State, most clearly outline his objectives in dealing with the issue of the cultural displacement *Nuevomexicanos* were experiencing in their own homeland. Lucero was among a miniscule number of *Nuevomexicano periodiqueros* to have "crossed over" into the literary and cultural arts movement of the post-statehood era. This occurred at a time when Anglo-dominated literary arts and historical societies were defined in large measure by their conscious omission of the cultural legacy of *Nuevomexicanos* in the region.

Antonio Lucero no doubt played a key role in determining the content, format and style of *La Voz*. The paper touched on and brought into focus every major issue of concern to the *Nuevomexicano* community. By including the verbal arts of the community in each issue, *La Voz del Pueblo* was grounded in its commitment to the *Nuevomexicano* populace. Throughout its many years in publication its pages reflected the voice of *Nuevomexicano* poets, writers, and the chroniclers of *nativo* traditions and history.

III. Linking Aztlan: Binationalism and *La Prensa Asociada*

The majority of Spanish-language journalists working in New Mexico at the end of the nineteenth century were, as might be expected, native born *Nuevomexicanos*, but there were exceptions. The strength and vigor of the *periodiquero* movement drew journalists from other Spanish-speaking regions of the Southwest and other countries. Pedro García de la Lama, the editor of *La Opinión Pública* of Albuquerque, was Mexican born. Oliveros V. Aoy was a Spaniard who moved

across the west and worked for a time for *La Voz del Pueblo* and other newspapers in Las Vegas, New Mexico.

José Montaner, born in Barcelona, was another Spanish immigrant to New Mexico. Once settled in Taos, he became editor of *La Revista de Taos* and published the paper for well over a decade. *La Revista de Taos* laid claim to one of the largest circulations of any *Nuevomexicano* paper with over 5,000 subscribers. Montaner married Mariquita Valdez, a *Nuevomexicana* and a member of a prominent and well-known Taos family. Montaner's integration in *Nuevomexicano* society along with his years as editor of *La Revista de Taos* also laid the basis for a career in politics. Montaner served as Senator for Taos county in the post-statehood era. The name of one other Spanish-born editor, José Jordí, figures prominently in journalism in New Mexico. José Jordí entered New Mexico in the post-statehood era, editing the pages of *La Voz del Pueblo* for a time in the late teens. Later in the 1920s Jordí edited *La Bandera Americana* in Albuquerque.

Victor H. Ochoa, Teófilo Ocaña Caballero, Rafael and Elfego N. Ronquillo, and José Antonio Escajeda were journalists who had a profound identification with northern Mexico and the border area of west Texas and New Mexico and each of these men left their imprint on Spanish-language journalism on both sides of the border.

Under Ochoa's direction *La Prensa Asociada* immediately began to press forth a proactive agenda to secure the full participation in the affairs of government for the community it represented. At its May 9, 1892 meeting in Albuquerque, *Prensa Asociada* members passed numerous measures, among them one petitioning the territorial legislature to require that all legal and judicial documents be published in Spanish, this, so that the *Nuevomexicano* community, "... se ilustre y este en conocimiento de todo aquello que atañe en sus derechos de ciudadanos." [it can inform itself with knowledge that concerns its rights as citizens].²⁶ Ochoa who lead

an adventurous life and one committed to social causes would not remain long as president of *La Prensa Asociada*. Newspapers in New Mexico reported that his abrupt departure from *El Hispano-Americano* in Las Vegas in 1894 was the result of having gone to Chihuahua to join the revolutionary forces who were organizing to oppose the Díaz regime. Ochoa might easily have identified with Mark Twain's famous commentary to the effect that, "reports of my death of been greatly exaggerated." *El Boletín Popular* reported in February of 1894 that Ochoa had been killed in a battle with government troops in Chihuahua. Upon noting his untimely passing, José Segura of *El Boletín* remarked all too prematurely that it would have been better for Ochoa to have continued in journalism. Reports of "the knight errant of the Rio Grande," as he became known, continued to appear in New Mexico's newspapers for many years after his presumed death at the hands of *carransistas*. Some reports had him aiding Villa's cause in the north, others had him serving time in a federal prison in New York for violating intervention laws and inciting anti-Díaz revolutionary movements along the border. Even into the 1930s reports tried to track the elusive and lusty legend that became linked to Ochoa's name. An El Paso newspaper reported as late as 1940 that the famous "journalist, inventor and revolutionary," at last report, was mining gold in the El Tambor placer district in Sinaloa, Mexico.²⁷

The *periodiquero* movement in New Mexico linked up editors throughout the Southwest. In particular, the El Paso and Las Cruces area became important conduits for the exchange of information into north central New Mexico from the border area and beyond. Two individuals, Jesús Enrique Sosa and José Escobar, both Mexican born, were particularly active in *La Prensa Asociada Hispano-Americana* and through their work and presence contributed greatly to its improvement.

Para el *Eco del Norte*
con mucho honor y
pesar de corazón les mando,
estos versitos, ojalá les den publicación,

Año de mil novecientos
y diez y ocho ésta es la fecha
que Enrique Sosa murió
el editor de la imprenta.

--Corrido en memoria de Enrique Sosa, R. Arellano, Mora, New Mexico, January 18, 1918

Jesús Enrique Sosa was a young man when he chose to leave Mexico and emigrate to New Mexico. After a long and active career in which Sosa edited and published several newspapers in New Mexico he became among the best known and respected of *periodiqueros* working in *Nuevomexicano* journalism. Sosa's education and early formation in Mexico would set a somewhat distinct pattern than that of his *Nuevomexicano* contemporaries.

Sosa was born in 1866 in Guadalajara, Mexico. By his own admission Sosa received a quality education in the public schools in his native state of Jalisco, but major disruptions soon rocked Enrique's early childhood. Enrique, orphaned at age ten, left his native state of Jalisco in 1871 and had joined the Mexican Army by age fifteen. Sosa eventually achieved the rank of captain, a title which later lent him stature in his career as a publisher and one by which he would often be addressed in his years in New Mexico.²⁸

Sosa's military experience may have also eventually lead him to study at Academia de San Carlos [St. Charles Academy] in Mexico City. San Carlos, housed in an elegant nineteenth century building in the center of the Mexican capital, was the premier institution for the study of the Fine Arts. Students at San Carlos studied painting and sculpture after the fashion of European neo-classism and realism. At San Carlos, Sosa was trained as a painter, a vocation he exercised throughout his life.

In 1888, Sosa moved to El Paso, Texas. Despite the fact that the U.S.-Mexican border at the time was quite open, and unregulated crossings permitted Mexican nationals and Mexicanos residing in the United States to move freely across the international border, Enrique Sosa sought and petitioned for legal immigration status. The formality was probably motivated by Sosa having a profession he wished to continue exercising in this country. One of his sponsors in El Paso was José Escobar another Mexican exile who was a familiar figure among *Nuevomexicano* journalists working at the time.²⁹

Sosa remained in El Paso for some five years during which time he was employed by American railway companies in the area. In 1894 he moved to Las Cruces, but remained there for only a short time. About this time Sosa involved himself and became a principal contributor to the growing Spanish-language newspaper activity in New Mexico. In 1894, while living in Santa Fe he founded the Spanish weekly, *El Gato*, a paper which he qualified as "Semanario Independiente Joco-Serio, Amigo de la Verdad y del Progreso." [A jocular- serious and independent weekly, a friend of the truth and progress.] Sosa added a humorous note to the conditions of the paper's publication, "*El Gato* maullará los Viernes de cada semana en diversa variedad de tonos según las circunstancias." [*El Gato* will meow Fridays each week in a variety of tones as circumstances dictate.]

The year after his arrival in Santa Fe, Sosa wed Luz Alderete, a native of Las Cruces. Sosa established a second paper, *La Estrella de Nuevo México*, in Santa Fe, a publication he later relocated to Socorro in 1896. Enrique Sosa followed *La Estrella de Nuevo México* with a paper that carried the colorful title *La Hormiga de Oro* which he edited in Albuquerque for approximately two years. Throughout this time he continued to work as an artist and painter. Sometime in the early 1890s, while residing in Santa Fe, he became a citizen of the United States.

In 1898, Sosa moved his printing plant permanently to Mora, New Mexico, but he continued his business association with *La Estrella de Nuevo México* and *La Hormiga de Oro* for many years after. At Mora he founded *El Eco del Norte*, a paper he edited for well over ten years and until his death in 1918.

During the years he spent in Mora, Sosa, his wife, and family of ten came to be closely identified with that community. A fact confirmed in Sosa's obituary, "Los residentes de Mora y lugares circunvecinas no hay duda que han de sentido sobremanera la repentina separación de un hombre que se esforzó por el bienestar de ello, tanto financiera como moralmente." [There is no doubt that the residents of Mora and neighboring areas have greatly felt the sudden departure of a man who worked for them, both financially and morally].³⁰

Sosa, by those accounts available, was considered the epitome of the small businessman dedicated to the betterment of his community and his people. This, of course, meant that he was accustomed to privation and hardships imposed by trying to eke out a living in an economically marginal community. The Mora Valley which had prospered for a time in the late 1890s, began to experience a marked decline in its agricultural economy at the turn of the century. Sosa, a man engaged in various business ventures cast his lot with the Mora community and was not immune for hard economic times.

From the founding of *La Estrella de Nuevo Mexico* in 1895, Enrique Sosa's newspapers were actively involved in *La Prensa Asociada*. Through business associations, Sosa fostered lasting newspaper enterprises in Albuquerque, Santa Fe and Mora, New Mexico. Sosa's editorials were short and to the point and his style was one of a tempered and seasoned writer. In many ways Enrique Sosa's contributions to the *Nuevomexicano* cultural movement of the late nineteenth century go beyond that of editor and staff writer. It should be kept in mind that he was also an accomplished painter.

Porfirio Díaz reportedly commissioned Sosa's paintings, some of which graced the Palacio Nacional in Mexico City. Later in his career he reportedly gave other paintings to the Museum Society in Santa Fe. Little is known of his work as a painter or as commercial photographer, although it can be assumed that throughout his years in the Mora area his camera would have been witness and visual chronicler of an immense record of the community's countless, baptisms, weddings, first communions, and political, and social gatherings. At the time of his death on January 13, 1918, his colleagues in the press lamented his passing. Nestor Montoya, president of *La Prensa Asociada de Nuevo México* [The New Mexico Press Association] paid a final tribute to Sosa in *La Bandera Americana* :

El capitán Sosa era oriundo de México pero hacía muy largos años que vivía en Nuevo México y estaba bien relacionado y familiarizado con el estado y su ciudadanía. Era hombre honesto, positivo en sus ideas y amante de sostener, por medio de su pluma, el caracter y estima del pueblo de Nuevo México y los principios del gobierno Americano con lealtad.

El capitán Sosa hará mucha falta en el periodismo del estado y sentimos sobremanera su muerte, y en union con sus numerosos amigos simpatizamos con su afligida esposa é hijos.

[Captain Sosa was born in Mexico but it had been many years that he lived in New Mexico and he was familiar and well-connected to our state and its citizens. He was an honest man, positive in his ideas and given to uphold, with his pen, the character and esteem of the people of New Mexico, [as well as] to loyally support the principles of the American government. Captain Sosa will be missed in the journalism of the state and we are deeply sorrowed by his death and in the company of his many friends we sympathize with his suffering widow and his children].³¹

Esa misma prensa, en los últimos años ha mejorado de una manera bien notable, y en sus editoriales y boletines, se observa ya algo más que ese estilo embrionario de la prensa que nace; la argumentación lógica y justa que combate, ya no por una idea de partido; sino por algo mucho más grande todavía: por el mejoramiento de las masas sin diferencias de creencias religiosas y políticas.

[That very press has improved noticeably over the last few years, and in its editorials and bulletins one can observe something more than the embryonic style of a press in its infancy; [it can be seen] in its logical and well conceived commentary that struggles, not as the party line, but rather, for something greater yet, for the betterment of the masses irrespective of political or religious belief.]

--José Escobar on the progress of the press in New Mexico. Denver, Colorado , July 11, 1896.

An active member of *La Prensa Asociada* and an ardent supporter of the work of the Spanish-language press in informing the *Nuevomexicano* populace, José Escobar remains an elusive and enigmatic *periodiquero* working in Spanish-language journalism in New Mexico at the end of the nineteenth century. Escobar was a Mexican citizen who immigrated to New Mexico in the late 1880s. Little is known, otherwise, regarding his place of birth, education and formal training as a journalist.

The first mention of José Escobar in the United States is found in a letter of reference signed by Escobar in support of his compatriot and colleague, Jesús Enrique Sosa. The letter was presented at the offices of the Mexican Consulate in El Paso, Texas on June 1st, 1889. It is easy to surmise from the letter that Escobar had been in the United States for some time prior since he is in a position to vouch for Sosa. Little is known regarding José Escobar's activities before this, however. Just as perplexing is the abrupt end of any mention of Escobar in New Mexico newspapers after 1898. That year Escobar parted company with *El Combate*, the Socorro, New Mexico newspaper he was editing. The paucity of information on Escobar permits only conjecture as to why and to what end Escobar spent some ten or more years in New Mexico, only to vanish from the area with little more ever being said of him.

Whether Escobar's move to New Mexico was motivated by political, economic or personal motives remains unclear. In a 1978 article, Doris Meyer, a student of early Mexican American writers, suggests that Escobar immigrated to New Mexico as a political exile, a victim of the *porfiriato* and its persecution of dissident journalists in Mexico. Despite Meyer's asseration, nothing in the record has surfaced to evidence that such intrigue prompted José Escobar's migration.³²

Judging from the quality and professionalism of his work it is likely that Escobar was trained in journalism before coming to the United States. Entering New

Mexico Escobar would have found a ready and active climate in which to advance his profession as a journalist. During the 1890s Escobar worked with various publications in towns and cities both in New Mexico and in Colorado. Escobar was an editor of no less than 14 different newspapers in ten separate communities in New Mexico, Colorado and Texas.³³

Several suppositions can be advanced to explain Escobar's frequent moves and abrupt departures from many of the newspapers he associated with. As a trained journalist, Escobar was in a position to offer much needed expertise to the fledgling newspapers that were springing up virtually in every Spanish-speaking town in New Mexico. This would mean that he would have felt the opportunity and perhaps even would have been induced by competing papers to change jobs often. Other evidence, however, suggests that, for reasons of character or temperament, Escobar was a difficult person to get along with. Perhaps Escobar's ideas brought him into contention with the owners and proprietors of the newspapers he worked for, or, perhaps, as some evidence seems to suggest, Escobar was a bit too freewheeling in his business dealings. More than one report from the period presents Escobar as a duplicitous character. In May, 1892, for example, *El Tiempo* of Las Cruces published a letter from one of its subscribers describing an unfortunate business dealing involving Escobar. The letter was sent to the paper by a Román Bermúdez of Ciudad, Juárez, Chihuahua. Mr. Bermúdez writes to warn other unsuspecting readers lest they find themselves bilked by a certain José Escobar. Escobar, according to Bermúdez, had been about the city selling subscriptions for *La Voz de Juárez* a newspaper, Escobar assured them, he was going to publish in the city in the near future. When no paper ever appeared, Bermúdez wrote the editor of *El Tiempo* to complain and to denounce Escobar as a scoundrel.

An interesting note in Mr Bermúdez' letter is the succinct physical description he gives of José Escobar, and the equally succinct, albeit, opinionated estimation of

his moral character, " En el 1ro de enero del presente año de 1892 estuvo personalmente en mi casa un tal José Escobar, güerito, delgadito, chapucerito, pertardista y lépero. . . "[On January the first of this year, 1892, a certain José Escobar paid a personal visit to my home. [He is] fair complexed, skinny, a bungler, a cheat, and a swindler. . .].³⁴ While the Bermúdez letter registers a minor squabble over the matter of a subscription, the designation of *lépero* [charlatan] apparently followed Escobar in his wanderings in New Mexico and Colorado.

José Escobar, who had edited *El Progreso* at Trinidad, returned to Colorado in January 1896, this time to become the editor of a prestigious new publication that had been founded by Casimiro Barela in Denver. Barela, an influential and well-to-do member of the Hispanic community of southern Colorado was a state senator from Las Animas County. In 1896 Barela was appointed Consul General for the Mexican Consulate in Denver. At the invitation of Casimiro Barela, Escobar produced and edited *Las Dos Repúblicas* for the Mexican Consulate in that city. *Las Dos Repúblicas* was a superior publication that superceeded the quality of any *Nuevomexicano* publication at the time and was superior in quality to many English language newspapers being published in Denver. *Las Dos Repúblicas* obviously benefitted by the capital outlay provided by Casimiro Barela, and by the support of the Mexican Consulate. *Las Dos Repúblicas* was published on a state-of-the-art press, a fact which gave Escobar cause to boast: "Por último, la idea de ilustrar este semanario con magníficos grabados, complemento es, que viene á colocar al mismo, si no al frente, por lo menos en la primera fila de las publicaciones del Oeste de esta gran República Norte Americana" [And lastly, the idea of illustrating this weekly with magnificent engravings will, I dare say, place this publication, if not in the lead, at least at among the first line of publications in the West of this great North American Republic].³⁵

José Escobar's time at *Las Dos Repúblicas* represents the pinnacle of his activity and achievements as editor, essayist and poet. In a very short time Escobar had managed to publish a superior periodical covering an array of bi-national issues on the industrial, commercial and scientific potential of trade and exchange between Mexico and United States. Escobar also managed to systematically publish some of the finest editorial opinions launched by a Spanish-language editor on the condition of the Mexican-origin communities in the Southwest. While editor of *Las Dos Repúblicas*. Escobar also published his most important works in poetry, which heretofore, like his own efforts as editor, had remained scattered among the various newspapers he had worked for in prior years.

Whatever might be conjectured of Escobar's personal character and temperament, he must be viewed against his capabilities as an editor and a writer. There is no doubt that José Escobar was an editor of great talent and abilities and that he was well-educated and read. His essays, beginning with the prospectus he wrote for *Las Dos Repúblicas*, suggest that he was a man of vision and talent. In José Escobar's program for *Las Dos Repúblicas*, he outlines his own lofty aspirations and commitment to serve his people, but he also manages to speak of the utilitarian function of the paper which he envisioned as a vehicle for bi-national dialogue and trade between Mexico and the United States, "Este periódico, pues se dedicará preferentemente á desarrollar en cuanto sea posible los ramos comerciales todos de estas dos grandes repúblicas, y principalmente el de este estado de Colorado con los principales mercados del privilegiado suelo mexicano." [This newspaper will dedicate itself principally to developing, to the degree possible, the commercial sectors of these two [Mexico and the United States] great republics, and more particularly those of this state, Colorado, with principal markets in Mexico]. Escobar was, of course, working at the behest of Casimiro Barela and other Mexican and U.S. entrepreneurs, but also expresses his objective to bring to public attention

important works of literature and art, "Todo lo anterior no quiere decir, sin embargo, que nuestro periódico se ocupará única y exclusivamente de asuntos comerciales, no, por el presente número, nuestros favorecedores verán que en cuanto ha sido posible, hemos procurado hacer de este semanario una hoja de utilidad é interés para todas las clases sociales, y que, en sus columnas, las artes, las ciencias, la literatura y las novedades tienen sus secciones correspondientes." [All this does not mean that our newspaper will concern itself solely and exclusively with the affairs of commerce, no, with this our current issue, our patrons can see that, to the extent possible, we are trying to make this weekly a useful and interesting sheet for all social classes, and that, upon its columns the arts, science, literature and novelties each have their appropriate place].³⁶

Las Dos Repúblicas, which further described itself as "Periodico comercial, de artes, ciencia y literatura" [A Commercial Newspaper of Art, Science and Literature] was a six-page, eight-column weekly that regularly featured departments such as "Plumadas" --a section of news briefs of an historical, literary and scientific bent-- "Variedades" --literary selections-- and "El Folletín" --which regularly printed historical texts. Evidence that Escobar was directly responsible for the high quality and professionalism of *Las Dos Repúblicas* is apparent in the marked drop in the overall quality of the paper immediately after Escobar's departure from the newspaper in July of 1896.

Conocemos de antemano la escabrosa senda del periodismo independiente, sabemos que más que laureles nos esperan disgustos, enemigos y tal vez días amargos; pero nada nos arredra, no tendremos por argumento más que la razón y la justicia; caracemos de fraseología para exponer nuestras ideas con suficiente desarrollo y brillante lenguaje, pero á falta de eso, nuestros actos y ataques que diríamos trán desprovistos de todo lo que no sea la verdad. . .

[We know from experience of the rough path of independent journalism, we know that more than praise, unpleasant experiences, enemies, and perhaps bitter days await; but none of this frightens us, we have no other logic than reason and justice; we may lack the turn -of -the -phrase to put forth our ideas with sufficient development and brilliant language, but taking this into account, of our acts and attacks we can say that they will go forth devoid of all that is not truth. . .]

--Isidoro Armijo, "*El Eco del Valle*, sus trabajos en la senda periodística, sus miras y fines como publicación independiente." [The Labors, Outlooks and Objectives of *El Eco del Valle* as an Independent Publication.] Las Cruces, New Mexico, September 11, 1911.

Who's Who in New Mexico for 1937 lists Isidoro Armijo's profession as that of a newspaperman. The entry notes his accomplishments in education and public life and further describes him as the author of "Sixty Minutes in Hades," and other stories. The entry ends with the mention that Armijo had written over two thousand feature articles for English and Spanish newspapers,³⁷ a figure which at first glance may seem like an exaggeration, even when one takes into account Armijo's many years of presence and participation with Spanish-language journalism in New Mexico and Colorado.

Isidoro Armijo first became known as a *periodiquero* of considerable note after working at Trinidad's *El Progreso* in 1898. From July to September, 1898, Armijo is listed as editor of *El Progreso*. During this time he worked for the paper's proprietor Salomón C. García. Armijo's tenure as a journalist had by his own account begun only a short time earlier in 1896 when at age 25 he entered the field by working as an editor of an unnamed *Nuevomexicano* newspaper.

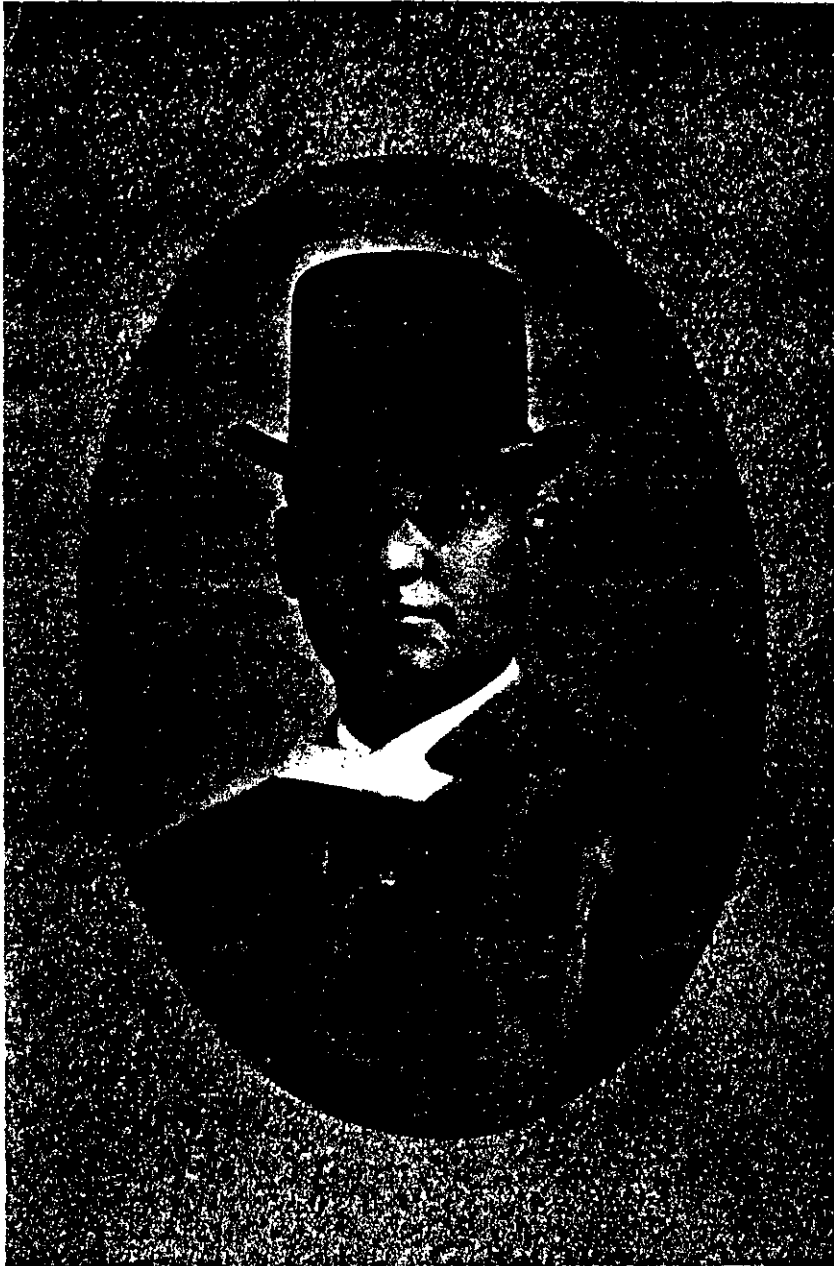
After graduating from the College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, Armijo worked as a school teacher in Doña Ana County for about two years. He then became associated with Las Cruces' oldest newspaper, *El Tiempo* (1882), where he learned the business of publishing a newspaper. During the next six years Armijo traveled extensively both in the United States and in Mexico. In 1899, he returned to Las Cruces and became active in local politics.

From 1900 to 1904 he was editor of *El Eco del Valle* and from 1904 to 1908 he edited *La Flor del Valle*. In 1908 he was elected to the territorial legislature and served that body as Chief Clerk. In 1910 Armijo was elected to serve as delegate from Doña Ana County to the Constitutional Convention. The convention's delegates had as their task the formulation of a constitution which if adopted would signal the end of New Mexico's territorial status and would usher in statehood. By his own admission, Armijo's greatest accomplishment as a delegate was to have introduced and made possible the adoption of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo as part of the constitution of the state. Years later, New Mexico's *periodiqueros* continued to remind their readers of Armijo's accomplishment. Such was the case as late as 1926 when rumors circulated across the state that moves were afoot to disenfranchise *Nuevomexicanos* by taking away their right to vote, *La Estrella* of Las Cruces offered the following editorial reprinted from an Española paper called *El Palito*,

"... los enemigos de nuestro pueblo no van a conseguir el atropello de nativos, quitandoles el derecho de ciudadanía Americana, pues en la Convencion Constitucional, el vocal Hon. Isidoro Armijo, redactó y presentó ante dicha convención una noble ley e idea la cual fué adoptada unanimamente, que incluye el tratado de Guadalupe-Hidalgo como parte de la Constitución."

[... the enemies of our people will not succeed in trampling the natives, taking away their right to American citizenship, since at the Constitutional Convention, Isidoro Armijo wrote and presented before that convention the noble law and idea which was unanimously adopted, to include the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo as part of the Constitution.].³⁸

As a result of the prominence Armijo gained as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention and with the ratification of statehood for New Mexico, Armijo became a leading figure in political circles at the state level. After 1912 Armijo resided and worked in Santa Fe, Taos and Albuquerque. During these years he interspersed public service with his work as an editor with several Spanish-language newspapers along the Rio Grande corridor. He served a term in the New Mexico



ISIDORO ARMIJO, pub. and probate clerk Dona Ana Co., (Rep.) delegate Dona Ana Co.; b. Las Cruces, N. M., Feb. 15, 1871; s. of Jacinto and Juana S. Armijo; early educ. pub. schools, Dona Ana Co.; New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, Las Cruces; taught school two years; interpreter third Judicial District court, Las Cruces, many years; 1898 established *El Progreso*, a newspaper, in Trinidad, Colorado, and also *La Flor del Valle* in Las Cruces, N. M.; traveled extensively over U. S. and Mexico for six years; probate clerk and recorder Dona Ana Co., 1900-11; pres. board of educ. Las Cruces, 1902-3; ex-mem. Las Cruces Armory board; mem. Elks, Modern Woodmen, W. O. W., I. O. R. M., Eagles, Fraternal Brotherhood, of Los Angeles, Spanish-American Alliance. Address: Las Cruces, N. M.

Figure 7

"Portrait of Isidoro Armijo" (Portrait with signature circa 1912)
 Peterson, *Representative New Mexicans*, p. 10

House of Representatives (1914) and returned to journalism in the 1920s. From 1920 to 1922 he was editor of both the *Taos Valley News* and *La Revista de Taos*. In 1926 he established and edited *El Eco del Río Grande*, a newspaper which served the Española Valley. Armijo held various other appointments both public and private. In the 1920s he established the Armijo Bureau, a newspaper agency which acted as a clearinghouse and news service for Spanish-language newspapers throughout the state. It is perhaps more accurate to say that the two thousand feature articles reported in *Who's Who in New Mexico* were most likely the result of the collective work of his agency.

Armijo's contribution to *La Prensa Asociada* came by way of his abilities as a writer and a businessman. By 1900, Armijo had become the leading *Nuevomexicano* journalist in southern New Mexico. His success in forging newspaper enterprises that spoke with the same urgency and care as other well-established publications at Albuquerque, Santa Fe, and Las Vegas, built upon the work and efforts of many other *periodiqueros* who had been working in the area for at least a decade prior. Armijo's *El Eco del Valle*, for example, absorbed *El Tiempo*, the Mesilla Valley's oldest Spanish-language weekly. *El Tiempo* had been established by Marcial Valdez in 1882. Armijo's papers, *La Estrella*, *El Eco del Valle* and *La Flor del Valle* were also successful because Armijo was able to enlist a cadre of diverse and well-prepared journalists, writers and collaborators to edit and produce them. He often collaborated with several direct correspondents in Ciudad Juárez and Mexico City. In March, 1911, for example, Armijo's *La Estrella*, promoted itself by, among other things, touting the credentials of its staff. *La Estrella's* promotional read: "La Estrella. El mejor periódico Político que se publica en español en Nuevo México. Nuestro material es original. No plagiamos artículos. No llenamos nuestras columnas con puras copias como lo hacen otros periódicos." [*La Estrella*, the best political paper published in Spanish in New

Mexico. Our material is original. We do not plagerize articles. We do not fill our columns with reprints as other papers do].³⁹

Like Felix Martínez in Las Vegas, Isidoro Armijo built a publishing company around his newspaper activities. As president and proprietor, Armijo was able to delegate work to others who were more aptly trained and inclined to specific editorial and writing tasks. Armijo also played a key role in bridging interests between the Mexicano, *Nuevomexicano* and Anglo-American communities in southern New Mexico. He, for example, published *La Estrella* in the print shop of the *Las Cruces Citizen*, a newspaper owned and operated by William LaPoint, a friend and associate of Armijo's and an influential citizen in Las Cruces. Collaborative efforts of this sort in the Mesilla Valley were more amenable than they might have been in other areas of the Territory, owing perhaps to the fact that both Mexicanos and Anglo-Americans began to populate the Mesilla Valley in substantial numbers around the same time in the late 1870s. Disputes over prior land tenure and historical precedent were to a degree less volatile and occasioned less contentious relations between Anglos and Mexicanos. By no means absent, cultural conflict in the area of politics, religion and custom still continued to consume interests and divide concerns in communities in southern New Mexico.

Nuevo Mexico ha dado una prueba más de su lealtad con la sangre de sus hijos en los campos de batalla en el servicio de nuestro gobierno. . . . Y todavía no faltarán Judas que en algún tiempo quiera mancharnos ó criticarnos. A esta ralea, á estos bríbones, les daremos con nuestra historia en su maldita cara.

[New Mexico has given yet further proof of its loyalty with the blood of its sons on the battlefields in the service of our government. . . . And yet there will not doubt be a Judas who at some time will want to besmirch or criticize us. To those of this ilk, to these rascals, we shall take our history and shove it in their damned faces].

—Nestor Montoya, "¿ Qué más se le pide a Nuevo México ? [What More Is Asked of New México?] Albuquerque, New Mexico, December 27, 1918.

Nestor Montoya, whose presence in *Nuevomexicano* journalism had been evident for many years was elected president of *La Prensa Asociada Hispano-Americana* in 1903. Like other *perodiqueros*, Montoya was known as a fine public

speaker, an able editor, thoroughly bilingual and one who was at home in both English and Spanish. Despite the years of work and dedication to *Nuevomexicano* Spanish-language journalism, his political career would eventually overshadow his accomplishments as an editor and publisher.

After severing his partnership with Enrique H. Salazar and leaving *La Voz del Pueblo* in 1890, Montoya retired for a time from the newspaper business. In 1901, however, he found an opportunity to return to the field when he took over *El Nuevo Mundo*, a paper founded in Old Albuquerque in May of 1897 and which had been edited by José Escobar, and later by Enrique Sosa. Montoya, in company with Alejandro Sandoval, merged *El Nuevo Mundo* with *La Bandera Americana*. In the initial years after the merger Montoya assumed the position of editor and secretary. He would eventually publish the paper for 22 years until his death in 1923. The merger also established the "La compañía publicista de la *La Bandera Americana*," [The *Bandera Americana* Publishing Company] which had a board of directors strongly resembling the leadership of the Republican party in Sandoval, Valencia and Bernalillo counties.

La Bandera Americana's embrace of pragmatism in politics and economics, did not lead to the abandonment of the cultural program of earlier years. The paper, through successive changes in editors, continued to lend space in its columns to items of a literary nature. No doubt, Montoya's earlier collaborations with literary journalists such as Enrique H. Salazar, Enrique Sosa, and José Escobar influenced the content of his paper. In this respect Montoya's commitment to his *Nuevomexicano* roots were obvious. *La Bandera* published the works of local poets and writers alongside the works of writers in the Latin American tradition. It was not uncommon for *La Bandera* to feature the works of Felipe Maximiliano Chacón and Eleuterio Baca alongside those of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, Ignacio Altamirano, Ruben Darío, or Salvador Díaz Mirón. *La Bandera* printed notices on local literary



MONTOYA, NESTOR—Don Nestor Montoya, uno de los jóvenes más activos de Nuevo México, se ocupa sin descanso en el mejoramiento de las condiciones industriales, políticas, económicas y morales de Nuevo México. Nació en la antigua aldea de Albuquerque el año de 1862. En las escuelas privadas del lugar comenzó sus estudios continuándolos hasta graduar en el Colegio de San Miguel en Santa Fé. Luego después de haber concluido sus estudios fué empleado como sub-estafetero en la Capital, puesto que ocupó con acierto y honradamente por 5 años. En seguida ocupó el puesto de secretario del agente bancario del Gobierno Federal en Nuevo México, teniendo á su cargo la distribución de los fondos destinados para las postas militares y agencias de indios. En 1884, fué nombrado por el Juez Vincent como

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Figure 8

"Portrait of Nestor Montoya" (circa, 1910)
Read, *Historia Ilustrada*, p. 497

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and dramatic groups that regularly met and performed in Albuquerque neighborhoods such as Los Barelás, Los Duranes, and Old Albuquerque. Nestor Montoya's editorials were often brief and to the point, but they were timely and issued strong positions regarding problems affecting *Nuevomexicanos* in Albuquerque.

The advent of the First World War in 1917 had a profound effect on Montoya whose editorials throughout this time pressed for recognition of New Mexico's contribution to the war effort. As in previous wars in which *Nuevomexicanos* had served, their loyalty and record of service was the object of attack and derision in the Anglo-American press. Many of Montoya's editorials during this period therefore were coached in patriotic rhetoric designed to assuage the sting of criticism waged against *Nuevomexicanos* in the military. Montoya summarized his feelings on the matter in his editorial for December 27, 1918, titled "Qué más se pide de Nuevo México" [What More is Asked of New Mexico] in which he spoke of the sacrifice and valor of young *Nuevomexicano* soldiers serving in the European theater. That Montoya truly knew of which he spoke was corroborated by the fact that his own son, Teodoro, was serving in the military at the time.

IV. *La Prensa Asociada* in Post-Statehood New Mexico

[*La Voz de Pueblo*] Está en manos de un tejano que apenas puede escribir el idioma nacional que ni por cortesía se interesa en masticar el idioma hispano, pero sí publica unas cuantas columnas en español a los "mexicans" que por desgracia reciben su pasquín.

[[*La Voz del Pueblo*] is in the hands of a Texan who is barely able to write the language of the nation, who not even out of courtesy shows interest in mangling the language of the Hispano, but who does publish a few columns in Spanish for the "Mexicans" who are unfortunate enough to receive his rag.]

--Felipe Maximiliano Chacón, "La prensa hispana se hace valer o desaparece," [The Hispano Press Must Show Its Worth Or It Will Disappear], Albuquerque, New Mexico, August 16, 1929.

During its years of existence *La Prensa Asociada* brought together a diverse cadre of Spanish-language journalists who were united by a common language and

culture. These *periodiqueros* took up the cause of the Spanish-speaking citizens of the Southwest for social, educational and cultural progress.

Los periodiqueros, many of whom had entered journalism with the surge of Spanish-language publication in the 1890s, continued to publish well beyond statehood. The long standing associations and years of shared commitment to the betterment of their community and society created strong bonds of fraternalism and comraderie among *Nuevomexicano* journalists that did not die easily. The politics of the statehood movement, however, would represent a far more serious challenge to cultural unity than had the old animosities that were a part of the tumultuous days of the territorial period.

In the wake of statehood for New Mexico, *La Prensa Asociada*, began to experience times of waning membership that saw several reorganizations resulting from periods of inactivity, disunity and dissolution of its purpose. All was not lost, however. Porter Stratton affirms that renewed efforts to keep *La Prensa Asociada* surfaced on the eve of statehood, "Such efforts were renewed in 1911, and an association was formed at Albuquerque. Nestor Montoya of the Albuquerque, *Bandera Americana* was elected president, and Elfego Baca of the Albuquerque *Opinion Pública* became treasurer."⁴⁰ The reorganization of *La Prensa Asociada* laid the foundation for the establishment of the present day press organization in New Mexico. "In 1912 this association in cooperation with eastern New Mexico weekly editors organized a newsmen's organization which later became the present New Mexico Press Association."⁴¹ Conversely, this realignment signaled a departure from *La Prensa Asociada*'s original objective to put an end to, "... las repetidas injurias que muy comunmente se le cometen [al pueblo hispano-americano]. . ." [to the repeated injury that are commonly committed against it [the Spanish-speaking community]. . .].⁴² and created an ideological split that placed member editors in two distinct factions.

Nestor Montoya's conciliatory gesture at embracing eastern New Mexico [Anglo] weeklies, is not surprising. *La Bandera Americana* took a more accommodationist [read assimilationist] policy with regard to ethnicity and the absorption of *Nuevomexicanos* into what one editor labeled "el gran mole que es la ciudadanía de los Estados Unidos americanos," or the U.S. melting pot.

Nestor Montoya's salutation published in the first issue of the reorganized *La Bandera Americana* in 1901 left no doubt that Montoya and the backers of the publication espoused the progressive absorption of Hispanos into the body politic of the United States, an idea tied to the emblematic patriotism of the paper's name.

La Bandera Americana promised to continue to be an advocate for the education of greater numbers of New Mexicans, "... á alentar en cuanto sea posible, á según alcancen nuestras débiles fuerzas, la educación de las masas del pueblo..." [... to bolster as much as possible, as our feeble efforts permit, the education of the masses of the people...],⁴³ but also placed the onus of responsibility for good citizenship on the community itself, "... para así preparar á nuestros futuros ciudadanos á empuñar con firmeza las riendas y soberanía de Estado de la Unión Americana y á desempeñar y gozar de nuestros privilegios como ciudadanos de esta gran República." [... to prepare our future citizens to firmly take in hand the reins and sovereignty of a state within the American Union and to discharge and enjoy our privileges as citizens of this great Republic].⁴⁴

Montoya's stand signaled a change from the generally accepted view espoused by *La Prensa Asociada* regarding the maintenance of the Spanish language and the manner in which *Nuevomexicano* culture might be situated within plural New Mexico. While earlier journalists and writers never discounted the importance of the populace to learn and use the English language, they also held to the view that Spanish should have an equal place in the institutions of society and, particularly, in public education. The language issue in Montoya's mind had become "a delicate

matter" requiring careful consideration, "pues este particular merece la más delicada atención en vista de nuestra nacionalidad Americana," [since this item merits very careful attention in view of our American citizenship].⁴⁵ *La Bandera Americana* encouraged the generalized use of English in the public schools and among all classes of *Nuevomexicanos*. Likewise, Montoya's commitment to use his publication in defense of the interests of the Spanish-speaking and his pledge to advocate for statehood and seek greater educational advantages for *Nuevomexicanos* appears more tempered than assertions voiced by *La Prensa Asociada* in the past. In prior decades, editors had seen the establishment of a vigorous press as the means to "educate the populace," but Montoya, noting, *La Bandera Americana's* own limits in this regard, "á según alcancen nuestras débiles fuerzas," [as our feeble efforts can permit,] now seemed to concede that the press alone could not, in and of itself, enlighten, educate and inform the "masses" of *Nuevomexicanos*. Montoya's solutions were in effect geared to a slow evolution of society and were softened by Montoya's own political allegiances and ideas. Montoya's ideas impressed upon the readership of *La Bandera Americana* that political pragmatism and economic development were the twin avenues by which *Nuevomexicanos* might arrive at equal opportunity and prosperity in the coming years of the new century, "... nuestras riquezas en todos los tres ramos aludidos son incalculables y solo se necesita inducir la capital para explotarlos para cambiar la faz y porvenir de nuestro suelo y hacer la felicidad de nuestros habitantes." [... since it is accepted that our riches in the three areas mentioned are immesurable and that all that is required to exploit them is the investment of capital which will change the face and future of our land and make its inhabitants happy].⁴⁶

Serious concern regarding the future of the Spanish-language press in New Mexico and the cultural group in whose name it spoke was also being registered by *Nuevomexicano* editors in the decade of the 1920s and 1930s.

In early 1928, José Montaner, editor of *La Revista de Taos* and a state senator from Taos County, took it upon himself to do something about the apathy and professional offishness among *Nuevomexicano* publishers. Montaner issued a circular calling for a meeting to once again bring *Nuevomexicano* editors together to organize themselves effectively. *La Bandera Americana* reported that representatives from 10 of the 13 remaining Spanish-language newspapers in the state attended an organizational meeting held on February 23, 1928 in Santa Fe. Reorganized as *La Asociación de la Prensa Hispana en Nuevo México*, the group elected José Montaner as the group's interim president and A. J. Martínez of Las Vegas as interim secretary.⁴⁷

Given the tenor of the late 20s and accumulation of frustrated attempts at improving the prospects for Spanish-language journalism in the post-statehood period, it is no wonder then that the remaining Spanish-language editors in the state expressed a growing uneasiness and pessimism about the future. In June, 1928, Camilo Padilla was elected president of *La Asociación de la Prensa Hispana en Nuevo México*. Upon assuming the office he noted that several pernicious trends announced the decline of Spanish-language journalism, nonetheless he offered a spirited appeal to bilingualism in the state, and repudiated the charges that retention of Spanish in public useage was un-American,

El leer o comprar periódicos en español, no quiere decir que el idioma oficial de este gran país vaya a lesionarse en lo más mínimo. Pensar en esta forma, sería causarnos una injuria nosotros mismos, porque sería tanto que por el hecho que cualquiera de nosotros supiéramos los dos idiomas mencionadas, rehusarnos aprender en una Universidad, el francés, el alemán, el griego, el latín, etc. Lo que abunda no daña, dice un proverbio vulgar. . ."

[The reading or purchase of periodicals in Spanish, do not mean that the official language of this great nation will be damaged in the very least. To think this is to cause injury to ourselves, so much so that [it would be] as if any one of us [once] knowing the two languages mentioned, would refuse to learn French,

German, Greek, Latin, etc., at a University. "What is had in abundance does not cause harm," as the well-know adage declares. . .]."⁴⁸

Felipe Maximiliano Chacón at *La Bandera Americana* warned that the Spanish-language press needed to assert its worth or it would disappear. Chacón pointed to *El Independiente* of Las Vegas as an example of a press that was becoming exceedingly dependent on political affiliations for support and advertisement. In Chacón's view the lofty ideals of non-alignment once expoused by Enrique H. Salazar were lost. *El Independiente's* columns, according to Chacón, were now filled with unabashed political diatribe of the worst kind, ". . . es de parecer que el periodismo hispano es un medio para explotar bobos, pues se conforman con utilizar sus columnas para hacer juego de política de barrio, y por desgracia, fuera de la "olla" esto es, fuera de tiempo." [. . . it would seem that Hispano journalism is a means to exploit fools, well, they are satisfied to use the columns of the paper to play local politics and, regrettably this is out of line and out of time].⁴⁹

Conclusion

Several factors had began to limit the success of Spanish-language publication in post-statehood New Mexico. Anglo-Americans reached numerical parity just as New Mexico entered the Union as a state. Their presence in business, politics and education became more determinant than at any previous time. Towns such as Las Vegas and Santa Fe, which had large populations of Spanish-speaking, and which had enjoyed the support of prosperous Hispano businesses, began to experience large population shifts. Advertisement in Spanish-language newspapers shrank in an era that saw Hispano business ventures close their doors at an alarming rate and *Nuevomexicanos* laborers outmigrated to other states in search of employment. Then, too, English had become the language of instruction in the public schools, a condition that produce a languaged shift that irrevokably reversed whatever gains

Spanish-language journalism had made in its attempt to retain Spanish at the center of public life in New Mexico.

La Prensa Asociada too, seemed to have lost its once bold and decisive regional agenda, "que puede beneficiar á la raza latina más que ningún otro, esto es, la asociación de la prensa española en Nuevo México, Arizona, California, Texas y parte de México." [that can benefit the Latin race more than any other, this is, the association of the Spanish press in New Mexico, Arizona, California, Texas and part of Mexico],⁵⁰ and had been reduced to a dwindling membership at a state-wide level.

Spanish-language newspapers continued to be published in several communities in New Mexico into the 40s and 50s, but the trends adversely affecting such publication that had begun in the late 1920s became more pronounced and evident after World War II. By the late 1950s, *El Nuevo Mexicano*, became the only remaining Spanish-language newspaper to have been established in the 1890s. After sixty-seven years of continuous publication, *El Nuevo Mexicano* ceased publication on April 30, 1958. Citing the amalgamation of the English and Spanish in New Mexico, Pedro R. Ortega, the last editor of the paper, offered the following rationale for the discontinuence of *El Nuevo Mexicano*:

"Ahora en 1958 cuando los jefes de familia de "la santa raza," son usualmente tan proficientes tanto en inglés como en español, pero como las generaciones jóvenes pueden leer solamente el inglés, ha habido 'movimientos de mayoría,' en muchos hogares de recibir el periódico en inglés en igual del español. Por esta razón, esta primavera, *El Nuevo Mexicano* se convierte en la novia del *New Mexican* y hasta toma su apellido."

[Now in 1958 when *Raza* heads of household are in most instances as proficient in English as in Spanish, but since the younger generations can only read in English, moves toward "majority rule" have caused many households to receive the paper in English [in place of Spanish]. For this reason, this spring, *El Nuevo Mexicano* will become the bride of the *Santa Fe New Mexican* and will even take its name].⁵¹

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¹ "La Prensa Asociada," *El Sol de Mayo*, Las Vegas, New Mexico, March 31, 1892. Material quoted from original newspaper sources maintains the ideosyncracies of individual writers and editors as regards spelling and punctuation. The translations of these texts to English are my own.

² *ibid.*

³ Stanley, F. *Ciudad de Santa Fe: Territorial Days 1846-1912*. p.171.

⁴ *El Boletín Popular* began publication in 1885, however, absent from existing library collections of the paper are issues for the first two years of its publication. Benjamín Read, however, did record the visit of General Riva Palacio to Santa Fe, indicating in a note that further information on the author was contained in *El Boletín Popular* for July 10, 1886.

⁵ *El Boletín Popular*, Santa Fe, New Mexico, May 31, 1894.

⁶ "La Prensa Asociada," *El Sol de Mayo*, Las Vegas, New Mexico, March 31, 1892.

⁷ LR Territorial Archives of New Mexico, Roll 103, FR 998, June 6, 1889. In his letter to Governor L. Bradford Prince, Padilla speaks of his recent visit to New York City.

⁸ "El Independiente" *El Boletín Popular*, Santa Fe, New Mexico, March 29, 1894.

⁹ "A nuestros patronos" *La Voz del Pueblo*, Santa Fe, New Mexico, August 24, 1890.

¹⁰ Rosenbaum, Robert, J. *Mexicano Resistance in the Southwest*, p.101.

¹¹ For a complete discussion see Rosenbaum's chapter "El Partido del Pueblo Unido."

¹² "Despedida" *La Voz del Pueblo* Santa Fe, New Mexico, June 7, 1890.

¹³ *ibid.*

¹⁴ "La Prensa Asociada," *El Sol de Mayo*, Las Vegas, New Mexico, March 31, 1892.

¹⁵ *El Sol de Mayo*, Las Vegas, New Mexico, May 1, 1891.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 95.

¹⁷ *El Sol de Mayo*, Las Vegas, New Mexico, May 1, 1891.

¹⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁹ "Necrology," *Old Santa Fe Magazine*, Vol. 3, No. 10 (July 1916) p. 286.

²⁰ Cabeza de Baca, Fabiola, *We Fed Them Cactus*, p.163.

²¹ On July 28, 1892, Green, an Anglo ruffian, was a suspect in the death Nestor Gallegos in the upper plaza of Las Vegas. Constable José Martínez, armed with a warrant, attempted to apprehend and arrest Green for the murder. Green who had hold up in a restaurant in West Las Vegas, shot one of Martínez' deputies and barricaded himself in the kitchen of the establishment. Later when Mexicano townspeople gathered to aid Sheriff Lorenzo López in making the final arrest. They were confronted by Anglo lawmen from East Las Vegas who hurriedly removed Green from the scene. The incident showed the open contempt for Mexicano authority in Old Town when according to Robert Rosenbaum, "East Las Vegas Marshall T.F. Clay hurried across the Gallinas to bring the three [Green and accomplices] into the more congenial custody of Anglo "new town".

22 "Honor a quien honor es debido," *El Sol de Mayo*, Las Vegas, NM, March 10, 1894.

23 *ibid.*, p. 24.

24 Paul Walters in a Master's Thesis in Anthropology at the University of New Mexico is the only student of Spanish-language newspaper publishing to have made a connection between the importance of Lucero's work as a journalist and as political figure, saying, "One outstanding editor of Spanish-language papers was the late Antonio Lucero of Las Vegas, who rose to high political office and was among the most far-sighted of the leaders of his people," Walters, Paul. "The Press as a Source in the Study of Social Problems," p. 27.

25 Lucero, Antonio. "Homely Virtues of the Spanish Americans" in *Old Santa Fe Magazine*, Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 443.

26 "La Prensa Asociada Hispano-Americana," *El Hispano-Americano*, Las Vegas, New Mexico, May 14, 1892.

27 "Colorful Victor Ochoa Still Lives: Scholarly Essay on El Tambor Mineral is Evidence," *El Paso Times*, El Paso, Texas, July 15, 1940.

28 Charles Coan's 1925 biographical sketch of Sosa in *A History of New Mexico* contains information that could have only come from Sosa himself.

29 Escobar's letter of reference was penned at the Mexican Consulate on June 1st 1889. It reads "To whom it may concern: By this I take pleasure in recommending the bearer J.E. Sosa, a Mexican citizen and a painter by profession as a very industrious and honest man worthy of protection in his art. Respectfully J. Escobar.

30 "Nuestro cumplido compañero pasa a las mansiones celestiales" *El Eco del Norte*, Mora, New Mexico, January 28, 1918.

31 *La Bandera Americana*, Albuquerque, New Mexico, January 25, 1918.

32 Meyer, Doris, "The Poetry of José Escobar: Mexican Emigre in New Mexico" in *Hispania*, Vol. 61 (March, 1978) No.1, pp 24-33.

33 The list of newspapers Escobar worked at are: *El Defensor del Pueblo* (Albuquerque; 1891-92) *La Libertad* (Mora, 1892) *El Combate* (Albuquerque; 1892); *El País* (Las Vegas, New Mexico, 1893) *La Voz de Nuevo Mexico* (Albuquerque 1894-95) *El Progreso* (Trinidad, Colorado 1890-1893) *La Opinión Pública* (1894) *Las Dos Repúblicas* (Denver, 1896) *El Independiente* (Walsenburg, Colorado; 1896) *El Amigo del Pueblo* (Raton, New Mexico 1896) *Nuevo Mundo* (Albuquerque; 1897) *El Defensor de Socorro* (Socorro; 1897) *El Combate* (Socorro; 1898) *Las Dos Américas* (El Paso, Texas, 1898).

34 "Román Bermúdez Letter" *El Tiempo*, May 5, 1892, Las Cruces, New Mexico.

35 "Nuestro periódico," *Las Dos Repúblicas*, Denver, Colorado, January 11, 1896.

36 *ibid.*

37 *Who's Who in New Mexico* (1937) p.14.

38 "Palitoriales," *La Estrella*, February 6, 1926, Las Cruces, New Mexico.

39 "La Estrella" (advertisement) *La Estrella*, March 4, 1911, Las Cruces, New Mexico.

40 Stratton, *The Territorial Press* p. 66.

41 *ibid.* p. 66.

42 "La Prensa Asociada," *El Sol de Mayo*, Las Vegas, New Mexico, March 31, 1892.

43 "Salutoria," *La Bandera Americana*, Albuquerque, New Mexico, August 3, 1901.

44 *ibid.*

45 *ibid.*

46 *ibid.*

⁴⁷ "La Union de la Prensa Hispana," *La Bandera Americana*, Albuquerque, New Mexico, February 24, 1928.

⁴⁸ "Un atento llamado a los Hispano-americanos: Manifiesto," *Revista Ilustrada*, Santa Fe, New Mexico, June, 1928.

⁴⁹ "La prensa hispana se hace valer o desaparece," *La Bandera Americana*, Albuquerque, New Mexico, August 16, 1929.

⁵⁰ "La Prensa Asociada Hispano-Americana," *La Voz del Pueblo*, Las Vegas, New Mexico, March 5, 1892.

⁵¹ "El fin de una época," *El Nuevo Mexicano*, Santa Fe, New Mexico, April 30, 1958.