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## CLEOFAS M. JARAMILLO ON MARRIAGE IN TERRITORIAL NORTHERN NEW MEXICO

CAROL JENSEN

WHEN CLEOFAS M. JARAMILLO (1878–1956) writes of life in the Hispanic villages of northern New Mexico, she describes that experience primarily in terms of romance and religion.<sup>1</sup> Her extraordinary interest in romance reflects a personal/societal concern and characterizes her writing style; her frequent references to religion represent a cultural value and suggest something notable about her lifestyle. Both themes pervade three of her four books.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to writing of the romance associated with marriage, Jaramillo also focuses on that “[r]omance and adventure [that she believes] have always ridden hand in hand with the Spanish race.”<sup>3</sup> The sense of high drama that they imply characterizes Jaramillo’s writing style. In her “desire to preserve some of the folklore of New Mexico,” the founder of La Sociedad Folklórica looks at the history of her people in highly idealized terms.<sup>4</sup> Unlike the true *castizo* described by Fray Angelico Chavez, Cleofas Jaramillo represents only the “rigid idealism” of Don Quixote, not its synthesis with the “rugged . . . realism” of Sancho Panza.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps this attitude is reflected in her devotion to folklore rather than history: “The historian seeks after the truth in past events; the folklorist looks for the beauty shining out of past events. The quest after truth is precise and ruthless; the pursuit of beauty is satisfied with beauty as it is found.”<sup>6</sup>

Just as Jaramillo’s writing style reflects her interest in romance, her lifestyle is reflected in the way she speaks of two forms of religion. As she describes the folk religion of her people’s past and the newly Americanized institutional form of that faith under Anglo authority, she seems to present each with alternating appreciation

and criticism. Furthermore, in her descriptions of her and her relatives' weddings, she tends to obscure the differences between marriage celebrations for the rich and marriages for the poor. Consequently, her writings on religion serve more as an example of her cultural syncretism and romantic devotion to the past of her people than as a description of her personal faith. As a rich and member of the influential Martínez family, Jaramillo was acquainted with Hispanic and Anglo political and religious leaders. Initially influenced by those folk customs of Hispanic Roman Catholicism brought to her native Arroyo Hondo by her ancestors, she received most of her formal education at the Loretto academies in Taos and Santa Fe where she learned to participate in the officially prescribed, hierarchically sponsored events of Roman Catholic life. There, too, she continued to participate in a polite Spanish society that was gradually merging with an aggressive political, military, and economic upper class to modernize New Mexico. Gov. Miguel A. Otero, a good friend of her husband Col. Venceslao Jaramillo and an honored guest at their wedding, has been described as "the representative of a new generation of Spanish-Americans who felt equally at home in both cultures."<sup>7</sup> While Otero as a political figure may have "represented the fusion of two cultures and two ways of life," Cleofas Jaramillo, as a prominent citizen and culture bearer, may be credited with doing the same.<sup>8</sup>

Because marriages figure more importantly in her works than other religious events and since marriages then embodied a maximum combination of Hispanic tradition and Anglo regulation, an analysis of the celebration of marriage as Cleofas Jaramillo knew it provides an insight into the life of a cultural and religious syncretist. In order to counterbalance her folkloric style with the perspective of history, her firsthand accounts are juxtaposed with those of some of her contemporaries, with papal and diocesan documents concerning marriage, and with manuals used at the time by Hispanic clergymen for the administration of the Sacrament of Matrimony.

According to the firsthand accounts of Cleofas Jaramillo and her brother Reyes Martínez, the prelude to the celebration of marriage in territorial northern New Mexico included the formal proposal, the *prendorio* (engagement party), and the role of the *padrinos* (marriage witnesses). This phase of the celebration was centered

in the home. Institutional preparations consisted of dealing with legal impediments and instructing the *novios* (engaged couple). Both were responsibilities of the parish priest.

Marriages were arranged by parents. "The groom's father, accompanied by the boy's godfather or most intimate friend, called on the father of the girl and addressed him with a formal speech. . . . A few weeks later, the girl's father made a formal answer, either of acceptance or refusal."<sup>9</sup> Sometimes the girl's father would consult her before making the decision, but often he would not. "If the family connection was advantageous and the boy came from good stock, the proposal was accepted, sometimes without the bride knowing anything about it until preparations began for the engagement."<sup>10</sup> As is characteristic of many closely knit rural communities, rich or poor, the Hispanic villagers all took interest in the transaction and followed its progress.<sup>11</sup>

According to Hispanic custom in New Mexico, the formal proposal was followed by an even more formal engagement or *prendorio*. This event combined the announcement of the marriage with the introduction of the couple to relatives and friends and the presentation of gifts. "'Prendorio' is a word derived from the word *prenda*, meaning jewel, or some other highly prized object."<sup>12</sup> It also included the father of the bride's presentation of his daughter (his jewel) to the groom's father.<sup>13</sup>

As is characteristic of folk customs, some variation occurred in a ritual as it passed from one generation to another, just as changes occur in the oral description of it. Jaramillo recalls that "[i]n my grandmother's time, after the introductions, the sweethearts knelt before the bride's oldest uncle or godfather . . . [who] slipped a coral or pearl rosary first over the boy's head then over the girl's. That ceremony made them *prendados* [officially engaged], the rosary being used instead of an engagement ring."<sup>14</sup>

In such wealthy families as the Martínez's, the giving of gifts followed the formal giving away of the bride. The groom presented her with a trousseau, which included the wedding ring and other jewels. "Refreshments were served, and the house was placed at the disposal of the groom's family, who took charge of the wedding preparations."<sup>15</sup> Festive foods were an important part of the celebration, as evidenced by the frequent offering of refreshments and

by the presence of the cook with provisions the groom brought to the bride's home. Dancing, too, often accompanied the *prendorio*.<sup>16</sup>

Cleofas Jaramillo witnessed weddings at a time in New Mexico when social customs were rapidly changing. Political, economic, and religious policies had all been modernized under administration by the United States. If modernization is seen as "the broad process through which societies emerge from a traditional orientation toward all aspects of communal life . . . and move instead toward a rationalized, centralized, empirical and efficiency-oriented cultural system," then modernization first affected New Mexico after 1821 when the Santa Fe Trail was officially opened to trade with the United States.<sup>17</sup> This trend to modernization through civil reorganization was accompanied throughout the western world by a trend to modernization through ecclesiastical reorganization in the Roman Catholic Church. "The centuries before the Council of Trent were times of great liturgical diversification, even within the framework of the Roman Rite."<sup>18</sup> This diversification, together with the Protestant challenge, led the church in 1545 to call the Council of Trent, which "abruptly checked the increasing fragmentation of the Church and introduced a wide range of reforms promoting centralization, rationalization and literacy."<sup>19</sup> As changes in the church moved slowly, this trend continued well into the nineteenth century. Fortunately, the council also provided for the maintenance of some local customs, but these were allowed only in addition to, not in place of, the universally approved, officially interpreted beliefs and practices of Roman Catholic life.<sup>20</sup>

The participation of influential Hispanic families in those changing realms and the coming of the railroad to the territory no doubt influenced Hispanic folk tradition. This seems to be the case in Cleofas Martínez's marriage to Col. Venceslao Jaramillo in 1898. Neither the proposal nor engagement corresponds to her description of weddings that occurred ten years earlier. Although the groom's widowed mother made the traditional visit to the Martínez's home "to ask for [their] daughter, Miss C., in marriage with [her] son, V.," and although the bride's father (again, according to tradition) did not consult her in making the formal reply, her modern fiancé wrote Cleofas of his intentions before the proposal was made, and she received an engagement ring in the mail as soon as

the formal acceptance was given.<sup>21</sup> These departures from folk tradition show a personal independence not accepted in earlier times.

Like her ring, Cleofas Martínez's trousseau was given without a *prendorio*. The bride and groom, in the company of his mother, made a leisurely trip to Denver to buy it. And yet their pseudo-independence still linked itself to folk tradition, for, as the bride explained: "It is a Spanish custom for the bridegroom to buy the trousseau and pay all the wedding expenses."<sup>22</sup>

Although she wanted a "quiet wedding in the *capilla*" of her family home in Arroyo Hondo, her husband-to-be reminded her that a family chapel in even a spacious hacienda could not accommodate Gov. Miguel A. Otero and his staff, who planned to attend the wedding of this "prominent young politician and scion of one of the most wealthy and cultured Spanish families of New Mexico."<sup>23</sup> So plans were made to celebrate the wedding in Taos at the church of Our Lady of Guadalupe and at the Hotel Barron. The day before the wedding, the *Santa Fe New Mexican* published the news of the governor's trip to Taos: "Governor M.A. Otero, Mrs. Otero and little son Miguel, also the Misses Mary La Rue and Biatrice Atkins of Las Vegas, and Colonel and Mrs. E.G. Austin of Watrous made up a party this morning going to Taos to attend the Martínez-Jaramillo wedding, taking place there tomorrow."<sup>24</sup>

Obviously it was a matter of shared *hidalgo* pride for the Martínez and Jaramillo families that the governor was considered an "intimate friend of the bridegroom . . . and [that] his wife and many other politicians" appeared at the celebration.<sup>25</sup> But it was a matter of divisive pride that motivated the strained relations between some members of the engaged couple's families.<sup>26</sup> And the familial conflicts, as well as the decision to buy a trousseau in Denver and to celebrate publicly in Taos, were sufficient reason to forego a traditional *prendorio*.

Following the *prendorio* held by most wealthy families, "[p]reparations were then begun immediately for the wedding. The padrinos were invited; they served as best man and matron of honor and had charge of the couple until after the wedding."<sup>27</sup> Part of their duties included accompanying the novios on their visit to the priest to make arrangements for the wedding. These marriage witnesses, who frequently were the baptismal godparents of one or

both of the novios, served as an official link between the family and the church.<sup>28</sup> "Padrinos were persons selected for their sympathetic friendship to the parents, as well as their honorable standing in the community. . . . The parents of the wedded couple became 'compadres' to each other, and also to the padrinos."<sup>29</sup>

These spiritual relationships, as well as the bonds created "by intermarriages among the same family relatives," are given credit for causing "harmonious relations among the villagers."<sup>30</sup> They also might be credited with keeping the most memorable parts of rites of passage more within the realm of folklore than within the realm of official institutions, at least until the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

In territorial northern New Mexico, the Hispanic family's preparation for the celebration of marriage concerned itself with strengthening fraternal bonds through rituals of gift giving; the church's preparation focused on more jurisdictional matters—establishing the legitimacy of the union and insuring the proper dispositions on the part of the novios. In order to establish the legitimacy of the proposed marriage, the church required a pre-nuptial investigation by the pastor. Two major objects of the inquiry were to determine if there were any impediments, either civil or canonical, to the marriage and to discover the adequacy of the couple's knowledge of Christian doctrine. Canon law, like civil law, states that marriage within the third degree of consanguinity or the second degree of affinity is not only illicit but null and void.<sup>31</sup> This impediment posed a problem for Hispanic couples in northern New Mexico since cousins frequently married.

And so the institutional church, always concerned with legitimate authority in the administration of its universal tradition, delegated power to its local ordinaries to dispense from matrimonial impediments. Forms for the official dispensation from impediments are found in some of the manuals used for the administration of the Sacrament of Matrimony.<sup>32</sup> This fact points to the frequency of such dispensations. Cleofas Martínez and Venceslao Jaramillo received the church's dispensation to marry since they were second cousins.<sup>33</sup>

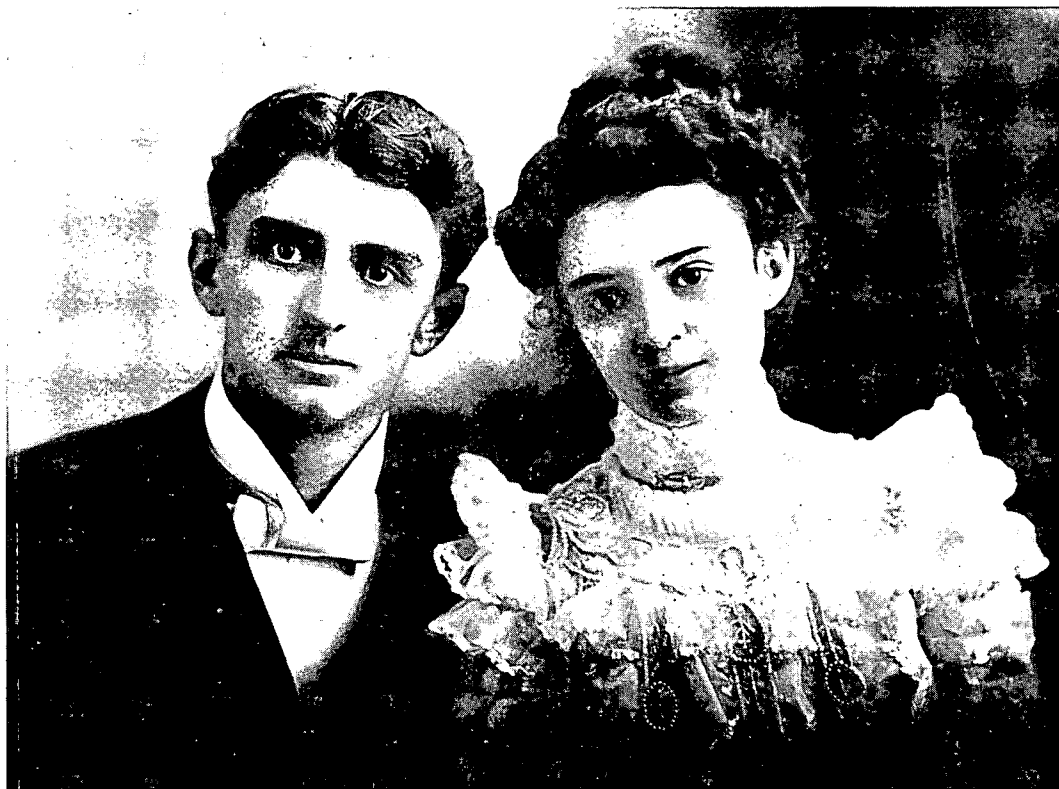
The banns of marriage, or *amonestaciones*, were to be announced in church at a major religious function for three successive Sundays.

Anyone aware of any legal impediment to the marriage was bound to make it known. The validity of the union was of primary importance to the church's lawmakers.

But the institutional church was concerned about the spiritual benefit to be gained by the marriage partners as well as the legality of their union. In preparing its people for the reception of the sacraments of Roman Catholic life, the institutional church (under French clergymen and a modernized American approach to things of the spirit) worried about the adequacy of the Hispanics' religious education. The New Mexican hierarchy not only prescribed instruction for the novios but also later specified the content of that instruction. The Constitutions of the Diocese of Santa Fe of 1861 states that "[t]he parish priest will require the engaged couple to know that which is indispensable for the reception of the sacraments. There are too many cases in which some don't know any of the doctrine; in this case the wedding is postponed until they know what is necessary."<sup>34</sup> The edition of 1868 goes so far as to call the novios "*ignorantes*" and requires that they know the articles of faith, such as the mysteries of the holy Trinity and of the incarnation and redemption, and that they also should know some formal prayers like "Our Father," "Hail Mary," and the creed.<sup>35</sup>

There is no doubt that such a disparaging attitude toward Hispanic faithful was based in part on the prejudices of the territory's first American hierarchical leader, the Frenchman John B. Lamy. On his arrival in 1851 in Santa Fe, Lamy observed the devotion of the Roman Catholic Hispanics but judged that their "strong attachment to their religion . . . was only on the surface. The people went to Mass, observed the feast days, kept their religious sodalities alive enough, but for the most part failed to adhere to the sacraments, upon which all depended."<sup>36</sup> Although the bishop was well meaning in his zeal for reform in the New Mexican church, he reflected the same remnants of European colonialism that marked much nineteenth-century missionary activity. His ethnocentricity, aggravated by new standards of uniformity throughout the American Catholic Church, failed to recognize in the local dependence on religious folk custom what was often the believers' only link to the more central, decidedly essential sacraments. New Mexico's long history of an insufficient number of clergymen, high fees for





The Jaramillos' official wedding portrait, taken in Los Angeles on their honeymoon. Courtesy of Mrs. Jaramillo's niece, Virginia Rogers.

the reception of some sacraments, and the example of folk religious practices continued by Christianized Pueblo Indians had, over a period of three hundred years, contributed to this situation. Perhaps if New Mexico's imported clergymen (and all missionaries) had been more aware of the causes of this shift in emphasis from essential to peripheral rituals, they might have been more sympathetic in their remedies.

Clearly Lamy, in his attempt "to create, if he could, a little France in this wilderness of neglect," was unable to appreciate the religious spirit of New Mexico's Hispanic Catholics and to blend that basic attachment to the central mystery of Christ (albeit in the guise of folk custom) with a more universal, simplified, modernized form of participation in institutional religion.<sup>37</sup> That task of bridging the gap between old custom and new regulation was left to individual Catholics in New Mexico.

Cleofas Jaramillo's personal attempt to bridge the gap between folk religion and institutional religion is not easy to understand. Not only in the celebration of her marriage did she blend Hispanic folk tradition with Americanized institutional regulation. In descriptions of her school days at Loretto Academy, she blends statements of obvious admiration for her teachers, the Sisters of Loretto, with memories of shocking them on occasion by failing to obey religious regulation. "I loved the nuns and had a reverent respect for them," she says.<sup>38</sup> Yet when her father called at the academy to take her home one Christmas Eve, she did not hesitate to go with him, despite the sisters' concern that she would miss Mass on that feast day.<sup>39</sup>

Despite Lamy's words of wisdom upon his retirement in 1885, his successors as bishops of Santa Fe continued the policy of institutional prescription as the way to reform "the morals, manners, and customs of our unfortunate people."<sup>40</sup> Lamy warned, "If the bishop who will follow me has not lived among the Mexicans for a long time, they will become disheartened. Seeing themselves on the one hand under American discipline and, on the other, imagining that the Americans prefer foreigners to them, their faith, which is still lively enough, would grow gradually weaker."<sup>41</sup> Because this message was not heeded, prescriptive diocesan declarations pertaining to the administration of the sacraments continued

to rankle New Mexico's Hispanic Catholics, while folk religious practices continued to dismay the local institutional church.

One authoritative diocesan document that continues this trend towards greater institutional regulation of the celebration of marriage is the Constitutions of the First Synod of the Diocese of Santa Fe, a meeting in 1888 of local clergymen under the leadership of Archbishop J. B. Salpointe.<sup>42</sup> The same trend was continued by Salpointe's successors, as seen in an addenda to the "Statuta Diocesana" promulgated by Archbishop Peter Bourgade on 23 August 1899, one year after the Martínez-Jaramillo marriage.<sup>43</sup> This regulation demanded that genealogical proof accompany every application for dispensation from the impediment of affinity or of consanguinity. Even if the information were easily obtained, as it most likely was in the dispensation granted the young Jaramillos, the need for documentary evidence on the part of diocesan authority points to a growing spirit of legalism and an emphasis on literacy rather than on oral communication as the norm of a modernized society.

While the preparations for a marriage celebration in territorial northern New Mexico point to the differing concerns of family and church, folk religion and institutional religion, the ceremony itself reveals a combination of both interests. Manuals for the administration of the sacraments blend official prescriptions with particular local customs pertaining to marriage. Cleofas Jaramillo's writings and other firsthand accounts give insight into the actual implementation of these complementary concerns, while certain diocesan regulations seem to discourage an elaboration of Hispanic custom based on the old Rite of Toledo by emphasizing adherence to the concisely stated Roman Ritual promulgated by Paul V in 1614. The result is a highly complex mixture of precepts and procedures that is not always clear.

Cleofas Jaramillo does not give much detail about this central phase of the marriage celebration. Perhaps the more properly liturgical portions of the ceremony were less familiar to her than the surrounding traditions and the association of shared family memories with the preparation and extended celebration in the home made them more precious to her than the prescribed rituals that constituted the official ceremony.

Cleofas Jaramillo says of her cousin Biatriz's wedding, which was held in the 1880s, "It was customary for marriages to be celebrated in church at Mass, but my cousin's groom, influenced by modern ideas, planned the wedding for the evening at home. However, at the first opportunity, the newly-married had to be *velados*."<sup>44</sup> This meant that they must kneel with the padrinos in the church in order to receive *las velaciones*, the nuptial blessing. While official regulations required the nuptial blessing in first marriages between two Catholics, the presence and participation of the padrinos in this part of the ceremony was simply a folk custom the church permitted.<sup>45</sup>

Whether her cousin's groom was motivated by "modern" ideas or nostalgia for custom based on necessity in the days when fewer clergymen and churches were available, the statement gives evidence of the older Spanish tradition of a separation of ceremonies.<sup>46</sup> The time lapse between the first ceremony of proposal and vows and the second of nuptial blessing could have been due to the regulation regarding marriages in Advent or Lent or due to an earlier custom of weddings without priests for the poorer Hispanics. According to canon law, the nuptial blessing cannot be given during the two penitential seasons of Advent and Lent.<sup>47</sup> In the Constitutions of the Diocese of Santa Fe of 1861, Bishop Lamy required even more than the universal church law by forbidding any Roman Catholic marriages, other than in case of necessity, during the times of Advent and Lent.<sup>48</sup> Both the revision of the Constitutions in 1865 and the new edition of it in 1868 omit this regulation. Perhaps by then Bishop Lamy realized that the effect of such a regulation was to complicate preexisting problems of excessive prices and insufficient personnel. As one account notes: "Before the arrival of Archbishop Lamy, the high cost of a wedding often caused the couple to hold a *baile* instead of a regular wedding with a priest. The couple considered themselves just as closely bound as if they had been married in the church."<sup>49</sup> Nevertheless, this regulation limiting times when Catholic wedding ceremonies could be performed increased the odds against the reception of the sacraments and may have encouraged the former habit of marrying without a priest.

Such marriages, a recent source explains, were permitted by

church law in extraordinary circumstances. "In two special cases the Church will recognize as valid and lawful marriages celebrated with just witnesses present. These occasions include imminent danger of death and the prudent judgment that the absence of a qualified priest will last for a month."<sup>50</sup> It is possible that both of these conditions occurred during New Mexico's territorial period.

Manuals published in Mexico show a definite break between the first ceremony, focused on the exchange of vows before two witnesses, and the second, focused on the celebration of Mass and the bestowal of the nuptial blessing.<sup>51</sup> A New Mexican manual printed on Padre Martínez's press in Taos follows the same sequence but suggests that the nuptial blessing is given outside of Mass.<sup>52</sup>

The Martínez-Jaramillo nuptials were celebrated on 27 July 1898. "At the appointed hour of seven o'clock in the evening, the spacious church filled to capacity with guests in festive array. . . . We had attended the six o'clock mass at the convent chapel that morning, so now it was just the marriage ceremony."<sup>53</sup> If Cleofas Jaramillo's memory is correct, her marriage ritual was performed in an exceptional form. The evening celebration in the church of Our Lady of Guadalupe could not have corresponded to the traditional mode of separate ceremonies since at that time Masses could be said only before noon, and special written permission would have been needed to receive the nuptial blessing at a later time outside the wedding Mass.<sup>54</sup> While no evidence exists of precisely what adaptation of the ecclesiastical regulations were warranted that day due to the particular circumstances of time and place that influenced the pastoral implementation of the standard, Jaramillo's statement of the sequence of events is unusual.

Yet the bride and groom seem to have conformed to the regulation of the institutional church by holding the ceremony in a church building, whether the convent chapel or Our Lady of Guadalupe Church. The Diocesan Constitutions for 1861 and 1868 state that "it is our great desire that the wedding be done in the Church, within the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass so that the partners, conforming themselves to the pious custom of the Church, attain to receive the most abundant graces of God."<sup>55</sup>

The conformity of the bride and groom to the desires of the institutional church was paralleled by their conformity to the in-

stitution of territorial political life. The honored presence of Governor Otero at the wedding moved the Martínez-Jaramillo nuptials out of the realm of family-centered celebrations into the realm of public social life. "The reception given the Governor was celebrated by a parade of most of the populace of Taos, who rode out the eve before the wedding as far as Ranchos de Taos in flag-bedecked carriages and horses and on foot to meet him. His arrival in Taos was marked by a brilliant display of fireworks."<sup>56</sup>

The public nature of this wedding celebration also gained more immediate publicity because of a summer storm and consequent train wreck, which caused the death of "the priest who was on his way to help the Taos priest" with the marriage ceremony and the late arrival of Governor Otero.<sup>57</sup> Not only did the governor miss the procession of local citizens and their fireworks display, he also missed whatever portion of the Martínez-Jaramillo nuptials took place in the early morning. His arrival at ten a.m. on July 27 was too late for the Mass at Loretto Convent but not for the "ceremony" that evening.<sup>58</sup>

Cleofas Jaramillo's wedding date, 27 July 1898, might have been chosen for pragmatic and political reasons. The priest was available; the governor could come. Either of these motives would underscore her willingness to honor the conventions of contemporary institutions. But the fact that this date immediately follows the yearly feast of Saint Anne (July 26) and also that the founder of Sociedad Folklorica (Mrs. Jaramillo) in 1935 chose Saint Anne as the patron of that organization lead one to believe that it may have been the bride's traditional devotion to a favorite saint, a frequent element in Roman Catholic folk religious practices throughout the world, that inspired her choice of a wedding day.<sup>59</sup>

Despite the local hierarchy's attempts to reform the people's spiritual lives, Hispanic folk and native clergy in New Mexico struggled to maintain religious continuity in their celebrations. Bound to abide by many of the diocesan regulations, they nevertheless continued the elaborate local traditions surrounding the sacraments in their homes.

A procession, for example, frequently marked the transition from the formal church ceremony to the extended celebration at home. Cleofas Jaramillo's cousin Biatriz was married in the huge placita

home her family shared with the author's family. And so the preparation, first half of the two-part ceremony, and the extended celebration all took place at a single site. "After the ceremony, the musicians, playing a march, led the guests to the long *sala*, where the dinner was served."<sup>60</sup> Even when the marriage ritual took place at the village church, a similar procession linked the ceremony with the following feast. "The wedded couple were met by their parents and other relatives and friends a short distance from the house. Hearty hugging and kissing, and crying took place, then the march was resumed, the parents falling in line behind the bride and groom."<sup>61</sup>

Whether the procession led to the formal dinner or to refreshments followed by the regular meal, food was an important element in the celebration. "It was considered a slight to the well-meaning hosts not to partake heartily. . . . Liquor flowed freely. . . . Hilarity reigned supreme."<sup>62</sup> At the celebration following the Martínez-Jaramillo nuptials, held at the Barron Hotel in Taos, the catered meal for a large group of dignitaries and upper-class relatives was, however, somewhat of a disaster. The decorator, the chef (brought in from Pueblo, Colorado), and his inexperienced helpers bungled the serving of several courses in the meal. "Wine cups [they] had forgotten to order, and the fine, sparkling Cresta Blanca wines were not served. The beautiful wedding cakes sat on the center of the table untouched, forgotten."<sup>63</sup> Jaramillo's recollection of her wedding celebration not only reveals her disappointment in the way that portion of it turned out, but also suggests that perhaps it was not as simple for the young, independent groom to communicate with hired professional help as it might have been to give orders to family servants—a sort of dual ineptitude.

The wedding dance was as formal an occasion as the banquet that preceded it. "Immediately after the supper, the wedding march wended its way towards the dance hall, in the same order as before, and to the same noisy accompaniment."<sup>64</sup> Again a procession acted as transition from one part of the celebration to another. "The 'Bastonero,' or manager of the dance, had charge of keeping the proceedings in order, and also, of naming the dances."<sup>65</sup> Detailed descriptions of the various dance steps abound, as dancing was an important part of any folk celebration. Perhaps because daily life

was a struggle and because the social activities of young people were so carefully chaperoned, "dances were the highlights of life."<sup>66</sup> But reform-minded Bishop Lamy had other ideas. "As for dances . . . they were conducive to evil, occasions of sin, and provided opportunity for illicit affinities, and love that was reprehensible and sinful."<sup>67</sup> It appears that his pastoral admonition, in combination with the growing predominance of urbanization and Anglicization, was somewhat effective. "The prendorios are still held in the villages but of course city life has caused many of the long ago customs and dances to be eliminated entirely or replaced by Anglo customs."<sup>68</sup>

The concluding custom of the extended celebration of marriage was the *entriega*, the delivery of the wedded couple to their parents by the padrinos for a final blessing before departure.<sup>69</sup> "Dawn was lightening the eastern sky when the dance ended and the bridal party, relatives and friends went into the parlor to witness the *entriega*" and to listen to "the long string of impromptu verses that the guitarist was addressing to the newlyweds, their parents and *padrinos* . . . [,] verses of advice, of parting and blessings."<sup>70</sup> The padrinos turned the novios over to their parents. "The young couple then knelt to receive the blessing of their parents and older relatives, reverently kissing their proffered hands."<sup>71</sup> Clearly the padrinos not only took a more active part in the marriage ceremony than did the parents, but they also exercised their solemn duties in the preparations for the wedding and in its extended celebration. All of this was done "with the old days' formality and social importance observed then on these occasions."<sup>72</sup>

In short, for Hispanic Catholics in northern New Mexico during the territorial period, the celebration of marriage, despite the authority of the local institutional church and the periodic intrusion of political institutions, centered around ancient folk customs within the ceremony and in its surrounding rituals. For more than three hundred years, these basically religious people maintained against great odds the closest link to the heart of Catholicism that historical conditions allowed. They used religious folk customs of blessings, processions, and devotion to the saints as accessible extensions of the church's often inaccessible sacraments and in so doing proved



the practical complementarity of institutional religion and folk religion.

Cleofas Jaramillo remembers and records both forms of religious expression as she documents her life and that of her people. Although her mode is folkloric rather than historical and although she appears as a religious and cultural syncretist rather than as an official voice for either Hispanic or Anglo life in her day, her literary and social contributions to civil and ecclesiastical history are substantial. As a prominent New Mexico citizen and culture bearer, Jaramillo points to some data hitherto overlooked in an emphasis on uncommon deeds and their uncommon doers. When used in conjunction with other reputable sources, her firsthand accounts of the usual suggest a far greater role for the folk in creating history and a far greater influence of their customs upon the course of history than is sometimes acknowledged.

#### NOTES

1. "Cleofas" is considered a masculine and a feminine name in Hispanic culture. Often the feminine usage is changed to "Cleofitas." While most secondary sources give 1877 as Mrs. Jaramillo's year of birth, the Martínez family Bible gives 1878 (Interview with Virginia Rogers, 1 April 1982).

2. Cleofas M. Jaramillo, *Cuentos del hogar* (El Campo, Tex.: Citizen's Press, 1939); *Shadows of the Past* (Santa Fe: Seton Village Press, 1941); *Potajes Sabrosos* (Santa Fe: Seton Village Press, 1942); *Romance of a Little Village Girl* (San Antonio, Tex.: Naylor Company, 1955). For a deeper understanding of the nineteenth-century context in which romance and religion are mediated by the social arrangement of marriage, see such studies as Tony Tanner, *Adultery in the Novel: Contract and Transgression* (Baltimore, Md.: The John Hopkins University Press, 1979), pp. 15-18.

3. Jaramillo, *Romance*, p. 1.

4. Jaramillo, *Shadows*, p. 10.

5. Fray Angelico Chavez, *My Penitente Land: Reflections on Spanish New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico [UNM] Press, 1974), pp. 122-23.

6. Chavez, "The Inter-Relation of History and Folklore," *New Mexico Folklore Record* 5 (1950-1951): 1.

7. Howard Roberts Lamar, *The Far Southwest, 1846-1912: A Territorial History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), p. 198.

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27. Jaramillo, *Shadows*, p. 32.
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