Vanessa Ovalle Perez

Vasto Pensamiento, Vast Thought

LATINAS *in the* NINETEENTH-CENTURY CALIFORNIA PRESS



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BY

VANESSA OVALLE PEREZ

Amherst College Press

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Dedicated to the babies who ate and slept in my lap
while I wrote this book, Elias and Gael.

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Show Me Your Papers

"And what about him?" la migra asked,
gesturing towards your bisabuelo
"and I said oh he's a citizen
with such confidence that the man
just let us pass"
        your bisabuelo was laughing,
wide-eyed laughter, both of us
with fat tears in the corners of our eyes
        nuestra risa rising like water gurgling

"Show me your papers"

And my hands plunge down into our river of risa
        the sticky masa, growing fatter with chismes of muddy creeks
        distant clacking of iron type locking in the cradle
        el murmurio de la brisa carrying your name
my hands emerge slippery, mojada, full
        dripping with rich, abundant archive
            let me show you our archive
            show you how long we've been here
            la profundidad de nuestras raíces
root veins plucked from the deepest entrañas
        my mouth wide open, gasping from laughter

pulled with a stringy, resounding pluck
tossing bright crystals of sweat and
setting inky blots of silt leaping
pluck pluck releasing tongues to flight

from suspiros to cantos to gritos to risa
your own voice lifting higher
……
……
……

I show you the archive: nearly transparent
papeles, papelería, periódicos
that I swallowed with my eyes
savored with my fingertips
over so many hours, days, years
and paper-thin degrees spent
in so many precarious sanctuaries of
archive

and finally, you have arrived—
let me show you our papers

INTRODUCTION

Vasto Pensamiento

> Conciudadanas: El emblema de toda sociedad es la Union, sin este principio es imposible que se lleve adelante ninguna idea por noble y justa que sea. Con mucho sentimiento os manifiesto que la hidra venenosa de la discordia asoma la cabeza entre nuestra sociedad, y vuestro buen juicio y patriotismo debe ser un muro que contenga sus tendencias disolventes.[1]
>
> My fellow women citizens: The emblem of every society is Union. Without this principle, it is impossible for any idea to be carried out, no matter how noble and fair it may be. With great feeling, I tell you that the poisonous hydra of discord rears its head in our society, and your good judgment and patriotism must be a wall that restrains its corrosive properties.[2]
>
> *El Nuevo Mundo* of San Francisco, April 28, 1865

Presidenta Vicenta Mendoza, leader of the Mexican women's patriotic assembly of Virginia City, Nevada, spoke these words in a speech before an audience of conciudadanas, fellow women citizens, only six days after the assassination of US President Abraham Lincoln. Her words were printed on the front page of the newspaper *El Nuevo Mundo* of San Francisco, alongside other condemnations of the assassination by Latino leaders of the men's patriotic assemblies and a large image dramatizing the moment after Lincoln's assassination at Ford's Theatre. This was not the only issue of *El Nuevo Mundo* to mourn President Lincoln. In fact, when the newspaper initially printed news of

the assassination, the editor, Francisco P. Ramirez,[3] placed heavy black borders around each column of print, making the newspaper resemble the black-edged mourning stationery commonly used by the bereaved in the nineteenth century (see Figure 1).[4] Mourning stationery conveyed somber news, usually that of a death, between friends and family members, giving the letter's recipient a kind of trigger warning for its contents. Ramirez's gesture to *El Nuevo Mundo*'s reading audience was a performance of grief on the scale of his entire Spanish-speaking community. The loss of Lincoln was for Latinx[5] people like Ramirez and Mendoza shocking and intensely felt on many levels.

In her speech, Mendoza made it clear that she saw Lincoln as representing an idea much bigger than his office. She hailed him as a "martyr of liberty." Referring to his killing, she proclaimed that "este hecho horroroso debe con justa razon conmover el alma de toda persona que no esté contaminada con las doctrinas retrógradas de la esclavitud" (this horrifying deed should rightly move the soul of every



Figure 1: The image on the left shows the heavy, black borders around each column of print that editor Francisco P. Ramirez used to make *El Nuevo Mundo*'s pages resemble the black-edged mourning stationery commonly used by the bereaved in the nineteenth century. This was done to alert readers to the death of President Abraham Lincoln in the April 17, 1865 issue of the newspaper. The image on the right dramatizes the moments after Lincoln's assassination at Ford's Theatre and was printed on April 28, 1865 in *El Nuevo Mundo*. Images courtesy of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

person who has not been contaminated with the regressive doctrines of slavery).[6] Mendoza, like many other Latinas of her community, strongly supported the abolition of slavery. Many vocal Latinx leaders in the Southwest saw the Confederacy not just as a threat to liberty in the United States, but also as a regressive menace that might influence Mexico's anti-slavery policies and democratic ideals.[7] This may be one of the reasons why Mendoza did not see Lincoln as a guardian of liberty only for the United States, but for all of the borderlands and Latin America, the entire "continente americano" (American continent).[8]

Mendoza honored Lincoln's message of unity by urging her audience to apply his ideals to their own struggle for Mexican sovereignty. The patriotic assembly, or junta patriótica, she presided over was part of a network of juntas formed for the purpose of defending President Benito Juárez's democratically elected government from the French invasion of Mexico by Napoleon III. By the time of Lincoln's assassination in 1865, Juárez's army had already been fighting off French forces for three years. Napoleon had even imposed a puppet emperor, Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria, to rule over Mexico. When Mendoza calls upon her conciudadanas to defend the concept of Union, she does so in a way that does not center the United States, but rather centers the solidarity of women working to safeguard her patría, or homeland, from European imperialism. Mendoza emphasizes her commitment to Mexico by declaring that "nuestra patría agradecida bendecirá á sus buenas hijas que desde el extranjero contribuyen á su salvacion" (our grateful homeland will bless its good daughters who from abroad contribute to its salvation).[9] For those in the Mexican women's patriotic assemblies, contribution usually meant dipping into their own pockets to offer donations, no matter how small, on a regular basis. They also hosted and organized lively fundraisers to help the war effort, at times setting up events in orange groves decorated with Mexican and American flags. News of these gatherings and other junta activities was routinely published in California's Spanish-language press. Advances in printing technology and transportation networks meant that Latina allies were able to share their good deeds and words of solidarity with those in Mexico and across Latin America.

Mendoza's speech serves as just one example of how the growing mass production and circulation of Spanish-language newspapers in California radically altered not just everyday practices of reading, community organizing, and sharing ideas,[10] but also, importantly, the visibility of Latinas in the public sphere. In the years following the California Gold Rush, the newspaper presented a platform whereby Spanish-speaking Latinas could express themselves both politically and creatively. Even the words of women who were not wealthy or of elite social standing were printed and distributed. Latinas who could not write still had the opportunity to speak out at community events and have their words transcribed and printed in the press. Those who could not read might listen to newspapers being read aloud in both public and private spaces.[11] Furthermore, the transnational circulation of Spanish-language media not only kept Latinas up to date on current events outside the borders of the United States, but also allowed their voices to reach international Spanish-language audiences. Kirsten Silva Gruesz has closely examined well-known nineteenth-century *Men of Letters* alongside more obscure Latinx newspaper editors, writers, and poets. She describes how their public reception was "heavily informed by nationalistic desires" and "writers can appear within the transnational sphere in a wholly imaginary but nonetheless powerful way, as ambassadorial icons of national cultures."[12] She calls these writers *ambassadors of culture*. Building on Silva Gruesz and other scholars of nineteenth-century Latinx literature,[13] this book combines an intersectional feminist approach with deep historical investigation to reveal how Latina writers, poets, and public speakers asserted their intellect, solidarity with one another, and identities as cultural ambassadors. Through a rhetoric motivated by and intertwined with the many intersectional aspects of their social selves, Latinas leveraged rhetorical strategies that were both socially performative[14] and literary in a culturally specific Latinx context. In the oscillation between expressions of intimacy and self-conscious cultural and social positioning, these women recruited readerships and allies to help them pursue personal ambitions and social justice causes. Their concerns

and opinions reached across both sides of the border, and Latinas forged connections with interlocutors in Central America as far south as El Salvador. Often, transnational correspondence and activism placed California Latinas in geopolitical relation with larger, gendered spheres of political influence. In the case of Mendoza, for example, she mourns Lincoln's death publicly as a cultural ambassador of her women's Mexican patriotic assembly—voicing simultaneously a set of ethnic, nationalist, and gender concerns through her position as presidenta of the group.

While not every Latina in this book takes on a persona that is as demonstrably representative as Mendoza, each of them navigates their cultural ambassadorial role in unique ways, for their own purposes, and in response to particular public audiences. The first two chapters of the book focus on women with social justice messages which they delivered in the form of satire, testimony, and public speaking. They wrote in response to both US and French encroachment on both sides of the border, highlighting the aftereffects of this colonial violence. This included squatters and lynching in California, as well as the military occupation and undermining of democracy in Mexico. I show how these women deployed careful rhetorical strategies to make their social justice messages and political opinions more palatable to their largely patriarchal audiences, and trace how they were successful in building solidarity for their respective causes. The following three chapters spotlight specific Latina writers, including a novelist and two women poets, or poetisas. These chapters reveal how Latinas strategically brought together their social and literary worlds in order to court particular reading publics and assert their roles as cultural ambassadors. Their tactics ranged from fictionalizing members of the Latinx community with the use of clever pseudonyms, dedicating creative work to carefully chosen interlocutors, and also, at times, publishing their work under pen names so as to pique interest as to their true identity.

Since printing poetry, speeches, and literary works alongside news was a common practice of the nineteenth-century press, researching this book meant scouring archives for Spanish-language newspapers

published in California, examining them issue by issue, and cataloging any instance of writing by women. Poems, speeches, toasts, testimonies, and fiction by Latinas living in California in some instances were submitted directly to the editor by mail, but were also performed live, transcribed, and then reported in the press. California newspapers also frequently reprinted literary writing by Latin American women writers from the Caribbean, Central America, South America, and Spain, sourcing it from books or newspapers published abroad.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Latina voices were increasingly published in California newspapers. Yet, despite this increase, men's writing continued to dominate Spanish-language media. Perhaps for this reason, many critics of journalism, literature, and history of nineteenth-century Latinx culture have focused on the contributions of men. Although scholarly studies of Latinas during this period are growing in number, there is still much work that needs to be done. Because I exclusively study Latina writing and focus on gender and Latinx cultural issues, I situate my archival recovery work as responding to the call by contemporary Chicana feminist thinkers María Cotera, Maylei Blackwell, and Dionne Espinoza to shift the critical optic from *movements* to *movidas*, or moves. While they recover *movidas* of twentieth-century Chicanas during the Chicano Movement years, my work uncovers a Latina genealogy of struggle in the nineteenth century. As opposed to the actions of the most visible players who occupied positions of relative power, *movidas* are described as "the insurgencies weaving below the surface of multiple movements."[15] Cotera, Blackwell, and Espinoza contend that mapping *movidas* "allows us to chart the small scale, intimate political moves, gestures, and collaborations that reflect the tactics women used to negotiate the internalities of power within broader social movements. It identifies how they tracked and negotiated multiple scales of power within their homes, communities, organizations, social movements, and dominant society."[16] It is in this spirit that I recover not only the words of lesser known Latina writers, public speakers, and poetisas, but also the social relationships and power dynamics that informed their words in the press.

Most of the Latina writings featured in this book have not been studied in depth or shared with contemporary readers. Above all, the most basic purpose of recovering these primary sources is to build appreciation for the history and cultural contributions of Latinx people in the United States.[17] Perhaps for this reason, my most meaningful *movida* as a scholar is to make available the full transcriptions and original translations of the primary sources explored throughout the book. Every chapter focuses on a different topic or genre of newspaper publication and is divided into two parts. First, an introduction to the topic, including close reading and as much biographical detail and historical context as is known about the woman or women who produced the writing. Second, full Spanish transcriptions and English translations of the relevant primary sources. The reason why these transcriptions and translations are not tucked away in the back of the book as an appendix is that I am intent on staging a conversation between my words and the words of Latinas from the past.[18] The organization of the book adamantly centers the voices of nineteenth-century Latina writers, public speakers, and poetisas. I strongly encourage you, reader, to engage in this back and forth, and crucially, to read primary sources as directly and fully as possible. There is no interpretation I can provide which serves as a substitute for reading these Latinas in their own words.

The sources in this book reveal the growing visibility of Latinas in terms of political, social, and literary impact in the California press from 1848 through the turn of the twentieth century. What did that change in visibility look like? A laundress and single mother in a mining town, Anastasia Leyva, published a testimony and condemnation of her brother's brutal lynching, which made it all the way to the desk of US Secretary of State William H. Seward. Presidenta Mendoza was not the only Latina of the Mexican patriotic assemblies whose words were published in the newspapers. Political speeches and brindis, or toasts, in support of Mexico during the Second French Intervention were routinely printed in newspapers by other members of the assemblies. Sisters Guadalupe and Carlota Gutierrez[19] of San Francisco spoke at cultural events, published front-page poetry, and even contributed

a serialized novel to the newspaper *La Sociedad*, while at the same time working day jobs doing housekeeping, telegraph operating, and teaching Spanish. The anonymous poetisa Josefina had a public battle of poems in *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo* with rivals who accused her of really being a "Josefino."[20]

Based on this brief sketch, you might notice that many of the Latinas who will be featured in this book were not wealthy or of elite social standing. For example, according to census and directory records, Leyva and the Gutierrez sisters all maintained jobs to help support their households financially. Members of the juntas patrióticas were for the most part, middle-class or relatively poor.[21] Of the limited number of scholarly studies that exist on nineteenth-century Latinas of the western United States, few of them center the voices of middle and lower-class, working women. Yvette Saavedra has written about the historical and legal testimonios,[22] or testimonies, of land-owning Mexican women of Alta California,[23] or rancheras. She emphasizes the challenge of recovering the voices of less prominent Latinas who did not own land or hold a privileged position in society. According to Saavedra, oppressive social dynamics "produced archival silences and gaps that pose a challenge when trying to locate and recuperate women's words and lives, especially those of nonelite, racialized women."[24] By focusing on the newspaper publications of nineteenth-century Latinas who were not wealthy or prominent, I hope to chip away at these silences and gaps. Not being well-off might be one reason why Latinas leaned on their newspaper publications to gain support for their causes and boost their social standing. This book centers the words of these Latinas who spoke out from the margins of California society.

LATINA VISIBILITY IN THE CALIFORNIA PRESS

Latinas were present in many different areas of the Spanish-language press in nineteenth-century California. Although the majority of this book focuses on those who had social justice messages or wrote creative, literary works, the visibility of Latinas in the newspaper

went far beyond what I cover in these pages. Even the briefest of appearances—such as their names popping up in unclaimed mail lists under the heading "Cartas en el Correo" or "Letters at the Post Office"—speak to their visibility. Latinas advertised their businesses, restaurants especially, as well as services, which included midwifery, teaching, and various kinds of sewing. The names of Latina performers and entertainers often appeared in promotions for upcoming events. I discuss some of these more commonplace newspaper publications by Latinas in more depth at the end of this book, particularly advertisements, testimonials, death notices, and missing persons announcements. Before that, however, I will begin by sketching a general picture of how Latinas were portrayed in Spanish-language newspapers and what kinds of publications they produced.

Latinas were mentioned in news stories for all kinds of reasons, both good and bad. For example, a short article titled "Rateras," or "Female Thieves," in San Francisco's *La Voz de Méjico* in the spring of 1865 chronicles the arrests of Cristina Rodríguez and Alvina Núñez for stealing from a store selling women's shoes. Allegedly the numbers of rateras were on the rise, and the article concluded with a claim that police had lost their faith in women and "hoy las vigila como á los hombres" (today keep an eye on them just as they do on men).[25] In the newspapers of the nineteenth century, women were often referred to as the "bello sexo," or "fair sex," and society had rigid ideas as to what was considered appropriate feminine behavior for ladies. According to Donna Kabalen Vanek and María Teresa Mijares Cervantes, nineteenth-century Latinas living in the United States were relegated to the domestic space as a result of an eighteenth-century worldview that stemmed from Enlightenment ideas: "they were assigned the role as man's companion and their responsibility was to care for the home and educate their children."[26] When a woman transgressed these social norms by breaking the law, her crimes were often sensationalized in the newpaper.

Latinas were also featured in news stories when they stepped out of domestic roles and shone in careers predominantly reserved for men. Rosa Medrano, for example, was a torera, or female bullfighter, who

visited California from Mexico City. According to *El Nuevo Mundo* of San Francisco, she was to face a "toro salvaje," or "wild bull," on February 3, 1866, at the Willows, an entertainment park outside the city.[27] Promotions for the event in the days leading up to the much-anticipated spectacle noted that Medrano, dressed in a gorgeous Andalusian outfit, was "joven y hermosa" (young and beautiful).[28] The outfits and physical attractiveness of the three male bullfighters participating in the event were not mentioned.

In the 1870s and 1880s, another Latina performer, actress Laura Molla, was highlighted several times in *La Crónica* of Los Angeles for her exceptional talent on the stage. Newspaper advertisements for upcoming plays frequently featured her name, and Molla starred in benefit performances at local theaters. These types of benefit shows were often supplemental, one-night-only events and allowed a particular actor, actress, or singer to keep part or all of the evening's proceeds, thereby buttressing the low wages of nineteenth-century performers.[29] Molla was promoted heavily in the Spanish-language press for her benefit performances and was featured several times in editorials expressing anticipation leading up to her shows and then heaping on praise in the days which followed. For instance, after a performance in January 1884 at the Teatro Turn-Verein, Molla was described as being "sublime" in her role and a "favorita del público," or "favorite of the public." Lauding her for only getting better and better in her many roles over the passing years, the editorial claims, "Laura es una verdadera artista que con la misma facilidad con que hace brotar la risa á los labios, arranca á los ojos una lagrima y un suspiro al corazon" (Laura is a true artist who, with the same ease that she brings laughter to the lips, draws a tear from the eyes and a sigh from the heart).[30] Such expressions of admiration for Molla in *La Crónica* showcase the power of a Latina who was a master of her craft.

Molla was not just a phenomenal actress, but also published at least one poem in the Spanish-language press. After her performance in "Malditas sean las Mujeres" or "Damned are Women" in the spring of 1877, an adoring admirer who identified herself only as "a young lady" gave Molla flowers, along with a poem titled "Una Flor del Alma"

(A Flower from the Soul).[31] Molla was so touched by these gifts that she published a poem in response to her fan under the same title in *La Crónica*. She concludes her poem:

Creyendo las frases belias	Believing the beautiful verses,
Tu amistad mi pecho abriga;	Your friendship warms my breast;
No valen más las estrellas	The stars are not more valuable
Que el afecto de una amiga.	Than the affection of a female friend.
¿Pero dónde la hallaré?	But where will I find her?
¿Quién su nombre me dirá?	Who will tell me her name?
El mio publicaré	I will publish mine,
Y el suyo saber me hará.[32]	And yours I will find out.

Molla playfully hints that she will get to the bottom of her mysterious fan's identity, implying that it's only fair, considering her own name is in print for all to see.

These verses are a taste of what is to come in this book. The poem is one of a handful of examples in which poetisas dedicate poems to other women. Some, like Molla and her anonymous female admirer, sought to support one another creatively and foster bonds of friendship and solidarity. Others, as we will see, had entirely opposite aims. There were also Latinas who sought to tear down, ridicule, and silence their fellow poetisas.

While the dedication poems I focus on in this book involve poetic conversations between women, there were also many instances in California's Spanish-language press of men dedicating poems to women, and also a few examples of Latinas dedicating verses to men. For example, prolific poet Jesús María Paredes published verses in San Francisco's *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo* dedicated to Laura Molla in the summer of 1874. His lengthy poem details his sense of wonder at and appreciation of her beautiful singing voice, particularly how it brought back memories of his youth. Referring to her as "Laura bella," or "beautiful Laura," he compares her to many different kinds of birds, including a wild dove and an "armonioso cenzontli / De mi hermoso suelo indiano, / De aquel verjel mejicano / Que no he podido

olvidar" (harmonious mockingbird / From my beautiful indigenous soil, / From that Mexican orchard / That I have not been able to forget).[33] Linking the creative expression of an artist or writer to their patria, or homeland, was very common at this time, and contributed to the sense that artists and writers were also cultural ambassadors. Paredes acknowledges not only his and Molla's shared Mexican heritage, but also a shared connection to Indigeneity that he sees as an implicit part of that inheritance. He compares her to a "cenzontli," the term for a mockingbird borrowed from Nahuatl, and describes how she came from "mi hermoso suelo indiano" (my beautiful indigenous soil). Paredes expresses recognition of and appreciation for the Indigenous elements of his patria, linking them to the very earth of Mexico. Latinx speakers and writers of the nineteenth century commonly intermingled patriotic, Indigenous, and Catholic imagery. This book explores various instances in which Latinas used this rhetoric in the Spanish-language press, particularly in reference to Mexico.

In addition to writing poems dedicated to women,[34] like Molla, Paredes was also the subject of dedication poems published by Latinas in the newspaper. This was probably a result of his impressive visibility in the Spanish-language press of California. His poems appeared in the San Francisco newspapers *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo*, *El Cronista*, and *El Republicano*, as well as *La Gaceta* of Santa Barbara and *La Crónica* of Los Angeles. One anonymous admirer who referred to herself as "Una Señorita de Los Angeles," or "A Young Lady from Los Angeles," dedicated a poem to Paredes in which she characterized his verses as being written "con dulzura, / Con acierto y galanura" (with sweetness, / With precision and gallantry).[35] On reading his words, the speaker of this poem felt as though Paredes was uniquely equipped to understand a painful heartbreak she had suffered. She saw herself as "un ángel caido, / Un ser que no tiene nombre, / Que amó con delirio á un hombre / Y que ahora sufre su olvido" (a fallen angel, / A being who has no name, / Who loved a man deliriously / And who now suffers from his forgetting). For the anonymous poetisa, romantic despair felt the same, even though she was a young lady and Paredes was a man. She connected deeply with his verses, writing "desgraciada soy / Y

contigo simpatizo" (I am miserable, / And I sympathize with you). It is the absent lover who caused the poetisa disgrace and sorrow. Seeing Paredes as a deeply feeling person who also has been unlucky in love, she regards him as a shoulder to lean on and platonic friend to commiserate with.[36]

California's Spanish-language press did not publish only local poetisas writing in conversation with other local creatives. It was also very common to reprint the verses of well-known poetisas from abroad. Ayendy Bonifacio has written about poetry reprinting practices among Latinx newspaper editors in nineteenth-century California. He describes how some editors, particularly the aforementioned Francisco P. Ramirez, intentionally edited the content of poems to fit the page of the periodical or changed verses to reflect the particular interests of their local readers.[37] According to Bonifacio, reprinting poems was a means for editors to "affirm to themselves and communities of a Hispanophone Latinx literary culture that was both local and transnational, personal and public, and American and Transamerican."[38] Editors at times published the works of prominent women writers as part of this reprinting culture. Verses by poetisas who are still celebrated today, such as Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz and Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda,[39] were reprinted in California's Spanish-language press.

Including their poetry, however, did not always spring from a sense of reverence. For example, on September 23, 1892, *Las Dos Repúblicas* of Los Angeles reprinted some of Juana Inés de la Cruz's well-known verses from seventeenth-century colonial Mexico with the dedicative title "A los hombres," or "To the men." The poem begins: "Hombres necios que acusais / A la mujer sin razon / Sin ver que sois la ocasion / De lo mismo que culpáis" (Foolish men who accuse / Women without any reason, / Without seeing that you are the occasion / Of the very thing that you condemn).[40] The poem critiques men for being irrational in their treatment of women: first they accuse women of being frigid and prudish, then blame them if their honor should be disgraced by a man. Only four days after de la Cruz's poem appeared in *Las Dos Repúblicas*, however, the newspaper published a poem titled

"A las damas," or "To the ladies," with no indication of its authorship. These verses mocked de la Cruz and claimed that women "Luchar para ser vencidas" (Fight to be conquered), and sarcastically denied the image of women as blameless, angelic beings come down from heaven, because in fact "Suelen parecerse á Crísto… / En morirse por los hombres"[41] (They commonly resemble Christ… / In how they die for men). You might wonder if a local reader penned these lines in response to reading "A los hombres." As it turns out, both poems likely were simply copied from a book called *Museo Cómico ó Tesoro de Los Chistes* (*The Comic Museum, or Treasure Trove of Jokes*) by Manuel del Palacio and Luis Rivera, which was essentially an assortment of jokes, anecdotes, poems, sayings, and other short humorous writings.[42] The editor of *Las Dos Repúblicas* either had direct access to this book or he was reprinting from another Spanish-language newspaper where the verses had been previously published. In all likelihood, the editor probably only included de la Cruz's poem in anticipation of the punchline that would follow in the next issue.

Although I have found only one instance of an original novel serialized in the Spanish-language press by a California Latina, Guadalupe Gutierrez's *Espinas y rosas* (discussed at length in chapter 3), there are instances of Latinas publishing novels outside of the newspaper. Most notably, María Ámparo Ruiz de Burton authored the English-language novels *Who Would Have Thought It?* in 1872 and *The Squatter and the Don* in 1885.[43] Latinas also translated longer pieces of narrative fiction for newspapers. For example, in the June 12, 1868 issue of San Francisco's *La Voz de Chile y el Nuevo Mundo*, Margarita Martinez published her Spanish translation of the fairy tale "Piel de Asno" (Donkey Skin) by French writer Charles Perrault.[44] The fairy tale is about a young princess who escapes the advances of her incestuous father by wearing a donkey skin to hide her beauty and true identity. A subheading indicated that the story had been "Traducido del Frances por la Srta. Margarita Martinez para 'La Voz de Chile y el N. Mundo' " (Translated from French by Miss Margarita Martinez for *La Voz de Chile y el Nuevo Mundo*). Such a note implied that Martinez translated the piece specifically for this newspaper, rather than the

content being reprinted from another publication. The fact that she was referred to as a "Srta.," or señorita, meant that Martinez was unmarried and likely young. Given the complexity of Perrault's narrative, we can also assume that Martinez must have been well-educated in the French language in addition to having mastered written Spanish.

As these brief examples show, Latinas were visible in the press in many ways. Although content centered on and written by women was not as commonly published as content by and for men, Latina voices were present in virtually every issue of California's Spanish-language newspapers. This book cannot hope to capture the scope of all writing by every Latina published in nineteenth-century California, but instead focuses on some particularly representative examples. The first two chapters that follow this introduction spotlight women with social justice messages in response to both US and French encroachment in California and Mexico. The subsequent three chapters tell the stories and share the works of specific Latina writers, first the Gutierrez sisters and then the anonymous poetisa Josefina.

Chapter 1 begins with the years following the US conquest and annexation of Alta California, marked by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. Colonial settlement resulting largely from the Gold Rush, combined with changes to governance under the new US regime, caused massive shifts in social order and daily life. During this time, two Latina escritoras, women writers—one who published anonymously in 1854, and another, Anastasia Leyva, who worked as a washerwoman in a Sierra Nevada mining town in the 1860s—both made the bold and uncommon choice to voice social justice concerns in the newspaper. Each of them has a unique perspective, yet the injustices they articulate are directly tethered to the societal changes they were seeing in California in the 1850s and 1860s.

The anonymous escritora repurposes the biblical form of the bienaventuranzas, or beatitudes, to satirize squatters, lynching, and structural inequality. Although she modestly describes herself as "una mujer que carece de talento por desgracia para dar mas espansion a sus ideas" (a woman who, unfortunately, lacks the talent to

give broader expression to her ideas),[45] she goes on to cleverly critique many of the social wrongs she sees around her. Squatters, for example, are described as "bienaventurados" or "blessed" because "sin pagar pension ni tribúto ninguno al estado" (without paying any tax or duty to the state) they not only enjoy the benefits of the best lands, but are also supported by the state apparatus.[46] As opposed to the landowning californios[47] who were continually being dispossessed of their property, the author of the bienaventuranzas calls out the privilege of squatters who are given structural advantages by government policies pertaining to land rights.

In contrast to this anonymous escritora, Anastasia[48] focuses on a very intimate loss and personal injustice: the lynching of her brother, Luis Leyva. His killing happened on Christmas Day, 1863, when a mob broke into a building where Luis and another man, Cosme Núñez, were being held under arrest. The men were then abducted and hanged from a tree at the edge of town. Anastasia condemns those who, "sobreponiéndose à las leyes y á los encargados de administrarlas, se constituyen en tribunal, y disponen de la vida y honra de los ciudadanos á su antojo y sin ningun forma de proceso" (taking the law into their own hands and overriding those who are charged with administering it, set themselves up as a tribunal and on a whim disposed of the lives and honor of citizens, without any form of due process).[49] Here she characterizes the lynch mob as being possessed by a monstrous appetite, prompted "á su antojo," or by senseless "cravings."

Turning to the French intervention in Mexico (1862–1867), the second chapter of this book also explores social justice messages. In this case, the calls for justice are political speeches and brindis by women who participated in the Mexican patriotic movement in California and Nevada. Formed in response to the French invasion of Mexico by Napoleon III in 1862, these women's juntas patrióticas raised money and popular support for the Mexican republic led by Benito Juárez. Although comprehensive biographical information on all the women members of the patriotic assemblies is not readily available, historians have shown that these were, for the most part, middle-class or relatively poor women and not homogenous in terms of their citizenship

or nationality. Though most members were born in Mexico or had Mexican ancestry, a small number of Chilean, Spanish, and Native American women also participated.[50] By 1866, there were a total of eight women's juntas, mostly located in small mining towns throughout California.[51] San Francisco newspapers *La Voz de Méjico* and *El Nuevo Mundo* often printed the impassioned speeches and brindis of these women, thereby disseminating and preserving these ephemeral and intimate moments shared at local events with a larger patriotic community.

Speech makers of the women's juntas had unique personalities and tactics for achieving their priorities. While some chose to speak from a place of humility, at times going so far as to undermine themselves to protect their femininity, others spoke without any trace of self-deprecation. Nonetheless, these speeches also contain many common elements. For example, junta women often began with a direct address to the audience, calling to attention every person present with a "conciudadanas" (fellow women citizens),[52] "camaradas"[53] (women comrades), "compatriotas" (fellow countrywomen),[54] or "señoras" (ladies).[55] Using terms like conciudadana, camarada, and compatriota made clear from the outset not only that these were political speeches, but also that the women speaking had patriotic solidarity with all present. When it came to the brindis, many of these toasts were performed in verse at lively gatherings, often organized for the purpose of raising funds for Juárez's government. Not only did junta members show off their creativity, humor, and exuberant Mexican loyalist sentiments, but they also at times riffed off the words of other junta women from far-off assemblies.

While these first chapters focus on Latinas spreading social justice messages, the final three chapters closely examine Latinas with literary aspirations who published in the newspapers. Chapters 3 and 4 will focus on two Mexicana immigrant sisters, novelist Guadalupe Gutierrez and poetisa Carlota Gutierrez. Not only were their works published in the Spanish-language press of California, but they were also mentioned frequently in society reporting of the 1870s. The *Señoritas Gutierrez*, as they often were referred to by editor Pastor de

Célis of Los Angeles's *La Crónica*, were known for giving speeches and brindis at Mexican patriotic events. Carlota performed her original poetry as well.[56] The Gutierrez sisters were ambitious, intent not just on social climbing, but also on establishing themselves as writers, thinkers, and public figures. They ran with an influential crowd, despite their modest means living in a San Francisco household headed by their widowed mother. Guadalupe worked first as a domestic, doing chores in the homes of others, and then became a Spanish teacher. Carlota worked as a telegraph operator, and eventually took up teaching Spanish as well.

Around Cinco de Mayo of 1877, when Carlota was twenty-one years old, and Guadalupe was twenty-four, they traveled by steamship to Los Angeles. On this trip, the young ladies were in the company of Pío de Jesús Pico, the last Mexican governor of Alta California before it was conquered by the United States. Pico was still a leader in the state's Latinx community, and de Célis noted details of their trip in his society reporting, describing the Gutierrez sisters as being part of "la escogida sociedad mejicana,"[57] or "the select Mexican society" of San Francisco. Not only did Guadalupe and Carlota have the honor of accompanying Pico, but the date of a dance at Los Angeles's Union Hall was moved forward so that they could attend before their departure. This was so that the Gutierrez sisters might "dar relace con su presencia á la animada fiesta" (enhance the lively party with their presence).[58] Having the date of an event like this one changed for their benefit hinted at the budding popularity and prominence of these sisters in Los Angeles.

The trip not only displayed their growing social status, but also influenced their literary and creative endeavors as well. Guadalupe's novel *Espinas y rosas*, serialized in *La Sociedad* of San Francisco in the fall of 1877, was inspired by her time in the City of Angels. She wrote a *roman à clef*,[59] meaning that the characters of her story were based on friends and acquaintances in the Gutierrez sisters' social circle, particularly ones they encountered in Los Angeles. The six surviving pages of *Espinas y rosas* make up one installment, or chapter, printed in *La Sociedad* on October 27, 1877. They provide a rare, intimate glance

into the world of 1870s California from the perspective of a young Latina escritora just beginning to increase her reading public and reputation. Considering Guadalupe's youth and this early stage in her career, perhaps it is not surprising that in addition to being a *roman à clef*, her novel was also a *bildungsroman*, or coming-of-age story.[60] The main protagonists are sisters, Leonor and Clotilde, who make a trip to the home of their uncle, Don Próspero, where he mentors them in a fatherly way as they step out into polite society. The parallels and power dynamics between the real-life Gutierrez sisters and Pío Pico are strikingly apparent.

Carlota was also influenced creatively by her time in Los Angeles, and in August 1877 she published the poem "A Los Angeles" in *La Crónica*, which was affectionately dedicated to the friends and acquaintances she had made there. Although the speaker of the poem laments that she may not be able to return, she insists that her happy memories will be in her mind forever and that she feels bound by the "lazos santos" (holy ties) of friendship and affection that she felt upon her departure. This was not Carlota's only dedication poem, though. She also had a short, but significant, exchange of dedication poetry in the newspaper with a Central American poetisa, Amelia Denis de Icaza. In their tender verses, dedicated to each other by name, these women not only validated each other's craft with words of admiration, but also articulated an *ars poetica*, or meditation on the creative process. Besides her dedication poetry, Carlota also published at least four other poems in California's Spanish-language newspapers. These verses explored and intermingled topics ranging from Mexican patriotism and nature, to purity, romantic longing, and love. When read closely, each of Carlota's poems shines light on different people and audiences that formed part of her nineteenth-century Latinx social network. Her literary writings, like Guadalupe's, give us an intimate glimpse of that world.

Chapter 5 takes a close look at a poetisa who made her mark in California's Spanish-language press. Writing under the pseudonym "Josefina," she published at least seventeen poems in San Francisco's *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo* and Los Angeles's *La Crónica* between 1875

and 1878. There are many reasons why Josefina might have preferred to remain anonymous, but based on comments by one of her editors,[61] one reason might have been that she was young and unmarried. Her anonymous profile proved a magnet for both admirers and trolls alike. One of the latter even accused her of secretly being a "Josefino," or a man. Debate over her identity and her feminine respectability, as well as the quality of her verse, were hot topics of conversation in the newspapers. I have done quite a bit of investigation, trying to confirm or deny rumors about her, and have found at least one lead as to her real identity. A report by a San Francisco correspondent using the name Consuelo, printed in Los Angeles's *La Crónica* in March 1876, suggests that the "creencia general," or "general belief," is that the "encantadores" or "enchanting" verses of Josefina were penned by one Miss Eva Cline, reportedly a correspondent who contributed some notable articles to the local San Francisco press. Unfortunately, this lead so far has proven flimsy, and my research has failed to turn up a link between Josefina and any San Franciscan named Eva Cline.

Like Carlota, Josefina participated in an exchange of dedication poems with other poetisas. Unfortunately, instead of building each other up, these poetisas' verses tore each other down. A poem dedicated to Josefina from an anonymous detractor using the name Dolores sarcastically mocked her for being a "políglota inspirada," or "inspired polyglot," and implied that Josefina put on airs because she apparently knew and used other languages, particularly English. Josefina also wrote a dedication poem to another bully, Cristina, who had tried to shame her for allegedly being immodest, and who described her in the rudest of terms in the press. Josefina's dedication poem seems to be a response to an apology issued by Cristina for her cruel insults. Did Josefina forgive and forget? Absolutely not. She mocked Cristina for her childish and naïve desire for everything to end "del mejor modo posible" (in the best possible way) and reminded her, "Todo, hijita, es obra tuya / Y como tuya risible" (Everything, little girl, is your own doing, / And, being yours, is laughable).[62] The bad blood between these poetisas is palpable throughout these dedication poems, and despite the fact that Josefina stood up for herself, I can only imagine the sense of hurt and vulnerability she must have felt.

Her identity was brutally misread and contested in the public forum of the newspapers by detractors who seemed bent on silencing her. The fact that Josefina continued to publish poems despite her bullies' efforts is a testament to her boldness and commitment to her craft.

For this anonymous poetisa, the byline *Josefina* became a space of unrelenting self-determination. Reflecting on the identity of Josefina has forced me to think more critically when it comes to my own interpretations of the poetisas and escritoras I study in this book, particularly when it comes to the many unknowns of their personhoods. Josefina's body of work is signed with a name that reads as feminine and Spanish-speaking, but was she a Latina? Although it's impossible to know her ancestry or how she identified in daily life, Josefina on some level presented herself as Latina in her publications. Thinking more deeply about Josefina has helped me interrogate my own investment in women writers, poetisas, escritoras, Latinas, and Spanish speakers. By centering an anonymous writer like Josefina, I hope to destabilize the very foundation of these terms, particularly when it comes to understanding the workings of authorship in historical writings.

While this book does privilege the voices of Latinas who contributed social justice messages or creative, literary works, I have added a concluding coda that makes space for more commonplace writings by Latinas in the California press. This includes advertisements for small businesses, testimonials, death notices, missing persons announcements, etc. Even though these types of writings might have at times leaned on more boilerplate rather than creative uses of language, they still represent the concerns and personal affairs of Latinas in their local communities. Studying them closely reveals that a multitude of women from different walks of life were present in the public sphere of the Spanish-language press. The expansiveness and diversity of Latina voices are on full display, from carefully crafted poems to even the most seemingly trivial advertisement or notice to the public.

Evidence of the breadth of the political, social, and creative concerns of Latinas in California newspapers illustrates why I have chosen *Vasto Pensamiento, Vast Thought* for the main title of this book. The concept is inspired by one of Carlota Gutierrez's verses, in which

she contemplates her own creative process and identity as a poetisa. In an exchange of dedication poems with Amelia Denis de Icaza, Carlota asks the "Eterno" or "Eternal" to "Darme un vasto pensamiento / Y una alma para soñar" (Give me a vast thought / And a soul to dream). Carlota focuses on the very fodder of thought from which her poetry is conceived. Her perception of poetic inspiration is typical of both romantic and transcendental thought: an intense experience marked by spontaneity and divine intervention, touching the soul and stimulating the mind. She wishes to capture and share with her poetisa interlocutor from afar her own sense of longing for a *vasto pensamiento*. Carlota was not alone in her capacity and desire for *vasto pensamiento* or unique in her skill when it came to expressing her ideas in words. Many of the Latinas who appear in this book were not only thoughtful writers, orators, and poets, but they were bold enough to share their words in the public sphere. This is where the subtitle of the book comes in: *Latinas in the Nineteenth-Century California Press*. These chapters unwaveringly center the words and stories of nineteenth-century Latinas, arranging as intimate an encounter as possible between readers of today and the voices of these women.

SPANISH TRANSCRIPTIONS AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS FOR THE INTRODUCTION

Speech by Presidenta Vicenta Mendoza

El Nuevo Mundo of San Francisco, April 28, 1865

SOCIEDAD PATRIOTICA DE SENORAS DE VIRGINIA CITY.

En la ciudad de Virginia á los 20 dias del mes de Abril de 1865, reunidas en el salon del club patriótico mejicano todas las señoras mejicanas, é hispanoamericanas de esta ciudad; abrió la presidenta su sesion con la alocucion siguiente:

LADIES PATRIOTIC ASSEMBLY OF VIRGINIA CITY.

In Virginia City on April 20, 1865, all the Mexican and Hispanic-American ladies of this city gathered in the hall of the Mexican patriotic assembly; the woman president opened her session with the following address:

Señoras: Un acontecimiento lamentable ha venido á llenar de tristeza y dolor nuestros corazones. ABRAHAM LINCOLN, presidente do los Estados Unidos ha sido víctima de un asesinato; y este hecho horroroso debe con justa razon conmover el alma de toda persona que no esté contaminada con las doctrinas retógradas de la esclavitud. El nombre de Lincoln será inmortal, y ocupará un lugar preferente en la historia de los martires de la libertad. Roguémos al Eterno por el alma del presidente Lincoln y honrémos su memoria contribuyendo á la libertad de nuestra patria; pues el éra el guardian de la libertad del continente americano, y principalmente de nuestra república. ¡Que la maldicion de la América entera caiga sobre la cabeza de su infame asesino!

Conciudadanas: El emblema de toda sociedad es la Union, sin este principio es imposible que se lleve adelante ninguna idea por noble y justa que sea. Con mucho sentimiento os manifiesto que la hidra venenosa de la discordia asoma la cabeza entre nuestra sociedad, y vuestro buen juicio y patriotismo debe ser un muro que contenga sus tendencias

Ladies: A regrettable event has come to fill our hearts with sadness and pain. ABRAHAM LINCOLN, president of the United States, has been the victim of an assassination; and this horrifying deed should rightly move the soul of every person who has not been contaminated with the regressive doctrines of slavery. Lincoln's name will be immortal, and will occupy a special place in the history of the martyrs of liberty. Let us pray to the Eternal for the soul of President Lincoln and honor his memory by contributing to the freedom of our homeland; well, he was the guardian of the liberty of the American continent, and principally of our republic. May the curse of all America fall on the head of his infamous murderer!

My fellow women citizens: The emblem of every society is Union. Without this principle, it is impossible for any idea to be carried out, no matter how noble and fair it may be. With great feeling, I tell you that the poisonous hydra of discord rears its head in our society, and your good judgment and patriotism must be a wall that restrains its corrosive properties. Is it our country's fault that one woman inflicts injury on

disolventes. ¿ Que culpa tiene nuestra patria, que una infiera un agravio á otra? ¿ Acaso debemos posponer los sagrados deberes que nos impone nuestro patriotismo á ruines rencillas? No, mil veces nó. La base de toda sociedad es la Union, y á este principio debemos sacrificar nuestras querellas personales, y obrando asi nuestra, sociedad será duradera, y nuestra patria agradecida bendecirá á sus buenas hijas que desde el extrangero contribuyen á su salvacion, y que como verdaderas patriotas sacrifican en el cumplimiento de este deber sus disgustos personales.

Sigamos como hasta hoy y conjurémos todo aquello que tienda á disolver nos de que nuestros nobles esfuerzos serán aplaudidos por todo corazon libre, y de lo contrario echaremos un borrón, que nos cubrirá de verguenza é ignominia.—*Dije*.

another? Should we postpone the sacred duties that our patriotism imposes on us due to ruinous quarrels? No, a thousand times no. The basis of every society is Union, and to this principle we must sacrifice our personal quarrels, and by working together like this, society will be enduring, and our grateful homeland will bless its good daughters who from abroad contribute to its salvation, and who as true women patriots sacrifice their personal displeasures in the fulfillment of this duty.

Let us continue as we have up until today and ward off everything that attempts to dissolve us so that our noble efforts will be applauded by every free heart, or otherwise we will make a stain, which will cover us with shame and disgrace. —She said.

Short Article About "Rateras" or "Women Thieves"

La Voz de Méjico of San Francisco, April 15, 1865

RATERAS.—Dos mugeres de origen español, llamada una Cristina Rodriguez y la otra Alvina Nuñez, han sido arrestadas, acusadas de haber

WOMEN THIEVES.—Two women of Spanish origin, one named Cristina Rodriguez and the other Alvina Nuñez, have been arrested, accused of having stolen from some

robado de algunas tiendas calzado de señora. Durante los ùltimos cuatro meses, la policía ha hecho varios arrestos de personas del bello sexo ocupadas de apropiarse lo ageno. Una de ellas, habia aglomerado un surtido capaz para establecer una tienda el cual fué encontrado en una casucha de la calle de Market. Esos casos tan frecuentes de robos perpetrados por mugeres han dispertado la desconfianza del cuerpo de policia quien hoy las vigila como à los hombres.

women's shoe stores. During the last four months, the police have made several arrests of members of the fairer sex engaged in assuming someone else's property. One of them had amassed an assortment capable of establishing a store which was found in a shack on Market Street. These frequent cases of robberies perpetrated by women have aroused the distrust of the police force who today keep an eye on them just as they do on men.

Poem Dedicated to a Young Lady Fan by the Actress Laura M. de Molla

La Crónica of Los Angeles, April 28, 1877

OBSEQUIO.

—

Entre los varios obsequios que hicieron á la inteligente primera actriz Sra. Laura M. de Mollá, con motivo de la funcion en que se puso en escena el Drama "Malditas sean las Mujeres," recibió un ramo precioso y con él una bonita composicion poética titula "Una Flor del Alma" y firmada UNA JÓVEN. La agradecida actriz contesta á tan bella ofrenda con 1a siguiente composicion que tambien titula

GIFT.

—

Among the various gifts that were given to the intelligent leading actress, Mrs. Laura M. de Mollá, on the occasion of the performance in which the Drama "Damned are Women" was staged, she received a precious bouquet and with it a pretty poetic composition entitled "A Flower of the Soul" and signed A YOUNG LADY. The grateful actress responds to such a beautiful offering with the following composition that she also entitles

LA FLOR DEL ALMA.

—

Esa flor que me entregaste
De cariño y amisdad,
¿En qué jardin la encontraste
Que exista la puridad?

Creada debe por tí
Ser esa planta bendita,
Pues cultivas para mí
Lo que el alma necesita.

Creyendo las frases belias
Tu amistad mi pecho abriga;
No valen más las estrellas
Que el afecto de una amiga.

¿Pero dónde la hallaré?
¿Quién su nombre me dirá?
El mio publicaré
Y el suyo saber me hará.

LAURA M. DE MOLLA

THE FLOWER OF THE SOUL.

—

That flower that you gave me
Of affection and friendship,
In what garden did you find it
Where purity exists?

It must be created for you,
That blessed plant,
For you cultivate for me
What the soul needs.

Believing the beautiful verses,
Your friendship warms my breast;
The stars are not more valuable
Than the affection of a female friend.

But where will I find her?
Who will tell me her name?
I will publish mine,
And yours I will find out.

LAURA M. DE MOLLA

Poem Dedicated to Jesus Maria Paredes by Una Señorita de Los Angeles

La Crónica of Los Angeles, May 13, 1874

[Para LA CRÓNICA.]
A JESUS MARIA PAREDES.

—

Mi secreto divulgaron
Al decir que recogía
Tus versos, que al alma mía
Siempre tiernos deleitaron.

[For LA CRÓNICA.]
TO JESUS MARIA PAREDES.

—

They revealed my secret
By saying that I collected
Your verses, which always delighted
My soul with their tenderness

Dijéronme que vivía
Un hombre que con dulzura,
Con acierto y galanura
Bellos versos componía.

Un día, de amores llena
Tus versos llegué á leer,
Y con agrado y placer,
Sentí calmarse mi pena.

Los ví y desde aquel momento
Loca comencé á admirarte,
Sin poder comunicarte
Mi gran placer y contento.

Sin esperanza quería
A un ser que jamás me amó,
Que, pérfido, se burló
Del amor que le tenía.

Desde entónces, ni un momento
En mi procelosa vida,
Olvidada y no querida,
Tuve de paz y contento.

Y era tanto mi sufrir,
La pena que me aquejaba,
Que muchas veces pensaba
Desesperada morir.

Y sufriendo mi quebranto,
Tanta aflixion y tortura,
Mi pasion y mi locura
Quise borrar con mi llanto.

They told me there lived
A man who with sweetness,
With precision and gallantry
Composed beautiful verses.

One day, full of love
I came to read your verses,
And with pleasure and delight,
I felt my pain ease.

I saw them and from that moment
I began to admire you madly,
Without being able to communicate to you
My great pleasure and contentment.

Without hope, I adored
An individual who never loved me,
Who, perfidiously, mocked
The love I had for him.

Since then, not a moment
In my turbulent life,
Forgotten and unloved,
Have I had peace and contentment.

And my suffering was so much,
The pain that afflicted me,
That I often thought
Desperately of death.

And suffering my brokenness,
So much affliction and torture,
My passion and my madness
I wanted to erase with my tears.

Mas era mi esfuerzo vano
Y consuelo no sentí,
Hasta que tus versos ví
Y acallé mi amor insano.

Saber deseas quien soy:
¿Porqué tal cosa requieres
De mí, que mil padece res[63]
Sufriendo a una vez estoy?

Yo soy un ángel caido,
Un ser que no tiene nombre,
Que amó con delirio á un hombre
Y que ahora sufre su olvido.

Un ser, que, cual tu, una historia
Tiene aciaga y dolorida,
Y que tratará en su vida
De borrar de su memoria.

Por eso es mi cruel destino
Recoger las mustias flores
Que al peso de tus dolores
Vas regando en tu camino.

Por eso con gran hechizo
Tus versos guardando estoy,
Porque desgraciada soy
Y contigo simpatizo.

Y en mi sillon reclinada
De continuo los leeré,
Y agradecida estaré
Pues calmas mi pena airada.

UNA SEÑORITA DE LOS ANGELES.

Los Angeles, Cal., Mayo 10 de 1874.

But my effort was in vain
And I felt no consolation,
Until I saw your verses
And silenced my insane love.

You desire to know who I am:
Why do you require such a thing
From me, who is suffering a thousand
sufferings at once?

I am a fallen angel,
A being who has no name,
Who loved a man deliriously
And who now suffers from his forgetting.

A being, who, like you,
Has a sad and painful story,
And who will try in her life
To erase it from her memory.

That's why it's my cruel destiny
To gather the withered flowers
That, burdened by your sorrows,
You are scattering along your path.

That is why, with great enchantment
I am keeping your verses,
Because I am miserable
And I sympathize with you.

And reclining in my chair
I will read them continually,
And I will be grateful
For you calm my furious sorrow.

A YOUNG LADY FROM LOS ANGELES.

Los Angeles, Cal., May 10, 1874.

CHAPTER 1

Escritoras Provocadas, Provocadoras: Satire and Testimony in Contestation of Settler Encroachment, Lynching, and US Systems of Governance

"I would do the same again if I was so provoked."[1]

These are rumored to be the final words of the Mexican American woman Josefa Segovia,[2] spoken during her horrific lynching in Downieville, California on July 5, 1851. Segovia's story was sensationalized and published in multiple sources, with certain details remaining consistent. Her tribulations began in the aftermath of Fourth of July celebrations, when drunken Anglo miners broke down the door of her home and began to harass her. The next day, when her husband, José, confronted the miners about the broken door, a heated argument ensued, during which one of the miners, Fredrick Cannon, called Segovia a whore. The conflict culminated in her stabbing Cannon in the heart, killing him. Outrage quickly spread, and she was lynched by an angry mob presided over by local rancher John Rose, known at the time as "Judge Lynch." In Gold Rush lore, it is rumored that she put the noose over her own head before speaking her last words.[3] In some ways, Segovia's story transcends the historical and becomes

mythic in its many retellings. In this version of the story, she symbolically reverses the power dynamic between herself and the lynch mob by taking agency over the noose and denying any remorse for killing the miner. She hangs herself rather than giving her executioners the satisfaction.

I begin this chapter with the story of Josefa Segovia because her fabled last words have stuck with me for quite some time: "I would do the same again if I was so provoked." What was it that provoked Segovia? Did the provocations begin at the moment Cannon broke down her door, or did they accrue long before that fateful night? When I think of the other Latina writers in this book, and this chapter especially, I can't help but ruminate on the feeling of being provoked, and provoked, and provoked, over and over, until a kind of breaking point is reached. What did it take for these Latinas to be driven to the point of taking action? What were the many provocations facing Latinas in the aftermath of Mexican Alta California being annexed by the United States, then overrun by voracious gold miners? While for Segovia, action might mean self-defense of her physical person, for the two authors discussed in this chapter—one anonymous and another named Anastasia Leyva—action meant making the bold, unusual choice to step forward and publish messages demanding social justice in the public sphere. As this chapter demonstrates, both of these escritoras expressed their personal experience of being provoked in their own carefully chosen words. Although their approaches and individual concerns were unique to themselves, the injustices they described were directly tethered to the Gold Rush and subsequent settler encroachment in the years following US annexation of Alta California, made effective in 1848 by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

The first half of this chapter examines a satirical text by an anonymous author who took a bird's-eye view of the social, political, and economic landscape of her Latinx community in 1854. Her satire repurposes the biblical form of the bienaventuranzas, or Beatitudes, and speaks out against squatters, lynching, and structural inequality. Based on her social commentary, it is likely that the author was either a member of the colonized Californio population whom the

border crossed in 1848, or at least sympathetic to their cause. The second half of the chapter details a case study of the unjust violence alluded to in the bienaventuranzas. I closely analyze the words of Anastasia Leyva, a washerwoman and single mother who spoke out in the press about the lynching of her brother, Luis Leyva. His killing happened on Christmas Day, 1863, in Chinese Camp, a mining town in Tuolumne County, in the Sierra Nevada. A mob broke into a building where Luis and another man, Cosme Núñez, were being held. The men were abducted, then hanged from a tree at the edge of town. After Anastasia's[4] testimony and condemnation of the lynching were published in the San Francisco Spanish-language newspaper *La Voz de Méjico*, the case sparked attention from the juntas patrióticas mejicanas, Mexican Patriotic Assemblies, and Mexican Ambassador Matías Romero, eventually reaching the desk of US Secretary of State William H. Seward. This chapter will examine not only the political, social, and gendered context in which Anastasia was writing, but also how she takes a measured tone, carefully tempering her narration of violence and portraying her brother's character with honest concessions. Anastasia uses the newspaper to stage a trial of public opinion, ultimately winning credibility, sympathy, and allies for her cause.

After enduring provocation after provocation, both the anonymous writer of the bienaventuranzas and Anastasia took a stand in the newspaper, expressing deep disillusionment with US systems of governance and law in nineteenth-century California. Their writings intertwined larger social justice messages with their own Latina social selves. In notes that accompany the main texts, these women were sure to include self-effacing language that was meant to preserve their modesty and femininity. Even so, they each insisted upon the importance and relevance of their social and political critiques to all Latinx people. For example, the writer of the bienaventuranzas describes herself as "hispano-americana" and articulated her motivation to speak out for the "bien estar de su raza" (well-being of her race).[5] Likewise, Anastasia contended that the story of her brother's lynching "interesa à todo mejicano su publicidad" (being made public is in the interest of every Mexican).[6] Though they deployed unique rhetorical strategies

to express their messages, both of these Latinas shared a sense of solidarity with the Latinx community of California which they performed in the public sphere. While we may never really know the exact words spoken by Josefa Segovia on the day of her unjust lynching in Downieville, the bienaventuranzas and Anastasia's testimony directly articulate the words, causes, and concerns of two California Latinas who faced a similar landscape of provocation in the wake of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, settler encroachment, and the Gold Rush.

A CALIFORNIA HISPANO-AMERICANA REWRITES THE BEATITUDES

"Las tres bienaventuranzas verdaderas y cinco contrarias" or "The Three True Beatitudes and Five Contraries" was printed in the *Los Angeles Star*'s Spanish-language section, known as *La Estrella de Los Angeles*, on September 21, 1854 (see Figure 2). The newspaper was a bilingual, collaborative effort between Anglo printer and proprietor James S. Waite and Spanish-language editor Manuel Clemente Rojo.[7] The first two pages of the *Los Angeles Star* were printed in English and the second two in Spanish, often including reprints from Spanish-language newspapers in San Francisco or any other Spanish-language content the editor could get his hands on or translate from other languages. According to the editorial introduction, "Las tres bienaventuranzas" was reprinted from the San Francisco *La Crónica* and was considered of special interest because it was written by a woman, the editor exclaiming, "como por ser escrito por una mujer, merece ser reproducido por toda la prensa del Esttado [*sic*]"[8] (for being written by a woman, it deserves to be reproduced throughout the press of the state).[9] Not only was published writing by Latinas scarce in the California press during the 1850s, but also the editor likely found the content of "Las tres bienaventuranzas" striking for its satirical humor, boldness, and social justice agenda.

The author did not adopt any pseudonym, preferring anonymity, and asserted her gender using apologetic and self-effacing modesty typical for women writers of the nineteenth century. She describes



FIGURE 2: This image shows the bottom half of *La Estrella de Los Angeles*'s page 3, from September 21, 1854. The bienaventuranzas are printed in the second column from the left. Also, notice how the first column includes English-language reporting and the other columns are in Spanish. The *Los Angeles Star / La Estrella de Los Angeles* was a bilingual newspaper with the first pages printed in English and final pages in Spanish. Image courtesy of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

herself as "una mujer que carece de talento por desgracia para dar mas espansion a sus ideas" (a woman who, unfortunately, lacks the talent to give broader expression to her ideas).[10] Here, despite following the motions of compulsory modesty, the author hints that she has big, expansive ideas but simply lacks the talent to express them properly. She subtly suggests a sense of loss at the fact that women's talents are not cultivated to a level capable of unlocking their interiority, which she implies goes unexpressed and unappreciated. She furthers this idea by showing that her unique perspective is intended to be of service to her Latinx community, insisting that, as a "hispano-americana" (Hispanic-American woman), she merely aspires to contribute to the "bien estar de su raza y este deseo la ha sujerido estas observaciones" (well-being of her race, and this desire has suggested these observations to her). The author ostensibly uses self-effacing rhetoric to distance herself from her own creative work, insisting that it was simply her desire for the well-being of her race which "ha sujerido

estas observaciones" (has suggested these observations) to her. This urge to justify the motivations behind her critique, coupled with the fact that she chose to publish anonymously, hints at how precarious the author must have felt when it came to presenting her opinions in the public sphere.

This preface serves as an example of how, for the escritora, her gender and Latinx culture were interconnected with literary creativity. Though her opportunities might have been limited as a result of unequal access to education and the cultivation of literary talent, she still longed for solidarity with other "hispano"—Hispanic, Spanish-speaking, or Latinx—people. Her "observaciones" gained a platform because they urgently addressed social justice issues relevant to her cultural community.

Let's go deeper into her specific concerns, beginning with the issue of land rights for Californios. In the second bienaventuranza, her critique is scathingly sarcastic, denouncing "los squatterrs [sic]" and the state powers that enabled their encroachment:

2. Bienaventurados los squatterrs, porque sin pagar pension ni tribúto ninguno al estado y apoyados de su lojia,[11] ellos poseen y disfrutan el provecho de las mejores tierras.[12]	2. Blessed are the squatters, for without paying any tax or duty to the state, and being supported by the state's own logic, they possess and enjoy the benefit of the best lands.

Through her satiric Beatitudes, the author expresses resentment that squatters seemed to be blessed by a right bestowed on them by their government. The sense that these are Anglo settlers[13] is emphasized by the intermixing of the English word "squatters" rather than the Spanish words "usurpadores" or "colonos." In a way, her use of Spanglish performs the encroachment of the squatters themselves, interjecting an English word into a Spanish text. The choice to use English here implies that the situation around her is unique enough that no Spanish word accurately describes the new arrivals in her midst. This word "squatter," like all English words, may have been

relatively new to this author's vocabulary. It was a term she and others in the Californio community had become intimately familiar with, a word which had surged quickly in relevance and use in public discourse.

The proliferation of squatters was as visible in public space as it was in conversation and in the press. The shifting demographics occurring in California were a result of a confluence of historical tides. In 1848, six years before "Las tres bienaventuranzas" was published, Alta California was ceded to the United States through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and gold was discovered at Sutter's Mill. Three years later, the California Land Act of 1851 was passed, acting, in the apt words of Rosaura Sánchez, as the "Handmaiden of Manifest Destiny."[14] According to Sánchez, this congressional act deliberately contravened a provision of the 1848 treaty stating that Californios automatically retained all rights to their lands despite the transfer of territory from Mexico to the United States. Instead, under the California Land Act, Californio landholders now had to submit their land titles for validation to a government Land Commission, which obliged them to pay costly lawyer fees—for some, to the point of bankruptcy. Though Californios technically had rights to their land holdings, between the Land Act of 1851, state legislation, and taxation of property, much of the most sought-after coastal and valley lands, particularly in Northern California, were taken out of Californio hands and made available on an emerging real estate market. In the case of Indigenous communities in California, with no means by which to prove legal title, their lands were simply declared public lands and rendered subject to immediate expropriation.[15] This affront to the established order, along with an influx of squatters, stirred warranted outrage in the Californio community.

The author's bold choice to write about such a hot-button issue no doubt played a role in helping to get "Las tres bienaventuranzas" published in San Francisco and subsequently reprinted in Los Angeles. Furthermore, her discursive strategy of adopting the form of the Beatitudes, wittily and somewhat provocatively rewriting this portion

of Christ's Sermon on the Mount, was a clever means of attracting the attention of Spanish-speaking newspaper editors and their reading public alike. Showing a keen knowledge of the Bible, she reduces the number of the Beatitudes from eight to three, replacing the other five with "contrarias" or "opposites." To counter the "bienaventurados" or "blessed" subjects of the Beatitudes, she uses the word "desventurados" which literally translates to "unfortunates," but in biblical terms also implied "wretched." Numbers three through seven of her numbered list are "contrarias":

3. Desventurados los que lloran, porque inter habiten esta tierra, ellos seguiran llorando.	3. Wretched are those who weep, for as long as they inhabit this land, they will continue to weep.
4. Desventurados los que han hambre y sed de justicia, porque siendo estranjeros, estaran siempre hambrientos y sedientos de ella pero siendo americanos seran hartos.	4. Wretched are those who hunger and thirst for justice, for as long as they are foreigners, they will forever be hungry and thirsty; but if they are Americans, they will be full.
5. Desaventurados los misericordiosos, porque no hallando aquí misericordia, ellos aprenderan a no tenerla de nadie.	5. Wretched are the merciful, for by not finding any mercy here, they will learn to have it for no one.
6. Desventurados los limpios de corazon, porque siendo en un pais donde hay tan pocos tendrán que vivir con los bolsillos limpios hasta que vean a Dios.	6. Wretched are the pure of heart, for being in a country where there are so few, they will have to live with their purses cleaned out until they see God.
7. Desventurados los pacificos, porque teniendo que havitar entre hombres turbulentos, no les valdrá ser llamados hijos de Dios.	7. Wretched are the peacemakers, for having to live among unruly men, being called children of God will not help them.[16]

Notably in these "contrarias" there is a blended sense of accountability for what the author sees as a cursed, chaotic, and unhappy

social landscape. "Misericordiosos," or merciful individuals—whether squatters or Californios—will not find anyone being merciful to them, and thus will be corrupted to perpetuate the mercilessness around them. The "pacificos" (peacemakers) will be among so many unruly men that being called "hijos de Dios" (children of God) will do nothing for them.

The fourth bienaventuranza might be interpreted as simply stating the reality that Spanish-speaking Latinx are now "estranjeros" or "foreigners" in their own land and only by "siendo americanos" or "being American" can those who hunger or thirst for any kind of justice be satiated. It is difficult to know exactly what the author meant by "siendo americanos" here, and she might have literally meant that only Anglo or European Americans, particularly those with roots on the East coast, have any chance at justice. Another reading is that she considered the possibility of assimilation. Particularly among those with light skin who could pass more easily, her fellow Latinx assimilating to American culture presented a constant internal threat to Latinx solidarity, destabilizing the binary between insider and outsider.

Upon close reading, these bienaventuranzas undermine easily distinguishable identity categories and binaries, leaving the reader with an uncertain sense of moral culpability when it comes to discerning heroes from villains. The widespread discontent among squatters, Californios, and others like them hints at the true malefactor of the disillusioned author's critique: the crooked apparatus of the "estado" (state). The author recognizes a strong tide of structural violence and disenfranchisement akin to divine power. According to Sánchez, the Land Act of 1851 was meant to benefit Anglo migrants, as it promised to break up what were perceived as the overly extensive land holdings of Californios, so that settlers could establish homesteads. In reality, after dispossessing Californios, Anglo migrants and squatters rarely could compete with speculators who manipulated land values. By the end of the nineteenth century, big agribusinesses eventually took control of the vast tracts that once belonged to Californios. The Land Act of 1851 turned out to be a mechanism for deepening the marginalization of all those who fell outside of a wealthy, corporate elite.[17]

The quickly changing world that the author sees around her is not something that she can attribute to squatters as a group or even one particular race. Rather, through her allusion to the Beatitudes, she is rendering every Californian subject to a higher law of biblical proportions. This overwhelming structural oppressor is the culprit truly responsible for perverting the Beatitudes of the author's daily prayers. Her words anticipate the faceless spread of monopoly capitalism and although she expresses her solidarity with fellow Spanish-speaking, Latinx people, the author is able to see beyond tribal lines to the larger forces causing widespread dispossession in her community.

The final bienaventuranza addresses one institution of the state's power that the author finds particularly corrupt, the justice system. She criticizes the wealthy elite by implying that they can evade justice with money:

8. Bienaventurados los que padecen persecuciones por la justicia, sea por robar o matar, porque teniendo dinero no los precipitaran por medio del cordel a ir antes de tiempo al reino de los cielos.	8. Blessed are those who suffer persecution by the justice system, be it for stealing or killing, for if they have money, they will not be rushed by means of the hangman's rope to go before their time to the kingdom of heaven.[18]

Once again, the author paints a picture of the violence around her, this time alluding to those who steal and kill, but who are able to buy their freedom from the hangman's rope. Considering the government allows squatters to take land from Californios with relative impunity, the thieves she is referring to may well include land commissioners, squatters, speculators, and the like. When it comes to killing, she implies that the rich can avoid punishment even for murder. It's possible that her definition of a killer here might also include those who participated in the mob-lynching of Latinx people, which had become increasingly commonplace under the new regime.[19]

Although newly imposed US legal codes presumed a certain institutional and theoretical standard of justice, the actual application of

the law was much more chaotic, racist, and violent. In the conclusion to her bienaventuranzas, the writer likely drew on the trauma of lynchings that permeated the collective consciousness of the Latinx community. In the city of San Francisco, where the bienaventuranzas were first published, questions of policing and justice had become a topic of contention. Vigilance Committees first formed in San Francisco in 1851, enrolling over seven hundred vigilante members who routinely interrogated and jailed suspects without benefit of legal counsel. The first San Francisco Committee of Vigilance carried out their policing in defiance of local authorities, executing four men.[20] Yet it was the *perception* of increased crime and failure to punish it that led to the formation of the Vigilance Committees, rather than a real increase in reported crime itself. This was especially true when it came to the public's lack of faith in local authorities to effectively punish lawbreaking, as criminals would routinely escape from the flimsy, rundown jails of nineteenth-century California.[21]

In her final bienaventuranza, the author expresses frustration over the ineffective and corrupt system of law, or what passed for law, in the 1850s. Yet her commentary implies that she does not simply wish to see punishment and hangings for their own sake; rather, she wants to see the law carried out justly. Specifically, her observation of the links between economic status, corruption, and violence is made clear when she states that "teniendo dinero" (having money) is what saves the "fortunate" from the hangman's rope. Her sarcastic comment that the alleged robbers and killers "padecen persecuciones por la justicia" (suffer persecution by the justice system) implies that literal thieves and killers could get away with their crimes simply because they had enough money to corruptly buy their freedom. Considering that non-Californio, white, wealthy merchants dominated the leadership of the Vigilance Committees, the social picture the author satirizes comes into focus.

Though it is uncertain exactly how many Latinos were lynched in the United States, historians William Carrigan and Clive Webb state that when it comes to Mexican Americans during the period between 1848 and 1928 "conservative estimates place the number in

the thousands."[22] When the author of "Las tres bienaventuranzas" expresses disillusion with the justice system and alludes to the hangman's rope, likely coming to her mind were the lynched bodies of fellow Latinx people.

The author's choice to satirically repurpose the form of the bienaventuranzas of the Bible to express this social justice commentary was not an entirely radical or original rhetorical strategy. I have encountered several instances of the bienaventuranzas being used for different purposes in Spanish-language newspapers of the nineteenth century. For example, on November 9, 1856, a more lighthearted spoof on the Beatitudes, titled "Los no completos," or "The Incomplete," was published in the Los Angeles newspaper *El Clamor Público*. Its anonymous writer does not number their version of the Beatitudes or limit themselves to the eight of Christ's Sermon on the Mount. The 1856 beatitudes are shorter and punchier, such as "Bienaventurados los asnos, porque serán felices" (Blessed are the jackasses, because they will be happy).[23] Clearly, the author of the 1856 bienaventuranzas crafted their lowball humorous lines mostly for laughs and entertainment, as opposed to the author of 1854, who despite her professed humility, meant for her social critiques to be taken seriously.

Other related examples of writings inspired by the Beatitudes in the nineteenth-century Latinx community did not so closely mimic the biblical verses, but alluded to them nonetheless. For example, on November 3, 1877, the poetisa Josefina, who is studied at length in the final chapter of this book, published her sonnet "Bienaventurados los que lloran" (Blessed Are Those Who Weep) in Los Angeles's *La Crónica*. In it, she interweaves the allusion to the Beatitudes in the title of the poem with the content of the verses, which contemplate the fall of Eve in the garden of Eden.[24] Sixteen years after Josefina's poem was published, a play by the same name, "Bienaventurados los que lloran!," performed by the Club Drámatico Español, was given a positive review on August 19, 1893, in Los Angeles's *Las Dos Repúblicas*.[25] Any connection to Josefina's poem is uncertain, and it is possible the

name is simply a coincidence. One thing that can be said about all these instances of the Beatitudes being repurposed is that the passage from the Bible was so well-known that it could act as a touchstone to be exploited for rhetorical purposes.

What examining these references to the Beatitudes highlights is how unique the 1854 "Bienaventuranzas" are in terms of their social commentary and biting satire. The anonymous escritora leveraged rhetorical strategy and social justice messages that were relevant to her Latinx community, and she articulated them in a way that was culturally specific as well, particularly for Catholic Latinx readers. As the editor of the *Los Angeles Star* noted, her words were considered special for having been written by a woman; and although the author chose to remain anonymous, she did make her gender and Latinx identity clear in the note that accompanied the text. The insistence that her voice is feminine, coupled with the indirect lament regarding the inequality that her sex has faced in terms of opportunities to hone literary talent, hint at subtle proto-feminist leanings. Furthermore, the author's critiques of the state and wealthy ruling elite are of interest for their latent radicalism and socialist ideals as well.

To particularly religious and conservative readers, a woman rewriting the Beatitudes to include her own political and social commentaries might have seemed blasphemous. Since the author identifies as Catholic and mentions saying her "oraciones cuotidianas" or "daily prayers," I imagine she would have argued the opposite: that her version of the bienaventuranzas was meant to manifest a better world by following the example of Christ. Although the author of "Las tres bienaventuranzas" remains anonymous, her sardonic humor paints a vivid portrait of the kind of woman she might have been. While this anonymous escritora uses broad strokes and nonspecific images to depict a bleak picture of California in the aftermath of the Gold Rush and US expansion, the next section of this chapter will deal in painfully intimate particulars. Let's move from the biblical, the bird's-eye view, to a case study in violence and injustice from the perspective of a Latina writer grappling with personal loss.

ANASTASIA LEYVA CONDEMNS HER BROTHER'S LYNCHING

Anastasia Leyva was a woman who projected strength and poise despite a season in her life filled with grief, injustice, humiliation, and, not least of all, the intense daily weariness she must have felt balancing her work as a washerwoman and duties as a mother.[26] She wasn't responsible for laundering just any clothing. Anastasia lived and worked in Chinese Camp, a small mining town in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada mountains, where the vast majority of men were gold miners (see Figure 3). Anastasia would have had no shortage of dusty, grimy, muddy piles of laundry to keep her boiling water, scrubbing, hanging to dry, folding, etc. Doing laundry was physically intensive, tedious labor; and in addition to the demands of her job, Anastasia had four children to attend to: three sons and a daughter, ranging in age



Figure 3: Lithograph renderings of Chinese Camp in Tuolumne County by Charles Conrad Kuchel and Emil Dresel. Printed by Britton & Rey and dated 1858. Courtesy of Amon Carter Museum of American Art, Fort Worth, Texas.

from approximately four to eight years old in 1863. Andelia was the oldest, followed by Nicolás, Ángel, and Simón.[27] Although Anastasia was born in Mexico, all her children were born in California, implying that she must have moved there no later than about 1854 or 1855. At the time of her brother Luis Leyva's lynching in 1863, she was in her early forties and apparently unmarried.[28] In her account, printed in *La Voz de Méjico*, her brother is the only man she mentions in her life, aside from two male boarders living in her home, who were accused of horse theft—in her opinion, unfairly. Considering that Luis ended up in jail on Christmas Day of 1863 in no small part because of his dependence on alcohol, her brother might not have made life much easier for Anastasia, even before his horrific death.

With these facts in mind, it might be surprising that Anastasia took not only the time and energy to craft a written response to Luis's lynching, but also the leap of faith to believe that the injustice of his killing would be of consequence to the entire reading public of *La Voz de Méjico*, a San Francisco newspaper prominent in the Latinx community of California during the 1860s. Much like "Las tres bienaventuranzas," the narrative written by Anastasia to describe and decry the circumstances of her brother's lynching does not fit neatly into a recognizable literary genre. Her account begins with the tempered reserve of a newspaper reporter, but it ends with an impassioned appeal for justice "ante Dios y el mundo civilizado" (before God and the civilized world).[29] She begins by relating events leading up to, culminating in, and following her brother's lynching, referring to him simply as "Leyva," rather than by his first name or as "mi hermano" (my brother). She doesn't introduce herself into the narrative until almost halfway through, when the Tuolumne County sheriff and Alejandro Retes de Castorena arrive at her doorstep in search of Luis's fellow lynching victim, Cosme Núñez. When she does describe herself, it is with distanced formality, writing that they reached the home "de la que subscribe, hermana del finado" (of the woman who signs this document, sister of the deceased man).

It isn't until the final two paragraphs of her account that Anastasia openly reveals her personal feelings about the loss of her brother and

the horrible injustice that has been committed. She both demands punishment for lynch mob leader Retes de Castorena and sets the record straight when it comes to her own reputation. It is in these final words that her narrative reads like a witness testifying in a trial. The care taken to describe the details of the case is intended not simply to inform, but also to move readers to judgment and action. Anastasia essentially uses the forum of the newspaper to stage a trial in the court of public opinion on behalf of her brother.

Let's carefully break down Anastasia's account, the context surrounding it, and also the results of her efforts. Although the narrative itself was designed to catch the eye, with its title in boldface small-capital letters declaring "HORROROSO ASESINATO" (HORRIFIC MURDER) (see Figure 4), a careful reader also would have noticed two items preceding it: an editorial preface about the lynching written by *La Voz de Méjico*'s Antonio Mancillas in the paper's "Gacetilla"

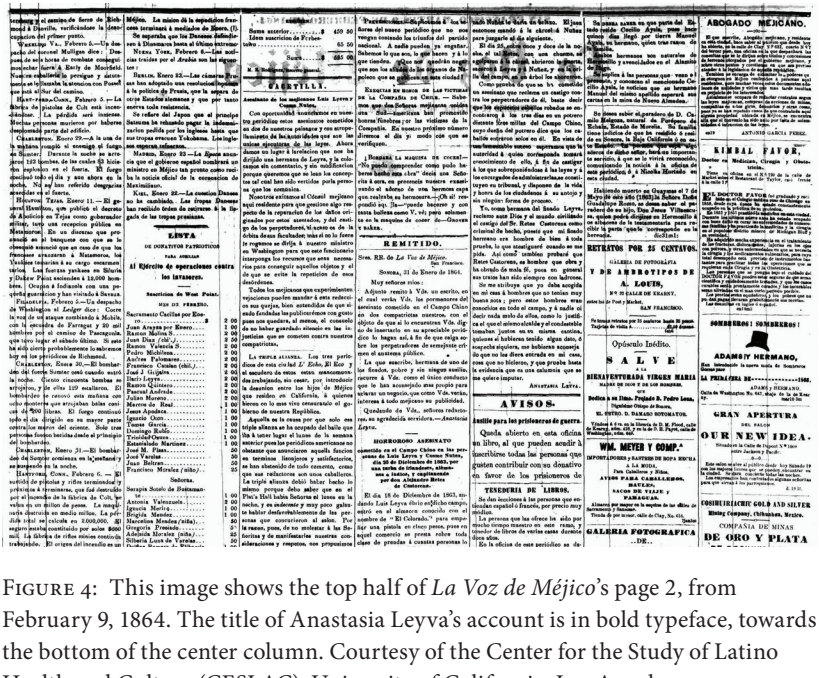


FIGURE 4: This image shows the top half of *La Voz de Méjico*'s page 2, from February 9, 1864. The title of Anastasia Leyva's account is in bold typeface, towards the bottom of the center column. Courtesy of the Center for the Study of Latino Health and Culture (CESLAC), University of California, Los Angeles.

section and a cover letter addressed to the newspaper's editors, written by Anastasia, in a section labeled "Remitido."[30] In his editorial, Mancillas gives a brief description of the Leyva and Núñez lynchings and introduces Anastasia, drawing attention to the fact that her words are printed "sin comentario, y sin modificacion" (without commentary and without modification).[31] Not only does Mancillas show respect and concern for Anastasia, but on behalf of *La Voz de Méjico*, he stands in solidarity with her by pledging to communicate Leyva and Núñez's story to the Mexican consul in San Francisco, Manuel E. Rodríguez, in hopes of helping her receive reparations for the loss of her brother. These were not empty words. Rodríguez and others subsequently reached out to Matías Romero, Mexico's ambassador to the United States. Mancillas finishes his editorial by announcing that any Mexicans who experience harm can write to the newspaper, and if their claims are well founded, then their grievances will be published. He proclaims that *La Voz de Méjico* will take satisfaction in knowing they didn't remain silent in the face of "injusticias que se cometen contra nuestros compatriotas" (injustices that are committed against our fellow countrymen).[32]

Anastasia's letter immediately precedes her narrative and is dated January 31, 1864, a little over a month after the loss of her brother. Her goal in writing publicly is to bring "anatema público" (public anathema)[33] upon the perpetrators of her brother's lynching. She addresses the letter to the editors of *La Voz de Méjico* and appeals to their goodwill by describing herself as poor and without help, but she also appeals to their sense of Mexican nationalism by describing her brother and Núñez as "compatriotas nuestros" (our fellow countrymen) and insisting that this case "interesa à todo mejicano su publicidad" (being made public is in the interest of every Mexican).[34] The fact that the newspaper titled itself *the voice of Mexico* made such appeals to nationalism a perceptive choice for Anastasia. By making the lynching bigger than her own personal tragedy, she shifted the focus to a systemic issue that affected and concerned all mexicanos living in California.

After Anastasia's letter follows her detailed narrative. Beneath the main title "HORROROSO ASESINATO," a subtitle, also in boldface type, gives more information about the circumstances of her brother's killing: "cometido en el Campo Chino en las personas de Luis Leyva y Cosme Nuñez, dia 25 de Diciembre de 1863, por una turba de irlandeses, alemanes é indios, y capitaneada por don Alejandro Retes de Castorena" (committed in Chinese Camp upon the persons of Luis Leyva and Cosme Núñez, December 25, 1863, by a mob of Irishmen, Germans, and Indians, and captained by Don Alejandro Retes de Castorena).[35] Although Anastasia doesn't mention in her testimony exactly how many men were in this mob, reporting on the incident from the *Stockton Daily Independent* of December 31, 1863 claims there were between seventy and eighty men present.[36] By including the demographics of the lynch mob, Anastasia paints a picture that sidesteps any possibility that this was simply a *Latino on Latino* crime.

While the leader, Alejandro Retes de Castorena, was Latino, the mob he led was a multiethnic crowd that included many Europeans, particularly Irishmen and Germans, and also Native Americans. Carrigan and Webb have shown that there were a substantial number of interracial mobs that lynched Mexican Americans, and the diverse mix of peoples who populated the western United States were often represented in lynch mobs and spectatorships.[37] Furthermore, it was not unheard of for persons of Mexican descent to lead lynch mobs or participate in the lynching of other Mexican Americans. Carrigan and Webb write that "Mexicans could not help but be influenced by the majority culture's endorsement of lynching."[38] As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the courts, jails, and justice system of the nineteenth-century western United States were widely believed to be lacking in the ability to indict and punish alleged criminals. Exacerbating this problem within the Latinx community was the fact that, often, convicting Mexican Americans of crimes against Anglos was easier than securing justice for Mexican Americans when crimes were committed against them. Even if a Mexican American was convicted of a crime against one of their own, punishments were often lighter in these cases.[39]

In addition to noting the composition of the mob who killed her brother, Anastasia paints a portrait of Luis during the final days of his life. Interestingly, she does little to sugarcoat or defend her brother's character until the end of her testimony. Her story begins on December 18, 1863, when Luis was going about "ébrio" (drunk) in Chinese Camp, looking to pawn his pistol for five dollars. He entered El Colorado's grocery store, where according to Anastasia, loans often were made on all sorts of collateral, to anyone who asked for them. Anastasia relates that Colorado refused to give Luis a loan and then began exchanging insults with him. Luis left the grocery store and went to the bakery across the street, where he successfully pawned his pistol. That same day, Colorado made a complaint against Luis for slander, but the authorities dismissed it.

On Christmas Day, December 25, 1863, knowing that Luis had reclaimed his pistol from the bakery where he had pawned it, Colorado made another complaint against him. This time, with his brother as a witness, Colorado accused Luis of carrying a weapon in contempt of court. The judge[40] ordered that Luis be searched and found no weapon on his person. Then, according to Anastasia, the judge asked Luis to give a bond of $500 as a guarantee that he would not drink any more liquor.[41] Luis admitted that he had a bad drinking habit but said he had no cash or property to put up for bond. As a result, the judge ordered him to be jailed for six months in the nearby larger town of Sonora, the county seat.

Luis responded to the judge's ruling with a combination of resignation and sarcasm. According to Anastasia's paraphrase, Luis said that the judge should "obrara como quisiera pues él estaba satisfecho de que obraba arbitrariamente, supuesto que él no veia ningun jurado en forma que lo sentenciara" (do as he liked because he [Luis] was satisfied that he [the judge] was acting arbitrarily, of course he did not see any jury fit to sentence him).[42] This is an important moment in the testimony, because it is the closest readers come to hearing Luis's voice, and thus his direct perspective. He probably figured that further protest at this point would not have been productive. Likely assuming that the judge would act on superficial prejudice towards

him—possibly for being a drunk about town, possibly for being Latino, or both—Luis didn't care to waste his breath with regard to the judge's seemingly arbitrary whims. By saying that he didn't see any "jurado en forma" or jury fit to convict him, Luis showed his lack of faith in the justice system to give him fair treatment.[43] Of course, his cynicism was not unreasonable. As the author of "Las tres bienaventuranzas" highlighted as well, systemic racism in the justice system was rampant at the time.

After being sentenced to six months in the Sonora jail in default of bond, Luis stayed in the court until about two o'clock in the afternoon. After that, he was placed in the custody of the sheriff, who took him to some place of confinement. I pause here to mention that Anastasia does not specify exactly where her brother was sent following his appearance before the judge. A report in the *Stockton Daily Independent* paints a more detailed picture, stating that the men in custody "were placed in a house for safe keeping over night, with the view, on the part of the authorities, of having them taken to Sonora jail next day."[44] This account clarifies the situation, since both Anastasia's narrative and the *Stockton Daily Independent* corroborate the fact that Luis and Núñez were hanged from a tree in Chinese Camp. Sonora and Chinese Camp were about ten miles apart, a two-to-three-hour ride on horseback. It is unlikely that a lynch mob would have gone all the way to Sonora, broken into the jail there, abducted the men, and then gone all the way back to Chinese Camp on what was likely a cold winter's night, all for the sake of lynching.

After stating that her brother was placed in the sheriff's custody, Anastasia shifts the focus of her narrative to the facts of Cosme Núñez's story. Apparently Luis's case was not the only one being heard by the local judge on Christmas Day. Alejandro Retes de Castorena arrived while Luis was still in court, eventually securing an order for the arrest of Núñez and a man named Amado Pacheco on suspicion that the men had stolen three horses from him. Retes de Castorena and the sheriff went looking for Núñez and Pacheco at Anastasia's house, where the men were boarders, and found Núñez

there, asleep. After being awoken, arrested, and taken out to the street, Núñez apparently tried to make a run for it. He eventually was caught and surrendered. Anastasia darkly speculates on his reason for trying to escape: "pues Núñez y el campo en general saben y es público, que en ese lugar se obra arbitrariamente" (well Núñez and the whole camp in general know and it is public knowledge, that in that place they act indiscriminately).[45] Justifying Núñez's choice to flee, Anastasia not only highlights the fact that the people of Chinese Camp acted indiscriminately when it came to suspected criminals, but also emphasizes that this implied vigilante justice was well-known to the whole community. Thanks to this detail, her readers might have sensed the panic and fear that Núñez felt upon being apprehended. He must have been well aware that, guilty or not, simply being *accused* of horse theft could be as good as a death sentence in the eyes of a lynch mob.

Núñez was brought before the judge and given a chance to refute Retes de Castorena's accusation. He claimed to be completely innocent, and, at least at first, the judge seemed to take his side. Unimpressed by the complete lack of evidence against the accused, the judge stated his intention to release Núñez the next day if none was produced in the meantime. Retes de Castorena, apparently enraged at this point, threatened the judge and demanded he punish Núñez. This backfired, and the judge, "conociendo por las apariencias que el tal Retes no decir verdad y que juraba en falso, quiso poner en libertad à Nuñez" (understanding by this behavior that this Retes did not tell the truth and was bearing false witness, wanted to release Núñez).[46] Anastasia suggests that the judge could see right through Retes de Castorena's false accusation, and she dramatizes the growing conflict between them. Apparently, Retes de Castorena went on to threaten the judge a second time, going so far as to say that if Núñez was released, "le daria un balazo" (he would shoot him).[47] In the end, the judge placed Núñez in the custody of the sheriff, as he had Luis Leyva, with the intention of trying him the following day.

Regrettably, that day never came for Luis or Núñez. In a sentence that stands alone as a paragraph, Anastasia writes:

El dia 25, entre once y doce de la noche, el tal Retes, con una chusma, se agolparon á la càrcel, abrieron la puerta, sacaron à Leyva y à Nuñez, y en la orilla del campo, en un àrbol los ahorcaron.[48]

On the 25th, between eleven and twelve at night, this Retes, together with a mob, crowded into the jail, opened the door, took out Leyva and Nuñez, and hanged them from a tree on the outskirts of the camp.

I can't imagine how painful this short paragraph must have been for Anastasia to write. Refusing to sensationalize in any way the lynching of these men whom she knew intimately, she includes only the basic facts of her brother and Núñez's murders. These sparse details, outlining who, what, where, when, show only the tip of what must have been an iceberg of things left unsaid. How did Anastasia find out that her brother had been lynched? Did she see him hanging from that tree at the edge of the mining camp? What was the condition of Luis's body? Had he been beaten? Did he go quickly? Was she able to give him a proper burial? There is so much that Anastasia keeps private.

The title of the testimony, likely written by the newspaper editor, described the lynching as "HORROROSO." Yet the horror that Anastasia goes on to unravel does not sensationalize the event through gory or gruesome details. Rather, what she carefully outlines for her readers is the horrific reality that vigilante justice is routinely carried out in rash, arbitrary, and unpredictable ways. Her brother, only in custody for his relatively harmless unruliness and drunkenness, was swept up and murdered as collateral damage of this mob violence, whose intended target was Núñez. This type of unjust tragedy could strike any unlucky Latinx family if these lynchings continue unchallenged. After strongly implying that Retes de Castorena's horses were never stolen in the first place—she relates that they wandered into a nearby pasture three days later, of their own accord—Anastasia insists that the authorities take note and punish those who "sobreponiéndose

à las leyes y á los encargados de administrarlas, se constituyen en tribunal, y disponen de la vida y honra de los ciudadanos á su antojo y sin ningun forma de proceso" (taking the law into their own hands and overriding those who are charged with administering it, set themselves up as a tribunal and on a whim disposed of the lives and honor of citizens, without any form of due process).[49] The lynch mob didn't try to sort fact from fiction or adhere to orderly due process; instead, they possessed a monstrous appetite that satisfied itself "á su antojo" or by "whims" and "cravings."

Anastasia concludes her testimony with two short paragraphs where, *ante Dios y el mundo civilizado*, she directly accuses Retes de Castorena of being a "criminal de hecho" or "true criminal," a man who continually acts in bad faith and deals with thieves. In contrast, she passionately defends her brother, her boarders, and her own womanly honor in the community. She insists that her brother "era hombre de bien à toda prueba, lo que atestiguaré cuando se me pida" (was a man of good standing by all accounts, which I will testify when asked).[50] The fact that earlier in her account she didn't sugarcoat Luis's drinking problem makes this assertion of his basic respectabilty more sincere. Because Anastasia didn't turn away from or make excuses for his faults, it may be easier for a reader to believe that she saw her brother how he really was. Although Luis had stumbled into problems with the law, it was a powerful social gesture that his sister nonetheless was willing to attest to his good character to whoever might question it.

When it comes to her boarders, Núñez and Pacheco, Anastasia finishes by refuting claims that they had bad reputations, insisting that they were known throughout camp and no one had spoken badly of them. In fact, the mayor and constable drank with the boarders in the same cantina and never alerted Anastasia to any reasons they shouldn't be in her home. In the final sentence of her testimony, Anastasia insists that since her boarders were not of bad reputation, criticizing her for having them in her home "es una calumnia que se me quiere imputar" (is a slander which people are trying to make against me).[51] Thus her testimony culminates with a defense of her

own honor, boldly responding to any whispers of slander or rumors disparaging her and her household.

Anastasia's unflinching depiction of her brother's killing and her powerful stance against vigilantism and lynching struck a nerve with the readership of *La Voz de Méjico*. Her letter sparked attention first from the Sonora junta patriótica mejicana; then from the Mexican consul at San Francisco, Manuel E. Rodríguez; and finally from Mexico's ambassador to the United States, Matías Romero. These parties worked in concert to translate her testimony into English and communicate the tragedy, along with a good helping of personal outrage, to US Secretary of State William H. Seward. Romero urged that those who executed Leyva and Núñez "without form of law" be apprehended and punished so that "there be given to all Mexican citizens resident in the State of California the protection of the laws to which they have full right in virtue of the stipulations of the treaties which bind together the United States and the Mexican republic."[52] By reminding Seward of the stipulations of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Romero strongly affirmed that the lynching was not simply a violent tragedy that occurred between men in a mining camp, but rather a failure of the United States to govern their conquered territory and keep promises between nations. A letter from the junta patriótica of Sonora, signed by thirty-seven men, described their sense of "sacred duty" in bringing attention to the "so frequent outrages on our countrymen and so little spirit shown in their defence as to give room for the repetition of the same scandals."[53] In addition to missives from Romero, Rodríguez, and the Sonora junta patriótica, Seward also received translated copies of relevant items from *La Voz de Méjico*, including Mancillas's editorial and Anastasia's letter.

Responding to Romero, Seward expressed his deepest regrets that such a fate had befallen Mexican citizens in the United States. Describing the killings as "outrages," he wrote, "I have to assure you that this government will countenance no disregard of the rights of foreigners living within its jurisdiction," and assured Romero that he had sent notice of the incident to California's governor, Frederick Ferdinand Low, for appropriate action. Whether or not Seward

actually followed through on his promise is unfortunately not a question I can answer for certain. Based on surviving records from the California State Archives, there doesn't seem to be evidence of Seward corresponding with Low on the topic of the Leyva and Núñez lynchings specifically, but of course that doesn't mean that such correspondence didn't exist.

Perhaps some context about Seward and his stance towards Mexican foreign affairs will help you draw your own conclusions. Although Seward was famously forward-thinking in his championing of prison reform, education, and the abolition of slavery, he did not think it wise for the United States, in the midst of the Civil War, to actively support Mexican sovereignty during the French Intervention of 1862–1867. At the same time Romero's and Seward's correspondence about the Núñez–Leyva lynching was taking place, Seward was openly lobbying against a resolution spearheaded by Romero and the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Henry Winter Davis, for the United States to maintain its recognition of Mexico's republican government. France had imposed a monarchy in an attempt to supplant the administration of President Benito Juárez. In spite of Seward's opposition, the resolution was successful and the United States continued to stand in solidarity with the democratically elected Mexican government.[54] In chapter 2, we will go much deeper into the French Intervention, centering the voices of women like Anastasia—who, alongside her brother, was a member of the junta patriótica mejicana of Chinese Camp and donated money to Mexico's war effort against the French.

While we may not have satisfying answers as to what exactly came of Romero and Seward's correspondence, I want to conclude this chapter by asking and beginning to answer a question. Many Latinx people suffered extralegal violence in California in the wake of the Gold Rush and western United States expansion, so what was it about Leyva's and Núñez's lynchings that captured so much attention within their community and even among high-ranking political officials? One special circumstance in this case was the power of Anastasia Leyva's narrative. She didn't just speak out on behalf of her brother; she carefully

tempered her narration of violence so that it would be both comprehensible and palatable to a larger reading public. Although Anastasia's testimony could not bring Luis Leyva back, her words made an ethical demand for justice and change that not only reverberated throughout the Latinx community in California, but also reached the highest levels of US government. Much as the author of the bienaventurazas borrowed verses from the Bible and repurposed them for her social justice message, Anastasia took the measured tone of a witness providing testimony at trial. She used the newspaper to seek justice for her brother in the court of public opinion.

Articulating causes that were as much personal as they were political, the bienaventuranzas and Anastasia's testimony were deeply intertwined with the social selves of their Latina authors. While both escritoras used self-effacing terms to preserve their modesty and make their messages more palatable to those who might be threatened by women speaking out in the public sphere, they nonetheless insisted upon the importance of their words to others in the Latinx community and expressed their messages using rhetoric that was culturally specific to their people. Thus, both Latinas were able to transform provocations they endured into provocative, public contestations against widespread abuses of US systems of law and governance in California.

SPANISH TRANSCRIPTIONS AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS FOR CHAPTER 1

"Las tres bienaventuranzas verdaderas y cinco contrarias" by an anonymous "hispano-americana"

The Los Angeles Star, September 21, 1854

Tomamos de la Cronica de San Francisco el siguiente comunicado, no dudando que sea leido con gusto por nuestros lectores, que tanto por las verdades que encierra, como por ser	We take from La Crónica of San Francisco the following communication, no doubt it will be read with pleasure by our readers, both for the truths it contains, and for being written by a woman,

escrito por una mujer, merece ser reproducido por toda la prensa del Esttado.

Las tres bienaventuranzas verdaderas y cinco contrarias.

1. Bienaventurados los pobres de espíritu, porque son los únicos que se libran de ser coronados por el moderno estilo.
2. Bienaventurados los squatterrs, porque sin pagar pension ni tribúto ninguno al estado y apoyados de su lojia, ellos poseen y disfrutan el provecho de las mejores tierras.
3. Desventurados los que lloran, porque inter habiten esta tierra, ellos seguiran llorando.
4. Desventurados los que han hambre y sed de justicia, porque siendo estranjeros, estaran siempre hambrientos y sedientos de ella pero siendo americanos seran hartos.
5. Desaventurados los misericordiosos, porque no hallando aquí misericordia, ellos aprenderan a no tenerla de nadie.
6. Desventurados los limpios de corazon, porque siendo en un pais donde hay tan pocos tendrán que vivir con los bolsillos limpios hasta que vean a Dios.

it deserves to be reproduced throughout the press of the state.

The three true Beatitudes and five contraries.

1. Blessed are the poor in spirit, for they are the only ones who are free of being crowned by the modern style.

2. Blessed are the squatters, for without paying any tax or duty to the state and being supported by the state's own logic, they own and enjoy the benefit of the best lands.

3. Wretched are those who weep, for as long as they inhabit this land, they will continue to weep.
4. Wretched are those who hunger and thirst for justice, for as long as they are foreigners, they will forever be hungry and thirsty; but if they are Americans, they will be full.

5. Wretched are the merciful, for by not finding any mercy here, they will learn to have it for no one.

6. Wretched are the pure of heart, for being in a country where there are so few, they will have to live with their purses cleaned out until they see God.

7. Desventurados los pacificos, porque teniendo que havitar entre hombres turbulentos, no les valdrá ser llamados hijos de Dios.
8. Bienaventurados los que padecen persecuciones por la justicia, sea por robar o matar, porque teniendo dinero no los precipitaran por medio del cordel a ir antes de tiempo al reino de los cielos.

De las Bienaventuranzas que estan estampadas en las oraciones cuotidianas que rezamos los católicos, solo tres articulos vemos que merecen este justo titulo. Los cinco restantes se ven contrariados por la desventura. Sirvánse, vdes. SS. EE., insertar en las columnas de su apreciable periódico esta produccion sencilla de una mujer que carece de talento por desgracia para dar mas espansion a sus ideas, pero que como hispano-americana solo aspira al bien estar de su raza y este deseo le ha sujerido estas observaciones.

7. Wretched are the peacemakers, for having to live among unruly men, being called children of God will not help them.
8. Blessed are those who suffer persecution by the justice system, be it for stealing or killing, for if they have money, they will not be rushed by means of the hangman's rope to go before their time to the kingdom of heaven.

Of the Beatitudes that are stamped in the daily prayers which we Catholics pray, we see only three justly deserving this title. By misfortune, the remaining five appear to the contrary. May it please you, Messrs. Editors, to include in the columns of your esteemed newspaper this simple production of a woman who, unfortunately, lacks the talent to give broader expression to her ideas, but as Hispanic-American only aspires to the well-being of her race and this desire has suggested these observations to her.

Letter to the Editor and Testimony of Luis Leyva and Cosme Nuñez Lynchings
by Anastasia Leyva

La Voz de Méjico of San Francisco, February 9, 1864

Sres. RR.[55] de *La Voz de Méjico.*
San Francisco.

Messrs. Eds. of *La Voz de Méjico.*
San Francisco.

Sonora, 31 de Enero de 1864.

Muy señores mios:

Adjunto remito à Vds. un escrito, en el cual verán Vds. los pormenores del asesinato cometido en el Campo Chino en dos compatriotas nuestros, con el objeto de que si lo encuentran Vds. digno de insertarlo en su apreciable periódico lo hagan así, à fin de que caiga sobre los perpetradores de semejante crímen el anatema público.

La que suscribe, hermana de uno de los finados, pobre y sin ningun ausilio, recurre à Vds. como el ùnico conducto que le han aconsejado mas propio para aclarar un negocio, que como Vds. verán, interesa à todo mejicano su publicidad.

Quedando de Vds., señores redactores, su agradecida servidora.—*Anastacia Leyva*.

— —

Horroroso Asesinato cometido en el Campo Chino en las personas de Luis Leyva y Cosme Nuñez, dia 25 de Diciembre de 1863, por una turba de irlandeses, alemanes é indios, y capitaneada por don Alejandro Retes de Castorena.

Sonora, January, 31 1864.

My dear sirs:

I send to you, attached, a written document, in which you will see the details of the murder of two of our countrymen committed in Chinese Camp, with the intention that if you find it worthy to include in your esteemed newspaper, you may do so, so that public anathema may fall upon the perpetrators of such a crime.

The woman who signs this, a sister of one of the deceased, poor and without any help, appeals to you as she has been advised there is no other means to throw light upon a matter, which as you will see, being made public is in the interest of every Mexican.

I remain, sir editors, your grateful servant.—*Anastacia Leyva*.

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Horrific Murder committed in Chinese Camp upon the persons of Luis Leyva and Cosme Núñez, December 25, 1863, by a mob of Irishmen, Germans, and Indians, and captained by Don Alejandro Retes de Castorena

El dia 18 de Diciembre de 1863, andando Luis Leyva ébrio en dicho campo, entró en el almacen conocido con el nombre de "El Colorado," para empeñar una pistola en cinco pesos, pues en aquel comercio se presta sobre toda clase de prendas à cuantas personas lo solicitan; mas el tal Colorado, no le prestó à Leyva y le infiriò grandes insultos, los que le fueron contestados por el dicho Leyva en los mismos términos. Leyva salió de alli y entró frente à la tienda del Colorado, en una panaderia, en donde empeñó la pistola. El mismo 18 el Colorado demandó á Leyva por injurias, algunas horas antes; mas la autoridad se disimuló.

El 25 del mismo Diciembre, sabedor el Colorado de que Leyva habia sacado la pistola de donde estaba empeñada, volviò à demandar à Leyva trayendo de testigo à su mismo hermano, esponiendo en el juzgado que Leyva traia arma para ofenderle. El juez mandó registrarlo y satisfecho de que no traia arma de ninguna clase, el juez le pidió una fianza de quinientos pesos como garantia de que no tomaria mas licor, à lo que contestó Leyva que era hombre que tenia vicio en ello, y que por esta razon no podia

On December 18, 1863, while Luis Leyva was going around drunk in said camp, he entered the grocery store known by the name of "El Colorado," to pawn a pistol for five dollars, as loans are made in that store on any sort of collateral to anybody who requests them; but Colorado did not lend to Leyva, and laid serious insults upon him, which were answered by said Leyva in the same terms. Leyva left the premises and went into a bakery in front of Colorado's store, where he pawned the pistol. On that same day, the 18th, a few hours earlier, Colorado made a formal complaint against Leyva for slander; but the authorities dismissed it.

On the 25th of the same December, Colorado, knowing that Leyva had retrieved the pistol from where he had pawned it, again made a formal complaint against Leyva, bringing with him as a witness his own brother, expounding in court that Leyva was carrying a weapon in contempt of court. The judge ordered him searched and satisfied that he was not carrying a weapon of any kind, the judge asked him to give a bond of $500 as a guarantee that he would dar la fianza que se le pedia, tanto por no tener dinero cuanto por no poseer ninguna clase de

propiedad; el juez contestó que si no daba la fianza, lo mandaria preso á Sonora por seis meses; á lo que contestó Leyva que obrara como quisiera pues él estaba satisfecho de que obraba arbitrariamente, supuesto que él no veia ningun jurado en forma que lo sentenciara.

A pesar de estas observaciones, el juez lo sentenciò à seis meses de prision en la cárcel de Sonora, permaneciendo Leyva en el juzgado hasta las dos de la tarde, hora en que el juez lo puso bajo la custodia del sheriff, quien lo condujo à la cárcel.

Es de advertir que mientras Leyva estaba en el juicio el dia 25, llegò don Alejandro Retes de Castorena, denunciando à Cosme Nuñez y Amado Pacheco por tres caballos, que él decia le habian robado.

El juez de este lugar dió órden para apresar á Núñez y à Pacheco: el sheriff acompañado de Retes, se dirigiò á casa de la que suscribe, hermana del finado, donde vivian Núñez y Pacheco. Encontraron á Nuñez dormido; lo despertó el sheriff y saliò á la calle; mas temiendo lo que efectivamente le sucedió, echó á Nùñez dormido; lo despertó el sheriff y saliò á

not drink any more liquor, to this Leyva replied that he was a man who had a bad vice in that regard, and that for this reason he could not give the bond that was being asked of him, both because he had no money and because he had no kind of property; the judge replied that if he did not give bond, he would send him to be jailed in Sonora for six months; to this Leyva answered that the judge should do as he liked because he was satisfied that he was acting arbitrarily, of course he did not see any jury fit to sentence him. Despite these observations, the judge sentenced him to six months' imprisonment in the Sonora jail, Leyva stayed at the court until two in the afternoon, at which time the judge placed him in the custody of the sheriff, who took him to jail.

It should be pointed out that while Leyva was in court on the 25th, Don Alejandro Retes de Castorena arrived, accusing Cosme Núñez and Amado Pacheco on account of three horses, which he said had been stolen from him.

The judge here issued an order for the arrest of Núñez and Pacheco: the sheriff, accompanied by Retes, went to the house of the woman who signs this document, sister of the deceased man, where Núñez and Pacheco

la calle; mas temiendo lo que efectivamente le sucedió, echó à correr, pues Núñez y el campo en general saben y es público, que en ese lugar se obra arbitrariamente.

En suma, le dieron alcance, y Nùñez se rindiò; de alli lo trajeron ante el juez, quien le hizo saber lo espuesto por Retes, à lo que contestó Nuñez que era enteramente inocente sobre este asunto.

El juez no encontrando causa contra Nuñez, dijo á Retes que si no tenia pruebas, al dia siguiente pondria en libertad á Nuñez. Entónces Alejando amagó al juez si no castigaba al acusado. El juez, conociendo por las apariencias que el tal Retes no decir verdad y que juraba en falso, quiso poner en libertad à Nuñez; mas Retes amenazó de nuevo al juez, diciéndole que si ponia en libertad al mencionado Nuñez le daria un balazo. El juez entonces mandó á la cárcel á Nuñez para juzgarle al dia siguiente.

El dia 25, entre once y doce de la noche, el tal Retes, con una chusma, se agolparon á la càrcel, abrieron la puerta, sacaron à Leyva y à Nuñez, y en la orilla del campo, en un àrbol los ahorcaron.

lived. They found Núñez asleep; the sheriff woke him up and he went out into the street; but fearing what in fact came to pass, he ran for it, well Núñez and the whole camp in general know and it is public knowledge, that in that place they act indiscriminately. In short, they caught up with him, and

Núñez surrendered; from there, they brought him before the judge, who informed him of what Retes had said, to which Nuñez replied that he was entirely innocent in this affair. The judge, not finding any evidence against Núñez, told Retes that if he did not have proof, the next day he would set Nuñez free.

Alejandro then threatened the judge if he did not punish the accused. The judge, understanding by this behavior that this Retes did not tell the truth and was bearing false witness, wanted to release Núñez; but Retes threatened the judge again, telling him that if he released the aforementioned Nuñez he would shoot him. So the judge sent Nuñez to jail to try him the next day.

On the 25th, between eleven and twelve at night, this Retes, together with a mob, crowded into the jail, opened the door, took out Leyva and Nuñez, and hanged them from a tree on the outskirts of the camp.

Como prueba de que se ha cometido un asesinato que reclama un castigo contra los perpetradores de él, baste decir que los supuestos caballos robados se encontraron à los tres dias en un potrero distante tres millas del Campo Chino, cuyo dueño del potrero dice que los caballos entraron solos en él. En vista de tan lamentable suceso esperamos que la autoridad à quien corresponda tomarà conocimiento de ello, á fin de castigar á los que sobreponiéndose à las leyes y á los encargados de administrarlas, se constituyen en tribunal, y disponen de la vida y honra de los ciudadanos á su antojo y sin ninguna forma de proceso.

Yo, como hermana del finado Leyva, reclamo ante Dios y el mundo civilizado el castigo del Sr. Retes Castorena como criminal de hecho, puesto que mi finado hermano era hombre de bien à toda prueba, lo que atestiguaré cuando se me pida. Así como tambien probaré que Retes Castorena, es hombre que obra y ha obrado de mala fé, pues en general sus tratos han sido siempre con ladrones.

Se me atribuye que yo daba acogida en mi casa á hombres que

As proof that a murder had been committed which demands the punishment of its perpetrators, suffice it to say the allegedly stolen horses were found three days later in a paddock three miles from Chinese Camp, the owner of said paddock states that the horses wandered into it alone. In view of this most deplorable event, we hope that the appropriate authorities will take notice of it, for the purpose of punishing those who taking the law into their own hands and overriding those who are charged with administering it, set themselves up as a tribunal and on a whim disposed of the lives and honor of citizens, without any form of due process.

I, as the sister of the deceased Leyva, demand before God and the civilized world, the punishment of Mr. Retes Castorena as a proven criminal, since my deceased brother was a man of good standing by all accounts, which I will testify when asked. Just as I also will prove that Retes Castorena is a man who acts and has acted in bad faith, as in general his dealings have always been with thieves.

It is alleged of me that I had received into my house men who did not have a very good reputation; but these men were known throughout

no tenian muy buena nota; pero estos hombres eran conocidos en todo el campo, y à nadie oí decir nada malo de ellos, como lo justifica el que el mismo alcalde y el condestable tomaban juntos en su misma cantina, quienes si hubieran tenido algun dato, ó sospecha siquiera, me hubieran aconsejado que no les diera entrada en mi casa, cosa que no hicieron, y que prueba hasta la evidencia que es una calumnia que se me quiere imputar.

Anastasia Leyva

the camp, and I never heard anyone say anything bad about them, as justified by the fact that the mayor and the constable used to drink with them in the same cantina, if they had had any information, or suspicion at all, they would have advised me not to let them into my house, something they did not do, and which clearly proves that this is a slander which people are trying to make against me.

Anastasia Leyva

CHAPTER 2

Raise a Glass, Raise Your Voice: Public Speaking by Women of the Juntas Patrióticas

El lugar que se eligió para la funcion fué en la huerta de doña Arcadia Alvarado, localidad hermosísima y pintoresca. En una calle de naranjos, se formó un salon con cuatro hileras de asientos y en un estremo del salon se colocó la plataforma, donde estaban los asientos de las señoras que componen el Club. Detras de la plataforma estaban entrelazados los pabellones Mejicano y Americano; en medio de los pabellones habia una corona de guirnaldas, en cuyo centro se veía el retrato de Zaragoza. Cada uno de los árboles que formaban el salon estaba adornado con un retrato de algun héroe, entre los que se veian Juarez, Washington, Comonfort, Pesqueira, &. todos entre guirnaldas de flores y banderas enlazadas.[1]

The place chosen for the function was in the garden of Doña Arcadia Alvarado, a very beautiful and picturesque location. In an alleyway of orange trees, a hall was formed with four rows of seats and at one end of the hall the platform was placed, where the seats of the ladies who make up the Club were. Behind the platform the Mexican and American flags were intertwined; between the flags there was a crown of garlands, in the center of which was the portrait of Zaragoza. Each of the trees that formed the hall was decorated with a portrait of some hero, among which were Juarez, Washington, Comonfort, Pesqueira, etc. all among flower garlands and intertwined flags.

El Nuevo Mundo of San Francisco, July 21, 1865

Attempt for a moment to imagine yourself in the orchard of Doña Arcadia Alvarado at the inauguration of the Zaragoza Club, a women's junta, or Mexican patriotic assembly, in Los Angeles. There, in the springtime, beneath boughs of sweet orange blossoms, you look upon the intertwined flags of Mexico and the United States. Beside the portraits of Mexican war heroes which decorate the trees is also the portrait of US founding father George Washington. There is music, food, drinks, and laughter shared by men and women of the local Latinx community, but also more solemn, impassioned political conversation as well. These conversations center on European imperialism, the invasion of Mexico by Napoleon III, and the imposition of the Austrian "Emperor" Ferdinand Maximilian and his wife, Carlota. In contrast to the chatter and noise of the banquet, you are struck by the quiet that falls when Presidenta Merced J. de Gonzalez rises to her feet and delivers a fiery speech. Addressing her "¡Amigas mias!…¡mejicanas queridas…!"[2] [¡My lady friends!…¡Dear Mexican women…!], she insists that members of the Zaragoza Club (see Figure 5) must compel their fathers, sons, husbands, and lovers to go to battle in defense of Mexico. Other voices follow, with women young and old giving speeches, reciting poetry, singing the Mexican national anthem, and also pronouncing lively brindis, or toasts, each one accompanied by the raise of a glass and gulp of a drink.

This chapter explores the political speeches and brindis of women who participated in the Mexican patriotic assembly movement of California and Nevada. These women's juntas, or assemblies, were formed in response to the French invasion of Mexico by Napoleon III, which lasted from 1862 through 1867. Members of the juntas were of little or modest means, and not exclusively Mexican or Mexican American.[3] The fiery speeches and brindis of these women were often printed in Spanish-language newspapers in San Francisco, particularly *La Voz de Méjico* and *El Nuevo Mundo*; and their publication transformed these ephemeral, relatively intimate moments shared among community members into mass media that could be preserved and shared. Along with the words of the speeches and brindis, newspapers would also sometimes include descriptions of who was present



Figure 5: Pictured from left to right are members of the Club Patriótico Mejicano de Zaragoza of Los Angeles: Maria Ignacia Pinto de Alvarado, Adelaida Alvarado de Lugo, and Arcadia Alvarado de Rivera. Image courtesy of the Seaver Center for Western History Research, Los Angeles County Natural History Museum.

and where the event took place, which was often in rental halls, schoolhouses, or, like in the example above, the homes of junta members.

Beyond asserting their patriotism and anti-imperialist political values, the women of the juntas also used public speaking to showcase their creativity, individual personalities, and, most of all, solidarity

with one another. By reading other women's speeches and brindis in the newspaper, they could feel connected across long distances and at times even riff on the words of women from far-off assemblies. Their words are also in dialogue with other Latina writings of this book, particularly in the way that their public speaking leveraged rhetorical strategies specific to their Latinx culture in order to appeal to their audience. This can be seen in many ways, for example, how they referenced Indigenous cultures, like the Toltec and Aztec empires, and blended these references with Catholic and Greco-Roman imagery. Most importantly, they rallied around a common *México de afuera*[4] identity and community, proclaiming their Mexican patriotism and support of Mexican sovereignty before all else. Their central social justice message contesting French imperialism was not only intertwined with their own articulation of what it meant to be Latina on an individual level, but also expressed the social identity of their junta members as a united body. Their speeches and brindis are especially noteworthy in consideration of the fact that the women who spoke them were largely lower class and did not come from influential families. Participating in the juntas gave them the opportunity to band together and voice their opinions in the public sphere, regardless of their level of wealth, privilege, or literacy.

The exuberant Mexican loyalist sentiment expressed by junta women who spoke in public did not hide the fact, or the women's knowledge, that part of Mexico was under occupation by the French, just as they, as Latinas living in the former Mexican territory of Alta California, were residing in land occupied by the United States. The latter situation, as we now know, would prove more permanent than the former. This chapter will begin by offering a historical overview of the junta movement, then move on to detailed analysis of the speeches and brindis.

LAS JUNTAS PATRIÓTICAS DE SEÑORAS

Let me begin by giving a broader context of the Mexican patriotic assembly movement in the Southwest. Much is already known about the inner workings and impact of the juntas, thanks to the historical research of Paul Bryan Gray, David E. Hayes-Bautista, and Cynthia

L. Chamberlin. They stress the crucial role that Spanish-language newspapers played in the founding of these juntas. In fact, the launch of the Mexican patriotic assembly movement in the United States was in direct response to an article published in the San Francisco newspaper *La Voz de Méjico* on August 26, 1862. The article, reprinted from the Mexico City newspaper *El Monitor* and titled "Invitacion á los mexicanos" (An Invitation to Mexicans), urged Latino sympathizers to organize and raise funds for President Benito Juárez's army to combat the French imperialists.[5] Much was at stake for Mexico: not only had French troops begun advancing via Vera Cruz, following the same route as Hernán Cortés centuries earlier, but Napoleon III had officially nominated the Austrian emperor's younger brother, Ferdinand Maximilian, as "Emperor of Mexico," with the intention of installing him through French military force. *Juarista* sympathizers in the western United States established a network that collected funds, which were sent to the Junta Central Directiva (Central Directing Assembly) in San Francisco, whose appointed treasurer was responsible for their delivery to the proper authorities in Mexico.

Although a handful of women were recorded in the newspaper as donors to the cause during the juntas' first year of existence, membership was made up mostly of men, and all the officers were men. Donations to the patriotic assemblies began to dwindle, however, after the city of Puebla was seized in 1863. French troops went on to capture Mexico City shortly thereafter, and it appeared that the entire country might be conquered. This was exactly when Latina women in Alta California stepped up their participation. On July 16, 1863, San Francisco's *La Voz de Méjico* published a letter from Francisca Manzo de Cavazos of Los Angeles to the Junta Central in San Francisco, announcing the inauguration of a new patriotic assembly made up of only women, the junta patriótica de señoras mejicanas (Mexican ladies' patriotic assembly). This organization was the first group formally assembled by Mexican women in California for an overtly political purpose.[6] Although comprehensive biographical data on all the women members of the patriotic assemblies is not readily available, according to Gray, Hayes-Bautista, and Chamberlin, "these were ordinary women and relatively poor. Almost none had names

associated with wealthy Los Angeles families."[7] Although nearly every woman junta member had a Hispanic first and last name, the makeup of the women's patriotic assemblies was not homogenous in terms of citizenship and nationality. Mexican, Mexican American, Chilean, Spanish, and Native American women participated, with the majority of the members born in either California or Mexico. There were slightly more Mexican-born members than not, including the leader, Francisca Manzo de Cavazos, who was from Guadalajara.[8] Following the example of the Los Angeles junta, women in other communities established assemblies of their own. A total of eight women's juntas existed by 1866, mostly in small mining towns. This included one junta in Virginia City, Nevada, and seven in California, located in Los Angeles, Sonora, Marysville, San José, New Almaden, and Mina de Guadalupe.[9]

¡VIVA MÉJICO! SPEECHES BY WOMEN OF THE JUNTAS PATRIÓTICAS

Often speeches by women of the Mexican patriotic juntas would begin with a direct address to the audience, calling to attention every person present. Their voices would ring out with a "conciudadanas" (fellow citizens),[10] "camaradas"[11] (comrades), "compatriotas" (countrywomen),[12] or in the case of an all-female audience, "señoras" (ladies).[13] Terms like conciudadana, camarada, and compatriota are striking because they make clear from the outset that these are political speeches, and the women speaking out are doing so to those with whom they have patriotic kinship and solidarity. After this salutation, of course, the various speakers go in different directions, showcasing their unique personalities and priorities.

At times, women of the juntas begin from a place of humility, consciously making a pretense of undermining themselves in order to preserve their femininity. For example, the secretary of the Sonora women's junta, Dolores Romero de Cuevas, begins her speech commemorating Cinco de Mayo in 1865, "Me habeis pedido que os dirija la palabra, y yo he aceptado gustosa, confiada en vuestra indulgencia,

que siendo como soy tan escasa en recursos de talento, no debeis esperar que sea elocuente, pero en mi rùstico lenguage conocereis la franqueza de mi corazon y la lealtad de mis sentimientos"[14] (You have asked me to say a few words to you, and I have gladly accepted, trusting that you will indulge me; for because I have so few resources in terms of talent, you should not expect me to be eloquent. But in my rustic speech you will understand the frankness of my heart and the fidelity of my sentiment). Beginning speeches from a place of vulnerability and self-deprecation was a common tactic used by women of Romero de Cuevas's time and place, and could be a powerful rhetorical tool. Romero de Cuevas implies that her lack of talent and eloquence meant that she could be trusted to express the "franqueza" or "frankness" of her heart in the most "rùstico" or "rustic" of terms. By positioning herself in this way, she hoped to make her mixed audience of women and men less likely to perceive her speech as threatening to the accepted social order or her words as fake and verbose.

This example was not the first of Romero de Cuevas's discursos published in the pages of *La Voz de Méjico*. Her speech published in November of 1864 in celebration of her junta's one-year anniversary begins with similar self-deprecating language, thanking her audience for indulging the "mezquino de mi talento" (measliness of my talent) and her supposed complete lack of eloquence. In spite of this, her speech was subsequently republished by two newspapers in northern Mexico, in areas free of French control: *La Estrella de Occidente* in Sonora and *El Republicano* in Chihuahua.[15] Romero de Cuevas's talents were so exceptional that her words were deemed worthy of being republished more than once. So not only was she given the stage on at least two in-person special occasions, but also her words transcended those ephemeral moments, being put in print by the editors of three separate newspapers. Despite all this affirmation, she still begins her Cinco de Mayo speech with similar language as her previous one. This demonstrates the power of rhetorical humility, whether sincere or not, to keep women like Romero de Cuevas in the good graces of nineteenth-century audiences and editors alike.

Yet some other women, like the presidenta of the women's junta in Los Angeles, Francisca Manzo de Cavazos, did not begin their speeches with any hint of self-deprecation and, in fact, took a bold and confident approach. Manzo de Cavazos, the founder of the first established women's junta, was an incredibly influential leader and trailblazer. She understood her work to be a "sagrado deber,"[16] or "sacred duty," that she actively took on by claiming the identity *mejicana*. In the speech she delivered at the inaugural meeting of the Los Angeles junta de señoras in June of 1863, she begins by powerfully defining herself, "Conciudananas: Soy Mejicana, soy muger" (My fellow women citizens: I am a Mexican. I am a woman), then goes on to insist that: "La mision de la muger sobre la tierra es una mision de amor y de consuelo. Ella debe animar y consolar al desgraciado, debe estar, como la augusta caridad, al lado del moribundo; para limpiar, como la Verónica, el sudor de la frente del soldado que muere por la patria" (Woman's mission on earth is one of love and consolation. She must encourage and comfort the unfortunate; she must be, like august benevolence at the side of the dying, to wipe, like Veronica, the sweat from the forehead of the soldier who dies for his country).[17] This allusion to Saint Veronica is just one example of how Manzo de Cavazos and other women public speakers of the juntas often referred to heroic female figures from the Bible and history to justify their involvement in political affairs normally dominated by men. At the celebration of her Los Angeles junta's first anniversary, Manzo de Cavazos also makes connections to Saint Monica, the Virgin of Guadalupe, and Lucretia of ancient Rome.[18]

Manzo de Cavazos's invocation of these revered female heroes and her characterization of the role of women as being primarily to spread love, compassion, and comfort, particularly to men at war, resonated strongly with other Mexicanas in Alta California. When the women's junta in San José formed in October of 1863, Presidenta Teresa Díaz de Casanova used very similar words to Manzo de Cavazos's in her inaugural speech: "La mision de la muger en la tierra tiene su deber, este es el amor y consuelo. Ella debe ver al desgraciado ensanchàndole medios de consolacion" (A woman's mission on earth is her duty, this is one

of love and consolation. She must look to the unfortunate, extending him means of consolation).[19] Díaz de Casanova's imitation of Manso de Cavazos's speech suggests that she had read and been inspired by the words of the Los Angeles presidenta when they were printed in *La Voz de Méjico*.[20] By repeating these sentiments, she strengthens the consensus that a woman's role in society is to provide love and charity to the "desgraciado" or "unfortunate" men at war, but then uses that claim of "proper duty" to justify forming an independent women's junta in San José, taking on its presidency, and making speeches in the public sphere, thus carrying forward Manzo de Cavazos's torch in the assertiveness of her actions as well. In this way, Díaz de Casanova joins a group of presidentas who would affirm and reaffirm Manzo de Cavazos's decision to form a women's junta movement with leadership independent of the male-led juntas. Such validation and flattery through discursive imitation was not confined to the women's political speeches. As we will see later in this chapter, women performing brindis also read and riffed on one another.

The fundamental purpose of speeches by women of the juntas was to *move* their audiences. Audience response, whether it be inward and emotional, or outwardly expressed through verbal responses of solidarity or financial patronage in the form of donations, was an expectation baked into the speeches. Traces of audience reactions are at times noted in *La Voz de Méjico*, with insertions in the transcriptions of the speeches or through footnotes and editorial observations. For example, Presidenta María Noriega's speech in celebration of her junta's anniversary is peppered with numerous parenthetical "(Aplausos)" ([Applause]) and even "(Prolongados aplausos)" ([Prolonged Applause]).[21] During her first speech when the Los Angeles junta was founded, Presidenta Manzo de Cavazos asks that the women present make a promise to be like the distinguished women of Sparta and uphold the principles of democracy.[22] Following this moment in the transcription, it is noted that "(todas lo juraron)" ([they all swore]). A footnote at the bottom of the page, in italics, relates that the women raised their hands and took the oath with such intensity that it left the men present "atónitos" (astonished).[23]

Each orator had her own creative strategies for moving her particular audience and eliciting the intended response, yet the women did share some common tactics. Several leaned heavily on the deployment of rhetorical questions in combination with emotionally charged metaphors. Speeches by Angelita Moreno and Francisca Fernández de McDermot illustrate these qualities very well. Before the official formation of the first women's junta, excerpts from Moreno's discurso given to the Hornitos junta were printed in *La Voz de Méjico* on December 6, 1862. The editor emphasized that she was a "niña," or mere "girl," and she was not referred to with the honorific "doña" used to address distinguished adult women in the community. Moreno insists that her audience "Escuchad" (Listen):

hay á esta hora un rumor alegre que late y conmueve todas y cada una de esas delicadas libras cuyas sensaciones le dan la vida al hombre. ¿Sabeis, Señores, lo que contiene ese rumor? ¿Sabeís porque el Pueblo mejicano se agrupa por las calles y las plazas? ¿Sabeis enfin porque el Templo de nuestra Religion Cristiana vestido de gala abre sus puertas para felicitaros, al mismo tiempo que nuestros cuarteles prorrumpen en dianas y en fuego nuestra artillería?

at this hour there is a happy murmur that beats and moves each and every one of those soft pounds whose sensations give life to man. Do you know, Gentlemen, what this murmur contains? Do you know why the Mexican people gather in the streets and plazas? Do you finally know why the Temple of our Christian Religion, elegantly dressed, opens its doors to congratulate you, at the same time that our barracks detonate targets and fire our artillery?

Throughout Moreno's speech, the heart serves as a central metaphorical figure for passion, fighting spirit, and commitment. Using imagery of the heart in this way was already a clichéd strategy at this time, particularly among women. What is noteworthy about Moreno's discursive use of the heart is how far she takes the metaphor in the

context of other bodily imagery. In these first lines, the "rumor alegre" or "happy murmur" moves the heart and makes it beat. This in turn stirs the "delicadas libras" or "soft pounds" whose sensations form the very life of mankind. This metaphorical development demands that her audience pay close attention to their own flesh and perhaps to the sensation of a heartbeat quickening in response to the fervor in her speech. The rhetorical questions that follow then shift the audience's attention outward from this inward and intimate awareness of the heartbeat, to the Mexican bodies gathered in the streets and plazas, the adornment of the church, and finally to soldiers emerging from their barracks and artillery fire on the battlefield.

In her discurso following Manzo de Cavazos's speech at their junta's first anniversary celebration, secretary of the Los Angeles junta Francisca Fernández de McDermot also uses extended metaphors and rhetorical questions to envision a new spiritual order. She petitions "el sol" or "the sun" to bring prosperity and justice to Mexico. Likely she invokes the sun as a universal authority in place of Christian divinities such as God, Jesus, or the Virgin Mary because elsewhere in her speech she harshly condemns the Catholic church, and in particular conservative Mexican clergymen who backed the French invaders and Maximilian's government. Many women of the juntas were incensed by the fact that high-ranking Catholic clergy greeted the arrival of French forces in Mexico with open arms, even celebrating a mass in their honor.[24] Manzo de Cavazos describes how a priest offered the French commanding general Élie Frédéric Forey "el incienso y, el agua bendita y cantado un *Te-Deum* cuando éste entró à Puebla, estando todavia fresca la sangre de nuestros hermanos en las murallas de aquella ciudad" (incense and holy water and sang a *Te Deum* when he entered Puebla, with the blood of our brothers still fresh on the walls of that city).[25] *Te Deum* is an ancient Latin hymn, traditionally used to thank God for granting a military victory. Manzo de Cavazos is implying here that the Catholic priest treasonously saw the French victory in the second Battle of Puebla as God-given. Fernández de McDermot intensified Manzo de Cavazos's stinging critique of the Catholic church, asking:

¡Oh sol! ¿por qué sigues alumbrando á mi patria, si tanta sangre inocente y noble, si tanta infamia no ha de ser vengada? ¿Por qué alumbras al Sacerdote mejicano que aplaude tantos crímenes, se goza à la vista de las ruinas humeantes, y maldice al patriota soldado moribundo? Por piedad, no alumbres mas á esa desventurada tierra. ¡Ah, no no! Sigue, ¡oh sol! alumbrando la inaudita carnicería, la inhumana matanza, para que los Americanos la vean y se avergüencen de haber mentido y falsificado el leyado de Washington.[26]

O sun! Why do you continue to shine upon my homeland, if so much innocent and noble blood, if so much infamy, is not to be avenged? Why do you illuminate the Mexican priest who applauds so many crimes, rejoices at the sight of smoking ruins, and curses the dying patriot soldier? For pity's sake, do not shine any more on that unfortunate land. Oh, no, no! Go on, O sun, illuminating the unheard-of carnage, the inhuman slaughter, so that the Americans see it and are ashamed of having lied and falsified the legacy of Washington.

Fernández de McDermot dovetails her condemnation of conservative Catholic clergymen with anger at others who she perceives as having turned their backs on the Mexican republic, particularly the United States. She declares that the sun should only shine light on the carnage of war so that, like a spotlight, the people of the United States can see their suffering neighbors to the south being stripped of hard-earned democratic rights by a European power and feel shame for the failure of their government to aid Mexico. When Fernandez speaks of the "leyado"[27] or "legacy" of Washington, she is speaking of the democratic values which George Washington metonymically stands for. The power of self-governance was being stripped from the Mexican people by the French installation of Maximilian; and although Fernández de McDermot does not directly reference the Monroe Doctrine, she and other women of the juntas consistently agreed that the United States had a duty to stand by Mexico.

Her dramatic rhetorical questions and petitions directed to the sun continue, peppering the latter portions of the speech until Fernández

de McDermot theatrically demands that the sun extinguish its light. She implores, "Obscurécete, oh sol!……ya basta……basta…… Desmaya y desfallece el corazon á vista de tantos horrores y de tanta infamia" (Dim yourself, O sun! Enough already…enough. The heart faints and weakens at the sight of so many horrors and such great infamy).[28] Fernández de McDermot addresses the sun as an absent interlocutor rather than the audience, but the dramatic effect is still powerfully engaging, particularly when coupled with her repetition of "ya basta……basta" (Enough already……enough) and the expressive pauses in her oration as indicated by the long ellipses. This personified sun becomes so tangible through Fernández de McDermot's addresses and metaphorical language that *el sol* feels as though it could be portrayed by an actor or actress alongside the lectern, Fernández de McDermot's words ringing out as stage directions.

Besides being drawn into this dialogue between *el sol* and Fernández de McDermot, the audience may also have been engaged by the sun as a culturally and historically loaded symbol in the Mesoamerican context. Ethnohistorian and anthropologist Louise M. Burkhart has written about the motif of the "Christ-sun" figure in the context of colonial Nahua Christianity, and found that Spanish missionaries translated Old World motifs from Catholic liturgy about darkness and light into Nahuatl to present Christ in terms of an Indigenous deity like the sun. For Mesoamerican converts, Christ "was the sun in some sacred sense, playing the role of the sun in respect to holy and spiritual things."[29] Whether or not Fernández de McDermot or her audience were directly aware of pre-Conquest Mesoamerican traditions of sun worship and the subsequent religious and cultural mixing of the "Christ-sun" figure in the context of colonization, it is interesting that she invokes a solar spiritual figure in her speech. In this case, when the conservative Catholic clergy of Mexico failed her by aligning with the French invaders, she calls upon this alternative authority to grant justice.

Just before the sun fades away, Fernández de McDermot describes the Mexican people in a way that centers pre-Columbian civilization even more directly. Setting herself up with another rhetorical

question, she asks what "mormullo de desesperacion" (murmur of desperation) is rising from the "negro y fetido" (black and fetid) smoke of the French-occupied southern states of Mexico. Then, in response to her own question, she paints a bleak picture of those whose voices rise from this devastated landscape: "Tú éres, pueblo magnànimo de Tula……Son tus ancianos, tus valientes, tus niños, tus virgenes que despues de contaminadas arden vivas y vivas en las hogueras encendidas por el conservador y el francés!"[30] (You are, magnanimous people of Tula…It is your elders, your warriors, your children, your virgins, who, after being contaminated, burn alive and alive in the bonfires lit by the conservatives and the French!) Tula was the capital of the Toltec Empire and traditionally considered by Nahuatl-speaking Indigenous groups to be the wellspring of Mesoamerican culture. This reference situates the elders, brave warriors, children, and violated virgins of contemporary Mexico as cultural and spiritual descendants of the Toltecs. It is not only individual people but this ancient lineage that is being burned alive by the destruction and violence brought upon them by the French and the conservative Mexicans who support them. Fernández de McDermot mourns, and dramatizes, the suffering of those lost to the ugly fires of war, at the same time drawing parallels between them and a pre-Columbian society which also came under attack by Europeans.

In her aforementioned Cinco de Mayo speech from 1865, Romero de Cuevas also spotlights Nahua[31] historical figures and culture, describing Mexico as "la sagrada tierra" (the sacred land) of "Moctezuma" and "Guatimosin."[32] Romero de Cuevas must have been aware of Moctezuma II's important role as the ruler of the Aztec empire upon first contact with Spanish conquistadors, and the identity of "Guatimosin"—that is, Cuauhtémoc, the last ruler of the Aztecs. These examples reveal that women orators of the juntas did not exclusively cite Christian, Greco-Roman, and other European historical figures. In fact, their rhetoric often mixed diverse cultural references, sometimes within the very same speech. Such mixing resembled the multicultural social realities and educational influences of the junta speechmakers and likely their audience members as well.

In concluding their speeches, nearly all the women orators of the juntas finished in the same way: with cries of "¡viva!" (long live!) Mexico, President Benito Juarez, General Ignacio Zaragoza, and other heroes of the war. At times, they alternated viva with "¡muera!" (death to!) their enemies or "¡abajo a…!" (down with…!) ideas they were opposed to, such as monarchy and imperialism.[33] Presidenta Noriega's aforementioned speech celebrating the anniversary of her junta concludes with a fiery series of viva and muera formulations:

Digàmos todas con toda la fuerza y energía de nuestros corazones. Viva el C. D.[34] Benito Juarez! Viva el C. G. D. Plácido Vega! ¡Vivan los que de nuevo luchan defendiendo nuestra independencia y libertad! Mueran los invasores y el intruso Maximiliano! Mueran los traidores à su patria, los amantes de la esclavitud! ¡Viva la independencia del continente americano! Muera la monarquía![35]

Let us say with all the strength and energy of our hearts: Long live Benito Juarez! Long live Plácido Vega! Long live those who keep fighting to defend our independence and freedom! Death to the invaders and the intruder Maximilian! Death to traitors to their country, lovers of slavery! Long live the independence of the American continent! Death to the monarchy!

Noriega begins by proclaiming her love and support for specific leaders, such as President Benito Juárez and General Plácido Vega, Juárez's personal envoy to Mexicans in California, then pans out to Mexicans actively fighting the French, and ultimately to the ideal of an independent and sovereign "continente americano," or "American continent." She contrasts this to her hatred for Maximilian, for traitors to Mexico, and for "amantes de la esclavitud" (lovers of slavery), and finally she wishes death to the whole idea of monarchical rule in Mexico. Noriega unequivocally rejects imperialism and slavery, echoing the core values of other junta leaders. For example, in the concluding words of Manzo de Cavazos's July 16, 1863 speech, she proclaims: "veràn esos de cantados zuavos que en un pais libre, nadie quiere ser esclavo" (those sanguine Zouaves will see that in a free

country, no one wants to be a slave).[36] The term *zuavos* is in reference to a distinctive regiment of the French military known for their role in the conquest of Algeria.[37] Not only does Manzo de Cavazos bring to mind French colonialism in North Africa, but she also asserts Mexico's superiority for being a nation free from slavery.[38]

Overall, Noriega's conclusion shows that women orators of the juntas conceived their actions and solidarities as operating on multiple levels. Noriega creates parallels of good and evil that begin with individual men, grow to populations of men, then extend to large-scale ideals like the independence of her continent in opposition to monarchy—which she and other women of the junta relate to slavery. As implied by Noriega's directive to her audience to speak out "con toda la fuerza y energía de nuestros corazones" (with all the strength and energy of our hearts), her finale was likely met with cheers, shouts, and audience participation, echoing ¡viva! and ¡muera! in solidarity with each declaration.

At times, women orators of the juntas acknowledged and honored one another in their concluding rallies. Fernández de McDermot's aforementioned speech ends with a cheer for the Mexican women in California: "¡Vivan las mejicanas patrìotas resìdentes en California!" (Long live the patriotic Mexican women residing in California!).[39] Since most women of the juntas were either *Mexicanas in* California or *Mexicanas of* California, this cheer no doubt elicited much excitement and applause, even though it was less common for women orators to recognize and praise one another so directly. Although their speeches and brindis focused on political decisions and war made by men, moments like this show that women in the juntas saw themselves as playing important roles in the struggle. The careful discursive choices they made as orators—in terms of how to address their predominantly Latinx audience, what allusions to make, whether to project humility or confidence, how to construct rhetorical questions, metaphors, and applause-inducing conclusions—all highlight the creativity, passion, and commitment of these women. Their speeches not only expressed their individual social selves, but also projected shared identities, values, and the collective strength of their juntas.

TOASTING MÉJICO, ROASTING IMPERIALISM: BRINDIS POEMS

The earliest set of brindis was printed over a year after the initial founding of the women's juntas, and it marked an initiative by the leadership of the Junta Patriótica de Señoras de Los Ángeles to add a new organization, the Club Patriótico Mejicano de Zaragoza (Zaragoza Mexican Patriotic Club).[40] The inauguration celebration, on February 26, 1865, took place at a public schoolhouse, and *El Nuevo Mundo* published news of the event on March 29 of the same year. This new organization was a mutual benefits society with different priorities and activities than the patriotic junta. Although one of their main purposes was still fundraising for the war, the Zaragoza Club also collected and reserved money to put towards the cost of medical and burial services for its sick or dying members.[41] Interestingly, the brindis recited at this inaugural event did not refer to these different priorities, but only reflected the women's sense of loyalty to a democratic Mexico. The tactic of printing the brindis alongside news of the mutual benefits society inauguration may have been a showy display in order to ensure that their patriotism would not be questioned by members of the men's juntas or others who might disapprove of women raising money to help themselves in addition to the Mexican military.

Another set of brindis poems by the Zaragoza Club were recited on June 15, 1865, in honor of the much-celebrated arrival of three Mexican army officers who had been held as prisoners of war in France, José María Herrera, Francisco Rivera, and Modesto Medina. They were passing through Los Angeles after a harrowing journey following their capture in Mexico and detention in France. After being held in French prison camps for a year, they were released at San Sebastián, on the Spanish border, and earned their passage back to the Western Hemisphere by working as laborers. Because ports in Mexico were blockaded by the French military, the nearest point these officers could safely disembark was Los Angeles. On their way to rejoin President Juárez's army, the men paused briefly in southern

California. Gray, Hayes-Bautista, and Chamberlin describe how the "Mexican community in Los Angeles indulged in a frenzy of patriotism on the arrival of the three former prisoners."[42] The women of the Zaragoza Club held an elaborate reception for the officers, and the entire event, including transcriptions of the brindis, was described in great detail in the July 21, 1865 issue of *El Nuevo Mundo*.

The only known set of brindis poems performed by the women's Mexican patriotic assembly of Virginia City was published in May 1865. These toasts were performed at a celebration of Cinco de Mayo, the third annual commemoration of the May 5, 1862 victory at the first Battle of Puebla. Despite the initial Mexican triumph, the city of Puebla had fallen to a French siege only a year later, in May 1863. It was the juntas north of the border that invented the Cinco de Mayo holiday to help commemorate this early victory and boost support for Mexico among Latinx people of the Southwest. The brindis poems spoken at Cinco de Mayo reveal that Mexican sympathy and patriotism was strong, particularly among members of the women's juntas.

As opposed to serving as the objects of toasts by men, these women were active speakers and performers of their toasts. The brindis spoken at assembly events and printed in the newspaper were more than social gestures intended to impassion and inebriate potential donors. Brindis became a means for women of the juntas to assert their capacity for leadership, humor, and poetic wit, as well as express their social and political solidarity with one another, all within the public forum of the Spanish-language newspapers.[43]

The women crafted the content and rhythm of their verses with discursive strategy in mind. Even though few scholars have written in any depth about the brindis, Luis A. Torres and Kirsten Silva Gruesz both cite them and comment on their poetic style. As a graduate student in search of poetry by nineteenth-century California Latinas, I came across Torres's groundbreaking volume *The World of Early Chicano Poetry, 1846–1910*. In addition to transcribing and translating a selection of the brindis, Torres also offers some commentary on them, focusing on their rhythmic qualities and proposing that "these women were committed to advanced principles of poetic techniques and to a variety of poetic forms."[44] This was my first encounter with

the brindis poems, and I was thrilled and surprised by their improvisational energy, colorful humor, and by the personalities of these Latinas shining through the page despite being over one hundred and fifty years old. After reading them, I was propelled into Spanish-language newspaper archives to find more works published by Latinas of Alta California.

Silva Gruesz is another researcher whose writing on Latinx people of nineteenth-century California deeply influenced me as I began my journey. See the image of *El Nuevo Mundo* in Figure 6 for what Gruesz describes as "intricate boxes" of text "presented as the sentimental, sacrificial offerings" of respectable women who were, from their perspective, forced to emerge from the privacy of their homes as a result of the extraordinary circumstances brought about by the French invasion of Mexico. Silva Gruesz observes how women's brindis are "swaddled in a nest of contexts," often with prose accompaniment describing junta activities and detailed accounts of the events at which the brindis were delivered.[45] Indeed, I would venture to take Silva Gruesz's metaphor of swaddling one step further. In addition to being enmeshed in a context immediately related to the Zaragoza Club, the brindis are physically and typographically contained within the pages and columns of other printed media. The brindis verses appear in the upper half of the central columns on the front page of the newspaper. Not only are they given pride of place, but they also stand out visually from the dense neighboring columns of prose and advertising. These visually striking lines of verse made prominent by the white space around them are in effect stand-ins for the performed toasts themselves, and thus stand-ins for the voices and gestures of the bodies of the women who performed them.

Silva Gruesz is also attentive to the tone of the brindis, dividing the poems into two types: "toasts to Mexican patriotic heroes and roasts of Maximilian and Carlota."[46] Let's take a closer look at one brindis that falls solidly into the "roast" category, Silveria Luna's brindis poem delivered at the Virginia City junta's celebration of Cinco de Mayo. This reveals not only a humorous and heartfelt protest against French pretentions to rule Mexico, but also a commonly used discursive strategy of women's junta public speakers: call and response.



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El Nuevo Mundo.

PERIODICO POLITICO Y LITERARIO, CONSAGRADO A LA DEFENSA DE LOS INTERESES LEGITIMOS DE LA AMERICA.

EL NUEVO MUNDO.

Los Angeles, Junio 15 de 1865.—Mesdames J. de Gonzales, Presidenta.—Belle Warner, Secretaria.

Sr. Subteniente Don Francisco Rivera.

Los Angeles, Junio 21 de 1865.—Señora Doña Merced J. de Gonzales, Presidenta del Club Zaragoza de Los Angeles.

Hoy que nos ponemos en marcha para Mejico, á continuar prestando nuestros servicios en defensa de nuestra Independencia Nacional, cumple á nuestro deber dar, por conducto de V. al Club de Zaragoza, un voto de gracias, por la entusiasta y honrosa acogida con que nos honró, dándonos pruebas inequívocas de su simpatía y ardiente personal por medio de manifestaciones públicas, y con el presente, de una patriótica grandeza de Cuba, á cuya sola voz de socorro, sus enfurecidos hijos se lanzaron á la pelea, y que constantemente como un recuerdo muy grato del periódico, conservamos de los Sres. del Club Zaragoza, y de los dias felices que hemos pasado en Los Angeles.

Señora Presidenta: Y que tan dignamente preside esa Sociedad, los hará V. presente, á esos entusiastas hijos de la República nuestro reconocimiento y gratitud, asegurándole que como ellos dando defendimos la causa santa de la libertad, y el último sangre, esa patria que ellas aman con una entusiasta pasion. Esa misma patria, representada por nuestro Gefe Presidente Juarez, sabrá agradecer de los dignos hijos, á cuyo recuerdo consagrará un fervoroso voto de gratitud de la República.

Al cumplir con tan sagrado deber, tenemos el honor de suscribirnos de V. atentísimos S. S.

Mariano Jos. Maria, Francisco Blanco, Modesto Medina.

(Conclusion.)

Y ahora, Señores, permitidme que os recuerde por un momento la historia de nuestra Independencia Nacional. Hace cincuenta y cinco años que un puñado de valientes, en su mayor parte indígenas, se lanzaron á la pelea, sin mas armas que el machete, la honda y el lazo, contra un ejército aguerrido, que contaba en sus filas con todos los elementos de guerra, y que era dirigido por hombres de reputacion militar. Y sin embargo, ese puñado de valientes, que no tenia mas que el valor y el patriotismo por elementos de guerra, y mas que todo, la fé en la justicia de su causa, triunfó de sus poderosos enemigos, y dió libertad á su patria.

Hoy, Señores, que la Francia, la mas poderosa nacion del mundo, ha invadido nuestro suelo, y que nuestra patria se encuentra en la mas angustiosa situacion, ¿no podremos nosotros, que tenemos el mismo valor, el mismo patriotismo, la misma fé en la justicia de nuestra causa, que aquellos valientes, esperar que, como ellos, triunfaremos de nuestros enemigos, y daremos libertad á nuestra patria?

Yo creo firmemente que sí, Señores, y creo que nuestro triunfo será mas glorioso que el de nuestros padres, porque ellos tuvieron que luchar solo contra un enemigo, mientras que nosotros tenemos que luchar contra dos, contra el enemigo que nos invade, y contra el gobierno que nos ha traicionado.

Pero, Señores, no olvidemos que nuestra causa es la causa de la justicia, y que la justicia siempre triunfa.

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FIGURE 6: Front page of the July 21, 1865 edition of *El Nuevo Mundo*, with brindis by the Zaragoza Club of Los Angeles printed front and center. Image courtesy of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

¿ Quién mandó a Méjico la intervencion?
El perjuro Napoleon.
¿ Quièn nos quiere gobernar?
Fernando el de Miramar.[47]

Who brought this invasion upon Mexico?
The perjurer Napoleon.
Who seeks to rule us?
Ferdinand of Miramar.[48]

Through this banter of call and response, visually set apart by a line break and indentation, the call takes on the dimension of an activist holler to a crowd of protesters. Though these visual breaks were likely the work of the editor, such a printed style informs the perspective of the reader and likely reflects the cadence of the original performance. The word "quién" opens both call verses and serves as the driving force of rhythm—uneven in the first couplet because of the length of the first verse, but perfectly rhymed in the second couplet. The beat of this repetition opens up as a place and time for prefigured response. This imagined chorus rings in solidarity with Luna's interrogatory demands.

On another, subtler level, her brindis also functions as a reply in a larger play of call and response. More precisely, Luna's poem echoes closely the poem of Los Angeles assembly member Andrea Belarde,[49] who contributed a brindis to the series recited at the Zaragoza Club's inaugural event in March 1865. It is reasonable to suspect that Luna must have read and been inspired by these inaugural poems. In both form and content, her verses mimic Belarde's style. The brindis by Belarde appears as the third in the series of fourteen brindis:

¿Que hombre será el mas villano?
Maximiliano.
¿Y cual será el mas bribon?
Napoleon
Dios con una maldicion
Los confunda á los abismos,
Y allí con los diablos mismos
Propongan en intervencion,
Brindo por su destruccion.[50]

Which man is the worst villain?
Maximilian.
And which is the worst rogue?
Napoleon.
May God with a curse
Confound them to hell,
And there with the devils themselves
Let them propose invasion.
I toast to their destruction!

Belarde's poem is somewhat more complex and shows greater artistry, particularly in its form. But what I want to emphasize is the way in which Luna's brindis is itself part of a dialogue among the women of the different patriotic assemblies. Luna's brindis, as an imitation, both complements and compliments Belarde's piece. More importantly, it joins them as *compañeras* who are fighting the same enemy in the same cause, several hundred miles apart from each other. As such, the two poems can be read as an example of women riffing off of one another. Living in territory recently conquered by the United States, and culturally contested between Mexico and the United States, the women find common ground in mocking an imperialist enemy who threatens Mexico. Their brindis model the grammar of their commitment and solidarity.

For Belarde and Luna, their brindis are a chance to publicly declare their common enemies and an opportunity to discursively "burn" them in effigy. Belarde's Napoleon III is the bigger "bribon," which translates to "rogue" or "rascal," while Maximilian is the bigger villain, "el mas villano." She then hopes they will be cursed to hell by God and condemned to plot there, futilely, among the devils. Luna also later indulges in the fantasy of Maximilian's throne being blown up by cannon fire. Both poems end with the obligatory "brindo por" or "I toast to." While Luna toasts Mexican independence, "brindo por nuestra nación," Belarde toasts the enemy's destruction, "brindo por su destrucción."

This expression of showy and violent humor was uncommon in published work by Latinas of the nineteenth century. Dianna Niebylski writes that women of the new Latin American republics were socialized to become "either enlightened matrons or gentle nurses—wholly serious."[51] She notes that even nineteenth-century women writers and journalists who "were known to have admirable wit in social situations and a marked independent streak in their private lives,"[52] such as Clorinda Matto de Turner and Juana Manuela Gorritti, were often restrained in the expression of this humor when it came to their published work. The mocking humor in Luna's and Belarde's brindis is somewhere between the easy humor and wit common to social gatherings and a playful type of political satire, neither too angry nor too bitter. Within this discursive and tonal middle ground, women's words could be lauded as patriotic without seeming offensive or vitriolic. As theorists of humor from Mikhail Bakhtin to Regina Barreca have

noted, humor can both build and cement group solidarity. Mixing wit, mocking humor, and declarations of their patriotism, Luna's, Belarde's, and similar women's brindis would have proved useful in building communal bonds within and across these groups.

Not all women who gave brindis deployed comedy, however, and not all occasions called for it. For instance, brindis by the Zaragoza Club members in honor of the Mexican army officers held as prisoners of war in France were imbued with admiration and praise for the guests of honor. Refugio Arce de Silva's toast to Francisco Rivera is a perfect example:

En medio de la tarde	In the middle of the afternoon
Parece que cruzaba	It seems that an angel
Un ángel que cantaba:	Passed through, who sang:
¡O muerte ó libertad!	"Either death or freedom!"
Mas esto es realidad;	But this is reality,
Y la reunion entera	And the entire gathering
Lo contemplará en Rivera.[53]	Will see it in Rivera.

As opposed to Belarde and Luna, who vented their ire at imperialist enemies, Arce de Silva's verses show a very different sentiment that also was prevalent in brindis series published by women of the Mexican patriotic assemblies: a heartfelt appreciation for the allies and heroes these women revered. Arce de Silva likens Rivera to an angel who enters her world in an ethereal and unexpected way; he is a vision made real of the paradigm "muerte ó libertad" (death or freedom). The brindis honoring the prisoners of war express the intense excitement and patriotism that their sensational story provoked in Los Angeles, and nearly all of them are dedicated to one or all of the men. One woman, Isabel Ramírez, took a different approach, dedicating her brindis to the fellow junta members who made the lavish Zaragoza Club celebration possible:

Brindo con todo placer	I toast with the greatest pleasure
Por el Club de Zaragoza;	To the Zaragoza Club,
Porque cumple aquel deber	Because it accomplishes that duty
Que sólo puede caber	Which can only be fulfilled
En una alma generosa.[54]	Within a generous soul.

Similar to Francisca Fernández de McDermot's ending her speech by leading a cheer for the patriotic Mexicanas of California, Ramírez acknowledges and honors the women of her junta and particularly their generosity. Women of the patriotic assemblies often were reminded that they had a sacred "deber,"[55] or "duty," to contribute to the war effort; and the central mission of the juntas was to fundraise for Mexico's war against the French invaders. Thus, when it came to duty, the women were not only thinking of a loyalty of sentiment, but they also had concrete dollars and cents in mind.

On the occasion that Ramírez performed her brindis, Presidenta Merced Jordan de González gave the first toast in prose, as a means of introducing the shorter brindis poems that followed. In her short speech, she stressed members' duty to raise money for the war effort, implicitly contrasting the soldiers' heroic sacrifices with the "débiles servicios" (feeble services) they, as women, could render to Mexico.[56] This implicit comparative scale gives "deber" a double meaning, as both "duty" and "debt."

Nosotras, al hacer las justas apreciaciones del mérito adquirido en los días de prueba, no hacemos más que cumplir en parte con nuestro deber. Y si los débiles servicios emanados de nuestro patriotismo fueren alguna vez útiles á la patria, en ese día serán coronados los deseos de todas las buenas mejicanas residentes en esta ciudad.[57]

We women, in showing just appreciation of the merit won [by the soldiers] in the days of trial, do no more than comply with our duty in part. And if the feeble services issuing from our patriotism were ever useful to our homeland, on that day the wishes of all the good Mexican women living in this city will truly be crowned.

Jordan de González's speech was thoroughly inscribed in the common rhetoric of women's discourses of patriotism of the era. In the presence of the soldiers who fought and then suffered the ignominy of being captured by the enemy, she characterized the junta women's

efforts on behalf of Mexico as feeble. Yet she envisioned a day in which her duty as a Mexicana would be fulfilled by her own humble services. She stated that the hopes of the "buenas mejicanas residentes en esta ciudad"—the "good Mexican women living in this city"—"serán coronados" (will be crowned) by the discharge of their debts. What remains unsaid, but would have been understood by the women present on this occasion, is that their duty would consist primarily of fundraising. The brindis of Ramírez and Jordan de González, albeit veiled in modesty and self-deprecation, were nevertheless an implicit demand for recognition of the Zaragoza Club's labor. The expectation was that by stating the nature of their contributions, even while ostensibly downplaying their importance, these efforts would have been duly noted by both the visiting soldiers and others who might report on the meeting.

On today's social media platforms, it is common to commemorate special events with "boomerang" videos of clinking glasses, selfies of partygoers, and photos of sumptuous dishes. The speeches and brindis poems of women in the Mexican patriotic assemblies also give glimpses of these ephemeral and intimate moments shared among friends, community members, and most of all, *camaradas*. The public speaking of junta women not only showcased their individual social selves, but served as a performance of their shared identity and collective strength through solidarity. This was particularly striking considering the fact that these were women of little means and privilege. Regardless of their level of wealth or literacy, participation in the juntas gave them the opportunity to voice their political opinions in the public sphere, and for those voices to be preserved to the present day through newspaper reporting. Their public speaking helped cement a *México de afuera* identity and community, using the rhetoric of Mexican patriotism to appeal to their Latinx audiences. Riffing off of one another, these Latinas asserted both individual and shared rhetorical techniques. Beyond providing insight into their anti-imperialist political values and support for Mexican sovereignty, the speeches and brindis of junta women showcase their creativity, solidarity, and unique personalities.

SPANISH TRANSCRIPTIONS AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS FOR CHAPTER 2

Speech by Angelita Moreno

La Voz de Méjico of San Francisco, December 6, 1862

DISCURSO pronunciado por la niña Angelita Moreno ante la Junta Patriótica del Pueblo de Hornitos.

Compatriotas!

"Escuchad…hay á esta hora un rumor alegre que late y conmueve todas y cada una de esas delicadas libras cuyas sensaciones le dan la vida al hombre. ¿Sabeis, Señores, lo que contiene ese rumor? ¿Sabeís porque el Pueblo mejicano se agrupa por las calles y las plazas? ¿Sabeis enfin porque el Templo de nuestra Religion Cristiana vestido de gala abre sus puertas para felicitaros, al mismo tiempo que nuestros cuarteles prorrumpen en dianas y en fuego nuestra artillería? Ah! si, bien lo sabéis todos, bien sabéis que todos debemos enactecer á nuestra patría, y por eso os hallais aquí agrupados, y si por ventura alguno lo ignoran el corazón mismo se lo anunciara en este instante; ese rumor apacible que produce el júbilo general se lo confirmaría del todo.

SPEECH delivered by the girl Angelita Moreno before the Patriotic Assembly of the Town of Hornitos.

Compatriots!

"Listen…at this hour there is a happy murmur that beats and moves each and every one of those soft pounds whose sensations give life to man. Do you know, Gentlemen, what this murmur contains? Do you know why the Mexican people gather in the streets and plazas? Do you finally know why the Temple of our Christian Religion, elegantly dressed, opens its doors to congratulate you, at the same time that our barracks detonate targets and fire our artillery? Ah! Yes, you all know it well, you know well that we all must embrace our country, and that is why you are gathered here, and if by any chance someone ignores it, the heart itself will announce it to you at this moment; that gentle murmur which evokes complete jubilation would confirm it completely.

"Nos encontramos compatriotas reunidos en este sitio para consagrar con una corta ofrenda pecuniaria el amor y adhesion que debemos à nuestro país. Debemos recordar esa época aciaga que gracias á los esfuerzos de nuestros heroicos padres, ya pasó, época en que el pueblo mejicano arrastraba con dolor las cadenas del servilísmo, tiempos angustíados cuya vuelta se nos predice por un despota europeo el emperador Napoleon III. ¿Consentiríamos en volver los pasos atrás á esa época ominosa bajo al yugo del nuevo César? No, compatriotas: unamos; consagremos nuestros esfuerzos á aliviar á nuestros hermanos de las cargas que sobre ellos pesan y á que ha dado margen esa ínicua guerra estrangera."

Lo estenso de este discurso y la estrechez de nuestras columnas, no nos permite insertarlo por entero, pero está lleno de buenos sentimientos patrióticos que hacen honor á aquella digna joven.

Es profunda la satisfaccion que causa el conocer el entusíasmo que reina entre todos los mejicanos y el ver las patrióticas alocuciones

"We find ourselves compatriots gathered in this place to consecrate with a short pecuniary offering the love and bond that we owe to our country. We must remember that fateful time that, thanks to the efforts of our heroic fathers, has already passed, a time when the Mexican people painfully dragged the chains of servility, anguished times whose return is foretold to us by a European despot, Emperor Napoleon III. Would we consent to go back in time to that ominous time under the yoke of the new Caesar? No, compatriots: let us unite; let us dedicate our efforts to relieving our brothers of the burdens that weigh on them and to which that iniquitous foreign war has given rise."

The length of this speech and the narrowness of our columns do not allow us to insert it in its entirety, but it is full of good patriotic sentiments that do honor to that worthy young woman.

It is profoundly satisfying to know the enthusiasm that reigns among all Mexicans and to see the patriotic speeches that are pronounced in que se pronuncian con el fin de despertar y mantener vivo ese espíritu que por tantos años estaba adormécida.

Nos complacemos en tributar á esa niña nuestros sinceros elogios por el puro patriótismo que respiran sus palabras.

order to awaken and keep alive that spirit that has been dormant for so many years. We are pleased to pay this girl our sincere praise for the pure patriotism that her words exude.

Speech by Francisca Manzo de Cavazos

La Voz de Méjico of San Francisco, July 16, 1863

DISCURSO pronunciado por Doña Francisca Manzo de Cavazos.

CONCIUDADANAS:

Soy Mejicana, soy muger y mi corazon menos que estremecerse al considerar los sacrificios que el pueblo mejicano está haciendo para defender la independencia, la libertad y el honor de mi patria tan injustamente invadida por los sicarios de Napoleon III. Ese miserable traidor que tiene oprimida la Francia y que despacha á sus hijos á dos mil leguas de su patria á que vengan á pelear contra la libertad y á morir sin saber por qué. Mejicanas: Si nuestra débil constitu•ion no nos permite llevar las armas para defender las libertades públicas, esto no nos exime de las penalidades y humillaciones que trae consigo la tiranìa. Si nuestro sexo nos separa de la política ò de discutir los grandes intereses del

SPEECH delivered by Mrs. Francisca Manzo de Cavazos.

FELLOW WOMEN CITIZENS:

I am Mexican, I am a woman and my heart cannot help but tremble when considering the sacrifices that the Mexican people are making to defend the independence, freedom and honor of my country so unjustly invaded by the mercenaries of Napoleon III. That miserable traitor who has oppressed France and who sends his sons two thousand leagues from their homeland to come and fight against freedom and die without knowing why. Mexican women: If our weak constitution does not allow us to bear arms to defend public liberties, this does not exempt us from the hardships and humiliations that tyranny brings with it. If our sex separates us from politics or from discussing the great interests of the State, this does not mean that we lack the common sense to

Estado, no por ese motivo carecemos de sentido comun para saber apreciar la libertad y sacrificar nuestra existencia, mejor que arrastrar las cadenas del despotismo. Por estas razones, señoras, hoy que el patriotismo inflama con un raudal de fuego el pecho de nuestras entusiastas compatriotas, debemos cooperar con toda la energía de nuestra voluntad al noble fin que se ha propuesto la Junta patriótica de los Angeles: el de contribuir cada mes con nuestros donativos para auxiiiar[58] á nuestros hermanos que con tanta gloria saben morir por la patria. La mision de la muger sobre la tierra es una mision de amor y de consuelo. Ella debe animar y consolar al desgraciado, debe estar, como la augusta caridad, al lado del moribundo; para limpiar, como la Verónica, el sudor de la frente del soldado que muere por la patria, para recibir el último suspiro del màrtir de la libertad….Conciudadanas: Despues de 62 dias de sitio, la heróica ciudad de Puebla de Zaragoza, fué rendida por sus defensores porque ya no tenian vìveres ni municiones, mientras este no les faltó, eran invencibles, porque el dia de la ocupacion por

appreciate freedom and know how to sacrifice our existence, rather than drag the chains of despotism. For these reasons, ladies, today when patriotism inflames the chests of our enthusiastic compatriots with a stream of fire, we must cooperate with all the energy we can muster towards the noble goal proposed by the Patriotic Assembly of Los Angeles: that of contributing every month with our donations to help our brothers who know what it is to die with so much glory for their country. Woman's mission on earth is one of love and consolation. She must encourage and comfort the unfortunate; she must be, like august benevolence at the side of the dying, to wipe, like Veronica, the sweat from the forehead of the soldier who dies for his country, to receive the last breath of the martyr of freedom…. Fellow women citizens: After 62 days of siege, the heroic city of Puebla de Zaragoza was surrendered by its defenders because they no longer had food or ammunition, when they did not lack for these, they were invincible, because on the day of the occupation by Forey they kept the same perimeter that they had at the beginning of the siege, with the exception of San Javier and some blocks outside the city.

Forey conservaban los mismos puntos que tenian al principio del sitio, con escepcion de San Javier y algunas manzanas fuera de la ciudad.

Los mejicanos se cubrieron de gloria porque no pidieron cuartel; porque destrozaron sus armas; porque no firmaron ni dieron palabra alguna que comprometiera el honor de la nacion. Ha sido la defensa de Puebla tan honrosa para Méjico, que el Congreso de la nacion, ha mandado colocar en el salon de sus sesiones, los documentos de Gonzalez Ortega que tratan de la ocupacion de aquella ciudad por los franceses.

A nuestros soldados así desarmados les tuvieron miedo, porque fueron reducidos á rigurosa prision. Se dice que los jefes y oficiales, van á ser desterrados à Francia y à la

Martinica.

Mejicanas: mezclemos nuestras lágrimas al llanto amargo y desconsolador que deben derramar sus infelices esposas, madres y hermanas. Enviemos desde aqui las pruebas de nuestras mas ardientes simpatías á esas mugeres heròicas, à esas dignas mejicanas que sufren y no se quejan, que como Raquel lloran à sus hijos porque

The Mexicans cloaked themselves in glory because they asked for no barracks; because they destroyed their weapons; because they did not sign or give any word that compromised the honor of the nation. The defense of Puebla has been so honorable for Mexico that the National Congress has ordered Gonzalez Ortega's documents dealing with the occupation of that city by the French to be placed in its session hall.

Even unarmed, they were afraid of our soldiers, they subjected them to strict imprisonment. It is said that the chiefs and officers are going to be exiled to France and Martinique.

Mexican women: let us mix our tears with the bitter and disconsolate weeping that their unhappy wives, mothers and sisters must shed. Let us send from here demonstrations of our most ardent sympathies to those heroic women, to those worthy Mexican women who suffer and do not complain, who, like Rachel, mourn for their sons because they are ya no existen; unos muertos en las brechas, otros sufriendo la agonía de una muerte lenta y dolorosa en los hospitales, otros desterrados trasportados como Gonzales Ortega, Porfirio Diaz, Miguel Auza, Escovedo, Patoni, &c., todos los hijos mas queridos de la república…

Mejicanas, juremos ante el Dios de nuestros padres prestar todo nuestro apoyo al sosten de nuestros principios liberales en donde quiera que nos encontremos; (1) juremos imitar á las dignas mugeres de Esparta, para inculcar à nuestros hijos los principios de la democracia, (todas lo juraron).

Compatriotas. Estamos en el Alta California; hasta aquí no llega el poder ni la influencia de Juarez, de consiguiente no estamos sugetas à una *minoría opresiva* como dice Forey. Pues bien, que esta reunion espontànea y libre de mugeres mejicanas, sea una protesta enérgica contra la invasion estrangera en Méjico, que sea una protesta formidable y decisiva contra la alianza sacrílega contraida por la Francia con el partido servil del pais que pretende sostener à nuestra santa religion por medio de la traicion à la patria. (protestamos).

La religion del Crucificado no necesita proteccion humana: el catolicismo no necesita unirse á intereses mundanos; él solo se sostiene por su propia independencia, por sus propias virtudes de caridad, de amor, de misericordia. La sangre de los màrtires no fué derramada en

no more; some dead in the trenches, others suffering the agony of a slow and painful death in hospitals, others were exiled and transported, such as Gonzales Ortega, Porfirio Diaz, Miguel Auza, Escovedo, Patoni, etc., all the most beloved sons of the republic…

Mexican women, let us swear before the God of our fathers to give all our support to the maintenance of our liberal principles wherever we find ourselves; (1) Let us swear to imitate the worthy women of Sparta, to instill in our children the principles of democracy, (all the women swore).

Women compatriots. We are in Alta California; the power and influence of Juarez do not reach here, therefore we are not subject to an *oppressive minority* as Forey says. Well, let this spontaneous and free gathering of Mexican women be a vigorous protest against the foreign invasion of Mexico, let it be a formidable and decisive protest against the sacrilegious alliance contracted by France with the servile party of our country that seeks to sustain our holy religion through treason. (we protest).

The religion of the Crucified does not need human protection: Catholicism does not need to join

vano. Las austeras virtudes de sus santos, las predicaciones de sus apóstoles, los ejemplos de sus confesores y ministros, bastan para que nuestra santa religion, sea venerada y respetada en todo el mundo. La religion es el consuelo del desgraciado; es la esperanza del justo y no necesita de Márquez y Cobos para que triunfe en el corazon de los mejicanos. Respetemos nuestra religion; veneremos sus prácticas sublimes y sencillas, y estemos listas para sacrificarnos por ella; pero no podremos ver sin espanto que el clero de Puebla haya ofrecida à Forey el incienso y el agua bendita y cantado un *Te-Deum* cuando éste entró à Puebla, estando todavia fresca la sangre de nuestros hermanos en las murallas de aquella ciudad. ¡Oh! el sacerdote que profanó el templo aquel dia, no supo que el incienso que ofreció al general Forey era el vapor caliente de los sepulcros de nuestros pobres hermanos, que han sido asesinados por Napoleon; ¡ y que las velas del altar las encendió en las mechas de los cañones!

¡Mejicanas! Debemos repeler esa alianza que ha formado la Francia con el partido de la

worldly interests; it is only sustained by its own independence, by its own virtues of charity, love, and mercy. The blood of the martyrs was not shed in vain. The austere virtues of its saints, the preachings of its apostles, the examples of its confessors and ministers, are enough for our holy religion to be venerated and respected throughout the world.

Religion is the consolation of the unfortunate; it is the hope of the just and does not need Márquez and Cobos for it to triumph in the hearts of Mexicans. Let us respect our religion; let us venerate its sublime and simple practices, and be ready to sacrifice ourselves for it; but we cannot see without horror that the clergy of Puebla have offered Forey incense and holy water and sang a *Te Deum* when he entered

Puebla, with the blood of our brothers still fresh on the walls of that city. Oh! The priest who desecrated the temple that day did not know that the incense he offered to General Forey was the hot steam from the tombs of our poor brothers, who had been murdered by Napoleon; and that he lit the altar candles on the fuses of the cannons!

Mexican women! We must repel that alliance that France has formed

reaccion; pero no por eso debemos desmayar, ni dejar de ha cer cuantos esfuerzos podamos para que al fin triunfe en la Amèrica la causa de la libertad contra el despotismo.

Digamos á Napoleon; que si mueren todos los mejicanos, quedamos las mugeres, las que trasformàndonos en soldados empuñaremos el fusil, y veràn esos de cantados zuavos que en un pais libre, nadie quiere ser esclavo; que si mueren nuestros padres, esposos y hermanos, tambien nosotras sabremos morir como heroinas, dignas del nombre mejicano.

¡ Vivan los defensores de Puebla! ¡Viva la independencia, la reforma y la libertad de Méjico! ¡Viva Juarez y Gonzalez Grtega![59]

Dije.—Los Angeles 28 de Junio de 1863.—Francisca Manzo de Cabazos.

with the reactionary party; but that does not mean we should grow faint, nor cease to make every effort to ensure that the cause of liberty finally triumphs over despotism in America.

Let's say to Napoleon; that if all the Mexican men die, we women will remain, those of us who, transforming ourselves into soldiers, will take up the rifle, and those sanguine Zouaves will see that in a free country, no one wants to be a slave; that if our fathers, husbands and brothers die, we will also know how to die as heroines, worthy of the name Mexican.

Long live the defenders of Puebla! Long live the independence, reform and freedom of Mexico! Long live Juarez and Gonzalez Grtega!

Pronounced.—Los Angeles, June 28, 1863.—Francisca Manzo de Cabazos.

Speech by María Noriega

La Voz de Méjico, November 12, 1864

DISCURSO *pronunciado por Da. María Noriega, presidenta de la sociedad patriótica de señoras mejicanas, el 30 de Octubre de 1864, en la solemnizacion del aniversario de su instalacion.*

SPEECH delivered by Mrs. María Noriega, president of the Patriotic Society of Mexican Ladies, on October 30, 1864, on the solemnization of the anniversary of its founding.

SEÑORAS: El 30 de Setiembre de 1864, fué el dia en que se formó esta honorable Junta, y el 30 de Setiembre último fué el aniversario de su instalacion, dando resultados que engorgullecen en general à las señoras que la componen, y muy particularmente à las que la iniciaron. Honrada con la confianza de mis compatriotas, fuí nombrada presidenta, despues de la renuncia de mi honorable predecesora, doña Paula A. de Tapia. Hasta hoy he visto con sumo placer la continuacion del noble entusiasmo y actividad con que mis compatriotas, reunidas todas en un mismo centro, é inspiradas por un solo pensamiento, han desarrollado los sentimientos mas nobles y generosos en favor de la santa causa de la libertad de nuestra patria; trabajando incesantemente en la recaudacion de un fondo comun, con los ahorros de sus tareas diarias en beneficio de nuestros hermanos, que al frente del invasor defienden denodados à nuestra independencia; dando tambien a conocer con estos hechos, la enérgica protesta de desprecio y òdio hácia los invasores y traidores! La suma reunida en todo el año, desde la instalacion de esta honorable Junta, asciende à la

LADIES: September 30, 1864, was the day this honorable Assembly was formed, and last September 30th was the anniversary of its founding, yielding results that generally fill the ladies who comprise it with pride, particularly those who initiated it. Honored by the confidence of my compatriots, I was appointed president after the resignation of my honorable predecessor, Mrs. Paula A. de Tapia. To this day, I have observed with great pleasure the continuation of the noble enthusiasm and activity with which my compatriots, all united in the same cause and inspired by a single purpose, have demonstrated through the noblest and most generous sentiments in favor of the holy cause of our homeland's freedom; working incessantly to raise a common fund, with the savings from their daily labors, for the benefit of our brothers and sisters who, at the front lines against the invader, tirelessly defend our independence; also making known with these actions their energetic outcry of contempt and hatred towards the invaders and traitors! The sum collected

cantidad de trescientos setenta y seis pesos treinta y cinco centavos (376 35 centavos,) los que han sido remitidos a la Junta Central Directiva. Todo el mundo que simpatiza con la causa de la república, mira y contempla à nuestros hermanos en la tierra estrangera, que con sus cortas primicias ayudan à defender nuestra santa causa (Aplausos.) Nuestro gobierno, la prensa y los pueblos, bendicen la grande obra de asociacion, fundada por el culto à la libertad que rinden los mejicanos y mejicanas en California, dando de este modo un grado mas de fuerza moral al gobierno constitucional!

El órden y armonia que ha reinado en nuestra Junta, son tìtulos de respeto para los que hacen justicia al gran pensamiento de estas sociedades, y no pueden menos que llenar de júbilo y sincera complacencia a los dignos apóstoles de la union y de la libertad. Hasta en nuestro aniversario nacional se han distinguido nuestras sociedades por la parte que han tomado en su solemnizacion.

Nunca el sol que alumbrò á la América en 1810, dando à los pueblos, nacionalidad, libertad é independencia, ha alumbrado

throughout the year, since the establishment of this honorable Assembly, amounts to threehundred seventy-six pesos and thirty-five cents ($376.35), which have been remitted to the Central Directing Assembly. Everyone who sympathizes with the cause of the republic sees and acknowledges our brothers in foreign lands, who with their modest first fruits help defend our holy cause. (Applause.) Our government, the press, and the people bless the great work of alliance, founded on the devotion to liberty shown by the Mexican men and women in California, thus offering an added degree of moral strength to the constitutional government!

The order and harmony that have reigned in our Assembly are titles of respect for those who do justice to the great ideals of these societies, and they cannot but fill with joy and sincere satisfaction the worthy apostles of union and liberty. Even on our national anniversary, our societies have distinguished themselves for the part they have taken in its solemnization.

Never has the sun that shone upon America in 1810, giving its

la tierra de Colon en época mas solemne. Tanto en esta ciudad como en todas las del Estado, en donde residan cuatro mejicanos, han dado las mas espléndidas muestras de union y patriotismo, celebrando el 16 de Setiembre con toda la pompa y grandeza digna de tan fausto dia (Aplausos.)

¿Y à qué atribuis, generosas hermanas, que se deban tan laudables empresas, à pesar del estado de miseria en que se halla la mayor parte de nuestros compatriotas? ¿Y a que se debe la union y la uniformidad de sentimientos de independencia y libertad, y los sentimientos de ódio entrañable à los reyes y tiranos, a los surpadores intrusos? Se debe, señoras, à la heroica posicion que ha tomado nuestra república desde que los invasores profanaron nuestras playas; y por último, es el desprecio à los hijos de los Tlascaltecas y Zempoaltecas de la generacion de Cain; traidores de nefanda memoria que fueron los primeros que cometieron el crimen de lesa traicion, aliandose à Hernan Cortés y dieron el primer golpe à nuestra nacionalidad! Estos son hechos, queridas compatriotas, que dimanan del convencimiento de

peoples nationhood, liberty, and independence, illuminated the land of Columbus in a more solemn era. Both in this city and in all the cities of the State where at least four Mexicans reside, they have given the most splendid displays of unity andpatriotism, celebrating September 16th with all the pomp and grandeur worthy of such an auspicious day. (Applause.)

And to what do you attribute, generous sisters, the reason for such laudable undertakings, despite the state of misery in which most of our compatriots find themselves? And what is the reason for the unity and uniformity of sentiments of independence and liberty, and the sentiments of heartfelt hatred for kings and tyrants, for the intruding invaders? The reason is, ladies, the heroic position our republic has taken since the invaders desecrated our shores; And finally, it is the contempt for the children of the Tlascaltecas and Zempoaltecas of the generation of Cain; traitors of nefarious history who were the first to commit the crime of treason, allying themselves with Hernan Cortés and dealing the first blow to our people! These are facts, dear compatriots, that emanate from the

todo pecho mejicano; que alienta la firme esperanza de que nuestra madre patria sabrá salvarse por si misma. Cada dia que pasa, tenemos mas motivos para creérlo asi, y la razon es la siguiente:

Con el C. presidente D. Bendito Juarez es decir, con la república, está de su lado el derecho, la dignidad, el talento el patriotismo, y todo el pueblo mejicano; (Aplausos.) ¡Con Almonte, es decir, con el imperio, está la traicion y los traidores! ¿De quién serà, pues, el triunfo decisivo? Ya ven Vdes., queridas compatriotas, que Méjico no es un cadàver, ni como nacion, ni como república; Méjico vive, y vivirà en la santa comunidad de las naciones libres del nuevo mundo! (Prolongados aplausos.) La Union, respetables señoras, que fué el grito de 1863! Patria, fué el grito de 1810. Union, es la palabra santa y de órden que rige los destinos de nuestra cara patria! Union, es la fuerza, union, es el corazon de los pueblos y la grandeza de las naciones! (Aplausos.) Hasta hoy nada hemos perdido todavia en Méjico, para la buena causa; ningun Estado de nuestra confederacion se han adherido voluntariamente al imperio; y al contrario, en cada uno

conviction of every Mexican heart; they nourish the firm hope that our motherland will know how to save itself. Every day that passes, we have more cause to believe this, and the reason is the following: Standing on the side of President Bendito Juárez—that is, with therepublic—are righteousness, dignity, talent, patriotism, and all the Mexican people; (Applause.) With Almonte, that is, with the empire, there is treason and traitors! Whose, then, will be the decisive triumph? You see, dear lady compatriots, that Mexico is not a corpse, neither as a nation nor as a republic; Mexico lives, and will live in the holy community of the free nations of the New World! (Prolonged applause.) Union, respectable ladies, was the cry of 1863! Patria, was the cry of 1810. Union, is the sacred word and guiding principle that governs the destiny of our beloved homeland! Union, is strength, union is the heart of the people and the greatness of nations! (Applause.) To this day, we have lost nothing in Mexico, for good reason; no state of our confederation has voluntarily joined the empire; and on the contrary, in each one of them the

de ellos està ardiendo la hoguera de la libertad. Los invasores no ocupan mas tierra republicana que la que pisan. Séamos, pues, unidos en la accion, unidos en el esfuerzo, y desde luego nos serà comun la gloria de haber salvado à nuestra madre patria del nuevo perjuicio de Napoleon III! (Aplausos.) Nuestras sociedades y todas las que hoy existen en este Estado; deben trabajar incesantemente para socorrer à nuestro ejército: esta es la sagrada mision que tenemos la obligacion de cumplir: y la condicion esencial y necesaria de nuestras sociedades es que debe haber órden y armonia. ¿Qué union puede existir, ó puede ser posible, si en cada sociedad no se sacrifican en favor de la patria ciertas pacioncillas que estamos siempre dispuestos à darles mas valor que el que en sí tienen y que son justamente las que nos desbordan del fin que nos hemos propuesto

Respetables, señoras, el pensamiento de las Juntas patrioticas, es la union, es la accion. Nuestros padres comprendieron el pensamiento, la necesidad de la época, la libertad, la independencia, la república, y fieles à su mision,

bonfire of liberty is burning. The invaders occupy no more republican land than what they tread upon. Let us, then, be united in action, united in effort, and we will surely share the glory of having saved our motherland from the new harm inflicted by Napoleon III! (Applause.) Our societies andall those that exist today in this State must work incessantly to aid our army: this is the sacred mission we are obligated to fulfill; and the essential and necessary condition of our societies is that there must be order and harmony. What union can exist, or can be possible, if in each society certain petty passions are not sacrificed in favor of the homeland, passions that we are always inclined to value more than they are worth and which are precisely what distract us from the goal we have set for ourselves?

Respected ladies, the principle of the patriotic Assemblies is unity, it is action. Our fathers understood the principle, the demands of the times, liberty, independence, the republic, and faithful to their mission, they sacrificed their fortunes, their blood, and their lives, fulfilled their duty, and bequeathed us liberty, independence, and a republic.

sacrificaron sus fortunas, su sangre, y su existencia, cumplieron su deber y nos legaron libertad, independencia y república. Nuestro cargo es menos pesado ó no es nada; no necesitamos mas que union y armonia para obrar de comun acuerdo, y esta union aterrarà al estrangulador de la república francesa; y entónces la historia en una página brillante consignara este juicio: "los hijos de los fundadores de la república mejicana cumplieron con su deber!" (Aplausos.)

Asi, pues, queridas compatriotas, en nombre de Dios y de la patria: que nuestra divisa sea, union, fraternidad y constancia, como condiciones necesarias y eficaces para defender los derechos, la libertad é independencia de la república mejicana! Roguémos al Omnipotente porque conserve los dias al ilustre caudillo de la reforma, defensor de la patria, C. presidente D. BENITO JUAREZ, y por el esclarecido demòcrata, C. general D. PLACIDO VEGA, gobernador del Estado de Sinaloa, y por lasuerte de nuestras armas. Digàmos todas con toda la fuerza y energía de nuestros corazones. Viva el C. D. Benito Juarez! Viva el C. G. D. Plácido Vega! ¡Vivan los

Our burden is less heavy, or rather, it is nothing at all; We need nothing more than unity and harmony to act in concert, and this unity will terrify the stranglehold of the French Republic; and then history, on a brilliant page, will record this judgment: "The children of the founders of the Mexican Republic fulfilled their duty!" (Applause.)

Therefore, dear lady compatriots, in the name of God and the homeland: may our motto be unity, fraternity, and constancy, as necessary and effective conditions for defending the rights, liberty, and independence of the Mexican Republic! Let us pray to the Almighty to preserve the days of the illustrious leader of reform, defender of the homeland, His Excellency President BENITO JUÁREZ, and for the enlightened democrat, His Excellency General PLACIDO VEGA, governor of the State of Sinaloa, and for the success of our arms. Let us say with all the strength and energy of our hearts: Long live Benito Juarez! Long live Plácido Vega! Long live those who keep fighting to defend our independence and freedom! Death to the invaders and the

que de nuevo luchan defendiendo nuestra independencia y libertad! Mueran los invasores y el intruso Maximiliano! Mueran los traidores à su patria, los amantes de la esclavitud! ¡Viva la independencia del continente americano! Muera la monarquia!

intruder Maximilian! Deathto traitors to their country, lovers of slavery! Long live the independence of the American continent! Death to the monarchy!

Brindis by the Club Zaragoza de Señoras of Los Angeles

El Nuevo Mundo of San Francisco, March 29, 1865

Méjico libre ha de ser
Pese al francés insolente.
Esto mi instinto presente
Si sabemos sostener
Nuestro digno presidente.
Con heroismo defended
Donde quiera que te hallares
De nuestra patria los lores;
Y en su entusíasmo Merced
Brinda por Benito Juarez.

Merced J. de Gonzalez.

—

Por el héroe de Oajaca
Dueño de mis simpatias.
Aquel que por todas vias
A los franceses ataca,
Brindo por Porfirio Dias.

Rosario Diaz.

—

Mexico must be free
Despite the insolent Frenchman.
My instincts tell me so
If we know how to sustain
Our worthy president.
With heroism defend
Wherever you may be
The good men of our country;
And with her enthusiasm, Merced
Toasts to Benito Juarez.

Merced J. de Gonzalez.

—

For the hero of Oaxaca
Who owns my sympathies.
The one who attacks
The French by all means,
I toast to Porfirio Dias.

Rosario Diaz.

—

¿Que hombre será el mas villano?
Maximiliano.
¿Y cual será el mas bribon?
Napoleon
Dios con una maldicion
Los confunda á los abismos,
Y allí con los diablos mismos
Propongan en intervencion,
Brindo por su destruccion.
Andrea Belarde.

—

Pesqueira y Garcia Morales,
Los baluartes de Sonora;
Genios que mi pecho adora:
Brindo por los dos iguales,
Por Pesqueira y por Cachora.
Sebastiana Chacon.

—

Con constancia y con valor
Sigues la sacra tarea;
Siempre la patria te vea
Combatiendo al invasor.
Por Patoni brinda Andrea.
Andrea Saenz.

—

Viva el heroe de Guerrero
Y nunca Maximiliano,
Viva el liberal ufano
Y muera el infame clero,
Brindo por Altamirano.
Francisca Fernandez.

—

Which man is the worst villain?
Maximilian.
And which is the worst rogue?
Napoleon.
May God with a curse
Confound them to hell,
And there with the devils themselves
Let them propose invasion.
I toast to their destruction!
Andrea Belarde.

—

Pesqueira and Garcia Morales,
The bastions of Sonora;
Geniuses my heart adores:
I toast the two in equal measure,
To Pesqueira and Cachora.
Sebastiana Chacon.

—

With perseverance and courage
You continue the sacred duty;
Always the nation sees you
Fighting the invader.
For Patoni, toasts Andrea.
Andrea Saenz.

—

Long live the hero of Guerrero
And never Maximilian,
Long live the proud liberal
And death to the infamous clergy,
I toast to Altamirano.
Francisca Fernandez.

—

A todo el Norte ver quiero
Libre, fuerte, independiente;
Quiero verlo prepotente,
Y con gusto placentero.
Brindo por el presidente.
Bell Warner.

—

Que su fama siempre aumente
Del mundo en todo el espacio;
Es mas fino que un topacio.
Brindo por ese valiente,
Brindo por Riva Palacio.
Andrea Saenz.

—

Con valor y con constancia
Le haces la guerra al bonete;
Con la espada y gabinete
Heces temblar á la Francia
Brindo por Miguel Negrete.
Concepcion Alaniz.

—

De la patria eres fanal
De los traidores terror,
Al francés causas horror
Como tu no hay otro igual,
Por ti brindo Carbajal.
Hilaria Rendon.

—

Yo no quiero monarquía
Yo no quiero aristocracia;
Ni del traidor la palacia,
Quiero ver la patria mía
Libre de toda desgracia.
Arcadia Alvarado.

—

I want to see all the North
Free, strong, independent;
I want to see him proud,
And pleasantly glad.
I toast to the president.
Bell Warner.

—

May his fame always increase
Over the space of the world;
He is finer than topaz.
I toast to that brave man,
I toast to Riva Palacio.
Andrea Saenz.

—

With courage and perseverance
You wage war on the bonnets;
With sword and cabinet
You make France tremble
I toast to Miguel Negrete.
Concepcion Alaniz.

—

To the nation you are a beacon
To the traitors, terror,
You cause horror to the Frenchman
There is no other like you,
I toast to you, Carbajal.
Hilaria Rendon.

—

I don't want monarchy
I don't want aristocracy;
Nor the palace of the traitor,
I want to see my homeland
Free from all disgrace.
Arcadia Alvarado.

—

El tonto Maximiliano
Y su consorte Carlota
Al buen sentido derrota
Por que el hombre es un marrano
    Y su mujer una idiota.
De conformida ese duo
Gobiernan á los traidores,
A frailes y aduladores,
Sin mas talento que un buho.
Refujio Diaz.

—

¡ Méjico! tu que en tus campos
El sol de mi vida ví,
Cuna do yo me meci
De juveniles encantos.
Tu que en el bosque moviente
De tus perfumadas brizas
Goce las dulces delicias
De su divino ambiente.
Quisiera hacer con mi vida
Tu ventura.
Con cuanto amor y ternura
La diera, patria querida
Y que fueras grande y fuerte
En el mundo
Y que el universo inerte
Te admirara absorto, mudo.
Francisca Garcia.

—

Mis amigos una copa,
En honor de los valientes
Que cubriendo estan sus frentes
Con laureles de victoria.
Por que la pelea no envano,

The Fool Maximilian
And his consort Carlota
Common sense will defeat
Because the man is a swine
    And his wife is an idiot.
Under that duo
Traitors rule.
To friars and flatterers,
With no more talent than an owl.
Refujio Diaz.

—

Mexico! you who in your fields
I saw the sun of my life,
Cradle where I was rocked
By youthful charms.
You who in the shifting forest
Of your perfumed breezes
I enjoyed the sweet delights
Of its divine environment.
I would like to make of my life
Your fortune.
With so much love and tenderness
I would give you, dear homeland
So that you were grand and strong
In the world
And that the motionless universe
Will admire you captivated, mute.
Francisca Garcia.

—

My friends a drink,
In honor of the brave
Whose foreheads are crowned
With laurels of victory.
Because the fight is not in vain,

Sea tan tenaz tan terrible
Que á su frente estruendo, horrible
! Se muera Maximiliano!
Refugio Diaz.

Be it so tenacious so terrible
That before him a thunder, horrible
! May Maximilian die!
Refugio Diaz.

El Nuevo Mundo of San Francisco, July 21, 1865

A los tres ex-prisioneros
Rivera, Herrera y Medina,
Con placer mi alma se inclina
Por valientes y guerreros.
Francisca Roldan.

—

Con alegría placentera
Y de todo corazon,
Brindaré en esta ocasion
Por el capitan Herrera.
Exiquia Acevedo.

—

Dichoso el que sacrifica
Por la patria su existencia,
Y que con toda su influencia
A la guerra se dedica
Con todo su ser y esencia!
Rosario Diaz de Reihm.

—

Cuando el infame francés
En San Pedro combatió,
En el momento encontró
De la fortuna un revés
Y su fama se acabó.
Doy mi amor al que defiende
De su patria los umbrales;
Por el valiente Rosales

To the three former prisoners
Rivera, Herrera and Medina,
My soul bows with pleasure
For brave men and warriors.
Francisca Roldan.

—

With joyful happiness
And with all my heart,
I will toast on this occasion
For Captain Herrera
Exiquia Acevedo.

—

Blessed is he who sacrifices
For his country's existence,
And who with all his power
Dedicates himself to war
With all his soul and essence!
Rosario Diaz de Reihm.

—

When the infamous Frenchman
Fought in San Pedro,
At that moment he found
His fortunes reversed
And his fame came to an end.
I give my love to he who defends
The borders of his country;
For the brave Rosales

Mi pecho en fuego se enciende.
¡ Que vivan los liberales!
Isabel Warner.

—

Do quier la fama pregona
Tus hazañas y valor;
Adquiriste grande honor,
Valientísimo Corona.
Por ti brindo con amor.
Andrea de Saenz.

—

Brindo con todo placer
Por el Club de Zaragoza;
Porque cumple aquel deber
Que solo puede caber
En una alma generosa.
Isabel Ramirez.

—

Con todo el placer que siento
Brindo por esos valientes,
Que no mancharon sus frentes
Con indigno juramento,
De su patria estando ausentes.
Mariquita Ramirez.

—

Yo brindo por la constancia
Que supieron mantener
Los emigrados de Francia.
Andrea Velarde.

—

¿Por qué. Méjico hermoso,
Mi relicario amado.
La planta del malvado
Te pisa presuroso?

My bosom burns with fire.
Long live the liberals!
Isabel Warner.

—

Everywhere your fame proceeds you
Your exploits and valor;
You acquired great honor,
Most valiant Corona.
To you I toast with love.
Andrea de Saenz.

—

I toast with the greatest pleasure
To the Zaragoza Club,
Because it accomplishes that duty
Which can only be fulfilled
Within a generous soul.
Isabel Ramirez.

—

With all the joy that I feel
I toast to those brave men,
Who did not stain their foreheads
With an unholy sacrament,
By staying away from their country.
Mariquita Ramirez.

—

I toast to the fidelity
That they were wise to maintain
Those who left France.
Andrea Velarde.

—

Why? Beautiful Mexico,
My beloved reliquary.
The malicious footstep
Does it hastily tread on you?

Mas detengan su carrera
De su jefe los esclavos,
Pues todavía tenemos bravos
Como el capitan Herrera;
Brindo por que nunca muera.
Teresa Morales.

—

Oigo el aire como suena
Y entre los árboles trina,
Recomendando á Medina
Por su valor y su pena.
Brindo porque al regresar,
Haga al invasor temblar.
Concepcion de García.

—

En medio de la tarde
Parece que cruzaba
Un ángel que cantaba
¡O muerte ó libertad!
Mas esto es realidad;
Y la reunion entera
Lo contemplará en Rivera.
Refugio Arce de Silva.

—

En la antigua Roma habia
De Vesta, templo formado,
Do por mugeres cuidado,
Perenne se mantenia
Constante el fuego sagrado.
Las socias de "Zaragoza"
A las de Vesta imitando,
El fuego patrio atizando,
Con inquietud afanosa
La lámpara están cuidando.
Filomeno Ibarra.

Best for the slaves to stop
The race of their master,
For we still have noble soldiers
Like Captain Herrera;
I toast that he never perishes.
Theresa Morales.

—

I hear the sound of the breeze
And through the trees a trill,
Commending Medina
For his valor and his sacrifice.
I toast that when he returns,
He makes the invader tremble.
Concepcion de García.

—

In the middle of the afternoon
It seems that an angel
Passed through, who sang:
"Either death or freedom!"
But this is reality,
And the entire gathering
Will see it in Rivera.
Refugio Arce de Silva.

—

In ancient Rome there was
Of Vesta, a temple built,
Cared for by women,
Perennially they tended
The ever-burning sacred fire.
The women members of "Zaragoza"
Who imitate those of Vesta,
Stoking the patriotic fire,
With fretful concern
They guard our torch.
Filomeno Ibarra.

Brindis by the Women's Junta Patriótica of Virginia City, Nevada
El Nuevo Mundo of San Francisco, May 15, 1865

DA. AGAPITA GONZALEZ.
La causa por que mi patria
Se encuentre hoy en agonías,
Son los mismos mejicanos
Que han tomado simpatías
A esos infames tiranos.
Brindo por Porfirio Diaz!

—

DA. TERESA CONTTRERAS.
Invito á los concurrentes
A que con voz melodiosa,
Brindemos por Zaragoza
Y por todos sus valientes

—

DA. JULIA ORTIZ.
Méjico, perla preciosa,
Hoy te ves asesinada
Por esa Francia orgullosa
Que á su ejército venció
El inmortal Zaragoza.

—

DA. SILVERIA LUNA.
¿ Quién mandó a Méjico la intervencion?
El perjuro Napoleon.
¿ Quièn nos quiere gobernar?
Fernando el de Miramar.
Pues se puede retirar
Este archiduque simplon,
Que su trono ha de estallar

MS. AGAPITA GONZALEZ.
The reason why my country
Today finds itself in agony,
Are those Mexicans
Who have taken a liking
To those infamous tyrants.
I toast to Porfirio Diaz!

—

MS. TERESA CONTTRERAS.
I invite those present
With a melodious voice
To toast Zaragoza
And all his brave men.

—

MS. JULIA ORTIZ.
Mexico, precious pearl,
Today you look vanquished
By that arrogant France
Whose army was defeated
By the immortal Zaragoza.

—

MS. SILVERIA LUNA.
Who brought this invasion upon Mexico?
The perjurer Napoleon.
Who seeks to rule us?
Ferdinand of Miramar.
Well he can retreat
This simpleton archduke,
That his throne ought to explode

En la boca de un cañon.
¡Brindo por la independencia de nuestra nacion!

DA. JUANA SANCHEZ.

Brindo Señoras: Por los triunfos que han obtenido nuestras armas contra las de ese audaz Napoleon III, que creyendo que sus soldados eran los primeros del globo y confiado en sus heróicas victorias, pensó y puso en práctica el proyecto de subyugar á un subyugar á un pueblo, que como el mejicano, ha sabido verter su sangre por ser libre. Guerra á los homicidas impuros sectarios de un emperador verdugo, de su país! Guerra, por siempre á todo déspota, hasta que su capacidad les dé á conocer que no hay poder que domine á los pueblos que con torrentes de sangre han conseguido su libertad! Guerra, guerra y guerra eternas hasta que caigan de una vez esos tronos y en particular de ese orgulloso francés que tanto lo mancilla con sus rebeldes instintos, y que con su trono caiga su cabeza! Mejicanos, ¡ Viva la libertad! ¡ Viva la reforma!

—

DA. CARMEN GONZALEZ.

El trono que Napoleon
Presentó à Maximiliano,
Se lo dió con condicion
De que ofreciera á su hermano
Que robarian con baldon
El tesoro mejicano.
¡ Brindo por nuestra nacion!

At the mouth of a cannon.
I toast to the independence of our nation!

MS. JUANA SANCHEZ.

I toast, Ladies: To the triumphs that our weapons have secured against those of that audacious Napoleon III, who, believing that his soldiers were the best in the world and confident in his heroic victories, thought and put into practice the project of subjugating a people who, like the Mexicans, have shed their blood to be free. War on the impure sectarian murderers of an emperor who is the executioner of his country! War, forever on all despots, until they have the capacity to understand that there is no power that dominates the peoples who have achieved their freedom with torrents of blood! War, war and eternal war until those thrones fall once and for all, and in particular that proud Frenchman who so desecrates it with his rebellious impulses, and may his head fall with his throne! Mexicans, Long live liberty! Long live reform!

—

MS. CARMEN GONZALEZ.

The throne that Napoleon
Presented to Maximilian,
Was given on one condition
Thus offered to his brother
That they would steal with abandon
The treasure of Mexico.
I toast to our nation!

CHAPTER 3

Bildungsroman à Clef: Guadalupe Gutierrez's *Espinas y rosas*

> El Sr. Pico, á quien es característica la más amable galantería acompaña á las Stas. Gutierrez, distinguidas jóvenes que forman parte esencial de la escogida sociedad mejicana de la metropoli[1] de California.[2]
>
> Señor Pico, in whom the kindest gallantry is characteristic, accompanies the Señoritas Gutierrez, distinguished young women who are an essential part of the most select Mexican society of California's metropolis.
>
> *La Crónica* of Los Angeles, April 7, 1877

When the escritora Guadalupe Gutierrez was mentioned in California's Spanish-language newspapers, her name was often linked with that of her younger sister, the poetisa Carlota Gutierrez.[3] Repeatedly Pastor de Célis, editor of the Los Angeles Spanish-language newspaper *La Crónica* quoted above, referred to them jointly as "las Señoritas Gutierrez." This was particularly true during the festive time around Cinco de Mayo of 1877, when the Gutierrez sisters made the voyage via steamship from their home in San Francisco to Los Angeles (see Figure 7), in the company of Pío de Jesús Pico, the last Mexican governor of Alta California before it was colonized by the United States and an influential leader in the state's Mexican-American community. Not only are the Gutierrez sisters described as being part of the most select Mexican society of San Francisco, but it was a great honor to be associated with Pico and accompany him on such a journey. Pico at this time was nearing his seventy-sixth birthday—



Figure 7: Photo of the wood paddle steamer "Orizaba." This is an example of a steamer which regularly made voyages between Los Angeles area ports and San Francisco during the spring of 1877.[4] Image courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library.

which coincidentally coincided with Cinco de Mayo—and although de Célis paints him as a gallant gentleman escort, he may have been the one appreciating the company and helping hand of Guadalupe and her sister.

Based on de Célis's description, one might assume that because they reportedly formed part of the *escogida sociedad* (select society) of San Francisco, the Gutierrez sisters came from an elite, wealthy family. This couldn't have been further from the truth. The Gutierrez home in San Francisco was a humble household of Mexican immigrants headed by hardworking women.[5] Guadalupe attended school as a teenager, but also worked for a time as a "domestic," that is, doing housework in other people's houses.[6] Carlota's first job was a telegraph operator.[7] In

1877, both women were in their twenties. At the same time that they were publishing creative writing in Spanish-language newspapers and building their public images in the Mexican-American community, they also maintained day jobs as Spanish teachers.[8] Guadalupe and Carlota were ambitious women, intent not just on social climbing, but also on establishing reputations for themselves as writers, thinkers, and public figures.

In addition to publishing their writing, the Spanish-language press included the Gutierrez sisters in society reporting, noted when they spoke at Mexican patriotic events, and also, in the case of Guadalupe, carefully followed the publication of her serialized novel *Espinas y rosas*. It is thanks to this reporting that I was able to track down one surviving issue of the San Francisco newspaper *La Sociedad*, from October 27, 1877, which contains an installment of Guadalupe's novel. Even though I have been able to recover only this one installment, being able to share these six invaluable pages of *Espinas y rosas* already feels like a longshot victory. Thus far, this work is the only Spanish-language novel I have been able to find written by a Latina that was published in the nineteenth-century California press.[9] And I have saved the juiciest part for last. Why were newspaper editors so interested in reporting on *Espinas y rosas?* Because it was a *roman à clef*! That is to say, the characters in the novel were based on actual people in Guadalupe's social circle, particularly the friends and acquaintances she visited on her trip to Los Angeles with Carlota and former governor Pico.

The pages that have survived provide a rare, intimate look into the intellectual world of 1870s California from the unique perspective of a young Latina escritora just beginning to gain a foothold as an author. Perhaps because this was a precarious stage in Guadalupe's life and career, it is not surprising that in addition to being a *roman à clef*, *Espinas y rosas* was also a *bildungsroman*, or coming-of-age story. The plot centers around two young Latina protagonists, sisters Leonor and Clotilde, who receive the guidance of their uncle, Don Próspero, as they step into polite society. The parallels between Guadalupe,

Carlota, and their real-life distinguished traveling companion, Pío Pico, are readily apparent.

This chapter explores many facets of *Espinas y rosas* and goes beyond the text itself. Especially because *Espinas y rosas* was a *roman à clef* centered on two young ladies who parallel the real-life Guadalupe and Carlota, it is important to begin with as detailed a biography as possible of the Gutierrez sisters. Next, we consider a series of colorful public exchanges by the editors of the newspapers *La Crónica*, *La Sociedad*, and *Las Dos Repúblicas* about the serialization of Guadalupe's novel. The second part of this chapter then dives into the surviving installment of the novel, particularly looking at how Guadalupe uses a blend of the *bildungsroman* and *roman à clef* genres to invest her readers in not only her own successful passage into womanhood, but also her establishment as a writer. The chapter concludes with one last mysterious identity, a fictional "Guadalupe" character with intriguing points of resemblance to the author Guadalupe Gutierrez, who appears in a novel from early twentieth-century Spain also titled *Espinas y rosas*.[10]

Although Guadalupe's novel does not serve as a call to action or contain overt social justice messages, like the newspaper writings explored in the first two chapters of this book, she does articulate her personal, social, and cultural values through the development of fictional characters. Notably, by touting the importance of a good social education over the pursuit of wealth, Guadalupe uses her characters to express how Latinx cultural values conflicted with what she perceived as an overly capitalist-driven US society. What Guadalupe has in common with all the Latina authors, poets, and orators in this book is that her writing was deeply intertwined with her social self and socially performative in a way that appealed directly to her Latinx community. This is epitomized through her blending of the *bildungsroman* and *roman à clef* genres, which served to fictionalize members of her Latinx social circle into the drama of her self-development as a woman and writer. Considering Guadalupe's humble day jobs housekeeping and teaching Spanish, the boldness of her ambitions in terms of literary success and social climbing are on full display in *Espinas y rosas*.

WHO WAS GUADALUPE GUTIERREZ? WHAT DID HER READING PUBLIC HAVE TO SAY?

There is more to Guadalupe and Carlota than the writerly personas they cultivated in the Spanish-language press. In my search for biographical information about the sisters, I consulted the US census and San Francisco city directories, as well as birth, death, and marriage records from Mexico. At the time of the 1870 census, Guadalupe and Carlota were teenagers living in a home comprised entirely of women and children. María Guadalupe Cristina Gutierrez,[11] listed under the name "Marie" by the English-speaking enumerator, was eighteen years old and had attended school within the past year. María Carlota Silvestre Gutierrez,[12] or "Charlotte," was fourteen years old. The head of the household was their widowed[13] mother, Jacinta Cuevas de Gutierrez,[14] listed in the census under the name "Rosa Gutierrez." Other siblings in the home included two younger brothers, twelve-year-old Francisco "Frank" Silvestre Gutierrez[15] and ten-year-old Armando Guillermo "Willie" Gutierrez,[16] and an older sister, María Del Rosario Gutierrez or "Rosa Cuevas."[17] Jacinta's property was $400 and her occupation was *keeping house*. Rosario's personal property was $300; she worked as a seamstress and cared for her seven-year-old daughter. All the members of the household were born in Mexico, and there were no adult men present.[18]

Baptismal and marriage records indicate that before arriving in San Francisco, the Gutierrez family lived in Culiacán, Sinaloa. Jacinta married Rafael Gutierrez in 1843, when she was seventeen years-old and he was twenty-six.[19] According to parish records, they had at least eight children together.[20] Sometime between 1860 and 1868, Rafael passed away and Jacinta relocated with some of her children to San Francisco. Many Mexicans fled their homes in the 1860s and sought refuge in the United States from the Second French Intervention, either temporarily or permanently. The unrest in Mexico might have prompted the family to leave or perhaps they were in search of new opportunities in California. Whatever the reason, Jacinta certainly must have had her hands full as a widowed, single mother in a new

country. Fortunately, all of her children eventually found work to help support their household, particularly her daughters, since they were older than the boys.

From 1868 through 1880, Langley's *San Francisco Directory* lends insight into Guadalupe and Carlota's working life. In 1868, when Guadalupe was around sixteen years old, she was listed as a "domestic"[21] and five years later, in 1873, Guadalupe was listed under a new profession, Spanish teacher.[22] Until records for the Gutierrez family disappear from the *San Francisco Directory* after 1880, she continued to be listed as a Spanish teacher. According to the directories, Carlota began working at about the age of eighteen, first as a telegraph operator, then following in her sister's footsteps as a Spanish teacher from 1870 through 1880.[23]

De Célis's depiction of the Gutierrez sisters as orators and socialites in "select" Mexican-American society, privileged women on Pío Pico's arms, certainly contrasts with the portrait that the census and directories paint. It seems that the years 1876 and 1877 were a crucial period in terms of social climbing. Before making their trip to Los Angeles with Pico, the prominent writer, newspaper editor, politician, and *poeta nacional* of Mexico, Guillermo Prieto,[24] visited the Gutierrez sisters in San Francisco in March of 1877. At the time, Carlota was twenty-one years old and Guadalupe was twenty-four. In his travel memoir, he recounts a happy, carefree evening in their company and how impressed he was by their beauty, grace, virtue, and hospitality. One of the sisters, likely Carlota, shared her poetry with Prieto and he praised her verses as being lovely and melodious. At the time, the sisters lived at 735 Green Street (see Figure 8),[25] and Prieto rendered a vivid picture of their neighborhood, noting the steepness of the terrain, peacefully grazing cows, flower gardens, and fountains interspersed between "marañas de casas" (tangles of houses) with their respective staircases, clotheslines, and carriages. Describing the Gutierrez sisters' home, he writes: "Podria caber la casita en la palma de la mano; pero qué limpieza! qué elegancia! qué exquisitos adornos! siendo para mí el de más precio las banderas nacionales y los retratos de Juarez, Zaragoza y Ocampo" (The little house could fit in the palm

of your hand; but what cleanliness! What elegance! What exquisite decorations! For me, the most precious among them are the national flags and portraits of Juarez, Zaragoza, and Ocampo).[26] Though their home was of modest size, Prieto admired the Gutierrez sisters' refinement in terms of cleanliness, good taste, and patriotism.

Of course, Guadalupe and Carlota's loyalty to their patria went beyond interior design choices. Reporting in *La Crónica* by a correspondent known only as "Consuelo"[27] describes a Mexican Independence Day celebration in San Francisco, at which Carlota read an original poem[28] and "una alocucion por la Sta. Guadalupe Gutierrez fué bien pronunciada y bien recibida" (an address by Señorita Guadalupe Gutierrez was well delivered and well received).[29] Although Consuelo does not report exactly what Guadalupe had to say, the fact that she



FIGURE 8: Image of the view from the intersection of Green and Mason Streets in San Francisco circa 1865. According to directory records, Guadalupe and Carlota lived at 735 Green Street, about a block away from where this photo was taken. Image courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library.

spoke at such an important event in the Mexican-American community shows the reputation Guadalupe had built for herself and social connections she forged with persons of influence.

During their 1877 visit to Los Angeles, both sisters gave brindis, or toasts, at a birthday celebration in honor of their traveling companion, former governor Pico. In an editorial that criticized reporting of the event in *La Sociedad* for not crediting the Gutierrez sisters for their brindis, de Célis writes of "la admiracion que nos causaron las Stas. Gutierrez con sus discursos" (the admiration[30] that the Señoritas Gutierrez aroused in us with their speeches).[31] The editor goes on to describe how, upon their departure from Los Angeles, the sisters were accompanied to the Santa Monica train station by a number of new friends made during their short stay, emphasizing that they would not soon be forgotten. He is likely sincere in his effusive, though at times patronizing, editorials. In fact, an article from May 19, 1877, reports that the date of a dance at Los Angeles's Union Hall was moved forward so that the Gutierrez sisters could attend before their departure and "dar relace con su presencia á la animada fiesta" (enhance the lively party with their presence).[32] It would have taken more than the affection of one newspaper editor to have the date of an event like this changed at the drop of a hat.

Los Angeles's *La Crónica* printed at least eight updates about the serialized publication of Guadalupe's *Espinas y rosas* in *La Sociedad* of San Francisco. In them, de Célis goes from expressing praise for Guadalupe and enthusiasm for the novel to frustration with *La Sociedad*'s printing errors and editorial choices, and finally ends up outright mocking the editor of *La Sociedad*, Federico Epson, for his poor efforts. First, on July 11, 1877, de Célis announces that the novel will be published in *La Sociedad* and notes that it will be a *roman à clef* in which "van á tomar parte como personages aunque con disfraz suponemos, varias personas de Los Angeles" (several people from Los Angeles will take part as characters, although in disguise, we suppose).[33] He also paints a flattering portrait of Guadalupe and her adoring fans: "conociendo su aptitude literaria esperamos ansiosos dicha publicacion: amigos tenemos cuya ansiedad pasa de los límites"

(knowing her literary aptitude, we anxiously await this publication; we have friends whose eagerness is beyond limits).[34] Later the same month, on July 28, a letter in *La Crónica* from San Francisco correspondent Consuelo announces that the first chapter of *Espinas y rosas* is coming out that day. He writes that Guadalupe is an intelligent young lady who made a recent trip to Los Angeles with the intention of studying characters for her novel. Consuelo expresses sincere wishes that *Espinas y rosas* may attain "éxito brillante" (brilliant success).[35]

The next two editorials, printed in August, show de Célis's growing frustration with *La Sociedad*, and he calls out Epson by name, encouraging him to remedy the "graves faltas" (grave errors) in the print job, which include omissions, repetitions, and other mistakes. This, combined with the fact that the story's pages are printed out of order, make the text hard to follow, which is a great disappointment for those who subscribed to the paper allegedly "única y exclusivamente por leer la novela" (solely and exclusively in order to read the novel).[36] De Célis continues to compliment Guadalupe, at times at Epson's expense. He mentions that "la bella produccion de la simpática escritora mejicana es de lo poco bueno que se ha publicado en dicho periódico durante mucho tiempo" (the fine work of the charming Mexican writer is one of the few good things to have been published by said newspaper in a long time).[37] According to de Célis's editorials, Guadalupe suspended the publication of *Espinas y rosas* for a brief time beginning around August 22, then resumed publication by September 12.[38]

The October 3 issue of *La Crónica* includes three small updates about the novel, which seem to grow each time in their sense of personal insult and degree of rage. The first scorns *La Sociedad* for having needed to publish a recently announced *errata* list[39] at the conclusion of *Espinas y rosas*. The second gets more personal, mocking the fact that *La Sociedad* apparently has to instruct readers how to arrange the pages of *Espinas y rosas* properly, so that they can make little booklets of the chapters and read the pages in proper order (see Figure 9). It is true that nineteenth-century newspapers would at times publish serialized novels with a clever layout, so that readers could clip out, arrange, and preserve the chapters;[40] but according to de Célis, such a


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"LA SOCIEDAD,"

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HOTEL-CALIFORNIA

Dr. J. Pachtinger

MYQUINAS DE COSER.

FLORENCE, HOWE y SINGER.

LA SOCIEDAD

SANTORAL.

CORRESPONDENCIA

JUNTA CENTRAL.

VARIEDADES.

FIGURE 9: *La Sociedad* of San Francisco from October 7, 1877, in which an installment of Guadalupe Gutierrez's *Espinas y rosas* appears on the bottom of the page. Courtesy of the Chicano Resource Center, LA County Library.

thing was not possible in this case, given how haphazardly the pages were printed in *La Sociedad*: "Pruébelo, amigo Epson, y se desengañará" (Give it a try, friend Epson, and you'll have your eyes opened).[41]

The third update on October 3 strongly refutes an apparent allegation by Epson that de Célis and his associates at *La Crónica* had

wanted to be the publishers of Guadalupe's book, which implies that de Célis's criticisms were mere sour grapes. De Célis calls Epson's claim "tontería," or "nonsense." *La Crónica* never considered publishing the book or even approached Guadalupe about doing so; in fact, de Célis insists, "no la hubiéramos publicado si se nos hubiera ofrecido por razones que sólo daremos, si se nos piden, á la persona más directamente interesada en este asunto" (we would not have published it if it had been offered to us, for reasons which we will only give, if requested, to the person most directly interested in this matter).[42] How fascinating it would be if we could go back in time and ask de Célis his reasons for not wanting to publish Guadalupe's novel! Perhaps, since it was a *roman à clef*, he was afraid *Espinas y rosas* might ruffle feathers in the Los Angeles community? Or maybe he just didn't have the space in his pages. Unfortunately, we cannot know. It was not uncommon for nineteenth-century editors to provoke their readers in this way, teasing them with incomplete details and encouraging them to write in or even visit the office of the press in person to get the full story.[43]

One likely reason Guadalupe published her novel in *La Sociedad* rather than *La Crónica* or some other Spanish-language newspaper was that her brother Francisco was a printer at *La Sociedad*, working for Epson.[44] At the time, Francisco was about nineteen years old and had been working as a printer for about a year.[45] Of course, this detail only deepens the mystery as to why the print job for *Espinas y rosas* was so atrocious. Perhaps Francisco helped Guadalupe get a foot in the door to publish her serialized novel, but even her own brother couldn't help her when faced with a difficult editor. In the absence of more surviving issues of *La Sociedad* from this period, the truth at this point is difficult to determine.

A final editorial on the subject by de Célis was printed on November 14, in a section titled "Cosas de 'La Sociedad'."[46] Once again, he declares that *Espinas y rosas* is the only thing worth reading in *La Sociedad* and refers admiringly to Guadalupe as "la inteligente autora" (the intelligent author).[47] He presents himself as chivalrously defending Guadalupe from Epson's alleged unfairness and lack of gallantry. He writes that Epson "tiene el inaudito descaro de decir que

se suprime la publicacion de dicha novelita porque su autora no dispone del tiempo suficiente para mandar original" (has the unheard-of nerve to say that the publication of the said little novel is on hold because its author does not have enough time to send in the original [manuscript]).[48] Guadalupe's perspective on the novel's suspension, however, is very different—at least according to de Célis. He says that she blames the employees of *La Sociedad* not only for the flaws in pagination, but also for taking too many editorial liberties with the content of her story. De Célis writes of "un sinnúmero de intercalaciones y otros disparates que no contiene el original, razon verdadera porque suspende la publicacion de su ensado [*sic*] literario" (innumerable insertions and other blunders that the original does not contain, which is the real reason she suspended the publication of her literary effort).[49] Perhaps the editorial staff at *La Sociedad* truly did alter Guadalupe's novel for their own reasons; certainly they would have had the ability to do so. Of course, if she did accuse the editors of tampering with her novel, Guadalupe might have been doing more than simply explaining why she chose to suspend publication. Because *Espinas y rosas* was a *roman à clef*, she may have had justifiable anxieties about how the novel would be received, especially by her attentive reading public in Los Angeles. Being able to coyly deny responsibility for certain unspecified details might have been useful insurance in case she needed to save face after upsetting, offending, or disappointing any readers in her social circle.

On December 1, 1877, de Célis reprinted a "chistoso y merecido" (funny and deserved) editorial roast of Epson by Carlos Tully, editor of the Tucson, Arizona newspaper *Las Dos Repúblicas*. Not only does Tully have similar complaints about the pagination and numerous typographical errors that rendered parts of the story unreadable, but he also claims that a subheading in small print in early installments of the novel apparently read "este folletin no sirve" (this serial is no good).[50] As far as I know, no installment of *Espinas y rosas* with such an offensive subheading has survived, and perhaps Tully included this detail as a sardonic, tongue-in-cheek joke and it should not be taken literally. But if it were true, this kind of blatant aggression on the part

of *La Sociedad*'s staff could have easily explained why Guadalupe chose to suspend publication of her novel. Although the editor of *Las Dos Repúblicas* refers to Guadalupe's book as "una preciosa novela" (a delightful novel), he is also typically sexist and condescending, writing, "No hay duda que el título de la novelita es muy adecuado. Espinas para la autora, y rosas, nos suponemos, parecerán los labios y mejillas de la misma" (There is no doubt that the title of the little novel is very appropriate. Thorns for the author, and roses, we suppose, resemble her lips and cheeks).[51] The fact that her lips and cheeks are compared to the roses of her novel's title is just one example of the objectification she faced as a nineteenth-century Latina author.

Even when other editors were speaking out in her defense against the *espinas* of Epson, they did so from a paternalistic sense of chivalry. These male editors also would have been quick to lay on ridicule and criticism of Epson because of their own personal squabbles with him—such public sparring between newspaper editors was very common at the time. Although the editors of *La Crónica* and *Las Dos Repúblicas* were sympathetic supporters of *Espinas y rosas*, their public criticism and derision of Epson may not have made the relationship between Guadalupe and her editor any easier. What all these editorials tell us is that although Guadalupe had an enthusiastic reading audience, there were many interpersonal conflicts and challenges to the serialized publication of her novel. The editor who should have been her greatest ally, Epson, apparently was not doing her any favors, other than the bare minimum effort to put her words in print. Even having her brother Francisco, presumably as an ally, at *La Sociedad* couldn't protect Guadalupe and her novel.

The most wounding thorn from Epson was the editorial choice to not clearly attribute *Espinas y rosas* to Guadalupe at all. In the October 27, 1877 issue of *La Sociedad*, the title *Espinas y rosas* is clearly indicated, but not the author's name. Since Latina writers were seldom given the space and opportunity to publish such lengthy works in the newspaper, Guadalupe's serialized novel is incredibly rare in the Spanish-language presses of the nineteenth century, especially in California. Without having read *La Crónica*'s editorials criticizing *La*

Sociedad's publication of *Espinas y rosas*, it would be easy for modern researchers to pass over the mismatched pages, printed in small type at the bottom of the newspaper, not realizing their uniqueness or importance. Now with a better understanding of who the Gutierrez sisters were, and with all the editorial buzz about Guadalupe's novel fresh in our minds, let's take a closer look at what was unique and important about the text itself.

BILDUNGSROMAN À CLEF: BLENDING THE *BILDUNGSROMAN* AND THE *ROMAN À CLEF*

In *Espinas y rosas*, Guadalupe intermingles the genres of the *bildungsroman* and the *roman à clef* in ways that might have been strategic, not only in building a literary readership, but also in her own social climbing and the articulation of her social values. She brings her friends and acquaintances to life on the page in a journey ultimately invested in her own transition into both womanhood and writerly success. First, we will go over the plotline of the single surviving installment and the ways in which the novel fits into, but also transgresses, the coming-of-age genre. Then, we will turn our attention to how the addition of the *roman à clef* aspect completes the picture.

The fact that only one installment of Guadalupe's novel survives greatly limits our understanding of the full story. Nonetheless there is much to be said about just these few pages. For example, it is clear that the plot centers two female protagonists, Leonor and Clotilde, who are staying at the Los Angeles home of their uncle, Don Próspero, and receiving his mentorship. The installment begins with playful banter between the young ladies and their uncle, who takes them on a carriage ride to lift Leonor's spirits after she has lost her notebook. On returning, they find calling cards have been left by two socially prominent older ladies, Señora J… de C… and Señora C… de M…. Don Próspero speaks of these women with esteem, explaining why they are respected in the community. Leonor and Clotilde are eager to meet them. Later that evening, the sisters receive a visit from four young gentlemen, including one Anglo American, Mr. Plumb. The

third-person omniscient narrator is quick to point out Mr. Plumb's flaws, especially his arrogance, sense of socio-economic superiority, and worst of all, his superficial dabbling in literature. Fortunately, Mr. Plumb departs early, leaving Leonor, Clotilde, and the remaining three—Latino—callers to enjoy conversation and laughter, along with some singing and piano playing. The installment concludes with the young gentlemen leaving and Don Próspero re-entering the scene, requesting that his nieces indulge him in a little conversation before going to bed.

Based on this single installment, it seems that *Espinas y rosas* follows the typical *bildungsroman* plotline, in that the story centers on a young person being aided by a more cultured, refined, and wealthy mentor who takes a crucial role in the coming-of-age process. In this case, the mentor seems to be the uncle, Don Próspero, but there are two young people whom he takes under his wing: the sisters Leonor and Clotilde. Focusing on two young women rather than one adolescent boy is not typical of most nineteenth-century *bildungsromane*; the most common coming-of-age tale features a single young male protagonist, and the plot follows his journey to manhood.

As more scholarship has emerged on the topic, however, more attention has been paid to novels with young female protagonists, examining gendered aspects of the genre's plotlines. Soňa Šnircová, who studies the *bildungsroman* heroine in British texts, outlines the elements of the genre when it comes to female protagonists: "The heroine's involvement in heterosexual romance, her acceptance of the authority of a male mentor and her acceptance of the identification with her mother's position appear, finally, as the factors that may induce the successful development of the heroine's mature selfhood."[52] Even in the limited portion of Guadalupe Gutierrez's *Espinas y rosas* available for study, the narrative suggests all the elements outlined by Šnircová, at least to some degree. Leonor and Clotilde have accepted the authority of a male mentor, Don Próspero, and at least one of the gentleman callers who visit them seems likely to emerge as a romantic interest. Although Leonor and Clotilde's mother is not mentioned in this excerpt, Señora J… de C… and Señora C… de M… perhaps

are set up as surrogate mothers. That Don Próspero speaks so effusively about the matrons' good character, and that visitors Plutarco and Rodolfo promise to bring their mothers—the very same Señora J… de C… and Señora C… de M…—on their next visit, supports this possibility.

Turning to the *roman à clef*, we know that characters in *Espinas y rosas* were based on real people in Guadalupe's social circles under disguised names. This was explicitly stated in the newspaper by de Célis and Consuelo. The way Señora J… de C… and Señora C… de M… are referred to, with ellipses after the first letters of their first and last names, also sends a strong signal to the reader that they are reading a *roman à clef*. Although I have yet to determine a possible identity for Señora C… de M…, it is likely that the pseudonym Señora J… de C… refers to Josefa Argüello de Célis, matriarch of the influential de Célis family. If so, the character "Plutarco" would correspond to Josefa's son and Guadalupe's outspoken ally at *La Crónica*, Pastor de Célis. Furthermore, similarities between the main characters of the novel and the Gutierrez sisters, in terms of age and social status, combined with the fact that Leonor shares a first initial with the author's own nickname, Lupita,[53] and Clotilde with her sister's name, Carlota, likely means that these main characters directly correspond to the real-life Gutierrez sisters.

Don Próspero probably was a pseudonym for the real-life Don Pío Pico (see Figure 10), one of the most prominent Californios of mid-nineteenth-century California who had once been known for his great wealth. The shared "P" initial and nod to prosperity serve as strong hints to readers. With the gift of hindsight, the moniker "Don Próspero" as a pseudonym for Pico might be tinged with irony for contemporary readers. Like many other once affluent Californios, Pico and his family lost most of their assets by the turn of the nineteenth to twentieth centuries. Yet at the time he accompanied the Gutierrez sisters to Los Angeles in 1877, Pico was still an influential person in the Mexican-American community, and the sisters might not have been aware of his deepening money problems and family misfortunes.[54]

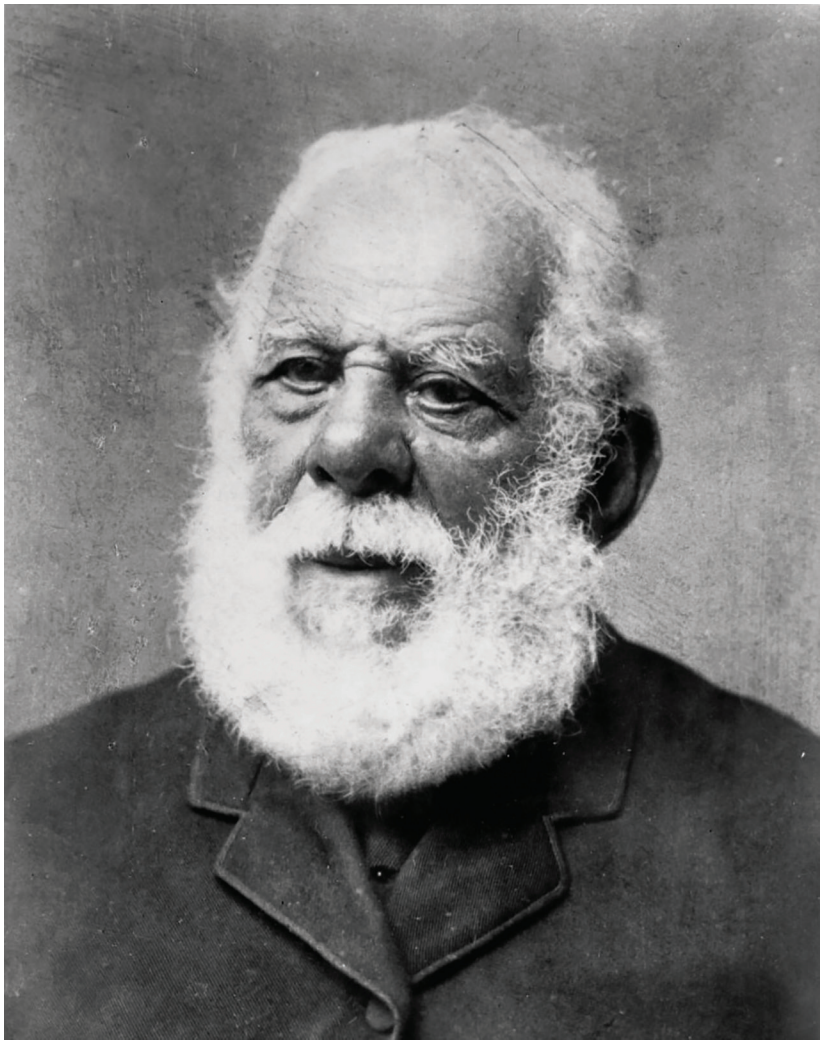


Figure 10: Photo portrait of Pío de Jesús Pico in 1891 when he was ninety years old. Courtesy of the University of Southern California Libraries and California Historical Society, and digitally reproduced by the USC Digital Library.

Given the increasingly difficult time in Pío Pico's life, one can only imagine what kinds of conversations he might have had with the Gutierrez sisters on their voyage from San Francisco to Los Angeles. Perhaps in recognition of his mortality, Pico had begun the process of recording his life history.[55] It's possible this writerly connection

helped forge a bond between Guadalupe and Pico. Even if the two never sat alongside each other, scribbling away in journals on the deck of a steamer (as I take great pleasure in imagining them), it is interesting to contrast their very different writing projects. While Pico was reflecting back on his life of grandeur and politics, Guadalupe was just beginning her journey and probably still processing her own transition from girlhood to womanhood.

This point in early adulthood would not have been the time for Guadalupe to write a biography, like Pico, but she did choose to depict elements of her personal life, cloaked in fiction, through her use of *roman à clef*. Her ingenious mixing of the *bildungsroman* and *roman à clef* genres lulls the reader into a sense of familiarity and identification with the young lady protagonists. It is the predictable plotlines and conventions of the *bildungsroman* that bring the intrigue and social implications of the *roman à clef* into sharp relief. The mingling of the genres blends complementary sensibilities, creating the overall effect of making the reader all the more invested in the coming of age of the author herself: her journey in terms of trials, frustrations, mentors, romances, etc. Guadalupe does not simply stop at drawing the readers to herself through the *roman à clef*, but also demands that they invest in her development, in the successful achievement of her ambitions as she comes of age.

This alchemy is manifested subtly in the banter between Don Próspero and his nieces at the beginning of the surviving installment. He teases his niece Leonor for having "faltado en una promesa" (failed in a promise), and Clotilde jokingly chimes in that "Leonor merece que usted la riña severamente" (Leonor deserves for you to scold her severely). Puzzled, Leonor asks her uncle what he means, and he responds:

—Procuraré esplicarme. Ayer, al llegar aquí, me prometieron ustedes que estarían siempre contentas; tú estás ahora enojada, ó como quieras llamarlo, y aquí	"I'll try to explain myself. Yesterday, upon arriving here, you both promised me that you would always be happy. Now you are upset, or whatever you want to call it. And so

tiene usted, señorita, que ha faltado á su promesa.
—Pero, querido tio…esto es otra cosa, porque sin mis apuntes del camino se trastorna….
—No hay pero que valga! que cuaderno ní que
Don Jaime! hágame usted favor de mandar poner una calesa para llevar á estas muchachas á pasear; porque si no, vamos á armar camorra esta *diplomática* y yo.[56]

here you are, miss, who has failed in her promise."
"But, dear uncle…this is a different thing, because without my travel diary, it gets mixed up…."
"There is no 'but' that suffices! Enough with the notebook
Don Jaime! Do me the favor of having a calèche made ready to take these girls out for an airing; because if not, we are going to get into a quarrel, this *lady diplomat* and I."

Don Próspero, true to the connotations of his fictional name, cannot be content unless his nieces are happy and *prosperous*. The short exchange shows that living with their uncle and achieving this contentedness is something that Leonor and Clotilde had longed for—or at least they had made a promise to always be happy in the care of their uncle. Yet for Leonor, her travel diary, or notebook, is something that she simply cannot be happy without. Later in the text it is revealed that Don Jaime, apparently an assistant or servant to Don Próspero, has been tasked with finding the lost notebook. He mentions that it was left on the steamer Leonor and Clotilde took to Los Angeles.

Although the contents of the travel diary are not made clear in this passage, Leonor feels adrift without this outlet for writing down and remembering her thoughts, feelings, and perhaps even creative ideas. Yolanda Doub has examined the crucial, interconnected roles of travel and writing in the Spanish-American *bildungsromane*, stating that "traveling has given these heroes a richness in experiences and the knowledge to find their centers; their connection with society is ultimately through writing."[57] Based on her anxiety over losing the notebook, Leonor must have jotted down some ideas that she valued during her travel to Los Angeles. In the metaphysical journey of coming of age, writing her thoughts was a means of processing all she was learning about the world around her and her own development.

Thus a parallel between Leonor and the author herself can be clearly drawn: as a novelist writing a *roman à clef* based on her own travel experiences in Los Angeles, Guadalupe's notebook would have been incredibly precious to her. Losing it would have felt like losing a limb. Worse yet, it could have been a liability, exposing private thoughts and opinions that she might have preferred to remain private, or at the very least concealed under pseudonyms.

Having this segment focus on the lost notebook draws attention to the importance of writing to the novelist herself, and to Guadalupe's ambition to be recognized for her literary talents. Furthermore, Don Próspero's comment about Leonor being a "*diplomática*" (*lady diplomat*) might be a way of teasing the protagonist about social aspirations she had in the Mexican-American community. Considering that Guadalupe spoke publicly at Mexican Independence Day and other patriotic celebrations, she likely was intent on fashioning herself as a cultural representative in her community in San Francisco, and perhaps, to a lesser extent, in Los Angeles as well. Don Próspero, playing his *bildungsroman* role of mentor, draws his niece's attention away from her notebook and pokes fun at what he sees as illusions of grandeur, demanding that she come down to earth and be present alongside him and Clotilde.

In this way, her notebook and the inward self-fashioning, discovery, and empowerment that it represents compete with Don Próspero's sense of authority. Michael Bell, who considers the *bildungsroman* a means of understanding the limits of the teachable, writes of the "encircling of the pupil" by mentor figures and how this can seem benign, but actually be imprisoning. Despite the best efforts of the mentor, "the circle, however vicious in structure or intent, is never entirely closed. The pupil is a centre of otherness and open to many other influences."[58] Leonor's notebook represents a radical element of influence outside of Don Próspero's control. Her ideas, written on the page, are private and unsupervised, and thus have the potential to guide her towards a coming of age of her own making, outside of her uncle's values and expectations. Don Próspero's teasing of his nieces can be read as a subtle mechanism to cope with his anxiety over competing

influences. While the notebook is the physical manifestation of another authority or influence, it also can be understood as a stand-in for Leonor herself. It represents her conscious mind and individual memory. As a woman novelist, Guadalupe positions the writer's tool—her notebook—as also holding the possibility for social self-making, for coming of age.

Señora J… de C… and Señora C… de M…, on the other hand, emerge as authorities and complementary female mentors sanctioned by Don Próspero. In describing these ladies, Guadalupe reveals her preference for education over wealth. This focus on education is expressed further by way of character description. Leonor and Clotilde return with Don Próspero from their carriage ride and discover the calling cards of Señora J… de C… and Señora C… de M…. When asked about these ladies, Don Próspero says they belong to high society and are said to be very proud. But he insists their pride is laudable, because they have high standards when it comes to whom they associate with, only granting their friendship to "aquellas personas que por su educacion y buenas cualidades saben meecerla [*sic*, merecerla], y como hay varias que teniendo dinero creen con esto esto [*sic*] tener todas las cualidades requeridas nos on [*sic*, no son] honradas ni con las miradas de estas señoras"[59] (those people who, due to their education and good qualities, they know to deserve it; but as there are some people who, having money, believe that with this they possess all the required qualities, they are not honored with even a passing glance from these ladies). In this passage, there is an emphasis that belonging to a higher economic class does not denote worthiness of character. It is education and goodness that count.

The lesson Don Próspero wants to impress upon his nieces is not only that they mind what company they keep, upholding high standards like Señora J… de C… and Señora C… de M…, but also that they understand what it is to be a person of good character. Rather than faulting them for being too proud, he upholds his distinguished lady friends as models of virtue and praises their discernment. Furthermore, he respects these ladies for being "muy inteligentes, de fina educacion, sumamente amables, y francas y sinceras con sus

amigos en general"[60] (very intelligent, well educated, extremely amiable, and frank and sincere with their friends in general). As mentor to his nieces, Don Próspero articulates the models they should aspire to. He encourages them to value and cultivate their intelligence and education, but also to be mindful of the way they treat others. Being kind, frank, and sincere with those around them—or at least with those who are worthy of their friendship—is stressed as an important aspect of social education.

These noble qualities are contrasted with the superficial social asset of wealth, and with some historical context we can perhaps begin to understand some of the reasons Guadalupe might have set up this dichotomy between wealth and social refinement. In 1877, Pico was not the only one in deepening financial troubles; the de Célis family and many other elite Californios who once made up the state's ruling class were struggling to retain their material assets. The cultural moment was right to emphasize a vision of success based not on capitalist achievement, but the social and personal values that Don Próspero sees in Señora J… de C… and Señora C… de M… The real-life Josefa Argüello de Célis was a force to be reckoned with in terms of initiative, strength, and grace. The same year *Espinas y rosas* was published, Josefa was appointed administrator of her late husband's estate, following the removal of her son Eulogio, Jr. for mismanagement. In 1874, the de Célis family's lawyer had accepted a bribe from a real estate developer interested in buying the 56,000-acre ranch the family owned in the San Fernando Valley, just north of Los Angeles. As a result of this underhanded dealing, the family was cheated out of the full market value for their ranch. Josefa filed suit against the corrupt lawyer, eventually winning her case after appealing to the California Supreme Court and being awarded the money rightfully due her family, plus damages.[61]

Even though she recovered some money through these legal proceedings, the de Célis fortune nonetheless was waning. According to her son Eulogio, Jr.'s obituary in the *Los Angeles Times*, their wealth had evaporated by the time he passed away in 1903. The obituary also provides details about the de Célis family's eminent stature in

the Los Angeles community before they fell upon hard times. Josefa's husband was of Spanish origin, and during the 1860s the de Célis family split their time between Europe and Los Angeles. During the Mexican-American War, Eulogio de Célis, Sr. loaned the Mexican government $60,000 towards the war effort against the United States and Governor Pico facilitated the transaction. At the same time that Eulogio, Sr. supported Mexico, he also magnanimously paid for meals for enemy prisoners of war in Los Angeles, so that they would not go hungry. As for the de Célis children, Eulogio, Jr. was educated in England and Paris in order to perfect his English and French, and, at one time, the family lived in a palatial residence and owned olive and walnut orchards. Josefa subsequently was described as a "very elegant and accomplished lady of fine presence and charming personality. She wore the costume of her native land, the high tortoise shell back comb in the hair, supporting the black lace mantilla that fell below the waist."[62] It is noted in Eulogio, Jr.'s obituary that she was skilled at embroidery and beautifully embellished the garments her sons wore to special events and holidays.

As this picture of Josefa and her family comes into focus, so too may the picture of the Señora J… de C… that Guadalupe portrays in *Espinas y rosas*. Given Josefa's strength and resolve when it came to getting justice for her family in the California courts, and also her elegance, charm, and cultural pride, it is not surprising Guadalupe would set her up as a role model for her young lady protagonists in *Espinas y rosas*. Although it is unclear what kind of social or economic background the Gutierrez sisters had in Mexico before they arrived in San Francisco, their lives in the United States were far from leisurely. Recall that Guadalupe had worked as a domestic and Carlota as a telegraph operator before they became Spanish teachers. The flat at the rear of 735 Green Street shared by the Gutierrez sisters and their kin must have seemed quite modest in comparison to the spacious residences of the de Célis family in their glory days. Josefa had lived a luxurious lifestyle at one point, but her diminishing material fortune probably meant that by 1877 she was leaning on the strength of her assets of character that could not be swindled, billed, bought, or sold.

Josefa's resolve and noble character were qualities that the Gutierrez sisters could emulate and connect with, no matter what class differences may have existed between them.

In a sense, Don Próspero's insistence on the value of a good social education over the accumulation of wealth hints at his distaste for the stereotypical Atlantic-American idolization of capitalist success. This undertone in the text is embodied by Leonor and Clotilde's opinions of the Anglo-American character Mr. Plumb. The narrator describes Mr. Plumb as having a figure resembling a stalk of asparagus and a personality "*sui generis*." This Latin expression implies that he was in a class of his own, in this case a negative one. Mr. Plumb is so skeptical, cold, and indolent "que apenas pueden encontrarse entre las brumas de un Lóndres" (that one scarcely could find the like amid the fogs of London). This derisive comment emphasizes Mr. Plumb's connection to a cultural lineage that traces back to England, particularly the capital of its colonial empire, London. The narrator's tone undercuts any presumption that the stereotypical personality traits of an English person convey cultural or personal superiority. Mr. Plumb's wealthy economic status and resulting arrogance are also criticized:

Ocupa en la sociedad un puesto elevado por su dinero, y por esta misma circunstancia, siempre está rodeado de amigos que le adulan, elogiando sus barbaridades. Le han dicho que tiene brillantes dotes para la literatura, y el buen Mr. Plumb en su torpeza, lo ha creido, hasta el grado de imaginarse inspirado á cada instante; siendo esto causa de que siempre ande provisto de una multitud de manuscritos que se pone á leer al infeliz que tiene la desgracia de manifestar

He occupied a high position in society because of his money; and for this very reason, he was always surrounded by friends who flattered him, praising his nonsense. They told him that he had brilliant endowments when it came to literature; and the good Mr. Plumb, in his obtuseness, believed it, to the extent that he fancied himself being inspired at any moment—this being the reason he always went about supplied with a multitude of manuscripts, which he began reading to any poor soul who had the misfortune of expressing an interest in

simpatía por la literatura; porque, qué mayor desgracia puede haber que estar obligado á oir necedades una tras de otra y sin esperanza de que concluyan?[63]

literature. For what greater misfortune can there be than being obliged to listen to idiocies, one after another, without any hope that they might end?

Guadalupe is expressing a kind of prose *ars poetica* through her characterization of Mr. Plumb, vilifying him as the embodiment of all that is wrong with the mainstream literary culture around her. It is wealthy, undeserving Anglo-American men who gain readers and are praised for their *barbaridades*, "nonsense" or "barbarities."

The narrator expresses frustration not only with Mr. Plumb's lack of literary talent, but also with the fact that his writing can have such little merit, yet still be shamelessly imposed upon all who cross his path. His race, sex, and, most of all, money combine to fuel his sense of arrogance, exceptionalism, and entitlement. For Guadalupe, achieving success and recognition as a writer were at the core of her American Dream. Thus her characterization of Mr. Plumb expresses disillusionment and frustration with the democratic ideal that she might have a fair shot at pursuing literary prosperity, especially in comparison to a wealthy, Anglo-American male writer, no matter how idiotic he might be.

Although I would love to know who the real-life Mr. Plumb might have been, unfortunately I haven't encountered any solid leads up to this point. Based on Guadalupe's creative mixing of the *bildungsroman* and *roman à clef* genres, we do know that he must have been someone in Guadalupe's social circle and that he made a big impression on her when it came to what kind of a writer, and really, what kind of a person, she did *not* want to be. Leonor openly rejects the rich Anglo-American male writer and instead embraces her mentor Don Próspero and role models Señora J… de C… and Señora C… de M…. By setting up the stark dichotomy between the wealthy and arrogant Mr. Plumb and the Latinx and Spanish-American characters, Guadalupe criticizes the US fetishization of capitalist success. She is also critical of Anglo entitlement and shows that being a rich

Anglo-American man doesn't mean you have something to say worth hearing, or to write worth reading. While on the surface the *roman à clef*, animated by the intrigue of personal social connections, and the *bildungsroman*, which narrates an individual protagonist's interior revelations as they come of age, seem like they would be entirely caught up in the intimate and particular, Guadalupe uses the genres together to make a larger critique of US society from her perspective as a Latina writer.

ONE FINAL MYSTERIOUS IDENTITY: THE *ESPINAS Y ROSAS* OF SPAIN

Now I must ask the reader to indulge me as I take a brief detour back to May of 2017, when I experienced the thrill of reading Guadalupe's words for the first time and began an archival search that would lead me to unexpected places. I was a graduate student living in El Sereno, California and soon would be teaching English 101 at East Los Angeles College. At the time, I was surprised to discover that just a few minutes' drive from my home, the East Los Angeles Public Library's Chicano Resource Center had a microfilm with the one surviving issue of *La Sociedad* containing a chapter of Guadalupe's novel that I had spent many weeks searching for. Remember, most of *La Sociedad*'s print run has not survived, so the fact that I was able to find even one piece of the novel to confirm its existence was a cause for celebration, for me and for the librarians. It seemed fitting that the elusive microfilm was tucked away in the public library of my very own Latinx community, hiding in plain sight in my backyard. Of course, this find set in motion a search for more issues containing installments of the novel, which eventually led me on a path very far from home to the Biblioteca Nacional de España in Madrid, where I encountered an early twentieth-century Spanish novel titled *Espinas y rosas*, written by another female author, María Berta Quintero y Escudero.

Reading the surviving pages of Guadalupe's serialized novel together with Quintero's *Espinas y rosas*, I noted intriguing coincidences

between the characters and plotlines of the two novels. In addition to sharing the same title, both books feature a protagonist with a sister named "Clotilde." Although Quintero's book is set in Asturias, Spain, a Mexican mentor figure is central to the plot. This Mexican transplant has the same first name as Guadalupe Gutierrez. The two novels are written primarily in Spanish, but Quintero often mixes Asturian words in her dialogue, and Guadalupe uses English in a similar fashion. Both novels are *bildungsromane* that follow the personal dramas of young adults taken under the wings of their more cultured, refined, and wealthy uncles. The protagonists are exposed to new acquaintances and social circles through these mentor figures.

Spanish-language newspapers circulated across oceans and national boundaries, so it is possible that Quintero came across Guadalupe's novel in old issues of *La Sociedad* or reprints of the novel in some other newspaper. It is also possible that some as yet undiscovered predecessor of *Espinas y rosas* existed, from which Quintero and Guadalupe both drew inspiration. I cannot prove that the similarities of genre and characters' names between the novels are anything more than coincidence, and significant differences exist between the authors' respective approaches. Guadalupe's *Espinas y rosas* was a *roman à clef*, and her most enthusiastic reading audience seems to have consisted of friends in her social circle, whereas Quintero's novel contained strong moral lessons intended to influence an adolescent audience. We don't know whether Guadalupe published any other literary works. Quintero, on the other hand, was a child prodigy who published her first book at the age of thirteen years old and went on to have a prolific career as an author of children's literature.[64]

To better understand any possible connections between the two novels, let's take a closer look at Quintero's *Espinas y rosas* (see Figure 11), beginning with the basic plot. It is set in Asturias, a remote region in northwestern Spain, with its own dialect and customs. The elements of *bildungsroman* are easily discernable. The young protagonist, Ángel, is mentored by his wealthy uncle Joaquín, who has just returned from a long stint in the Americas with his charming Mexican wife, Lupe.[65] Ángel becomes more worldly under the tutelage



Figure 11: Cover art of *Espinas y rosas* by María Berta Quintero y Escudero. The destitute old woman depicted is Tía Juana, a tertiary character in the novel who is ostracized by the villagers and rumored to be a witch. She is treated warmly by Ángel's family and speaks a blend of Asturian and Spanish. This image was captured from my personal copy of the novel.

of his uncle, and Joaquín funds his nephew's education in the city. Although Ángel is hesitant, he eventually accepts his uncle's advice to attend seminary. Before long, however, Ángel realizes that he does not have a calling to be a priest, and confides his feelings to his aunt Lupe. She strongly encourages him to leave the seminary, and he follows her advice. Unfortunately, this choice infuriates Joaquín, who disowns his nephew. Ángel struggles on his own, going to Madrid and taking up odd jobs until finally landing an apprenticeship with a professor at a teacher's college. Joaquín eventually forgives his nephew. Following an emotional reconciliation, Ángel returns to Asturias, marries his childhood sweetheart, starts his own teacher's college, and has children. The novel concludes with Lupe rocking and singing a Mexican lullaby to Ángel's baby daughter.

Although it cannot be said with certainty that Quintero read Guadalupe's *Espinas y rosas* or was directly inspired by it, it is interesting to consider similarities between Lupe, the fictional mentor to Ángel, and Guadalupe Gutierrez, the real-life author of *Espinas y rosas*. They are both immigrant women born in Mexico, with the same first name. The character Lupe met and married Joaquín while he was making his fortune as a businessman in the Americas. While Guadalupe served as an unofficial ambassador of Mexican culture in San Francisco and Los Angeles in real life, Lupe does so in the fictional realm of Quintero's novel.

Lupe's foreignness and Mexican identity are emphasized throughout the book, most notably in the last two sentences of the novel. In this closing scene, Lupe cradles Ángel's sleeping baby daughter in her arms, as Joaquín gushes about how happy Lupe makes him and how she is an angel, a saint. "—Calla, tontín, —dijo a su esposo con dulzura mirándole con amor, —vas a despertarla. Y tornó a cantar muy bajito, con su voz dulcísima la suave *nana* del país lejano y tan querido" ("Hush, silly man," she said sweetly to her husband, looking at him with love. "You're going to wake her." And she returned to singing very softly, in her incredibly sweet voice, the gentle lullaby of a country far away and so beloved).[66] Although the words of the lullaby

are not cited, there is a sense of longing and nostalgia for Mexico at the novel's conclusion.

This lack of specific detail when it comes to Guadalupe's upbringing in Mexico is typical of the book. Aside from references to the Virgin of Guadalupe, almost no details are given when it comes to Lupe's life before arriving in Spain. She is so consumed by Ángel's coming-of-age drama that she has only traces of any backstory. Despite this, the reader is left with a tender moment of connection between Lupe and Ángel's baby. The ending suggests that the child will grow up with the influence of at least three interconnected, but distinct, cultures: Mexican, Asturian, and Spanish.

Perhaps I have been overly influenced by Guadalupe Gutierrez's *roman à clef* and have let my imagination tinker too much with the topic of secret identities and pseudonyms, but I think: wouldn't it be delightful if Quintero really did turn the tables on Guadalupe and fictionalized her into a character of this new *Espinas y rosas* set in Spain? Even though it is tempting to imagine that Quintero based her Lupe character on the real-life Guadalupe Gutierrez, I have not found any definitive historical evidence that shows Quintero imitated, drew inspiration from, or was in any sort of conversation with Guadalupe. Yet by considering these two works together, I want to conclude this chapter by opening up possible connections between Guadalupe's *Espinas y rosas* and the larger literary, social world outside the intimate circle of friends and acquaintances she wrote to and drew inspiration from.

Even though I have recovered only six pages of the original *Espinas y rosas* by Guadalupe Gutierrez, these few pages speak volumes when it comes to how she saw herself as a Latina writer on a *bildungsroman* journey towards self-realization. Guadalupe spoke from within her own diverse community of Californios and immigrants from Mexico and Spain, expressing how the social and educational values they held dear clashed with what she saw as capitalism-driven US culture. Combining the *bindungsroman* and *roman à clef* genres, she intertwined her literary and social selves, boldly sharing her ambitions in the public forum of the newspaper. By bringing her personal friends

and acquaintances along for the ride, as characters in her *roman à clef* and as her reading audience, Guadalupe invested them in her evolution as both a woman and a writer.

SPANISH TRANSCRIPTIONS AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS FOR CHAPTER 3

Guadalupe Gutierrez's *Espinas y rosas*
Installment from *La Sociedad* of San Francisco, October 27, 1877
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—Despues de haberme faltado en una promesa, creo tener derecho para dudar de tí, y aun mas; no es verdad, Clotilde?

—Si, señor; Leonor merece que usted la riña severamente-repuso Clotilde.

—Dice usted que yo he faltado á una promesa?-continuó Leonor—no comprendo á usted, tio.

—Procuraré esplicarme. Ayer, al llegar aquí, me prometieron ustedes que estarían siempre contentas; tú estás ahora enojada, ó como quieras llamarlo, y aquí tiene usted, señorita, que ha faltado á su promesa.

—Pero, querido tio…esto es otra cosa, porque sin mis apuntes del camino se trastorna….

—No hay pero que valga! que cuaderno ní que

"After you have failed in a promise to me, I think I have the right to doubt you, and even more so; isn't that so, Clotilde?"

"Yes, sir. Leonor deserves that you scold her severely," Clotilde replied.

"You say that I have failed in a promise to you?" Leonor continued. "I do not understand you, Uncle."

"I'll try to explain myself. Yesterday, upon arriving here, you both promised me that you would always be happy. You are upset now, or whatever you want to call it. And so here you are, miss, who has failed in her promise."

"But, dear uncle…this is a different thing, because without my travel diary, it gets mixed up…."

"There is no 'but' that suffices! Enough with the notebook

Don Jaime! hágame usted favor de mandar poner una calesa para llevar á estas muchachas á pasear; porque si no, vamos á armar camorra esta *diplomática* y yo.

—Y no querrá usted esplicarme—dijo Leonor con tono meloso—á que debo el honor de ser llamada así?

—Eso lo sabrás después; por ahora, confórmate con ignorarlo. ¿No es cierto, Clotilde, que Leonor es una *diplomática*?

—Tan cierto, que estoy dispuesta á probarlo.

Don Jaime anunció que la calesa esperaba a la puerta, y Don Próspero y sus sobrinas salieron á pasear.

Cuando volvieron á casa, encontraron varias targetas de personas que habían estado á visitarlas; encontrándo-

Don Jaime! Do me the favor of having a calèche made ready to take these girls out for an airing; because if not, we are going to get into a quarrel, this *lady diplomat* and I."

"And will you not explain to me," said Leonor in honeyed tones, "to what I owe the honor of being called that?"

"You will learn that later. For now, resign yourself to not knowing. Isn't it true, Clotilde, that Leonor is a lady diplomat?"

"So true that I'm willing to try calling her that."

Don Jaime announced that the calèche was waiting at the door, and Don Próspero and his nieces went out for an airing.

When they returned home, they found several cards from people who had been to call on them, finding

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se entre ellas, dos nombres de señoras que Don Próspero leyó dándose una palmada en la frente.

—La señora J… de C… y la señora C… de M… Cuánto siento esto, cuánto, cuánto! Haber estado á vernos esas señoras, y no habernos encontrado!

among them the names of two ladies that Don Próspero read, slapping his forehead.

"Mrs. J— de C— and Mrs. C— de M—. How very sorry I am—how very, very!—that these ladies have been to see us, and not found us!"

—Quiénes son esas señoras, tio? preguntaron las jóvenes.
—Son unas antiguas amigas mias á quienes distingo con mi aprecio. Pertenecen á la alta sociedad, y segun algunas gentes, son muy orgullosas. Sobre esto les diré á ustedes que lo que hay de positivo es, que esas señoras solamente conceden su amistad á aquellas personas que por su educacion y buenas cualidades saben me[r]ecerla, y como hay varias que teniendo dinero creen con esto esto [*sic*] tener todas las cualidades requeridas nos on [*sic*, no son] honradas ni con las miradas de estas señoras; de allí el que sean orgullosas. Yo lo que sé decir respecto de ellas es que son muy inteligentes, de fina educacion, sumamente amables, y francas y sinceras con sus amigos en general.
—Estamos ansiosas por conocer á tan dignas señoras.
—Sí, es preciso que vayamos á pagarles su visita, aunque no hayamos tenido el gusto de recibirla personalmente.
—Tendremos mucho placer.

Don Próspero salió de casa, y sus sobrinas fueron á

"Who are those ladies, Uncle?" asked the young ladies.

"They are some old friends of mine whom I hold in high regard. They belong to high society, and according to some people, they are very proud. With regard to this, I will tell you the good news is that these ladies only grant their friendship to those people who, due to their education and good qualities, they know deserve it, but as there are some people who, having money, believe that with this they possess all the required qualities, they are not honored with even a passing glance from these ladies; hence, it's said that they are proud. What I can say with respect to them, is that they are very intelligent, well educated, extremely amiable, and frank and sincere with their friends in general."

"We are eager to meet such worthy ladies."

"Yes, we must go repay their visit, even though we haven't had the pleasure of receiving them personally."

"We would be delighted."

Don Próspero left the house, and his nieces went to

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prepararse para recibir algunas visitas que tenian anunciadas.

Leonor estaba muy contenta porque Don Jaime le había dicho:
—No tenga Vd. cuidado, señorita, por el cuaderno que se le ha extraviado. Hoy mismo he ido al hotel P… á hacer algunas pesquizas entre los huéspedes que se encuentran allá, de los que vinieron en el mismo vapor que ustedes, y uno de ellos, Mr. Plumb, amigo del capitan del *Senator*, me ha prometido tomar empeño en buscarlo y traérselo él en persona.
—Mr. Plumb, dice Vd?
—Sí, señorita; es un americano, corresponsal de uno de los diarios ingleses de S… F…
—Pues quedare muy agradecido á dicho señor por la molestia que se tome y tendremos gusto en conocerle
—Haré por presentarlo con Vds. lo mas pronto posible.
—Gracias, Don Jaime.

Esa noche, á las ocho en punto, las sobrinas de Don Próspero recibian la visita de Diodoro, Rodolfo, Plutarco y Mr. Plumb.

prepare to receive some visits that they had arranged.

Leonor was very pleased because Don Jaime had told her:

"Don't be concerned, miss, about the lost notebook. Today I went to the Hotel P— to make some inquiries among the guests who are there, those who came on the same steamer as you; and one of them, Mr. Plumb, a friend of the *Senator*'s captain, has promised to endeavor to find it and bring it to you himself."

"Mr. Plumb, you say?"

"Yes, miss. He is an American, a correspondent for one of the English-language newspapers in S— F—."

"Well, I will be very grateful to that gentleman for the trouble he is taking, and we will be happy to make his acquaintance."

"I will endeavor to introduce him to you as soon as possible."

"Thank you, Don Jaime."

That night, at eight o'clock sharp, Don Próspero's nieces received a visit from Diodoro, Rodolfo, Plutarco, and Mr. Plumb.

Rodolfo, jóven de veinticinco años aproximativamente, elegante, muy bien parecido, de maneras finas y caracter franco y espresivo, ya habia sido presentado por Diodoro en casa de Don Augusto una vez que habia estado en S… F… á comprar mercancías; pues también es co-

Rodolfo, a young man of approximately twenty-five years of age, elegant, very good-looking, with refined manners and a frank and expressive character, had already been introduced by Diodoro to Don Agusto's house once, when he was in S— F— to buy merchandise, as he was also

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merciante; así es que en L… A… no hizo mas que reanudar sus relaciones con Leonor y Clotilde.

Plutarco tambien es jóven, como de veintiseis años, es alto, delgado, de un color blanco mate, de pelo negro como el ébano, de ojos tambien negros, grandes y rasgados; el arco de las cejas, es de un trazo bello, y las negras, largas y rizadas pestañas, dan á su mirada una espresion agradable. Es hijo de la Señora J… de C…, cuyo nombre ya conoce el lector, y reune á sus finos modales, un trato esquisito que revela á primera vista al hombre de alta sociedad y de variada instruccion. Una barba negra y perfectamente cuidada, da un aspecto importante á nuestro jóven que ha consagrado su talento al periodismo, obteniendo muy buenos resultados.

a merchant. Therefore, in L— A—, he did no more than resume his acquaintance with Leonor and Clotilde.

Plutarco is also young, about twenty-six years old; he is tall, thin, with a flat white complexion, hair black as ebony, his eyes also black, large and almond-shaped; the arch of his eyebrows is a beautiful brushstroke, and his long, black, curly eyelashes give his gaze an agreeable expression. He is the son of Mrs. J— de C— (whose name the reader already knows), and he joins to his polite manners an exquisite comportment, which at once reveals a man of high society and educational breadth. A perfectly groomed black beard lends a distinguished look to our young gentleman, who has devoted his talent to journalism, achieving very good results.

Como todo pensador, su semblante revela mas bien al hombre esperimentado que al jóven alegre que vive en el bullicio del gran mundo; sin embargo, su carácter es amable, franco y espresivo, y no puede ménos que simpatizar con todo aquel que le trata.

De Mr. Plumb solo diremos, que á parte de tener una figura que mas bien remeda un espárrago por su delgadez y tiesura, tiene un carácter *sui generis,* uno de esos caracteres escépticos, frios é indolentes que apenas pueden encontrarse entre las brumas de un Lóndres. Tiene el prurito de saber todo, y á decir verdad, todo lo ignora. Ocupa en la sociedad un puesto elevado por su dinero, y por esta misma circunstancia, siempre está rodeado de

Like every man of thought, his countenance reveals him to be more a man of experience than a happy youth living in the bustle of the wide world. Nonetheless, his character is kind, frank, and expressive, and he cannot help but get along with anyone he meets.

Of Mr. Plumb, we will only say that, aside from having a figure that quite resembles a stalk of asparagus, thanks to its thinness and stiffness, he has a character *sui generis*—one of those personalities so skeptical, cold, and indolent that one scarcely could find the like amid the fogs of London. He has an itch to find out everything—but to tell the truth, he is ignorant of everything. He occupies a high position in society because of his money; and for this very reason, he is always surrounded by

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amigos que le adulan, elogiando sus barbaridades. Le han dicho que tiene brillantes dotes para la literatura, y el buen Mr. Plumb en su torpeza, lo ha creido, hasta el grado de imaginarse inspirado á cada instante; siendo esto causa de que siempre ande provisto de una multitud de manuscritos que se pone á leer al infeliz que tiene la

friends who flattered him, praising his nonsense. They have told him that he has brilliant endowments when it comes to literature, and the good Mr. Plumb, in his obtuseness, has believed it, to the extent that he fancies himself being inspired at every instant—this being the reason he always has a multitude of manuscripts on hand, which he

desgracia de manifestar simpatía por la literatura; porque, qué mayor desgracia puede haber que estar obligado á oir necedades una tras de otra y sin esperanza de que concluyan?

Leonor estaba arrepentida de haber dicho á Don Jaime que les presentara á Mr. Plumb, y mas lo estaba aun de haber manifestado al americano que era afecta á la literatura, porque este caballero creyendo agradarla, se habia sentado junto á ella desde que habia llegado y no habia cesado de hablarle de sus impresiones de viage durante su permanencia en Italia.

Esto, habria sido muy satisfactorio para los que le escuchaban, si el *literato* Mr. Plumb, no hudiera [*sic*, hubiera] carecido de sentido comun; pero siendo todo lo contrario, tenia plenamente fastidiado á su pequeño auditorio. Afortunadamente para todos, la visita de Mr. Plumb no duró mas que media hora, debido á que tenia que hacer otra visita de compromiso esa noche.

Tan pronto como Mr. Plumb hubo salido, Rodolfo esclamó riendo de buena gana:
—Creo, señoritas, que despues de haber tenido la

begins to read to any poor soul who has the misfortune of expressing an interest in literature. For what greater misfortune can exist than being obliged to listen to idiocies, one after another, without any hope that they might end?

Leonor was sorry for having told Don Jaime to introduce them to Mr. Plumb, and she was even more so for having expressed to the American that she had a fondness for literature; for, believing it would please her, this gentleman had seated himself next to her from the moment he arrived, and had not stopped talking at her about his touristic impressions of his sojourn in Italy.

This all might have been satisfactory to those listening, had the *literary* Mr. Plumb not lacked common sense; but quite the contrary, he had utterly annoyed his little audience. Fortunately for everyone, Mr. Plumb's visit lasted no more than half an hour, as he had promised to make another call that evening.

As soon as Mr. Plumb had left, Rodolfo exclaimed, laughing heartily:

"I believe, ladies, that, after having had the

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fortuna de conocer á una notabilidad americana como Mr. Plumb, muy justo es que celebremos tan glorioso evento de la manera mas agradable. ¿Quieren ustedes tener la bondad de tocar alguna cosa?

—Con mucho gusto lo haria por la parte que me corresponde;—dijo Leonor—pero esto será despues que usted bondadosamente nos obsequia con una de sus canciones favoritas, para poder disipar el *spleen* que las continuas necedades de Mr. Plumb, han producido en mí.

—Sí, Rodolfo,—dijeron Plutarco y Diodoro—canta, y cuenta con nuestros aplausos.

Y no pudiendo rehusarse, Rodol fo [*sic*] se sentó al piano y cantó con una voz de tenor, llena, vibrante y sentimental, el "adios de Aben-Hamet."

Desde este momento reinó en aquella reunion, el placer y la confianza que produjeron la satisfaccion de todos.

A las diez se retiraron los jóvenes, haciendo Plutarco y Rodolfo la promesa de volver muy pronto en compañia de sus mamás.

good fortune of meeting an American notable like Mr. Plumb, it is very right that we celebrate such a glorious event in the most agreeable fashion. Would you both be so kind as to play something?"

"I will play my part with great pleasure," said Leonor, "but only after you kindly oblige us with one of your favorite songs, so as to dispel the spleen that Mr. Plumb's endless idiocies have produced in me."

"Yes, Rodolfo," said Plutarco and Diodoro, "sing, and you can count on our applause."

Not being able to refuse, Rodolfo seated himself at the piano and sang in a tenor voice, full, vibrant, and passionate, the "Farewell of Aben-Hamet."

From this moment on, pleasure and informality reigned in that gathering, which gave everyone a sense of satisfaction.

At ten o'clock the young men departed, Plutarco and Rodolfo promising to return very soon in the company of their mothers.

Ya se disponian Leonor y Clotilde á retirarse á su recámara, cuando Don Próspero apareció en la puerta del pasillo secreto que comunicaba la sala con su dormitorio, y dijo con complacencia:

—Espero, señoritas, que á mí tambien me obsequian con un rato de conversacion, ántes de retirarnos á descansar.

Leonor and Clotilde were already about to retire to their bedroom, when Don Próspero appeared at the door of the secret passage connecting the living room with his bedroom, and he said pleasantly:

"I hope, young ladies, that you may also indulge me in a little conversation, before we retire to bed."

CHAPTER 4

The Public, Poetic Intimacies of Carlota Gutierrez

Pero ¡ay! nunca tal vez, ciudad querida,
Volveré á disfrutar con tus encantos,
Aunque uniéronme á tí los lazos santos
La amistad y cariño á mi partida.

Mas no olvides, remedo de la gloria,
Que á donde quiera que me lleve el hado,
Tu recuerdo dichoso, dibujado
Llevaré para siempre en mi memoria.

But alas! Perhaps never again, dear city,
Will I return to enjoy your charms,
Though we were bonded with holy ties
Of friendship and affection at my departure.

But do not forget, portrait of glory,
That wherever fate may take me,
I will carry your happy memory, etched
Forever in my mind.[1]

La Crónica of Los Angeles, August 18, 1877[2]

These verses form the concluding stanzas of "A Los Angeles" by the San Francisco poetisa Carlota Gutierrez. She affectionately dedicates the poem to friends and acquaintances she met in that city in May of 1877. Carlota begins by giving readers a glimpse of the bucolic memories "dibujado" or "sketched" in her memory, particularly the emerald hillsides, walnut trees, citrus blossoms, white swans, and crystal waters of the lakes and rivers.[3] A break occurs towards the end of the poem—represented visually by three lines of ellipses, as shown above—as though the speaker had been abruptly awoken from a plea-

surable dream. After this snap back to reality, the final verses rather fatalistically imply that the speaker is not certain she will ever be able to return to southern California or rekindle her cherished friendships in person. Yet by publishing her dedication poem in the newspaper, Carlota tenderly fans the flames of those relationships.

In the previous chapter, we learned about the substantial impact that the Gutierrez sisters' visit to southern California had on Carlota's older sister, Guadalupe, who wrote a serialized novel based on the people she met and experiences she had there. This chapter turns the spotlight on Carlota and her poetry, which was published in the Spanish-language press both before and after this significant event in their lives. Not only were the Gutierrez sisters accompanied to Los Angeles by a celebrity in the Mexican American community, former Governor Pío Pico, but they were also given a taste of celebrity treatment themselves: a dance at Union Hall was moved forward so they could attend;[4] the brindis, or toasts, they delivered at Pico's grand birthday celebration were praised in the newspaper; and upon their departure, they were accompanied to the Santa Monica train station by "un gran número de amigos cuyo afecto se han captado durante su corta estancia" (a large number of friends whose affection they captured during their short stay).[5] "A Los Angeles" hints at these important social connections Carlota made during her trip, yet the poem does not list names or otherwise publicize overly specific details to *La Crónica*'s readership.

Part of the reason Carlota's social capital in Los Angeles was so important to preserve is that the Gutierrez household was of modest means and headed by Mexican immigrant women. If Carlota wanted to succeed as a poetisa and continue gaining influence in California's Mexican American community, she needed to leverage every opportunity and social connection she could. As mentioned in chapter 3, Guadalupe started working outside the home in her late teens as a domestic servant, and later became a Spanish teacher. Carlota's first job was as a telegraph operator,[6] and she later taught Spanish like her sister. Female telegraph operators of the time had a great deal of

independence and possessed advanced technical skills;[7] and when it came to teaching Spanish, Carlota was savvy and industrious in marketing her services. She invested in her business by regularly taking out classified advertisements in the *San Francisco Chronicle* from 1879 through 1880.[8] These advertisements included her address and referred to her variously as C.S. Gutierrez, Señorita Gutierrez, or as a "Spanish" lady.

The portrait of Carlota painted by these sources is very different from that created by the poetry, society news, and editorials appearing in *La Crónica* and *La Sociedad*. The English-language directories, census records, and newspaper advertisements portrayed her as a working woman, whereas the Spanish-language press depicted her as a socialite, traveler, orator, and talented poet. Reading all these sources together gives us a fuller picture of Carlota, who, like her sister, was a cosmopolitan, multicultural, and upwardly mobile, working Latina.

This chapter explores Carlota's boldly public and intimately personal verses. Thus far I have recovered six of her poems, all printed in *La Crónica* from 1876 through 1878. Much like the dedication poem "A Los Angeles," all her creative work conducts a conversation with an intended interlocutor or respondent drawn from her social world. The first half of this chapter focuses on Carlota's exchange of verses with the Central American poetisa Amelia Denis de Icaza. Her dedication poem "A la inspirada poetisa colombiana Amelia Denis," published in May 1876, was an *ars poetica*, or meditation on the creative process, as well as an expression of solidarity, appreciation, and admiration for her fellow poetisa. The second half of this chapter surveys Carlota's other poems, which feature topics including patriotism, nature, purity, romantic longing, and love. For example, "Hidalgo y la Virgen de Anahuac," printed in September 1877, originally was composed for a live audience at San Francisco's celebration of Mexican Independence Day that year. "La flor y el destello," published in November 1877, is a parable about the importance of a young woman's virginity, and was originally inscribed in the album of a friend, Carmen Andrade.

And finally, "Invocacion:nocturna" and "Mi rizo," both printed in May 1878, were love poems written from a feminine perspective to an unidentified male sweetheart.

As in the case of her sister Guadalupe, whose serialized *roman à clef* featured characters based on friends and acquaintances in her social circles, Carlota's personal connections helped fuel and give direction to her creative process. Like the other Latina writers and orators of this book, Carlota's poetry was deeply connected with her social self. The verses she chose to publish in the press constituted a public performance of her social and cultural values, particularly her Mexican patriotism and identity as a poetisa. As a working woman from a family of modest means, Carlota's literary talents also opened the door for her to mingle with prominent members of the Latinx community and speak at public events, boosting her overall social status. By studying her poetry alongside her public persona, paratextual clues, and historical context, we can understand how Carlota's corpus shone light on a diverse and transnational array of people and cultural ideologies in nineteenth-century California.

DEDICATIONS AND SOLIDARITY BETWEEN POETISAS

In the exchange of dedication poems between Denis and Carlota, Denis made the first move. On September 22, 1875, *La América Central* of San Salvador published two dedication poems penned by Denis and a letter to the editor, Álvaro Contreras. The first poem was dedicated to a Salvadoran general, General Santiago González, and the second was dedicated to Carlota Gutierrez. On the page, they appeared alongside each other. Giving context to these dedication poems, Denis's letter to Contreras preceded them on the page. Seven months later, on April 1, 1876, Denis's dedication poem to Carlota was reprinted in the Los Angeles *La Crónica*.[9] Issues containing this reprint must have reached Carlota's home in San Francisco, where the poem was well received. A month later, the Mexican American poetisa responded, with a poem titled "A la inspirada poetisa colombiana Amelia Denis"; this was printed in *La Crónica* on May 17, 1876.

The social web connecting Denis, Carlota, Contreras, and the general can be read for the gendered workings at play. Denis and Carlota likely had never met in person, and were separated by the vast geographical distance between San Francisco and San Salvador. For them, the chasm of physical absence was bridged not only by a shared sense of *panlatinidad*, or solidarity between people of diverse Latin American origins, but also through their connection as poetisas. Using sensual metaphors in relation to the soul, sound, music, and resonance, the women stage a poetic conversation in which they not only express appreciation and admiration for one another, but also articulate their own meditations on the creative process, in the form of the *ars poetica* genre.[10]

Before we dive into this exchange of dedication poetry, you should have a proper introduction to Panama's beloved poetisa Amelia Denis de Icaza (see Figure 12). She was born on May 1, 1836, in Panama City, which at that time formed part of Colombia. During the nineteenth century, borders were shifting from the vast Republic of Colombia—which from 1819 to 1831 included not only modern Colombia, but also the territories of modern Ecuador, Venezuela, and Panama—to, by 1903, the current boundaries, with a Panama–Colombia border that now officially divides Central America from South America.[11] Her father, Saturnino Denis, was a newspaper publisher of French heritage, and he likely encouraged her interest in literature from an early age. Although her educational opportunities were limited, when she was twenty years old, Amelia Denis began to publish in the poetry section, "La floresta istmeña" (The Isthmian Grove), of the local newspaper, *El Panameño*. Her poems were so melancholy that the editor of the newspaper, José María Alemán, encouraged her to cheer up in the introduction he wrote for them. Little is known of her personal life, other than that she was married and widowed twice and had five children. The precise dates of her marriages to her first husband, Antonio Ramírez, and her second husband, José María Icaza, are unknown. She had four children with her first husband, then a fifth child, Mercedes, with her second.[12]



Figure 12: There is a corregimiento (subdivision) in the district of San Miguelito in Panama City named "Amelia Denis de Icaza" in honor of the poetisa. This bust is located in that neighborhood. Photo by Vanessa Ovalle Perez from March 2023.

During her life, Denis moved throughout Central America, often being pulled in different directions by members of her family. Her second husband moved them to Guatemala, where Denis spent almost two decades. During this time, she contributed to various newspapers, particularly *El Bien Público*, where she sometimes published under the pen name "Elena" and other times used her own name. It was her youngest daughter who eventually pushed Denis to make another major move. Mercedes had married a Nicaraguan man and relocated from Guatemala to León, Nicaragua, to be with him. Denis's second husband accompanied Mercedes, then died not long after. In 1894 Denis went to León, to mourn her husband and be with her daughter, then ended up staying in Nicaragua for the rest of her life. During those years, she continued to participate in literary culture and published poems in several different newspapers. Although she saw her name in print many times, Denis did not live to see an anthology of her poetry. She died in Managua on July 16, 1911. Sixteen years after her death, in 1927, an anthology of her works was published under the name *Hojas secas*, or *Dry Leaves*.[13] On what would have been her one hundredth birthday, November 28, 1936, Denis's remains were exhumed from her grave in Managua, Nicaragua, and brought to Panama. In homage, a bust of the poetisa was installed in a park in Santa Ana, the neighborhood where she grew up.[14]

Judging by her prolific publications in the Central American press, Denis was savvy when it came to earning the approval of editors and staying in their good graces. Whether or not her poetry would be published in the newspaper at all was generally in the hands of male editors and their staff, as was how it would be arranged on the page. When Denis wrote to editor Contreras of *La América Central* to request the publication of her dedication poems to Carlota and General González, she used the self-effacing rhetoric typical of women writers of the nineteenth century.[15] At the beginning of her letter, she writes, "Sin tener el honor de conocerlo mas que al traves de sus escritos; me tomo la libertad de enviarle dos pobres composiciones hijas de mi corazon, i que someto antes que todo el juicio de su intelijencia" (Without having the honor of knowing you, except through your writings, I take

the liberty of sending you two poor compositions, daughters of my heart, and I submit them to all the judgment of your intelligence).[16] The rest of her letter continued to downplay her own craft and intelligence while appealing to Contreras's ego. Her appeal was successful, and the two poems she submitted were printed alongside each other (see Figure 13).

When the dedication poems to *la señorita* Carlota and *el jeneral* González are read together on the page, they evoke a mirrored relation to Denis herself and to the editor: one poem speaks to a poetisa, while the other is dedicated to a powerful male figure. This man is General Santiago González, acting president of El Salvador at the time Denis published her dedication poem to him. General González had come to power four years earlier, in 1871. After overthrowing the more conservative administration of Francisco Dueñas, he revived liberal and anticlerical programs in El Salvador.[17]

Denis's dedication poem to *el jeneral* is a celebratory ode to the September 15, 1821 Independence Day of Central America, which under Spanish rule had been known as the Kingdom of Guatemala and included the present-day states of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica.[18] Denis not only commemorates the liberation of Central America from colonial rule, but in so doing, retells the Spanish conquest of the Americas in her own terms. About a year after Denis's poem appeared in the San Salvador press, Carlota published a poem titled "Hidalgo y la Virgen de Anahuac," in celebration of Mexican Independence Day, which similarly retells the story of Spanish conquest and the ensuing fight for independence in Mexico. I will analyze Carlota's poem in the second part of this chapter, but for now, it is interesting to note the shared interests of the two poetisas. In the first stanza of her poem, Denis writes, "No sé de Centro-América la historia, / No conozco los timbres de su gloria; / Pero es libre tambien i lo soi yo" (I do not know about Central America's history, / I do not know its claims to glory, / But it is also free, and so am I).[19] From the outset, Denis claims that she knows nothing of the history, or implicitly the political climate, of El Salvador, and thus she cannot be held responsible when it comes to political particulars. Yet



4 LA AMERICA CENTRAL.

el infortunio, me sorprendí i encontré que mis jemidos de dolor eran versos, i canté sin saber lo que era rima, sin otro maestro que Dios.

La pobre i tímida lira que encontré en mis manos al despertar de un largo i pesado sueño ha vibrado siempre bajo la impresion de mis pesares.—Por eso la mayor parte de mis cantos moriran conmigo.—Ellos no tienen mérito alguno para los seres felices.

Si la composicion del 15 no merece ser publicada por ser demasiado pequeña para una causa tan grande, leala Ud. i no vea en ella otra cosa que mi patriótico entusiasmo.—Muchas veces he querido enviarle mis humildes cantos en esta costa, pero tengo miedo: mi corazon lleva luto hace mucho tiempo, i al mundo no le gustan las lágrimas.

La obra que Ud. ha emprendido es grandiosa: ojalá que su sublime empeño, su nóbile tarea tenga el grande resultado que se propone.

Su atenta servidora.

Amelia Denis.

EL 15 DE SETIEMBRE.

Dedicado á S. E. el Jeneral

SANTIAGO GONZALEZ.

Yo hé nacido sensible americana
Humilde, ensenada colombiana;
Mi suerte á estas riberas me arrojó:
No sé de Centro-América la historia,
No conozco los timbres de su gloria;
Pero es libre tambien i lo seí yo.

Yo amo la bella patria en que he nacido,
Amo la para brisa que ha mecido
La cuna en que mi madre me arrulló.
Amo el canto del ave en la espesura,
El rio cristalino que murmura,
La flor que en la montaña se entreabrió.

Amo la palma que se eleva erguida
I la paloma tímida i sentida
Con su triste jemido arrullador;
Amo esos grandes árboles que ocoen
I que orgullosos su ramaje mecen
Sin conocer mas rei que su Creador:

[illegible] amo con [illegible]
Porque... tengo un corazon...
Que solo ante lo bello se inclina:
Amo el hermoso i rójio firmamento
Como la obra de un Dios por quien aliento,
Como la obra de un Dios que me creó.

I amo la libertad: yo supe amarla
Porque mi padre me enseñó á admirarla,
I es ella mi segunda relijion.
Una historia infeliz que me contaron
I que en mi mente con afan grabaron,
Desde entónces conserva el corazon.

Un Jenoves en su ajitada mente
Este hermoso i altivo continente
Como un sueño divino vió pasar,
Pobre i humilde como entónces era
Para encontrar su virjen hechicera:
Ante una reina quiso suplicar.

I fué escuchado: la mujer ha sido
El ánjel por el cielo bendecido
Para calmar del hombre la aflicion:
Isabel, esa reina de hermosura,
Dotada de simpática ternura
Supo animar el sueño de Colon.

Esa mujer fué grande i jenerosa
Como era bella, espléndida i hermosa:
Nada de ensueños á Colon faltó.
Cambió sus dijes por brillante oro,
I con este magnífico tesoro
El Jenoves la América encontró.

¿Que era entónces la América encantada,
Que ita esta hermosa virjen recostada
Sobre un lecho de flores i de amor?
Esos hombres de España la encontraron
I entre vivas cadenas la aherrojaron
Llenandola de oprobio i de dolor.

¡Ah! nunca, nunca tú, Isabel, quisiste
Esa flor que al acaso rozaste:
Deshojarla con bárbara crueldad.
Tu no diste esas órdenes, señora,
Esa jente ambiciosa aterradora
Hallaron nuestro suelo sin piedad.

Mi fué Colon, el infeliz marino
Quién quizo enlutecer nuestro destino
I de lanto la América regar;
Los que hollaron con bárbara alegria
La hermosa tierra de la patria mia....
No los quiero siquiera recordar.

Pero detesto las infames leyes
De los crueles despóticos vireyes
Que á mis padres llenaron de baldon,
Porque el pueblo que vive esclavizado
Es un pueblo infeliz i degradado
Aunque dependa de una gran nacion.

I así *entria* triste, resignado,
La América en mal hora conquistada
Hasta que al cielo su plegaria alzó.
El cielo oyó su súplica ferviente
I un hombre audaz altivo, inteligente,
Su infamante cadena desató.

Salud, sombra perdida
Del noble americano
Que á un cielo, orgulloso
Su adorno arrebató.

Salud al Gran Bolivar,
Al Jénio de la gloria
Cuya inmortal memoria
La América guardó.

Salud, a ti no inclina
Nuestra sacra memoria,
La libertad tenaces
Por ti se hicieron una.

Por ti los pueblos rotos
De America se unieron,
I en ti se arrodillaron
Felices ante Dios.

En tu brillante libaro
Bosaron gran sombra
Aunque una raja alfombra
De victimas quedó.

De *entónces* solo libres
Las aetas habitaron
I al grito que lanzaron
La libertad sonrió.

Por eso yo con temblorose acento
Dedico al Salvador el sentimiento
Que el quince de Setiembre me inspiró;
Porque tambien soi libre americana,
Porque tambien nací republicana,
I mi cuna entre libres se meció.

Acajutla, Setiembre 2 de 1875.

Amelia Denis.

A LA SEÑORITA

CÁRLOTA S. GUTIERRES.

Primorosa pasionaria,
Flor del mejicano suelo
Que recibiste del Cielo
La sublime inspiracion.

Tu cantarte como canta
La avecilla lastimera;
Llorarte niña hechicera
Por tu primera ilusion.

Pero escucha si palpeces
Por una ilusion perdida,
Si llevas el alma herida
Hai otro Eden para ti.

Un Eden privilejiado
Donde la esperanza mora;
Yo lo he encontrado Señora
I en mis sueños lo entrevi.

Cuando se tiene una lira
De Dios hermoso presente,
Se lleva un mundo en la mente
I un Cielo en el corazon.

La que tiene esa riqueza
Aunque cante sus dolores
Halla en su camino flores
Regadas con profusion.

Feliz quien vive, quien canta
Con una lira de oro:
Tu tiéres ese tesoro
Americano Turpial.

Cierra tus ojos i mira
Bellísimas creaciones,
El alma tiene ilusiones
En otro mundo inmortal.

Dulcísima criatura;
Privilejiada cantora
Hai un alma que te adora
I que tu alma comprendió.

Cuando llegue á tu ventana
El murmurito de la brisa
Pregúntale, poetisa,
Quién por ti le preguntó.

Acajutla, Setiembre 8 de 1875.

Amelia Denis.

CUBA LIBRE.

Con referencia al cargamento de armas que con destino á los patriotas de Cuba fué agresado en Port au Prince á solicitud del Cónsul español, dice "La Independencia" lo que sigue:—

HAITI

Por el último vapor llegado de Port au Prince á este puerto el 23, hemos recibido cartas i periódicos en los que se expresa la indignacion profunda que se sentia en todo el pueblo con motivo de la venta de las armas de la goleta *Laura Pride* al gobierno español, en una gruesa suma que algunos suponen tan crecida como la de $100,000. Lo que no podemos creer, aunque sí, no dudamos, que los españoles habrán tenido que pagar con largueza el gusto de llevar las armas á la Habana como trofeos. Todos los haitianos de representacion social se consideraban humillados con la accion del gobierno del Presidente *Domingue* quien habia prohibido que los periódicos publicasen las censuras que se le dirijian. Sin embargo *Le Peuple* dice: "Algunos farsantes añadieron que el cónsul español pidió la expulsion de M. Fernandez honrado cubano que reside en nuestra ciudad hace algunos años; i preguntamos ¿desde cuando hemos celebrado tratados con España ó dado á sus representantes el derecho de hacer semejante demanda á nuestro Gobierno? El hecho es tan exhorbitante que necesitamos preguntar si ese *rei dico* es cierto. No! no puede ser, no sera! Qué! nosotros, negros i mulatos arrojariamos de nuestros muros á un hombre que simpatiza con nuestros hermanos que se hallan en la esclavitud! Veamos pues. De dos cosas una. O tenemos sangre en las venas ó no la tenemos!!!"

Fácil es comprender por el sentido de estas frases que hemos copiado del *Peuple* la indignacion del pueblo haitiano. Lo demas que pudieramos decir lo callamos por ahora. Lo único que queremos hacer constar es, que los españoles tuvieron que comprar el cargamento de armas de la goleta *Laura Pride* para hacerlo pasar como *buena presa*. En cuanto al gobierno de Haiti, estamos seguros que entregó, vendido, el cargamento de armas, por las mismas razones que el gobierno español de Cuba entregó el *Virjinius* á los americanos. Exactamente.

RELACION

Del cargamento de armas que llevó á Port au Prince, Haiti, la goleta inglesa "Laura Pride", embargado por el Gobierno de Haiti, entregado por este al Comandante del vapor de guerra español "Churruca" á peticion del cónsul español, i desembarcadas en la Habana el dia 8 del corriente.

15 cajas, conteniendo 20 Rémingtons, cada una.
3 idem de sables bayonetas, limpiadores, etc.
2 obuses de montaña (Máximo Gomez).
1 idem idem (Vicente. Garcia).
1 idem idem (Titá Calvar).
1 idem idem (Limbiano Sanchez)
1 idem idem (Calixto Garcia).
23 Cajas, con ruedas timones, monturas, cerrobillones, hornos, caracteres de imprenta, etc.
300 cajas de balas i granadas.
344 idem de capsulas.
10 idem de fulminantes de capsulas.
42 idem de cápsulas.
1 idem de estopines.
2 idem de herramientas.
2 idem de utensilios para cargar cartuchos.
9 cajas de machetes.
21 idem de efectos de imprenta.
8 royos de papel de imprenta.
5 cajas conteniendo medicinas i efectos de cirujia.

Componiendo en totalidad 791 bultos.

Ademas 600 toneladas de carbon Cumberland.

A bordo del vapor "Churruca", 8 de Agosto de 1875.—El Comandante,—*Guadalupe Ojeda.*

(*Diario de la Marina.*)

ANUNCIOS.

HOTEL DEL PARQUE.

RESTAURANTE

OFRECE TODO LO QUE SE PUEDE DESEAR EN

SAN SALVADOR

Frente al Parque, hácia el Sur casa de dos pisos de Doña Octavia de Valdes.

28—v.

RETRATOS grabados

en marmol blanco

Para Mausoleos

LOS OFRECE

Rufino Flamenco.

8—v.

INTERESANTE A LOS ACREEDORES DE DON G. BEDET.

Los que suscribimos anunciamos á los acreedores del finado Don Gustabo Bedet: que se ha señalado el 22 del corriente á las doce del dia para dar en pago á los que han justificado el crédito, los muebles que quedaron por defuncion del referido Bedet.—Sirvanse, pues, concurrir á la habitacion del primero, i el que no lo verifique, perdará la porcion que le corresponda.

San Salvador, Setiembre 17 de 1875.

L. de Camboulas.
Francisco Chavez.

2—v

VENTA

DE HARINA

FRESCA I BARATA.

En la calle de San Francisco entre la casa de las Niñas Perez i la Botica del Licenciado Don Manuel Herrera.

13—v

OJO.

EL INFRASCRITO

está autorizado para arrendar la casa que tiene el Jeneral Brioso en Santa Tecla.

San Salvador, Agosto 9 de 1875.

José L. Gonzalez.

31—v.

LA SALUD.

En la farmacia de Mendez é Hijos se venden sanguijuelas de la mejor calidad á cuatro reales cada una.

8—v.

COMPAÑIA

DE CONSIGNACION

Y

AJENCIAS DE LA

LIBERTAD

De conformidad con lo dispuesto en los estatutos de la compañia, convóco á los Señores accionistas para celebrar la *sesion jeneral ordinaria* que tendrá lugar el dia 30 del corriente mes á las 12 a. m. en el escritorio del infrascrito.

San Salvador, Setiembre 8 1875.

J. Mauricio Duke,
"DIRECTOR"

13—v.

IMPRENTA DE PALMA.

FIGURE 13: Amelia Denis's two poems printed in *La América Central* of San Salvador on September 22, 1875. Courtesy of the Instituto de Historia de Nicaragua y Centroamérica online archive.

she does appreciate that it is a free republic, and that, living there, she is also free. The finale of the poem drives this point of solidarity home: "Porque tambien soi libre americana, / Porque tambien nací republicana, / I mi cuna entre libres se mecio" (Because I, too, am a free American, / Because I, too, was born a republican / And my cradle was rocked among free people).[20] For the speaker of the poem, it is freedom and republicanism that join Latin Americans. In her dedication poem to Carlota, Denis describes her as a "flor de mejicano suelo" (flower of Mexican soil). So, Carlota, though displaced from her native soil, is still someone with roots in a Latin American republic.

Building on this discourse of freedom and republicanism, patriotism similarly plays a subtle but fundamental part in how these poetisas relate to each other. In Carlota's dedication poem to Denis, she also acknowledges Denis's patria, or homeland:

Colombia, la patria tuya	Colombia, your homeland,
Que cual a México adoro	Which I adore as I do Mexico,
En tí posee un tesoro	In you possesses a treasure
De inconcebible valor!	Of inconceivable value![21]

Even in this brief exchange, the women express awareness of an international setting from which they draw not only inspiration, but also a patriotic audience. They both *perform for* and *as representatives of* these respective audiences. The nationalist elements of their verses are revealing, in terms of how Denis and Carlota understood their own creative processes and the ways in which patriotism was intertwined with inspiration and imagination. While sometimes nationalism can be a dangerously limiting and dehumanizing force, it is important to note that these women's investment in republican, nationalist solidarity was for them another means of gaining visibility and viability in the public sphere. In this exchange of dedication poems, their nods to *panlatinidad* were a way to make themselves and their seemingly intimate feminine conversation culturally relevant to a larger, male-dominated audience.

In Denis's dedication to Carlota, describing her as a *flor de mejicano suelo* also might have been a way of beginning to show her intimate understanding of the precarities in Carlota's life. Denis recognizes that Carlota is living as an immigrant mexicana far from her own soil and in a colonized territory. She goes on to validate her as a woman poet trying to gain a readership in the public sphere, a struggle Denis must have been very familiar with. By building a visible, public solidarity and friendship between them, the women could benefit from a mutual bolstering of their reputations.

This gesture of alliance was not unique to Denis and Carlota. Rather, they were part of and continued a long tradition of friendship poems typical in both Spanish and anglophone verse. For example, in the seventeenth century, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz dedicated several affectionate poems to her patron, Countess María Luisa Gonzaga Manrique de Lara.[22] According to Paula Backscheider, in eighteenth-century Europe, the public acceptance of women as poets grew and became widespread, and friendship poetry became a typical genre practiced by many women writers. Common themes of friendship poems included the "image of the special harmony between the souls of ideal friends, those that present friendship as a serious rival to marriage, and those that are poems of separation."[23] Although there is no mention of marriage in Denis and Carlota's verses, the other two themes of harmony between the souls of friends and the pain of friends being separated or absent permeate their exchanges.

The bond that Denis feels with Carlota is portrayed as not just any kind of friendship, but a special one shared between the souls of literary creatives, between poetisas. After alluding to Carlota crying for the loss of her "primera ilusion" or "first illusion"—metaphoric language for some kind of disappointment or heartbreak—the speaker of Denis's poem reminds Carlota that there is a place where hope dwells, "Un Eden privilejiado" or "privileged Eden." She further insists, "Yo lo he encontrado Señora / I en mis sueños lo entrevi" (I have found it, lady, / And in my dreams, I glimpsed it). This Eden is the inner world of the poetisa. It is in this Eden of imagination where the two connect, via their verses, no matter what distances may separate them. Towards

the end of the poem, the speaker expresses affection for and her connection with Carlota: "Hai un alma que te adora / I que tu alma comprendió" (There is a soul that adores you / And that has understood your soul). In reading Carlota's verses, not only does Denis grow in affection for Carlota, but also Carlota, as a fellow poetisa, can feel seen and understood. This is a bond forged through poetry and a mutual sense of identification.

In her response, Carlota begins by describing Denis as "bella, heróica y pura" (beautiful, heroic, and pure) and an "Ideal de algun poeta" (Ideal of any poet). She finishes her dedication by recalling Denis's vision of Eden:

Ese Eden de la esperanza	That Eden of hope
Cual tú, sublime cantora,	Like you, sublime songstress,
Tambien lo poseo ahora	I, too, possess now,
Y aunque sufro soy feliz.	And although I suffer, I am happy.

Although the speaker of Carlota's poem still suffers from heartbreak, she acknowledges that she, too, now possesses the "Eden de la esperanza" or "Eden of hope" that Denis revealed to her. Being able to retreat to her inner world, the Eden of the imagination, gives her hope and allows her to be happy despite the suffering she has endured.

Both poets understand the harmony between their kindred souls to be based on a spiritual connection. For them, this connectedness informs the creative process through which their poems are conceived. Using rhetoric typical of nineteenth-century verse, the women describe how their poetic production is made possible through a wave of poetic imagination that speaks directly to the soul, what Denis describes as "la sublime inspiracion" (sublime inspiration) and then elaborates on in her eighth stanza:

Cierra tus ojos i mira	Close your eyes and look at
Bellísimas creaciones,	The most beautiful creations;
El alma tiene ilusiones	The soul has illusions
En otro mundo inmortal.	In another, immortal world.

In a seemingly oxymoronic directive to her interlocutor, Denis insists that her eyes must be closed in order to look upon "bellísimas creaciones" (the most beautiful creations), which constitute the illusions of the soul, springing from the immortal world. In these verses, Denis plays upon the tension between visual seeing and visionary imagining. For her, the soul is the organ of visionary inspiration, and closing your eyes allows you to look inward at this creative, spiritual realm. Furthermore, the soul can glimpse a desired future, presumably in the service of crafting an enduring art that speaks across time to "otro mundo inmortal" (another, immortal world). Akin to the way Denis describes this visionary imagining, Carlota contemplates the creative process. Paralleling the structure Denis uses in terms of content, her thoughts on creativity also appear in the eighth stanza of her poem:

Mas solo plugo al Eterno,	But it only pleased the Eternal,
En fausto ó fatal momento,	In a fortunate or fatal moment,
Darme un vasto pensamiento	To give me a vast thought
Y una alma para soñar.	And a soul to dream.[24]

Carlota acknowledges that a "vasto pensamiento" (vast thought) is a momentous privilege handed down by God, the "Eternal." In the last two lines of Carlota's eighth stanza, inspiration is only part of the equation. Inspiration is nothing without "una alma para soñar" (a soul to dream) in order to complete the creative process. Just as for Denis the soul is an organ of visionary imagining, Carlota suggests that the soul receives inspiration in dreams.

An analysis of the multifaceted allusions that these poets construct reveals something akin to an *ars poetica*. Yet instead of focusing on principles related to poetic decorum or value, both Denis and Carlota focus on the very fodder of thought from which poetry is conceived. For both these women, their perception of poetic inspiration is one typical of both romantic and transcendental thought. It is an intense experience marked by spontaneity and divine intervention, touching the soul and stimulating the mind. Their eureka moment is a sensual

encounter, an event they wish to capture and share with one another through their verses.

The added dynamic of gender fosters interesting tensions when placed in relation to the transcendental soul and the experience of a sublime and sudden moment of inspiration, of genius. Many scholars have written on the gendered contradictions that occurred when nineteenth-century society sought to determine what constituted genius. Victoria Olwell points out that women often were not thought to have the same capacity for genius as men, although the traits associated with this concept were also those typically associated with femininity: intuition, instinctiveness, spontaneity, and even physical delicacy were all associated with both genius and femininity in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, a genius was regarded as someone "both highly distinct and completely representative."[25] Such a paradox, if accepted, would create an almost impossible barrier to entry for women, who, as marked subjects, cannot transcend their gendered status in order to manifest a truth that rings universal. Denis and Carlota faced additional barriers in terms of general creative recognition: not only were they women, but they were Latinas writing in Spanish.[26] Although they lived in metropolitan centers, they were subjects marked by coloniality and by living on the periphery of Western civilization.

Eliza Richards writes, "An inhabiting force or an innate quality, genius hinges on the question of possession." While men who were considered poetic geniuses in the nineteenth century, such as Edgar Allan Poe, were viewed as being in full possession of their literary acuity and mental faculties, "women poets were portrayed as fonts of unmediated emotion, nightingales or creatures with harp-like hearts who could not help but sing. Their poems were cast as identical offspring, incarnations of the poetess' intimate feelings."[27] On many levels, Denis and Carlota internalize and recapitulate their typecasting of emotional songstresses: they incorporate the imagery of birds, singers, and instruments to describe themselves and each other.[28] Carlota refers to Denis as a "sublime cantora" or "sublime songstress," and Denis refers to Carlota's *song* rather than what was literally printed verse. Carlota is depicted as both an "avecilla lastimera" (plaintive

little bird) and "privilejiada cantora" (privileged songstress). It is not until the very last stanza of the poem that Denis refers to her as a poetisa.

Carlota goes even deeper into these metaphors of sound. In the third stanza, she directs urgent questions, first towards Denis, then inward, towards herself:

¿Quién eres, dí, que has sabido	Who are you, tell me, who has learned
Comprender el alma mia?	To understand my soul?
¿Por qué el eco me extasía	Why am I enraptured by the echo
De tu voz angelical?	Of your angelic voice?[29]

Carlota urges Denis to *talk* to her, and emphasizes the echo of her interlocutor's "voz angelical" (angelic voice). Each woman expresses an imaginative connection to the voice of the other, as though through reading each could perceive the sonic, sensuous aspect of the other's vocal presence. Although this imagery certainly plays into the problematic, gendered casting that Richards illustrates, it also invites other questions about sound, voice, and possession of mind.

The first aspect to consider is that the fact that the two women never met face to face makes it impossible that either would have known the sound of the other's voice in a literal sense. Despite this, their poems express a persistent preoccupation with musicality and voice. This suggests that the vocal and sonic metaphoric elements that they chose to incorporate were an essential aspect of their *ars poetica*. They did not understand poetry as merely sound and song that issued automatically or uncontrollably from the heart, but rather constructed a logic whereby sound played a crucial role in the creative process. Expressed in the context of dedication, these metaphorically loud, musical calls from one woman to another take on an even more sensuous and social aspect.

Offering a helpful theoretical framework, philosopher Mladen Dolar argues that the voice is something beyond the binary relationship of form and function—which is to say, it is more than a sound to be experienced aesthetically or a vessel that conveys meaning. Rather,

voice can be theorized as the very "lever of thought."[30] Such a perspective resonates strongly with Denis's stanza:

Cuando se tiene una lira	When you have a lyre,
De Dios hermoso presente,	A beautiful present from God,
Se lleva un mundo en la mente	It carries with it a world in the mind
I un Cielo en el corazón	And a heaven in the heart.[31]

The "lira" (lyre) is not only a musical instrument traditionally associated with poetry,[32] but also a vessel which contains and conveys "un mundo en la mente" (world in the mind) and "un cielo en el corazón" (heaven in the heart). It is also connected to the divine, given by God. In this way, sound and music are theorized poetically beyond either a purely communicative or aesthetic expression: they are the very instrument, or "lever," of thought, and thus the medium of the soul's expression.

When it comes to the reverberation of sound, the many implications of resonance play a role not only in how Denis and Carlota conceptualize the transmission of their own voices, but also in terms of incalculable audiences who might appreciate their poetic works across time and space. Among other technical definitions, resonance can refer to the reinforcement or prolongation of sound, the fullness or quality of sound, or the ability of something to evoke or suggest images, memories, and emotions.[33] Poetry is a literary form that hinges on the ability of metaphoric language and imagery to resonate with readers, that is, to evoke certain moods, thoughts, and feelings. As we have seen, the dedication poems are filled with moments in which the poetisas validate each other's genius, effusively emphasizing the resonance between their creative souls. When it comes to resonance of sound, Carlota imagines the sensuous reverberation of Denis's voice in her throat, "Esas notas deliciosas / Que modula tu garganta" (Those delicious notes / That your throat modulates), while Denis ends her poem by imagining the echoes of her own voice being carried on a breeze to Carlota's window:

Cuando llegue á tu ventana	When to your window comes
El murmurio de la brisa	The murmur of a breeze,
Pregúntale, poetisa,	Inquire, poetess,
Quién por tí le preguntó.	Who was asking about you.[34]

The poetisas hint at the quality, vibration, and movement of voice, which, in spite of the physical distance between them, they can hear and feel through reading. On the surface, this intimate relationship seems to leave out the reader, to whom the poem is not explicitly dedicated. Yet the transmission of the poem in a newspaper—mass media—makes a large number of readers implicitly present. Beyond reading, the audience is coaxed to listen, to overhear, and thus they are drawn into a circle of resonance which includes them—and you, the reader of today, as well.

At this point, you may wonder what became of the friendship between these two poetisas who wrote so admiringly of, and to, each other. When it comes to dedication poems in newspapers, so far I have found only this one exchange between them. Yet a short article in *La Estrella de Panamá* from 1886, about ten years after these dedication poems were published, mentions that "CARLOTA GUTIERREZ, poetisa Mejicana, guarda en su album muchas poesías de la Señora Doña Amelia Denis de Ycaza, por la cual tiene cariñosa y marcada predilección" (CARLOTA GUTIERREZ, a Mexican poetess, keeps in her album many poems by Mrs. Amelia Denis de Ycaza, for whom she has an affectionate and marked predilection).[35] So it appears that Carlota's appreciation for Denis was enduring and publicly known. This brief article may also suggest that the women shared an exchange of personal letters that included handwritten poetry, or at the very least that Carlota followed Denis's publications closely in the Spanish-language press and preserved Denis's poems in her personal album. Unfortunately, without further evidence, it's hard to say exactly how close their relationship was and whether or not they kept in touch over the years. What can be said is that their short exchange of dedication poems shines light on a brief moment of friendship and creative

solidarity. Performed consciously in the public forum of the Spanish-language press, their dedication poems can be read as *ars poeticas* expressing their artistic values and sense of pride for their respective patrias.

SEEING THE WORLD OF LATINX SAN FRANCISCO THROUGH CARLOTA'S VERSES

After receiving public praise and validation from Amelia Denis in the newspaper, Carlota went on to write and publish more original poetry in *La Crónica*. "A Los Angeles," "Hidalgo y la Virgen de Anahuac," "La flor y el destello," "Invocacion:nocturna," and "Mi rizo" were all given pride of place on the newspaper's front page. Since "A Los Angeles" was discussed in the introduction of this chapter, this final section focuses on the remaining four of these poems, written in the fall of 1877 and spring of 1878. These works explore a diverse range of topics from Mexican patriotism to feminine purity and romantic love. Despite the fact that these are not dedication poems per se, Carlota's verses are directed to specific people or groups of people in her social circle. Studying the poems carefully, with historical context in mind, helps paint a dynamic picture of the world Carlota inhabited as a rising Latina poet in nineteenth-century San Francisco.

Like her older sister Guadalupe, Carlota was known for her public speaking in addition to literary work published in newspapers. The correspondent "Consuelo," who regularly provided reports to *La Crónica*, described a Mexican Independence Day celebration in 1876, in which "la adorable Sta. Carlota Gutierrez leyó un poema original, escrito por ella misma, con verdadero fervor patriótico, y le conquistó nutridos aplausos" (the adorable Señorita Carlota Gutierrez read an original poem, written by herself, with true patriotic fervor, and this won her a lot of applause).[36] Dressed elegantly in black silk and bearing herself gracefully, Carlota also apparently won the attention of gentleman admirers, who inquired about her after she spoke. The impression she made earned her a repeat invitation the following September, and reporting in both Los Angeles's *La Crónica* and San

Francisco's *La Sociedad* mentioned that she again read original poetry in celebration of Mexican Independence Day. This time, the poem she composed and recited, "Hidalgo y la Virgen de Anahuac," was printed in the newspaper after her performance.

The Independence Day event at which Carlota performed her poem was a much-anticipated social affair, and although it took place in San Francisco, details about the event were reported in Los Angeles by the editor Pastor de Célis. Advertisements for the "Gran Baile" (Grand Ball) in *La Crónica* appeared in the early days of September, and on September 5, 1877, de Célis announced that the "bella cuanto inteligente Señorita Carlota S. Gutierrez ha aceptado la comision de presentarse en el salon" (as beautiful as she is intelligent, Señorita Carlota S. Gutierrez has accepted a commission to speak in the assembly hall).[37] Evidently Carlota was popular for both her beauty and her brains, and her name could draw crowds. The fact that Carlota was interested in speaking at these types of gatherings shows that she identified strongly with Mexican nationalist sentiment, or at least that she was willing to take on this role in order to gain attention in the public sphere and a platform for her poetic work.

"Hidalgo y la Virgen de Anahuac" is impressive in terms of style, rhythm, and substance, and was published at least twice: first in San Francisco's *La Sociedad*, then reprinted in Los Angeles's *La Crónica* on September 26, 1877.[38] Similar to Denis's dedication poem to *el jeneral* Santiago González, Carlota tells a patriotic creation myth, in this case focusing on the liberation of Mexico from colonial Spanish rule. However, instead of being dedicated to a particular person, this poem is dedicated to an entire people: she begins the poem by addressing "Mejicanos," or "Mexicans." Carlota's ode dramatizes an imagined scene between Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, a revolutionary leader in the fight for Mexican independence, and the Virgin of Anáhuac, a suffering Virgen de Guadalupe archetype who personifies the Mexican nation under Spanish rule.

In Carlota's poem, the humiliated, sobbing Virgen de Anáhuac appears to Hidalgo and tells her story of domination by Spain. He promises to free her, and is in his turn executed, martyring himself

for the good of his country. The speaker of the poem lauds Hidalgo, then springs to the present moment of 1877, describing the Virgen de Anáhuac as bearing "la antorcha refulgente," or "refulgent torch," of freedom. The poem concludes by warning against internal and external threats to Mexico, including what the speaker characterizes as fratricidal violence, greedy neighboring countries, and bold foreign powers who instigate war. Rather than see these forces conquer Mexico, the final lines call on the whole nation to martyr themselves if necessary "¡¡Bajo su hermosa tricolor bandera!!" (Under her beautiful tricolor flag!!). Essentially, all patriotic Mexicans are called upon to follow the example of Hidalgo.

The choice to use the name "Virgen de Anahuac," instead of *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* or any other title for the Virgin Mary in reference to her apparitions in Mexico, is significant because Carlota incorporates the Nahuatl name *Anáhuac*, which political scholar Arturo Chang translates as "the great Earth encircled and surrounded by water." This translation depicts the system of lakes of Mexico's central valley, the ancestral home of the Nahuatlaca peoples.[39] In the fifteenth century, the term was adopted by Indigenous coalitions as they resisted the Mexica (Aztec) empire. According to Chang, the term Anáhuac was used to inspire a *restorative revolution* in the early phases of the Mexican independence movement: Mexican insurgents were fighting not only for political sovereignty, but also for "the restoration of pre-Columbian identities, histories, and practices."[40] Interestingly, Indigenous insurgents adhered to a version of republicanism that remained committed to Catholicism and "coalesced around Catholic identities to organize across classes, especially behind the Lady of Guadalupe, a symbol that spoke to Mexican unity."[41] Carlota's use of Anáhuac builds on this nationalistic tradition, and in her vision of Mexican Independence, she too centers and idealizes pre-Columbian Indigenous identity along with Catholicism.

The poetic structure of the poem is particularly complex and carefully crafted to conform to six-line stanzas with an ABCBDD rhyme scheme. Carlota's rhythmic play seems to be a shortened reformulation

of *rhyme royal*, which consists of seven-line stanzas of ABABBCC structure, and is used in both Chaucerian and Shakespearean verse.[42] Carlota's verse condenses the third and fourth lines of the *rhyme royal*, introducing an end sound that is unrhymed within the six-line stanza, but is intermingled in rhymes and couplets further on in the poem.[43] Six stanzas strictly follow this construction, followed by a stanza at the poem's meridian that breaks from the pattern and is punctuated by Hidalgo's courageous interjection "INDEPENDENCIA Ó MUERTE!" (INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH!).[44] This dramatic moment functions as a stand-in for Hidalgo's *Grito de Dolores*, his historic, iconic call to arms accompanied by the ringing of church bells in the wee hours of the morning of September 16, 1810. The six stanzas that follow Hidalgo's *grito* revert to the meticulous ABCBDD pattern, making the break from the rhythm all the more striking.

Passages of dialogue create visual breaks of white space and rhetorically serve as a means of storytelling in the poem. Take, for instance, the second and third stanzas of the poem:

Así la vió un anciano venerable,
Y asercándose á ella, conmovido,
La dijo cariñosa y tiernamente:
"¿Quién causa tu infortunio, ángel que-
[rido?
Por qué lloras, ¡oh virgen hechicera!
Por qué, dime, te encuentro prisionera?

Thus did a venerable old man see her,
And coming up to her, feeling moved,
Said affectionately and tenderly to her:
"Who causes your misfortune, angel dear-
[est?
Why do you cry, O enchanting virgin?
Why, tell me, do I find you a prisoner?

¿Pues no eras tu, cuando Colon te ha-
[llara,
Rica, libre, potente y venturosa?
¿Por qué hoy miro tu manto hecho giro-
[nes,
E inclinarse tu frente pesarosa?
¿Quién se atreve á robar, bella criatura,
Tus derechos, tu honor y tu ventura?[45]

Were you not, when Columbus found
[you,
Rich, free, powerful, and happy?
Why do I see your mantle in tatters today,
And your sorrowful brow bowed down?
Beautiful creature, who dares steal
Your rights, your honor, and your happiness?"

The first line of the third stanza implies a change between the Virgin's present-day self and her former self, which turns on the axis of European contact. When Hidalgo asks "¿Pues no eras tu, cuando Colon te hallara / Rica, libre, potente y venturosa?" (Were you not, when Columbus found you, / Rich, free, powerful, and happy?) he is contrasting the current, vanquished Virgen de Anáhuac and her former, independent self.

In the poem, the Virgen de Anáhuac is the female embodiment of pre-Hispanic civilization in Mexico, one that would be violated by Spanish conquest. After she was found by a European explorer—notably Columbus, rather than the conquistador Hernán Cortés, who arrived later—the Virgin representing Mesoamerican sovereignty was changed from her former rich, free, and powerful self. This sympathetic image of the debasement of a woman's glory and agency becomes a rhetorical means of guarding the Virgen de Anáhuac from any suggestion of victim-blaming for her rape by the invader. The blame for her fall, however, is not exclusively placed on Columbus, but also on the "despótica Señora" (despotic Lady) from across the Atlantic—that is, Spain. Seeing the wealth and natural wonders belonging to the Virgen de Anáhuac, ambitious Spain "Envió en son de conquista á sus soldados / A hacer suyas mis vastas posesiones" (Sent her soldiers on a mission of conquest, / To make my vast possessions her own). Carlota recasts the creation myth of her homeland by centering it on two powers, Mexico's Virgen de Anáhuac of Mexico and Spain's *despótica Señora*. The men of war, conquistadors, Indigenous warriors, and Hidalgo, are cast as operatives of these powerful females. Not only does Carlota center her version of the conquest on matriarchal figures, but by taking on the task of inventing a national creation myth from her own perspective, particularly in the context of an event celebrating Independence Day, she cements her own powerful role as an author of Mexican history and patriotic leader in her community.

Two months after "Hidalgo y la Virgen de Anahuac" was published, another of Carlota's poems appeared in *La Crónica*, also depicting a feminine fall. "La flor y el destello," or "The Flower and the Sunbeam," was printed on the front page on November 28, 1877, with a note above the title reading "Escrita para LA CRÓNICA" (Written for LA CRÓNICA). Below the title another note indicates that the poem originally was inscribed "EN el ALBUM de la Sta. CARMEN ANDRADE" (IN the ALBUM of Miss CARMEN ANDRADE).[46] Although the poem's title does not include a dedication to Carmen,[47] the fact that the poem was written in her album implies that the verses were intended for her. Sentimental albums commonly were assembled by middle- and upper-class young ladies in Europe and North America during the nineteenth century. They usually contained artistic works by friends and family members, including poems, drawings, signatures, and apothegms (short, clever sayings). These albums enabled young women to "consolidate relationships on both a personal and social level" and provided a "repository for ideas, feelings and memories."[48] It was not common for a poem originally written in a girl's album to end up on the front page of the newspaper, or at least it was uncommon for the album's owner to be explicitly identified. Possibly the notes before and after the poem's title reveal that, for Carlota, writing a personal poem for a friend's album and a poem in the newspaper for her reading public were not mutually exclusive exercises. Without more information, it is difficult to say how the poem made the transition from Carmen's album to the public press. Either Carlota or Carmen might have submitted "La flor y el destello" to de Célis to be published in *La Crónica*.

The Andrade family was wealthy, influential, and well-connected in both California and Mexico. Carmen's father, Guillermo Andrade, was a merchant and partner in the firm Gaxiola & Andrade.[49] According to the 1870 US Census, his personal property was estimated to be worth $10,000, which was enough to provide a high standard of living for him, his wife Luisa, and their growing family of

eight children.[50] Carmen was the oldest of her siblings and was born in Mexico. At least three of her younger siblings, however, were born in California after the family relocated across the border around 1865.[51] By the turn of the century, her father had grown in influence. He became the Mexican Consul in Los Angeles and was involved in the development of lands around the Colorado River Delta and Mexico–United States border.[52] Carmen no doubt benefited from the lifestyle her family's fortune afforded her. As a teenager, she attended the College of Notre Dame in San José, an all-girls Catholic boarding school that enrolled many daughters of privileged San Francisco families.[53] She eventually married a Mexico City lawyer, Sadoq Banuet, and they had at least one child together, a son named Guillermo (presumably after his maternal grandfather), born in Guaymas, Mexico, in 1883.

Given the standing of the Andrade family and Carlota's growing prominence in the Mexican American community, the public association of Carmen and Carlota in the newspaper probably was a boost to both of them, in terms of social status. Around the time that "La flor y el destello" was written, Carmen was around twenty-one years old, and Carlota was about the same age. Even though they came from very different economic classes, the fact that they were in the same stage of life, had similar cultural backgrounds, and were both educated meant that these young ladies had plenty in common. Based on the content of the poem, it is likely that marriage, romance, and courtship were prominent in their minds at the time.

The first part of "La flor y el destello" is a parable in verse, describing how a fresh, dewy flower dries and withers after being touched by a passing sunbeam. These verses, of course, were not simply about flowers and sunshine, but rather about the dangers of a young lady's innocence and chastity being ruined by a man. The concluding two stanzas speak directly to a "jóven querida" or "dear young lady," reminding her to guard herself from any passing male sunbeams intent on drinking up her dew and leaving "marchito el corazon" (the heart withered). As in "A Los Angeles," Carlota includes a break in the

verses, about two-thirds of the way through the poem, which the editor demarcates with long trails of ellipses that continue for two lines:

Y abrasada, ya sin riego,	And, scorched, now without watering,
Doblegó su tallo luego,	Her stem soon bent,
Y marchitada quedó……	And she was left wilted ……
……..	……..
……..	……..
Hoy que estás, jóven querida,	Today you are, dear young lady,
En la aurora de la vida.[54]	At the dawn of life.

The lines of ellipses indicate a shift not only in the mood of the poem, but also in the audience addressed. The parable portion of "La flor y el destello" narrates the past story of a flower "del bosque umbrío" (of the shady forest) in a picturesque dawn, like a "vírgen sonrojada" (blushing virgin). In this first stanza, virginity and purity are idealized, hinting at the moral lesson of the parable. After the break in the poem, Carlota shifts to "hoy" or "today" and to Carmen as a real-life *jóven querida* in the "aurora de la vida" (dawn of life). The poem thereby draws a parallel between the dewy, unspoiled flower of the parable and Carlota's friend Carmen, who is young and presumably pure, the rest of her story yet to be written.

The parable hinges on elements from nature, the flower and sunbeam, that are anthropomorphized into recognizable human archetypes: the virginal young woman and her male seducer. Carlota gives the reader insight into the flower's innocent, happy mindset before the arrival of the sunbeam: "Muy felice se creía, / Y todo le parecía / Hermoso á su alrededor" (She believed herself to be very happy, / And everything seemed / Beautiful all around her). The self-awareness of the flower and her subsequent suffering after losing the happiness of innocence are human qualities. The sunbeam is "radiante y bello" (shining and handsome); he doesn't merely shine, but "fué á la flor á acariciar" (went to caress the flower). The sense of touch implied by the verb "acariciar," or "caress," suggests erotic intimacy, and his

caress sucks up the flower's "rocío," or "dew." Thus, the dewdrops on the crimson petals, earlier in the poem described as "diamantes sobre carmin," or "diamonds on carmine," represent the treasures of innocence and virginity that presently adorn Carmen, her name being played upon by the word *carmín*. Dew protects the flower and keeps it fresh, just as the purity of a young lady is implied to be her greatest asset in maintaining her social status.

Carlota writes this poem in Carmen's sentimental album as a message to her friend, but its publication in the newspaper also addressed wider circles of readers, which, importantly, included men. Not only was it common for visitors to Carmen's home to view her sentimental album and read its contents, but the poem's appearance in *La Crónica* also made it available to a broader public audience. Kunard writes that the nineteenth-century album "not only disclosed acquaintances, its contents also revealed both the owner's and the contributor's education and taste."[55] This meant that Carlota's parable about the flower and the sunbeam was not just a message to Carmen, warning her to protect her sexual virtue, but also a message to men in Carmen's social circle. These men were made aware of the harm they could do by undermining Carmen's purity, and they were also being warned that Carmen had watchful allies like Carlota by her side. So Carmen was not a flower alone in the forest, but rather had many friends around her, with every intention of safeguarding her honor. Perhaps Carlota may have even written the poem with a particular suspect sunbeam in mind.

Based on the changing content of her verses in the following spring of 1878, it is possible that Carlota may have stumbled into the very dangers she had been warning Carmen against. "Invocacion:nocturna" (see Figure 14) and "Mi rizo," published on the front pages of *La Crónica* on May 11, 1878 and May 18, 1878, respectively, were both written in the voice of a woman in love. Of course, the poems may have had nothing to do with Carlota's personal life at all, especially given the fact that they are not dedicated to any particular person in her social circle. The speaker of "Invocacion:nocturna," for example, lies awake in bed as she longs for and calls out to her lover. She describes him as a ghostly or angelic vision alongside scenes of the


LA CRONICA,

SABADOS Y MIÉRCOLES

P. de CELIS Y M. J. VARELA,

PUBLICISTAS.

LA CRONICA

AÑO VII. LOS ANGELES CALIFORNIA, SABADO 11 DE MAYO DE 1878. NUM. 37.

LA CRONICA,

WEDNESDAY and SATURDAY

P. de CELIS & M. J. VARELA,

PUBLISHERS.

INVOCACION NOCTURNA.

Aviso Importante.

AGUA DE BARCELONA

O LECHE DE LA SULTANA.

Orient Billiard Saloon,

J. BERNSTEIN,

BANKER

DE PUESTA VORK,

FARMERS and MERCHANTS

BANK

OF LOS ANGELES.

Locolores de Piano, Co

to o Idiomas Modernos,

R. F. del VALLE.

ABOGADO.

Dr. Wm. HAZELTINE,

Dentista.

NUEVA SILLERIA.

DR. LUPPO,

OFICINA EN EL DOWNEY

BLOCK, SALA NÚm. 15 y 16.

Doctor JOSE BECHTINGER,

Oculista Operador

AVISO.

FIGURE 14: *La Crónica* of Los Angeles from May 11, 1878. Carlota's "Invocacion:nocturna" is located in the far-left column. Courtesy of the California Digital Newspaper Collection, Center for Bibliographic Studies and Research, University of California, Riverside, http://cdnc.ucr.edu.

natural world outside her window. At the end of the poem, the speaker suggests that she will wither and die without him. The second poem, "Mi rizo," or "My Lock," also deals with romantic angst but is shorter and speaks to the lover directly, using the second person. The woman reminds her sweetheart of a lock of her hair that she gave him. If the lock is cherished and evokes sentimental feelings in him, then she consents that he keep it; but if a day comes when he is indifferent to it, she tells him to cast it into the fire. In both these poems, feelings of love and passion are intermingled with intense longing and anxiety. The feminine speaker desperately wants her love to be reciprocated. As opposed to the speakers in "Hidalgo y la Virgen de Anahuac," "La flor y el destello," and the dedication poems, the feminine speaker of Carlota's love poems directs her voice towards a romantic interest rather than a patriotic crowd, a fellow poetisa, or a platonic friend or group of friends.

In "Invocacion:nocturna" Carlota combines imagery common to European romanticism, US spiritualism, and Catholicism. Romanticism was a movement of the eighteenth and early nineteenth

centuries in which writers focused on nature and the interior world of feelings. In this poem, the speaker is present and aware of the natural world outside her window. She mentions the gentle murmur of a lake and waterfall, withered leaves that scatter on the wind, a deserted boat on a serene sea, and "flores de ineffable esencia" (flowers of ineffable perfume)[56] that weep with her as she longs for her lover. These dreamy visualizations of natural elements in the nighttime are loaded with sensory and emotional connotations. Intertwined with these scenes of nature is the language of spiritualism, a belief based on supposed communication with spirits of the dead, especially through mediums. According to historian Daniel Herman, spiritualism came to San Francisco with the Gold Rush, and by the 1870s it was very popular in the city, particularly among the middle class. At this time, there were at least two committees of mediums holding weekly séances; spiritualist lectures drew overflowing crowds at several public halls; and the weekly newspaper *Banner of Progress* documented all things spiritualist in the city.[57]

Although it is unclear how popular the spiritualist trend was in the Latinx community of San Francisco specifically, it's likely that Carlota couldn't help but be exposed to these ideas circulating in the public sphere. "Invocacion:nocturna" seems to draw upon the spiritualist imagination; for example, the speaker describes her love as a "bello fantasma" (handsome phantom), "arcángel de hermosura" (archangel of beauty), and "triste, angelical vision" (melancholy, angelic vision).[58] In her restless sleeplessness, the speaker doesn't simply call out to her lover to return to her, but *invokes* him, saying "No temas, ven!" (Do not fear, come!). The scene she sets is like that of a nineteenth-century spiritualist séance, but with touches of Catholicism as well. Not only is her vision angelic in addition to being ghostly, but as the candles dim, she describes how "Ya en el altar que dentro el pecho mio / Mi adorada illusion te levantó" (Already, at the altar in my breast, / My beloved vision has raised you). The speaker is not summoning her ghostly or angelic lover in company with other spiritualists while seated at a séance table. Rather, she metaphorically has an altar in her heart at which to raise him. This altar setting is more reminiscent of

an altar in a church or Latinx home, in honor of the Virgin Mary or for departed family members.

"Mi rizo" is the last of Carlota's poems that I have been able to find in the newspapers thus far. Written like a short, intimate letter in verse to a suitor, it foregoes the elaborate lyricism and rhyming patterns of Carlota's other works. Unlike "Invocacion:nocturna," which focuses on nature and otherworldly, spiritual romance, these verses center entirely on a tangible, physical token of love: a lock of hair. In the nineteenth century, keeping the hair of a family member, friend, or lover for sentimental purposes was common in both Europe and the United States. Although it was a customary practice, giving or keeping hair as a memento was not done thoughtlessly or unselectively. Elisabeth Gitter writes that in Victorian England, for example, "the preservation and exchange of hair tokens were activities of the utmost dignity and importance."[59] In Carlota's "Mi rizo," the lock is not only a physical memento of the speaker's body, but she describes it as a "prenda de mi afecto" (pledge of my affection).[60] As a woman devoted to her sweetheart, she demands that the precious gift of her hair be treated with serious, earnest tenderness. She expects her beloved's heart to fill with sentiment at the sight of it and so his lack of emotion would be a "Precursora del desprecio" (Harbinger of contempt). If the lock loses its emotional potency, she insists that he give it an honorable end by casting it into the fire. Confronted with the worry that she might lose her lover's affection, the speaker takes what control she can over the situation by drawing a clear boundary when it comes to how her lock of hair should be treated if their courtship should sour.

Carlota's two love poems and "La flor y el destello"[61] were indicated as having been written *para La Crónica*, or specifically *for La Crónica*, as opposed to being reprinted from *La Sociedad* like her previous two poems, "A Los Angeles" and "La Virgen de Anahuac." So, by November 1877 and May 1878, Carlota had a firm enough rapport with editor Pastor de Célis that she was confident about sending her poems for publication in *La Crónica*. Since Carlota and her sister Guadalupe had ties to *La Sociedad* through their brother Francisco, who was a printer there (see chapter 3), it's very possible that more

poems by Carlota appeared in that newspaper, in issues that are now lost. Unfortunately, since so few issues of *La Sociedad* have survived to the present day, it is difficult to know the full scope of Carlota's creative publications.

Since I have found virtually no biographical records of Carlota and her family in San Francisco after their documented roughly ten-year residency, from 1870 through 1880, they likely moved from the area after 1880. Carlota's time in the city was not only significant for her as a poetisa, but also changed the course of her personal life as well. While in San Francisco, she ran in the same social circles as her eventual husband, Manuel María Alegre (see Figure 15). In fact, the reporter Consuelo mentions how both Carlota and Alegre spoke at San Francisco's Mexican Independence Day celebration in 1876.[62] Around that time, Alegre worked as a clerk for the merchant Wenceslao Loaiza[63] and he later served as an officer for the Spanish Benevolent Society.[64] After leaving San Francisco sometime before 1887, Carlota and Alegre settled in Veracruz, Mexico, before eventually moving to Mexico City, where they lived until their deaths in 1924[65] and 1930[66] respectively. Although he was born in Tlacoltalpan, Veracruz,[67] Alegre was educated in Mexico City and began his career as a journalist.[68] After his time in San Francisco, Alegre worked in Mexico as a merchant[69] and a journalist, and also served as interim governor of the state of Veracruz during the Francisco I. Madero administration towards the beginning of the Mexican Revolution.[70] He had liberal political leanings and published his opinions in tracts, including *¿Cómo escapar del peligro sajón? Sajonizándonos*[71] (*How to Escape from the Saxon Danger? Saxonizing Ourselves*). Clearly, Alegre and Carlota were both passionate when it came to their patriotism for Mexico and also shared an aptitude for writing. The couple had at least four children,[72] including daughters with the notable names Guadalupe[73] and Josefina.[74] Although I haven't found any trace of what happened to Carlota's older sister after the Gutierrez family's residency in San Francisco, I would like to think that the gesture of naming one of her daughters after Guadalupe meant that they continued to have a warm relationship. As we will see in chapter 5, the



Figure 15: Photograph portrait of Manuel María Alegre from his 1903 publication *¿Cómo escapar del peligro sajón? Sajonizándonos* (*How to Escape from the Saxon Danger? Saxonizing Ourselves*). Courtesy of HathiTrust and UC Davis Library.

anonymous Josefina published her verses around the same time as Carlota, so perhaps Carlota and Alegre chose to name one of their daughters after the mysterious poetisa out of admiration or affection.[75] As much as I would love to let my imagination run wild, the shared name could simply be a coincidence.

Judging by how Carlota and Guadalupe Gutierrez dazzled friends, acquaintances, and editors alike, it would not be surprising if future researchers discovered their names in the Spanish-language press of other regions in the United States or abroad. Even though I have recovered only six poems by Carlota Gutierrez, these verses provide a window into her social world as a rising Latina poetisa in nineteenth-century California. By closely reading her verses, we can better understand Carlota's social and cultural values, especially her identity as a poetisa and sense of patriotic belonging in a *México de afuera* community. Though she and Guadalupe were working women of modest means, their literary talents helped provide opportunities for them and bolstered their social status. Carlota's editor and contacts in Los Angeles, a privileged Latina friend, a possible sweetheart, and even a fellow poetisa from Central America were all part of the diverse selection of people who helped inspire and shape her poetry.

SPANISH TRANSCRIPTIONS AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS FOR CHAPTER 4

Poem Dedicated to Carlota Gutierrez by Amelia Denis de Icaza
La América Central of San Salvador, September 22, 1875
Reprinted in *La Crónica* of Los Angeles, April 1, 1876

A la Señorita Carlota S. Gutierrez	*To Miss Carlota S. Gutierrez*
Primorosa pasionaria,	Passion primrose,
Flor del mejicano suelo	Flower of Mexican soil
Que recibiste del Cielo	Who received from heaven
La sublime inspiracion.	The sublime inspiration.
Tu cantaste como canta	You sang how sings
La avecilla lastimera;	The plaintive little bird;

Lloraste niña hechicera
Por tu primera ilusion.

Pero escucha si padeces
Por una ilusion perdida,
Si llevas el alma herida
Hai otro Eden para tí.

Un Eden privilejiado
Donde la esperanza mora;
Yo lo he encontrado Señora
I en mis sueños lo entrevi.

Cuando se tiene una lira
De Dios hermoso presente,
Se lleva un mundo en la mente
I un Cielo en el corazon.

La que tiene esa riqueza
Aunque cante sus dolores
Halla en su camino flores
Regadas con profusion.

Feliz quien vive, quien canta
Con una lira de oro:
Tu tiénes ese tesoro
Americano Turpial.

Cierra tus ojos i mira
Bellísimas creaciones,
El alma tiene ilusiones
En otro mundo inmortal.

Dulcísima criatura;
Privilejiada cantora
Hai un alma que te adora
I que tu alma comprendió.

You cried, girl sorceress
For your first illusion.

But listen if you suffer
For an illusion lost,
If your soul is wounded
There is another Eden for you.

A privileged Eden
Where hope dwells;
I've found it, lady,
And in my dreams, I glimpsed it.

When you have a lyre,
A beautiful present from God,
It carries with it a world in the mind
And a heaven in the heart.

She who has that wealth
Even if singing sorrows
Finds flowers along her path
Profusely watered.

Happy is she who lives, who sings
With a gold lyre:
You have that treasure,
American Troupial.

Close your eyes and look at
The most beautiful creations;
The soul has illusions
In another, immortal world.

Sweetest creature;
Privileged songstress
There is a soul that adores you
And that has understood your soul.

Cuando llegue á tu ventana
El murmurio de la brisa
Pregúntale, poetisa,
Quién por tí le preguntó.

Acajutla, Setiembre 8 de 1875.
Amelia Denis.

When to your window comes
The murmur of a breeze,
Inquire, poetess,
Who was asking about you.

Acajutla, September 8 of 1875.
Amelia Denis.

Poem Dedicated to Amelia Denis de Icaza by Carlota Gutierrez
La Crónica of Los Angeles, May 17, 1876

A la Inspirada Poetisa Colombiana
Amelia Denis

Alma bella, heróica y pura,
Del Señor obra completa,
Ideal de algun poeta,
Fiel modelo de virtud;

Tú, indulgente, has escuchado
Mis tristes é inciertos sones,
Y sublimes vibraciones
Me brindas de tu laúd.

¿ Quién eres, dí, que has sabido
Comprender el alma mia?
¿ Por qué el eco me extasía
De tu voz angelical?

¿ A qué avecilla has robado
La dulzura de tu acento
Que despierta el sentimiento
En un pecho inerte ya?

Colombia, la patria tuya,
Que cual a México adoro,
En tí posee un tesoro
De inconcebible valor!

To the Inspired Colombian Poetess
Amelia Denis

Soul that is beautiful, heroic and pure,
Of the Lord's ample work,
Ideal of any poet,
Faithful model of virtue;

You, indulgent, have heard
My sad and uncertain sounds,
And sublime vibrations
You praise me with your lute.

Who are you, tell me, who has learned
To understand my soul?
Why am I enraptured by the echo
Of your angelic voice?

From what little bird did you steal
The sweetness of your accent
That awakens feeling
In an already inert breast?

Colombia, your homeland,
Which I adore as I do Mexico,
In you possesses a treasure
Of inconceivable value!

Esas notas deliciosas
Que modula tu garganta,
El céfiro las levanta
Hasta el trono del Señor.

Si yo pudiera un instante
Cual tú, pulsar una lira,
Sabrias lo que le inspira
A mi mente tu cantar.

Mas solo plugo al Eterno,
En fausto ó fatal momento,
Darme un vasto pensamiento
Y una alma para soñar.

Pero es injusto el quejarme
Porque al ménos en mis sueños
Realizo dulces ensueños
Que mi mente concibió.

Ensueños castos que á mi alma
Por un momento halagaron
Y que rápidos volaron
Llevando mi calma en pos!

Mas no lloro un desengaño
Ni alguna ilusion perdida;
No, mi ilusion tiene vida,
Una vida perennal.

Del mundo la ley tirana
Lo desterró de este suelo
Y se fué á morar al Cielo……
¡ Allá mi esperanza está!

Su ausencia lamento y lloro
Pero oigo una voz que dice,
Que puedo ser aún felice,
Que esta vida tiene fin

Those delicious notes
That your throat modulates,
The zephyr raises them
To the throne of God.

If I could for an instant
Like you, pluck a lyre,
You would know how your song
Has inspired my mind.

But it only pleased the Eternal,
In a fortunate or fatal moment,
To give me a vast thought
And a soul to dream.

But it is unfair to complain
Because at least in my dreams
I realize sweet fantasies
That my mind conceived.

Chaste fantasies that
For a moment flattered my soul
And how fast they flew
Leaving my calm behind!

But I do not mourn a disappointment
Or some lost illusion;
No, my illusion has life,
A perennial life.

The tyrannical law of the world
I banished it from this earth
And it went to dwell in Heaven……
My hope remains there!

For your absence I grieve and cry
But I hear a voice that says,
That I can still be happy,
That this life has an end

Ese Eden de la esperanza
Cual tú, sublime cantora,
Tambien lo poseo ahora
Y aunque sufro soy feliz.

Carlota S. Gutierrez
San Francisco, Abril 9 de 1876

That Eden of hope
Like you, sublime songstress,
I too possess it now
And although I suffer, I am happy.

Carlota S. Gutierrez
San Francisco, April 9 of 1876

Poems by Carlota Gutierrez From *La Crónica* of Los Angeles
Printed August 18, 1877

A LOS ANGELES
(Composicion cariñosamente dedicada á las apreciables personas con quienes tuve el placer de relacionarme durante mi permanencia en esa ciudad.)

Bella ciudad, jardin privilegiado,
Del angelino, con razon, orgullo,
Oasis fecundo, pálido capullo,
Entre mirtos y rosas colocado;

Yo á tus lares, llegué dichosa un dia,
Y al mirar las bellezas de tu suelo,
Lo que solo encontrar creí en el cielo,
Allí halló mi exigente fantasía.

Tu eres de Flora el matizado templo,
De aves canoras primoroso nido,
Eres de Céres el lugar querido,
Eres de paz y de quietud ejemplo.

¡Qué imponentes ce elevan tus colinas,
Arropadas en gasas de esmeralda,
Ostentando cada una entre su falda
Flores mil de corolas nectarinas!

TO LOS ANGELES
(Composition affectionately dedicated to the esteemed people with whom I had the pleasure of associating with during my stay in that city.)

Beautiful city, privileged garden,
Of the angelino, rightly proud,
Fecund oasis, pale bud,
Placed between myrtles and roses;

I, to your hearth, arrived happy one day,
And looking at the beauties of your soil,
What I thought I would find only in heaven,
There I find my insistent fantasy.

You are of Flora's painted temple,
Of the songbird's exquisite nest,
You are Ceres' beloved place,
You are a specimen of peace and of quietude.

How formidably do your hills rise,
Covered in emerald chiffons,
Showing off each between her skirt
A thousand flowers with nectarine corollas!

Y tú entre ellas; cual cisne alabastrino
Junto á un lago, anidado en la verdura,
Te levantas con mágica hermosura,
En la vega de un rio cristalino.

¡ Quién pudiera otra vez de tus nogales
A la sombra espaciosa proyectada,
Contemplar en la yerba recostada,
De ese rio los límpidos cristales;

Y cortar azahares, cual lo hacia,
De tus verdes naranjos, y con ellos
Adornar mi garganta y mis cabellos,
Y embriagarme otra vez con su ambrosía!

¡Ver la expléndida y fúlgida guirnalda
Con que el sol de la tarde orna tu frente,
Cuando baja á ocultarse en Occidente,
Entre encajes carmíneos y de gualda.

Y volver á aspirar de tu pradera
El ambiente purísimo y fragante,
Cuando el ave otra vez á Dios levante
De la mañana la cancion primera!
……
……
……

Pero ¡ay! nunca tal vez, ciudad querida,
Volveré á disfrutar con tus encantos,
Aunque uniéronme á tí los lazos santos
La amistad y cariño á mi partida.

Mas no olvides, remedo de la gloria,
Que á donde quiera que me lleve el hado,
Tu recuerdo dichoso, dibujado
Llevaré para siempre en mi memoria.

CARLOTA S. GUTIERREZ.
San Francisco, Agosto 2 de 1877.

And you among them; like an alabaster swan
Next to a lake, nestled in the greenery,
You rise with magical beauty,
In the fertile plain of a crystalline river.

If I could once again from your walnut trees
Strewn across the spacious shade,
Contemplate the reclining grass,
The limpid crystals of that river;

And cut citrus blossoms, as I did,
From your green orange trees, and with them
Adorn my throat and my hair,
And intoxicate myself again with their ambrosia!

See the splendid and brilliant garland
With which the afternoon sun adorns your brow,
When it descends to shroud itself in the West,
Between lace of carmine and reseda.

And to breathe again of your pasture
The pure and fragrant air,
When the bird again raises to God
The first song of the morning!
……
……
……

But alas! Perhaps never again, dear city,
Will I return to enjoy your charms,
Though we were bonded with holy ties
Of friendship and affection at my departure.

But do not forget, portrait of glory,
That wherever fate may take me,
I will carry your happy memory, etched
Forever in my mind.

CARLOTA S. GUTIERREZ.
San Francisco, Agosto 2 de 1877.

Printed September 26, 1877

HIDALGO
Y LA VIRGEN DE ANAHUAC.

Mejicanos, há tiempo que una virgen,
Más bella que el albor de la mañana,
Impotente, añigida y sollozando,
Humillada la frentre soberana,
La cerviz doblegaba bajo el yugo
De un poderoso aterrador verdugo.

Así la vió un anciano venerable,
Y asercándose á ella, conmovido,
La dijo cariñosa y tiernamente:
"¿Quién causa tu infortunio, ángel que-
[rido?
Por qué lloras, ¡oh virgen hechicera!
Por qué, dime, te encuentro prisionera?

¿Pues no eras tu, cuando Colon te ha-
[llara,
Rica, libre, potente y venturosa?
¿Por qué hoy miro tu manto hecho giro-
[nes,
E inclinarse tu frente pesarosa?
¿Quién se atreve á robar, bella criatura,
Tus derechos, tu honor y tu ventura?

Levantó la doncella la mirada,
Y extendiendo la mano hácia el Oriente,
Así dijo vertiendo amargo lloro:
Más allá del Atlántico rugiente
Existe una despótica Señora,
Que es la que causa mi afliccion ahora.

Ella vió mi magnifica riqueza,
Mis bosques, y mis rios, y mis prados,
Y ambiciosa, potenta y dominanre,

HIDALGO
AND THE VIRGIN OF ANAHUAC.

Mexicans, long ago a virgin,
More beautiful than the dawn of the morning,
Powerless, aggrieved and sobbing,
Her sovereign brow humiliated,
Her nape sagged under the yoke
Of a powerful, terrifying executioner.

Thus did a venerable old man see her,
And coming up to her, feeling moved,
Said affectionately and tenderly to her:
"Who causes your misfortune, angel dear-
[est?
Why do you cry, O enchanting virgin?
Why, tell me, do I find you a prisoner?

Were you not, when Columbus found
[you,
Rich, free, powerful, and happy?
Why do I see your mantle in tatters today,
And your sorrowful brow bowed down?
Beautiful creature, who dares steal
Your rights, your honor, and your happiness?"

The maid lifted her gaze,
And stretching out her hand towards the east,
Shedding bitter tears, said:
Beyond the Roaring Atlantic
There is a despotic Lady,
She is who causes my present affliction.

She saw my magnificent wealth,
My forests, my rivers, and my meadows,
And ambitious, powerful and domineering,

Envió en son de conquista á sus soldados
A hacer suyas mis vastas posesiones,
Para dar más renombre á sus pendones.

Mi pueblo combatió con heroismo,
Defendiendo mi honor que era su gloria,
Pero en la injusta y desigual contienda
Los más fuertes ganaron la victoria,
¡Y desde entónces con horrible pena
Arrastra del esclavo la cadena……

No pudo continuar la hermosa mártir,
Desmayada cayó en el pavimento,
Y el anciano tomándola en sus brazos,
Dijo alzando la vista al firmamento:
"Yo te juro salvarte, patria mía,
¡Y probar á la España tu valor!"

INDEPENDENCIA Ó MUERTE! exclamó [luego,

Y al vibrar el acento del patriota,
Un cadalso se alzó negro y terrible,
Reclamando su sangre gota á gota;
Y èl las gradas subió tranquilamente
Por hacer á su patria independiente!

Gloria á Hidalgo, al insigne sacerdote,
Al anciano bendito y abnegado
Que lavó con su sangre, de tres siglos
La frente de su pueblo esclavizado,
¡Genio sublime que mandara el cielo
A libertar el mejicano suelo!

Hoy la virgen de Anahuac lleva altiva,
De los libres la antorcha refulgente,
Y guirnalda de lauros inmortales
Ciñe su augusta y candorosa frente
Pero á pesar de su explendor glorioso,
No disfruta de paz ni de reposo.

Sent her soldiers on a mission of conquest
To make my vast possessions her own,
To give greater renown to her pennants.

My people fought with heroism,
Defending my honor which was their glory,
But in the unjust and unequal struggle
The strongest won the victory,
And since then with horrible grief
The slave drags the chain……

The beautiful martyr could not continue,
She collapsed on the pavement,
And the old man taking her in his arms,
He said looking up at the firmament:
"I swear to save you, my country,
And prove to Spain your valor!"

INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH! He then exclaim- [med,

And as the patriot's voice resonated,
A scaffold rose black and terrible,
Claiming his blood drop by drop:
And he calmly ascended the steps
For the sake of his independent country!

Glory to Hidalgo, to the distinguished priest,
To the blessed and unselfish elder
Who washed with his blood, of three centuries
The forehead of his enslaved people,
Sublime genius who was sent from heaven
To liberate the Mexican soil!

Today the virgin of Anahuac proudly bears,
The refulgent torch of the free,
And a wreath of immortal laurels
Adorns her venerated and candid brow
But in spite of her glorious splendor,
She enjoys neither peace nor rest.

Por desgracia tiene hijos extraviados
Que se empeñan en lucha fratricida,
Y vecinos avaros que la asechan
Como el lobo á la oveja apetecida;
Pero tiene tambien mil hijos fieles
Que sabrán conservarle sus laureles!

¡Oh benemérito, inmortal Hidalgo
Que hoy habitas del justo la morada,
Vela constante por la patria mia,
Esa tierra fecunda y codiciada:
Tú que diste por ella la existencia
¡Guarda siempre su sacra independencia!

No permitas que pise sus campiñas
En son de guerra el extranjero osado;
Que antes que vea el estandarte ageno
Tremolar en su ambiente embalsamando,
Caiga sin vida la nacion entera
¡¡Bajo su hermosa tricolor bandera!!

CARLOTA S. GUTIERREZ.

San Francisco Setiembre 16 de 1877.

Unfortunately, she has stray children
Who engage in fratricidal fighting,
And greedy neighbors who stalk her
As the wolf to the appetizing sheep;
But she also has a thousand faithful children
Who will know how to protect her laurels!

Oh meritorious, immortal Hidalgo
Who today dwells justly at home,
Watch constantly over my patria,
That fruitful and coveted land:
You who gave for her your existence
Always guard her sacred independence!

Do not let the bold foreigner
Tread her fields with drums of war;
Before I see the foreign banner
Waving in its embalming ambience,
May the entire nation fall lifeless
Under her beautiful tricolor flag!!

CARLOTA S. GUTIERREZ

San Francisco September 16, 1877.

Printed November 28, 1877

[Escrita para LA CRÓNICA.]

LA FLOR Y EL DESTELLO.

—

EN el ALBUM de la sta. CARMEN ANDRADE.

—

Cuando la aurora rosada,
Como vírgen sonrojada,
En el oriente asomó,
Una flor del bosque umbrío,
Blancas gotas de rocío,
En su cáliz recogía,

[Written for LA CRÓNICA.]

THE FLOWER AND THE SUNBEAM.

—

IN the ALBUM of Miss CARMEN ANDRADE.

—

When the rosy dawn
Like a blushing virgin,
Appeared in the east,
A flower of the shady forest,
Collected white drops of dew,
In her chalice,

Aquellas límpidas perlas,
Que parecian, al verlas,
    Diamantes sobre carmin,
Daban á la flor frescura,
Y aumentaban su hermosura,
    Su perfume y su matiz.

Muy felice se creia,
Y todo le parecia
    Hermoso á su alrededor;
Pero ¡ay! su dicha y contento
pasaron en un momento
    Cual fugaz exhalacion.

El sol brilló y un destello
De su luz, radiante y bello,
    Fué á la flor á acariciar;
, ella incauta, deslumbrado,
En su corola dorada,
    Le dejó ¡necia! pasar.

En breve el destello impío,
Absorbió todo el rocío,
    De la infortunada flor;
Y abrasada, ya sin riego,
Doblegó su tallo luego,
    Y marchitada quedó……

……
……
Hoy que estás, jóven querida,
    En la aurora de la vida,
En tu pecho virginal
No des cabida al destello,
Que sabe fingir, tan bello,
    La ilusion en esa edad;

Those limpid pearls,
Which seemed, when seen,
    Diamonds on carmine,
Giving the flower refreshment,
And enhancing her beauty,
    Her perfume and hue.

She believed herself to be very happy,
And everything seemed
    Beautiful all around her;
But alas! Her happiness and contentment
Passed in a moment
    Like a fleeting exhalation.

The sun shone and a beam
Of his light, radiant and handsome,
    Went to caress the flower;
, she taken, dazzled,
In her golden corolla,
    Let him, (fool!) pass through.

In a flash, the wicked sunbeam,
Soaked up all the dew,
    From the unfortunate flower;
And, scorched, now without watering,
Her stem soon bent,
    And was left wilted……

……
……
Today you are, dear young lady,
At the dawn of life,
    In your virginal breast
Don't give way to the sunbeam
Who knows how to feign, so lovely,
    The fantasy of this age;

Porque si en él se introduce,
Por un instante produce
La más grata sensacion;
Pero absorve su rocío,
Dejando insensible, y frio,
Y marchito el corazon!!

CARLOTA S. GUTIERREZ

San Francisco, Noviembre 18 de 1877.

Because if he introduces it,
For an instant it produces
The most pleasant sensation;
But he soaks up her dew,
Leaving the heart numb, and cold,
And withered!!

CARLOTA S. GUTIERREZ

San Francisco, November 18, 1877.

Printed May 11, 1878

[Para LA CRÓNICA.]

INVOCACION:NOCTURNA.

—

Bello fantasma, arcángel de hermosura,
El que en mis sueños ilusorios ví:
Ven á calmar mi acerva desventura,
Ven otra vez á acompañarme, sí!

Desciende ahora que en tranquilo sueño
La humanidad descansa sin temor,
Miéntras yo insomne, con ferviente em
[peño
Te invoco triste, angelical vision,

No temas, ven! No se oyen más rumores
En esta dulce y armoniosa paz,
Que los ecos asaz conmovedores
Del nocturno cantor entre el rosal;

Más que el murmullo misterioso y vago
De lejana cascada al descender,
Y de las ondas del vecino lago
El adormido, lánguido vaiven.

[For LA CRÓNICA.]

INVOCATION: NOCTURN.

—

Handsome phantom, archangel of beauty,
The one I saw in my illusory dreams:
Come to calm my bitter misfortune,
Come again to accompany me, yes!

Descend now, for in tranquil sleep
Humanity rests without fear,
While I, sleepless, with fervent determi
[nation
I invoke you melancholy, angelic vision,

Do not fear, come! No more rumors are heard
In this sweet and harmonious peace,
Other than the wholly moving echoes
Of the nocturnal singer among the roses;

Other than the mysterious and vague murmur
Of a distant waterfall as it descends,
And from the waves of the neighboring lake,
The sleepy, languid sway.

Más qúe el suspiro de las mustias hojas
Que esparcidas se ven con profusion,
Cuando el viento, burlando sus congojas,
Las agita y despues huye veloz.

Ni hay más testigos que el fanal divino
Que suspendido en el espacio está,
Y la desierta barca del marino
Que se divisa en el sereno mar;

Más que las flores de inefable esencia
Que tristes lloran como lloro yo,
Lamentando del céfiro la ausencia,
Como tu ausencia lamentando estoy.

No tardes más! El corazon amante
Ya está agostado de sufrir así,
Y la mente confusa y vacilante
Próxima se halla á un desastroso fin!

Ya en el altar que dentro el pecho mio
Mi adorada ilusion te levantó,
Se éxtinguieron las luces y sombrío
Está, y marchita la postrera flor.

Más siempre ven, vision idolatrada,
Si todo ha muerto ya dentro de mí,
Me queda el alma que inmortal fue creada,
Y esa gustosa te la doy á ti!!

CARLOTA S. GUTIERREZ
San Rafael, Cal., Mayo 4 de 1878.

Other than the sigh of the withered leaves
How scattered they look in their profusion,
When the wind, mocking their anguish,
Unsettles them and then runs away.

Nor are there more witnesses other than
The divine lighthouse suspended in space,
And the deserted boat of the sailor
Which can be glimpsed on the serene sea;

Other than the flowers of ineffable perfume
Which sadly weep as I weep,
Lamenting the absence of the gentle breeze,
As I lament your absence.

Don't delay longer! The loving heart
Is exhausted from suffering like this,
And the confused and wavering mind
Soon will find a disastrous end!

Already, at the altar in my breast
My beloved vision raised you,
The lights have extinguished and it is
Dim, and the last flower withers.

Come even still, revered vision,
If everything has already died within me,
I still have the soul that was created immortal,
And which I gladly give to you!!

CARLOTA S. GUTIERREZ
San Rafael, Cal., May 4, 1878.

Printed May 18, 1878

[Para LA CRÓNICA.]

MI RIZO.

—

Cuando contemples el rizo
Que te dí de mis cabellos,
Y él te traiga á la memoria
De mí un lejano recuerdo;
Si te conmueves al ver
Esa prenda de mi afecto
Y entre sus hebras castañas
Depositas algun beso;
Guarda ese rizo, bien mío,
Guárdalo, sí, con esmero,
Que yo consiento gustosa
En que tú seas su dueño;
Mas si llega un triste dia
En que no sientas al verlo
Mas que aquella indiferencia
Precursora del desprecio,
Te suplico que lo arrojes
Inmediatamente al fuego
Porque es el fin más honroso
Que en tal caso le deseo.

CARLOTA S. GUTIERREZ

San Francisco, Mayo 14 de 1878.

[For LA CRÓNICA.]

MY LOCK.

—

When you gaze upon the lock
That I gave you of my curls,
And it brings to memory
A distant recollection of me;
If you are moved to see
That pledge of my affection
And among its chestnut strands
You deposit any kiss;
Keep that lock, my darling,
Save it, yes, with care,
For I gladly consent
That you are its owner;
But if a sad day comes
When you feel nothing upon seeing it
But indifference
That harbinger of contempt,
I beg you to cast it away
Immediately into the fire
Because it is the most honorable end
That in such a case, I wish for it.

CARLOTA S. GUTIERREZ

San Francisco, May 14, 1878.

CHAPTER 5

Reading the Poetic Body of Josefina

> Vergüenza será si con datos tan convincentes, el corresponsal de *La Crónica* no señala con el dedo á Josefina cuando alguno de sus galantes admiradores le pregunte ¿quién es ella?
>
> Si desea obtener más apuntes, datos ó pormenores á acerca de la jóven[1] en cuestión, en esta oficina se los darán completos.[2]
>
> It would be a shame if, being in possession of such convincing facts, the correspondent of *La Crónica* does not point their finger at Josefina when one of her gallant admirers asks, who is she?
>
> If you wish to obtain further notes, facts, or particulars about the young lady in question, in this office they will be given completely.
>
> *La Crónica* of Los Angeles, April 12, 1876

A mere visit to the office of *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo*—if only it were still so easy to learn the identity of the mysterious Josefina! The rather cheeky and casually sexist invitation above concludes an editorial article on the identity of a poet known only by her pseudonym, who published in the Spanish-language newspapers *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo* of San Francisco and *La Crónica* of Los Angeles between 1875 and 1878. Although these comments mostly reflect the various opinions presented by *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo*'s editor Felipe Fierro, they survive today only in reprinted form, in the April 12, 1876 issue of *La Crónica*. Questions about the identity of Josefina and controversy over her verse and persona erupted in both newspapers,

and went on to be described in society reporting and even a poem dedicated to Josefina. Whether or not he actually knew Josefina's true identity, Fierro apparently had little interest in respecting her privacy, as he prioritized teasing her male "galantes admiradores" (gallant admirers) with possible leads as to who she was. This implicitly gendered dynamic indicates that he thought outing Josefina was acceptable if it was done face to face in the newspaper's offices—that is, man to man (see Figure 16). I must admit, my own distaste for and critique of these men is in a sense ironic, as I myself have attempted for many long



Figure 16: Image of Spring and Court Streets in Los Angeles circa 1875. *La Crónica* was printed in the Herald Steam Printing House pictured on the left.[3] The editor of *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo*, Felipe Fierro, implied that the editor of *La Crónica* knew the true identity of Josefina. Photo courtesy of the Security Pacific National Bank Collection / Los Angeles Public Library.

hours to discover, and publish, Josefina's identity. If I could be transported to the spring of 1876, I might well be among those visiting the editor's office to satisfy my own curiosity.

In the present day, there is a possible, albeit uncertain, lead as to Josefina's real name. A letter from San Francisco, printed in *La Crónica* in March 1876, by a regular correspondent who signed himself as "Consuelo," suggests a possible identity for the anonymous poetisa. Consuelo characterizes Josefina's verses as "encantadores" (enchanting) and declares that "en los círculos literarios hispano-americanos existe gran curiosidad por averiguar quien es 'Josefina'" (in Hispanic-American literary circles, there is great curiosity to find out who "Josefina" is). Consuelo claims that the "creencia general" (general belief) is that Josefina is none other than Miss Eva Cline, who recently had contributed several noteworthy articles to local San Francisco newspapers. Consuelo concludes his coverage of the topic, however, by leaving open the question of Josefina's true identity. As he has never laid eyes on Josefina, he cannot satisfy the curiosity of the "muchos galantes" (many gallant men)[4] who have asked about her.[5] Unfortunately, my own stone-turning in the twenty-first century so far has failed to provide, or to disprove, a direct link between any San Franciscan newspaper correspondent named Eva Cline and the elusive Josefina.

Perhaps one reason Josefina preferred to remain anonymous may have been that she was young and unmarried. In the regular "Sueltos Locales" (Local Events) column in the same issue of *La Crónica* as her poem "Mi corazon y yo," on December 4, 1875, editor E.F. Teodoli describes Josefina as an "inspirada" (inspired) poetisa and invites other young Latina women to contribute literary works to his newspaper as well: "con gusto le damos un lugar en nuestras columnas é invitamos á las jóvenes hispano-americanas á que como ella cultiven las musas" (we gladly give her a place in our columns, and invite Hispanic-American young ladies to cultivate the Muses, as she does).[6] It is likely that Josefina was young herself, since Teodoli implicitly classes her together with other "Hispanic-American young ladies" who wrote literature. His comments also indicate that Teodoli admired Josefina's

work, and he outwardly encouraged her literary endeavors and those of other young Latinas.

Having introduced Josefina as a young poetisa with readers in San Francisco and Los Angeles, let me now describe how I happened upon Josefina in the first place and give an idea of the scope of her poetic *oeuvre*. I discovered Josefina's poems while doing research at the Center for the Study of Latino Health and Culture (CESLAC) at the University of California, Los Angeles. As I was leafing through facsimilies of the San Francisco Spanish-language newspaper *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo*, I came across the issue of September 3, 1875, in which a poetisa identified only as "Josefina" published verses dedicated to an anonymous person. Another dedication poem by Josefina, in April of 1876, was addressed to someone called "Cristina," evidently a rival poetisa. When I turned my attention to southern California, I found that from 1875 through 1878 Josefina published fifteen poems in the Los Angeles Spanish-language newspaper *La Crónica*. Much of Josefina's poetry grapples with unhappy emotions, including lost love, longing, disillusionment, and ostracization. In addition to publishing dedication poems, Josefina also printed a series of five sonnets written in a sentimental style with sorrowful, nostalgic themes. Although my research thus far indicates that Josefina's poems were relatively few and appeared during a limited window of time, public responses to her anonymous persona and poetry were passionate, in both negative and positive ways. A dedication poem republished in *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo* by a detractor named Dolores and an editorial about the furor over Josefina's identity in *La Crónica* both shine light on how Josefina was received by her Latinx reading public in California.

While some male readers made glowing, albeit problematically sexist and objectifying, comments about Josefina's verses, two women, under the names "Dolores" and "Cristina," attacked not only Josefina's poetry but also her personal character. Although she eventually retracted her comments, Cristina described Josefina as promiscuous and shamed her. Dolores portrayed Josefina as a sellout for allegedly speaking or writing in English, and also went so far as to accuse her of not being truly feminine, declaring that Josefina was

really a "Josefino." So, in addition to insulting Josefina's poems, both women made direct attacks on Josefina's reputation. They called into question the public persona Josefina had been fashioning for herself in the newspaper byline.[7]

Like all the speakers, writers, and poetisas highlighted in this book, Josefina's poems performed a social self that was culturally Latina. Much like Carlota and Guadalupe Gutierrez, Josefina had literary ambitions which she pursued with passion and boldness, though unfortunately her efforts were met with much more sexist backlash. This chapter explores how the byline of a writer like Josefina can become a place of insistent self-determination, especially if her identity is publicly contested or even deliberately misread in the wide-reaching forum of the Spanish-language press. Fixating on and then failing to decipher the identity of Josefina forced me to reflect more critically when it comes to my own relationship with the poetisas and escritoras whom I study in this book. What do we do when faced with a body of work signed with a name that reads as Latina, but whose authorship is ultimately uncertain? Investigating Josefina has helped me rethink my approach to reading historical writing, and on some level to interrogate my own investment in women writers, poetisas, escritoras, Latinas, and Spanish speakers.

This chapter will begin by exploring the instability of those descriptive terms when it comes to authorship. Next, I will analyze how dedication poems about and by Josefina were leveraged to make commentaries about the place of women in poetry. Turning to her reading public, I will show how both insults and compliments about Josefina were more preoccupied by her gender and persona than the quality of her verses. And to conclude, I will briefly examine the final poems I have been able to identify in Josefina's *oeuvre*, a series of five sonnets and the poem "Indecision." Josefina chose the poetic form of the sonnet to express growing feelings of nostalgia, melancholy, and dissolution, possibly in response to how she had been treated by her detractors. The last poem that I have been able to find written by Josefina, "Indecision," dramatizes the decision to step out into the

light or hide in the shadows away from public view. I interpret this poem as a possible farewell from Josefina to her readers.

READING BETWEEN THE BYLINES: WHO WAS JOSEFINA?

Philosopher Michel Foucault issued a challenge to readers of literature, insisting we push past the seeming absence or death of the author: "We must locate the space left empty by the author's disappearance, follow the distribution of gaps and breaches, and watch for the openings this disappearance uncovers."[8] Grappling with questions of authorship in nineteenth-century newspaper bylines challenges us to understand diverse subjectivities, language practices, and social ways of being. Studying these issues demands historical contextualization on many levels.

This book, which examines the works of nineteenth-century Latinas who published in Spanish-language newspapers of California, has a critical investment in various social ways of being. First, in terms of gender, we read the works of "women." Second, in terms of culture, we read specifically the works of Latina women. Third, in terms of language, the works we read were originally written in Spanish. These various social ways of being in nineteenth-century California can be understood in terms of historical generalizations. I can describe, more or less, what life was like and what it meant to be a Spanish-speaking Latina of San Francisco, Los Angeles, or one of the many rural towns or mining camps of the nineteenth century. I can study gender roles specific to the Latinx society of that time and place: what people wore, what they ate, how they traveled, what their social circles were like. Although a colorful and multifaceted larger picture emerges from all these details, I still grapple with the "gaps and breaches," the unanswerable questions, that remain a mystery.

For example, I cannot ascertain whether Anastasia Leyva confronted her brother's killer in person or sought out other ways to get justice for his lynching outside the public eye. Aside from a few individual cases, I don't know the levels of literacy of women who participated in the Mexican juntas patrióticas. When it comes to Carlota

Gutierrez and her sister Guadalupe, I can't find records of either of them publishing anything after 1878. Did they actually stop publishing, or have their post-1878 publications simply not survived to the present day? Or have I just not yet discovered something that one day I may find?

Gender is a particularly fraught subject, especially when examined beyond the "male" or "female" designations that appear in official public records. When it comes to Josefina in particular, but also with regard to other women featured in this book, I cannot know for certain the innermost feelings they might have had about how masculine, feminine, or outside those two categories they may have felt at different points in their lives. Certainly, there were nineteenth-century people who presented as nonbinary or gender fluid, without necessarily using that vocabulary to identify themselves. Sexuality can be even more obscured than gender identity. Public records may indicate whom a woman married, or if she even married at all, but such a record might not reveal what gender she was truly attracted to outside the archival record. Even when it comes to authors who are named or for whom a substantial amount of biographical information may be readily available, anonymity is a spectrum that manifests in various intersectional aspects of identity that go far beyond naming.

The bylines that appear below Josefina's poems are crucial to parsing the little that is known about this poetisa (see Figure 17). These bylines configure her textual persona, which in her case becomes both an imagined and textual body. We can conceptualize this body on an intersectional matrix of socially constructed meaning. Her chosen semi-anonymous byline consistently included her presumed first name or pseudonym, Josefina, in the lower right-hand corner beneath the poem. A period follows the signature, lending an even greater sense of finality to the omission of her surname. It is important to note that it was common for *La Crónica* to publish the first and last names of poets and other contributors, some of whom were women. This means it was likely the poetisa's preference that she not be identified by a surname or other identifiable marker aside from "Josefina." Below the byline, many of Josefina's poems also included a place name



APERTURA DE LA EXPOSICION DE FILADELFIA.

¡Asistencia de cien mil personas!

EL PRESIDENTE GRANT, EL EMPERADOR DON PEDRO Y OTROS PERSONAGES.

Grandes ceremonias.

FILADELFIA Mayo 11.

El dia 10 de Mayo, como se habia anunciado, se celebró en Filadelfia la apertura de la Grande y Universal Exposicion. A las ocho y cuarto se abrieron las puertas y para el medio dia habia en el interior de los edificios más de cien mil personas. La persona más avezada á lo imponente y lo grandioso se maravilla observando los diferentes departamentos de la exposicion. Todo lo que el arte, la industria, las ciencias, el trabajo humano pueden discurrir, inventar, crear se halla aquí comprendido. A un lado del Memorial Hall se habia erigido una espaciosa plataforma con asientos para los personages invitados. A la derecha del centro habia asientos para el Presidente de los Estados Unidos y los miembros del Gabinete, y más á la derecha para los Senadores de los Estados Unidos, miembros de la Casa de Representantes, Gobernadores de los varios Estados, y representantes del ejército y armada. A la izquierda habia asientos para la Corte Suprema de los Estados Unidos, miembros del cuerpo diplomático, comisionados extranjeros, Mayor y Concilio, etc., etc., en el frente se encontraban los asientos para los miembros de la prensa. La orquesta se componia de 150 instrumentos y el coro de mil voces. A las 11 el Presidente y Cenesjo ocuparon sus puestos. La orquesta comenzó por tocar varios himnos nacionales. Al entrar el Emperador del Brazil que iba sencillamente vestido de paisano tocaron el himno nacional brasilefio.

Poco despues el Obispo Simpson recitó una oracion que fué escuchada por todos con el mayor recogi-

[Para LA CRÓNICA.]

A UNAS NIÑAS.

Entre azucenas y violas,
Y dalias y clavellinas,
Al murmullo de la fuente,
Y á los besos de la brisa;
Ligeras cual mariposas
Y rebosando alegria,
Juegan en compacto grupo
Aquellas hermosas niñas.
¡Cómo corren afanosas
Sobre la grama mullida
Haciendo mil travesuras
Con que aumentan su delicia!
¡Oh, qué inocente es su gozo!
¡Y qué ruidosa su risa,
Y cuán radiantes sus ojos
Que como estrellas cintilan!
Dichosa edad en que el llanto
Al enturbiar la pupila
Se seca solo al instante
Con un beso en la mejilla:
En que del dolor la huella
Es tan leve y fugitiva,
Que la contempla una aurora
Y otra aurora la disipa.
¿Y cómo no si esos años
Blandamente se deslizan
Al amparo de unos padres
Que nos cubren de caricias?
¿Y cómo no si en la infancia
La conciencia está tranquila
Como las aguas del lago
Que suaves las auras rizan?
¡Oh quién volviera un momento
A esa época de la vida
Para olvidar los tormentos
Que el alma me martirizan!
Seguid jugando traviesas,
Hermosas y tiernas niñas,
En tanto que os contemplo
Llena el corazon de envidia.
Tiempo vendrá en que dejando
A un lado juegos y risas,
Sentireis en vuestro seno
El dardo de la desdicha.
Gozad hoy que en vuestro cielo
El sol expandido brilla
Antes que en el horizonte
Oculte su frente altiva.
Porque pasan como un sueño
Esos venturosos dias
Dejando solo en la mente
Una memoria querida;
Y luego vienen las horas
De letal melancolía
En que las flores del alma
Para siempre se marchitan.

JOSEFINA.

San Francisco, Abril 17 de 1876.

Cartas en el Correo.

Las personas que acudan por estas cartas se servirán avisar que han sido publicadas en LA CRÓNICA correspondiente al dia 13 de Mayo de 1876.

SEÑORAS.

Arcadia Arenas, G. de Contreras, Viviana Dominguez, Ma. de L. A. Feliz, Rosario Diaz de Garcia, Mary Lavalle, Maria Martinez, Francisca Martinez, Natividad R. de Martinez, Concepcion Olazza, Fabiana O. de Oropesa, Florentina de la Ora, Inocencia Peralta.

SEÑORES.

Ignacio Abila, Joaquin Almada, Luis F. Abila, Isidro Banchet, Ciriaco Benegas, Ramon Benites, Antonio Camarena, Miguel Contreras, Albino Encinas, Ignacio Gallego, G. Gonzalez, Ismael Gragiola, Francisco Guirado, Luis Gutierrez, Nasario Esquer, Urbano Noriega, Miguel Perez, Domingo Quirós y Mora, José Ma. Salas, José Ma. Selaya, Manuel Laurenco de Sanza, José D. Septilveda, Ventura Sillas, Agustin Somosa, Juan Gonzalo Vasques, Francisco Valdes, J. Valenzuela, Simon Borges, A. Valenzuela, David Villa, Francisco Vindicoia, Emiliano Ybarra.

EXTRANJERO.

Béqué Bertrand, Biagio Burin, Robert Claud, Mons. Grenadel, C. Guerein, L. Labarca, Antoine Lefevre, B. Riviére.

H. K. W. BENT.
Administrador de Correos

—Los Sres. Rivara y Vignolo, acreditados comerciantes de esta plaza, han hecho una notable alteracion en su aviso que insertan en LA CRÓNICA de hoy. Aconsejamos á todos los lectores que lo observen con la debida atencion.

Correspondencia Parisiense,

Revista Política, Literaria y Artística.

A. CEYRAS, Director.

Calle de la Tacherie, No. 4 Paris, Francia.

YEE YUEN Y C.IA,

COMERCIANTES EN

Sedas de China,

AVISO

DE LA TIENDA DEL

Legitimo Borreguero,

Esquina de las calles Arcadia y de Los Angeles No. 1,

Frente al Salon de los 5 Centavos.

Tenemos el gusto de informar á nuestros amigos y conocidos que la Gran Tienda en la esquina de las calles Arcadia y Los Angeles, No. 1 del LEGITIMO BORREGUERO, ha recibido

50,000 yardas del mejor Percal a 14 yds. por 1 peso
10,000 yardas de la mejor Muselina Blanca 10 yds por 1 peso.
5,000 yardas Tela de Hilo Grass a 10 yds. por 1 peso.
2,000 pares de Botines para Señoras desde 1 hasta 2 pesos el par.
1,000 pares de Zapatos para Niños de 75 centavos a 1 peso el par.
1,000 pares de Botas Finas para Caballeros de 3.50 a 5 pesos el par.
2,000 Camisetas para Caballeros a 50 centavos cada una.

FIGURE 17: Josefina's dedication poem "A unas niñas" (To Some Girls) was published in Los Angeles's *La Crónica* on May 13, 1876. Courtesy of the California Digital Newspaper Collection, Center for Bibliographic Studies and Research, University of California, Riverside, http://cdnc.ucr.edu.

in the line beneath her name—in her case, always San Francisco—and a month, day, and year, corresponding to either the day the poem was written or the date on her correspondence to the editor. *La Crónica* often included these details of place and time when publishing poems, especially when showcasing a local or regional poet.

From the mention of time and place, we can see that Josefina's identity as a poet was constructed not only in terms of her feminine name, but also in terms of her status as a contemporary, living poet based in San Francisco. The place of origin of her poems was regionally distinct from the place where many of her poems were published, Los Angeles. In the 1870s, Los Angeles was growing rapidly, but it was still a much smaller and less cosmopolitan city than San Francisco. Being known as a San Franciscan likely increased Josefina's profile and gave

her an air of cultural authority in the eyes of readers in Los Angeles. At the same time, the respective northern and southern California cities were not so far apart that Josefina would have been perceived in either city as an exotic "other" from a faraway place. There was regular travel and contact between Latinx people of San Francisco and Los Angeles. Her regional proximity made her relevant and relatable to readers in southern California, while at the same time possibly generated more intrigue when it came to her true identity.

Now that we've explored Josefina's byline, we should consider more deeply the printing and editorial practices around authorship and anonymity specific to her publishers. Of special concern is the way in which social and gender dynamics played into these practices. Both newspapers where Josefina's poems appeared, *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo* and *La Crónica*, often printed poems without naming the poets who composed them. At other times, poets were identified semi-anonymously, by a single name or initials. It was also not uncommon for poets to use a pen name or pseudonym rather than their real names.

Unlike today, it was a frequent practice at *La Crónica* in the 1870s to publish poems by well-known writers without citing their names at all. For example, on June 29 and July 6, 1872, Teodoli published poems "A X…." and "La Poesía," respectively, without attributing them to any author. Upon closer examination, it does not appear that Teodoli imposed anonymity in order to keep the poet's identity a secret. Rather, it seems likely he excluded the name because the poet was so well known that readers were expected to recognize who the author was without being told. These two poems were by one of the most famous and widely read poets in the Spanish language, Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer. In 1872, Bécquer was trending, following the recent publication of his collected works after his death from pneumonia and hepatitis in 1871.[9] So, Teodoli probably expected that it would already be obvious, at least to the well-read among *La Crónica*'s subscribers, whose poems these were.[10]

Furthermore, the degree to which Teodoli, de Célis, and other newspaper editors made decisions based merely on convenience cannot be

underestimated. For example, before he republished Bécquer's poems, Teodoli printed poems on the front page of five issues of *La Crónica* between May 11 and June 22, 1872, which did not include an author's byline, but were drawn directly from José Selgas's *La primavera: colección de poesías* (*Springtime:A Collection of Poems*). Perhaps the editor felt Selgas's work was sufficiently well-known that the poet needed no introduction. Josefina herself was familiar with the work of Selgas, as she made explicit in her poem "La envidia" (Envy), published in *La Crónica* on February 26, 1876. In her subtitle, in parentheses, she declared her poem to be an "(Imitacion del Señor Selgas)" ["(Imitation of Mr. Selgas)"].[11] So whether or not Selgas was named in *La Crónica*'s 1872 reprints of his works, Josefina would have been familiar enough with his *oeuvre* to identify the poems as his. Her imitation of his lyric style in "La envidia" was an exercise in developing her own talents; in engaging with larger poetic social and literary circles; and in demonstrating that she was well-read.

In addition to touching on editorial practices regarding anonymity and authorship in *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo* and *La Crónica*, it is also useful to offer some context for these newspapers' treatment of female writers. Josefina's choice to publish in the newspaper under a semi-anonymous feminine name was not unusual among nineteenth-century women poets in general. Drawing from her research on English poetess Mary Montgomerie Lamb Singleton Currie—who used many pen names, including Violet Fane,[12] Pamela, V, and Vera—Kathryn Ledbetter notes that the pen name "distanced the poet from family disapproval and the celebrity of authorship while encouraging public fascination with pseudonymic mystery."[13] Latina poets in this period likely also used pen names out of similar concerns regarding family or community disapproval, as a deliberate strategy to spark public interest, and possibly for other reasons as well. The Central American poetisa Amelia Denis de Icaza, mentioned in chapter 4 of this book, and Cuban-born Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda both were poetisas who used pseudonyms when publishing in newspapers. When submitting to the Guatemalan newspaper *El Bien Público*, Denis sometimes wrote under the pen name "Elena," and other times used her own

name.[14] Avellaneda's pen name "La Peregrina" (The Pilgrim) seems to be symbolic of her transatlantic wanderings, as she was born in Puerto Príncipe (present-day Camagüey), Cuba, in 1814, and moved to Spain in her early twenties. She rarely returned to her birth country and spent the rest of her life in Europe until her death in Madrid in 1873.[15] Publishing under pseudonyms in newspapers was something both Denis and Avellaneda did early in their careers. Eventually, they both published poetic works under their real names.

Perhaps, during the time she was publishing under her pen name, Josefina was at a fledgling moment in her literary career similar to those experienced by "Elena" and "La Peregrina." Given societal and family pressures, as well as the hostile and sexist public sphere of nineteenth-century print culture, it is possible that Josefina's choice to publish her work under a pseudonym was a stepping stone towards coming out as a poet under her real name. Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine this trajectory with respect to Josefina's literary career, as her real name is still unknown. Despite my efforts, I have been unable to find more developed works or a book-length collection of poems under another name that can confidently be attributed to Josefina. It is possible that she never reached such a stage in her literary career, which might not be surprising, given the level of hostility she experienced when writing under what should have been the protection of a pen name. This chapter will explore the negative and sexist backlash against her poems, which may give some insight as to why Josefina might have chosen to remove herself from the public eye.

WEAPONIZING DEDICATION POEMS: DEBATING THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN POETRY

It is a common trope that every hero needs a villain. Josefina had at least two villains: Dolores and Cristina. Their names, like Josefina's, were probably pseudonyms, and little can be discerned when it comes to biographical information about either of Josefina's antagonists. Dolores was an especially fitting name for a bully, as the Spanish word dolores means "pain" or "sorrow."[16] Given the personal nature

of the condemnations and mocking digs they aimed at Josefina, it is possible that Dolores and Cristina were aware of Josefina's true identity and had some sort of fraught interpersonal relationships with her. In fact, Dolores's first attack came in a particularly intimate poetic form: the dedication poem. Whereas the dedication poems between Carlota Gutierrez and Amelia Denis de Icaza, covered in chapter 4, drew on gendered and cultural connections in order to build solidarity, express mutual admiration, and ponder the creative process, dedication poems written by Dolores and Josefina were weaponized to call out intended targets. The only point of comparison is that Dolores and Josefina were similarly eager to express their opinions on conventions related to women in the realm of literature and poetry. They leveraged the dedication poem both for their personal attacks and to make these larger commentaries on the subject of gender norms and literature.

Dolores published her poem addressed to Josefina in San Francisco's *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo* on February 18, 1876. She is particularly resentful of the growing fame of her rival and the admiration Josefina has earned from the community. About two months later, on April 12, an editorial published in *La Crónica* summarized and reprinted vitriolic insults that Dolores and Cristina previously directed at Josefina in *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo*. On April 18, Josefina countered with her own dedication poem, "A Cristina" (To Cristina), in which she defended herself and crushingly derided her detractor as ignorant, presumptuous, and provincial.

Let's begin with Dolores's dedication poem "A Josefina" with the subtitle "[*LISTEN TO ME.*]" in brackets. She mentions that Josefina knows several languages and calls her a "políglota inspirada" or "inspired polyglot," mocking Josefina's supposed refinement in knowing many languages.

Por piedad no te disgustes	For pity's sake do not get upset
Si te imito, Josefina,	If I imitate you, Josefina,
Intitulando mis versos	Titling my verses
En esa *idioma divina*.	In that *divine language*.

Mi objeto es únicamente	My objective is only
¡Oh políglota inspirada!	Oh polyglot inspired!
(En secreto de[17] lo digo)	(In secret I say)
Ser de todos admirada.	Be of all admired.
Es tan grato que murmuren	It's so pleasant that they murmur
Y digan: "¡qué inteligencia!	And say: "what intelligence!
¡Conoce todas las lenguas!	She knows all languages!
¡Es un venero de ciencia!"	She is a wellspring of science!"
Entre tú y yo conversando,	Talking just between you and me.
Te confieso humildemente	I humbly confess to you
Que no parlo mas idioma	That I do not speak more languages
Que español y…malamente.	than Spanish and…badly.[18]

I have not found any evidence of Josefina's language skills other than this reference in Dolores's poem. Josefina's works in *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo* and *La Crónica* are written entirely in Spanish. But once again, it is possible that Dolores is referring to other poems published in newspapers that no longer survive, or to negative encounters she had with Josefina in person, perhaps in the setting of a literary salon or informally in the company of others. The speaker of the poem characterizes Josefina as someone who puts on airs, and crucially, her presumed arrogance is tethered to the politics of language. When Cristina mocks Josefina by referring to her English subtitle as having been written in "esa *idioma divina*" (that *divine language*), she is being sarcastic, implying that Josefina regards the English language as superior. The performative aspect of the subtitle "[*LISTEN TO ME.*]" also implies that anyone can code-switch between English and Spanish, and that code-switching is little more than a parlor trick. Aside from it being read literally, as directed towards Josefina, the bracketed subtitle can also be read in a satirical way, as in: "Listen to me! I'm speaking English and presuming my superiority to Spanish speakers." The sarcasm woven into nearly every line of the poem supports such a reading.

Dolores's emphasis on imitation, "te imito, Josefina" (I imitate you, Josefina), is a performance of her critique of imitation when it comes to assimilating to the English language, and implicitly to Anglo culture in the United States. The critique of superficial linguistic accumulation is also implied when Dolores exaggerates ironically: "¡qué inteligencia! / ¡Conoce todas las lenguas!" (What intelligence! / She knows all languages!).[19] For Dolores, Josefina's display of her English skills is nothing more than insincere posturing in the service of seeming more intelligent and being admired. Dolores implies that knowing multiple languages is a frivolous means of accumulating linguistic treasures and is inconsequential to the meaning of the words being spoken.

Despite Dolores's protests and insistence that her own bilingualism is simply a means of mocking Josefina, her mixing of Spanish and English is still of interest. As you can see by the examples offered in this book, there are limited instances of code-switching and Spanglish in the writings of poetisas and escritoras of the Spanish-language press in nineteenth-century California. These women generally stuck to Spanish. In the case of Dolores's poem, code-switching is incorporated not only in the title, but also in a later line sarcastically lauding the beautiful melodic quality of the English language:

Entre todos los idiomas	Among all languages
Prefiero el *inglés hermoso:*	I prefer *beautiful English:*
Es tan *tierno, dulce y suave,*	It is so *tender, sweet, and soft,*
Tan *sonoro y cadencioso!*	So *sonorous and rhythmic!*
"Say to him." ¡Cuánta armonía	"Say to him." How much harmony
Esa bella frase encierra!	That beautiful phrase encloses!
¿Habrá quien no se conmueva	Will there be anyone on earth
Al eschucharla, en la tierra?	Who is not moved upon hearing it?[20]

Again, these lines raise more questions than they answer, particularly because authorship is closely linked to language. An author is defined by their written production and by their act of writing, and this active role manifests in particular language practices. Thus, the

interplay between Dolores and Josefina deepens and nuances my own perception of Josefina as a Latina and as a Spanish-language poet. Perhaps she was the polyglot that Dolores implies, or perhaps not. The poems that I have encountered by Josefina, written entirely in Spanish, clearly do not tell the whole story. If Josefina was someone who knew and wrote in multiple languages, her decision to use Spanish for some poems may be an interesting choice that would change the reading of those poems. Dolores's strong condemnation of Josefina for putting on airs and speaking languages other than Spanish is telling, in terms of her own ideas about Latinx authenticity and the gendered aspects of performing that cultural identity through literature. To Dolores, not only is Josefina a failed woman, due to her immodesty displayed in the public sphere, but she is also a failed Latina for essentially selling out to Anglo culture. This is in spite of the fact that Dolores uses both Spanish and English in her own verses, and therefore, by publishing her unladylike, sarcastic dedication poem in the newspaper, is guilty of the same failings for which she criticizes Josefina. In Dolores's defense, though, the "offenses" she commits in her own poem were clearly intended to lampoon those of Josefina.

A final strategy Dolores employs is peppering her verses with mock praise. In this respect, her poem is remarkable in its boldness and sarcasm. Although this rhetorical strategy was evident from the early lines in which she pretends to praise Josefina for her intelligence and command of several languages, Dolores's derision is especially striking in the last stanza of the poem, where she mockingly claims she is not being sarcastic in her praise of Josefina:

Sin temor sigue adelante	Keep going without fear
Causándole al mundo pasmo,	Causing the world amazement,
Que si bien te atacan unos	For although some attack you
Yo te elogio *sin sarcasmo.*	I praise you *without sarcasm.*[21]

Of course, Dolores clearly means the opposite of what her words ostensibly say. Her final stanza is bullying and meant to discourage Josefina from continuing her literary pursuits. She calls to mind fear

and the threat of attacks by others to drive her point home. Could reactions like this have contributed to Josefina's apparent disappearance from the Spanish-language press? Certainly, it was Dolores's desire that Josefina cease and desist, but the extent to which Josefina took the bullying to heart is unknowable.

Let's turn now to Josefina's dedication poem in this peppery exchange. "A Cristina" was published on April 18, 1876, in *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo*, just a week after a review of Josefina's poems was republished in *La Crónica*, in which Dolores and Cristina attacked her. Cristina contributed a litany of insults, calling Josefina a "muger degradada" (degraded woman) who ought not show her "flor deshojada" (deflowered bloom) in public. In other words, Josefina is accused of being promiscuous as well as prideful and hungry for admiration. We will examine this review in detail in the next part of this chapter, but for now, we should keep in mind that "A Cristina" responds to a bigger, messier conflict.

Dolores's dedication poem provides an interesting clue about Cristina and Josefina's relationship: "Cristina y aquel osado, / Lo que en público dijeron / Contra tí, han anulado" (Cristina and that bold one, / What they said in public / Against you, they have retracted).[22] Although I haven't yet found Cristina's reported retraction of her insults to Josefina or ascertained who the "osado," or (male) "bold one," might have been, the dedication poems of both Dolores and Josefina show that this retraction was a significant development in the drama among these women.

In her dedication poem "A Cristina," Josefina indicates that Cristina has publicly disparaged her poetry as immodest in a sexual sense and this is in keeping with Fierro's report of Cristina's characterization of Josefina as a "degraded woman." She later acknowledges that since then Cristina has attempted to retract her criticism, but Josefina refuses to forgive her. Instead, she mocks Cristina for now wanting everything to end "Del mejor modo posible" (In the best possible way) and reminds her, "Todo, hijita, es obra tuya / Y como tuya risible" (Everything, little girl, is your own doing, / And, being yours, is laughable).[23] Josefina insists that Cristina is responsible for their

present animosity, while at the same time patronizingly dismissing her rival's attacks as childish and ineffective. You can almost hear the sarcastic laughter when Josefina writes, "¡Tu inocencia me da gozo! / ¡Despues que está hogado el niño / Pretendes tapar el pozo!" (Your innocence delights me! / After the child is drowned, / You seek to cover the well!).[24] From Josefina's perspective, Cristina's naivety is a source of amusement. Josefina knows too well that words cannot be taken back so easily, and doesn't allow Cristina to turn away from the damage she has done.

In other verses of her dedication poem, Josefina accuses Cristina of the same crime Dolores previously accused her of: the desire to have a reading public and to be acknowledged as a poetisa. Using rhetorical questions, she asks:

¿Tan mal estabas metida	Were you doing so badly
Allá en tu apacible estancia	Out there on your peaceful farm,
Que así vienes, engreída,	That you come thus, presumptuous,
A exhibirnos tu ignorancia?	To show us your ignorance?
¿Es que anhelas, por ventura,	Is it that you yearn, perhaps,
Las públicas emociones	For public sentiments
Y andas á caza (oh locura!)	And go a-hunting (oh, madness!)
De entusiastas ovaciones?[25]	for enthusiastic applause?

Josefina portrays Cristina as a naïve countrywoman who foolishly decided to venture into the literary world in search of public attention and praise, or "entusiastas ovaciones" (enthusiastic applause). To Josefina, Cristina has merely managed to exhibit her own "ignorancia." Josefina reminds Cristina that "La carrera literaria / Está sembrada en espinas" (A literary career / Is sown with thorns), and that the laurel that Cristina dreams of as her crown "Está verde todavía" (Is still green). She implies that Cristina does not have the fortitude to withstand the thorns that a great writer must endure. The laurels Cristina dreams of are premature and green. What is evident from Josefina's dressing-down of Cristina is that Josefina has thought quite a bit about what it means and what it takes to be a serious poetisa, to

actually have a *carrera literaria*. Josefina implicitly draws a contrast between the inexperienced Cristina and herself, who has withstood thorn after thorn and continues to press forward in her literary career, receiving public interest and praise, at least from some readers in her community.

"A Cristina" was not the first or only dedication poem Josefina wrote, and in fact she dedicated melancholy poems to the moon, a group of little girls, a former male lover, and also an anonymous male poet. In her poem dedicated to "la luna" (the moon), the speaker, unlucky in love, looks to the beautiful, pure moon to give her comfort.[26] Similarly, in "A unas niñas" (To Some Girls) the speaker gazes upon a group of little girls as they play, appreciating them for their sweetness and innocence, while also warning that when childhood ends, heartache and misery await.[27] Josefina also dedicated two poems to anonymous male interlocutors. She wrote "Por una eternidad" (For an eternity) with the subtitle "Á . …." (To . ….) in which the feminine speaker of the verses mourns the absence of her sweetheart, promising to love him *por una eternidad*, even as she imagines him with a new beloved.[28] And during the fall of 1875, Josefina wrote another poem dedicated to a man, in this case an anonymous male poet she called "dulcísimo poéta"[29] (sweetest poet). Not only was Josefina, as the author, using a pseudonym, but also the name of the poet who she addressed in the title of the poem was replaced by asterisks: "A *******." In these examples, Josefina is tinkering with anonymity and with the aura of mystery and intrigue brought on by its deployment through the dedication poem genre.

"A *******" is unique in that, like "A Cristina," it was dedicated to a fellow poet and lends insight into the gendered dynamics that existed between writers. In her verses, Josefina subtly weaponized the dedication poem for an attack on the chivalric tradition of courtly love and its influence on the love poetry of her male contemporaries. The speaker tells the male interlocuter, the *dulcísimo poéta*, about the unfairness and misery of being a woman separated from her lover. She goes on to describe the "tiernos trovadores" or "tender troubadours"

who whisper "dulces frases de eterno y puro amor" (sweet phrases of eternal and pure love) in her ear. This imagery calls to mind medieval musical traditions in which troubadours sang of courtly love and the male paramour existed only to serve his lady, who was idealized as saintly and pure.[30] Josefina implies that the *dulcísimo poéta* is someone who writes with these types of attitudes, and she voices her frustration with romantic verses in which women are put on pedestals:

Es bárbara ironía decir que al mundo vino	It's barbarous irony to say that the wretched
A ser señora y reina la míseria mujer;	Woman came to the world to be lady and queen;
¡Mentira, atroz mentira! de esclava es su destino,	Lie, atrocious lie! her destiny is enslavement,
Su nombre simboliza lo amargo de su sér.[31]	Her name symbolizes the bitterness of her being.

While the logic of courtly love would imply that the woman is queen, Josefina sees this as a bitter irony because to her women are powerless. She goes so far as to liken the destiny of a woman in love to enslavement. Not only that, but the speaker of the poem goes on to imagine what it would be like if she had the power to "Decirle que era suya mi vida toda entera / Y luego entre sus brazos sentirme adormecer!"[32] (Tell him that my entire life is his / And then in his arms feel myself fall asleep!). In essence, the speaker longs to be able to not only declare her love, but pursue it physically. The fact that she wants to fall asleep in her lover's arms strongly suggests her erotic desire. As you can probably imagine, verses like these might have scandalized more conservative readers and got detractors like Dolores and Cristina to talking in the first place.

This sentimental content emphasizing the vulnerability of a feminine protagonist and depicting forbidden, unrequited romance is common in nineteenth-century literature, and the poem's rhythm and rhyme scheme also follow familiar patterns.[33] Yet Josefina's outright critique of not only gender roles, but also the social and literary traditions of courtly love show that she was interested in engaging with other poets on topics related to their craft, and in particular, the genealogy of poetic conventions. Josefina was versed on the subject of troubadour songs and poetry, and could see how their social

aftereffects were not confined to the realm of art, but played a role in shaping her own reality when it came to romantic relationships. By dedicating this poem to a *dulcísimo poéta* publicly in the newspaper, Josefina might have been initiating a conversation that encouraged men, whether they wrote poetry or not, to think more carefully about how their words and attitudes might go on to impact their relationships with women in the real world.

What the dedication poems "A Josefina," "A Cristina," and "A *******" all have in common is that they are conversations about the art of poetry and the roles of women within the literary world. Dolores sarcastically attacked Josefina for showing off her language skills and poetic ability in public, which she perceived as condescending and immodest. Josefina mocked Cristina's amateurism and questioned whether she had the thick skin necessary to pursue a literary career. And with regard to the *dulcísimo poéta*, Josefina critiqued the logic of courtly love in his verses, pointing out that in romance women are not queens, free to pursue their erotic desire, but rather they are powerless *esclavas*. Whether Latinas are writing verse or the subject of it, these dedication poems debate which women belong in the realm of poetry and conventions with regard to how they should present themselves. Dolores and Josefina both weaponize their dedication poems in order to zero in on a target of ridicule and make an example of that target. Yet their attacks go beyond personal mudslinging; their dedication poems also express larger commentaries on the place of women in the world of literature and poetry.

¿QUÉ DICE EL PÚBLICO? GENDERED *PIROPOS*, INSULTS, AND ATTACKS

Although the identity of Josefina was for most nineteenth-century readers a mystery, and still is, that did not stop her newspaper readership from forming strong opinions about her verse and making presumptions about her personal character. The mystery surrounding

her persona stirred intrigue, criticism, and attraction. The review republished in *La Crónica* on April 12, 1876 is key to understanding the way Josefina's poetry was received by her Latinx community. Reprinted from *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo* of an unknown earlier date, it presented an amalgamation of comments by supporters and detractors. It was the nineteenth-century newsprint equivalent of the online comments section we are so familiar with in our contemporary digital world. While several men lauded Josefina, Dolores and Cristina criticized her harshly, and Dolores even accused her of being either mannish or actually a man. While it may seem that women were Josefina's main critics, it must be remembered that the selection of comments featured in the article were made by a male editor and may not have reflected the full range of opinions expressed by the public. Moreover, the compliments she received from the male commenters were overtly sexualizing and sexist, often suggesting that the men in question were more interested in her persona than her verses.

Although the male *admiradores* who had good things to say about the poetisa were more positive than Dolores and Cristina, it is also clear that many of the compliments they bestowed on Josefina were patronizing clichés of nineteenth-century society:

Comenzaremos diciendo
que nuestro galante amigo
S. Betancourt, que en tratándose
de jóvenes bonitas, es capaz
de llamar Gracia á la misma
desgracia personificada, no ha
tenido inconveniente en calificar
á Josefina de "bella hurí." Ricardo,
el amartelado Ricardo, entre
piropo y piropo la ha llamado
'ángel divino' y 'décima musa.'

We will begin by saying that our
gallant friend S. Betancourt—who,
in the case of pretty young women,
is capable of baptizing as "Grace"
someone who is disgrace personified—
has not had any trouble in describing
Josefina as a "beautiful houri."
Ricardo, the infatuated Ricardo,
between flirtatious compliment after
flirtatious compliment[35] has called her
"divine angel" and "tenth Muse."

Viene en seguida Noel, es decir, nuestro amigo I. Herrera, hijo, que la cree "hermana de los ángeles." "Juanito," otro de los admiradores de la jóven poetisa, piensa que Josefina, Laura é Isabel son una misma persona.

Los Sres. M.M.A. y *** han tenido el buen gusto de llamarla "tórtola."[34]

Next up is Noel, that is, our friend I. Herrera, junior, who believes her to be a "sister of the angels." "Juanito," another of the young poetess's admirers, thinks that Josefina, Laura, and Isabel are the same person.

Messrs. M.M.A. and *** have had the good taste to call her a "turtledove."

The topic of anonymity arises once again, both in the speculation by "Juanito"—who guesses that Josefina, Laura, and Isabel are three pseudonyms for the same person—and in the inclusion of two anonymous male admirers, one identified by his initials, M.M.A.,[36] and the other by three asterisks, ***. These anonymous fans of Josefina seem to be the ones with the most "buen gusto" (good taste), as they merely compliment her by comparing her to a "tórtola" (turtledove). Given the context of nineteenth-century literary culture, this was the kindest epithet assigned to Josefina, compared to the others. Likening the lyrics of poetisas to the sounds of birds was both common and gendered in the nineteenth century,[37] and the cooing of turtledoves was especially associated with romantic love.

As for the rest of the men's comments, although they are not overt attacks, it does not seem quite fitting to call them compliments. Many are sexist and objectifying, often expressing more interest in Josefina's persona as a woman than speaking to the quality of her verse. To make matters worse, Fierro makes a subtle dig at her by suggesting that Betancourt's orientalist praise of Josefina as a "bella hurí" (beautiful houri) might be merely fueled by his indiscriminate attraction to pretty young women, regardless of their moral stature. The word *houri* comes from Arabic and describes a virgin who serves as companionship for the faithful in the Muslim Paradise. The use of this image deliberately evokes the possibility of Josefina as beautiful and seductive, but also perhaps exotic and unattainable. Ricardo's

compliment is somewhat more appropriate and flattering in drawing a comparison between Josefina and the muses. He dubs her the "décima musa" (tenth Muse), which was also a nickname ascribed to the famous Mexican poetisa Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz. But the editor makes sure to point out that Ricardo gives this praise as a lovesick fan between *piropos*, or flirtatious compliments and adulation.[38] Thus the editor again undermines the possibility that Josefina might be praised sincerely for her poetic skill or intellect, instead presenting her more as an object of male desire than as a serious writer.

Through these reviews, Josefina is presented as an object of sexual interest, in order to reaffirm the masculinity and dominance of the male admirers. This is despite the fact that—at least given the comment by Juanito, who attempted to guess her identity—these men may have never actually met Josefina in person or had any idea what she looked like. Rather, it was the combination of her verses and her byline that formed a feminine textual body which opened itself to the male gaze of these readers. Simply reading her verses and knowing that she was a woman was all it took for these men to objectify Josefina, and they automatically fell back on this sexist reflex rather than engaging on any serious level with her poetry. The men review Josefina the woman, rather than her verses.

With the backdrop of this male peanut gallery in mind, the comments of Cristina and Dolores take on a clearer and more nuanced perspective when it comes to the gendered policing of women in the public sphere of nineteenth-century Latinx culture. We will begin with Cristina's comments. Although we know that, at some point, she retracted her negative opinions about Josefina, the review reprinted in *La Crónica* made no mention of this. According to the review, Cristina has no respect for Josefina whatsoever and says that:

Josefina es una muger degradada, que da mala espina, que no debiera mostrar su flor deshojada, que cada cual le ha hecho su ofrenda, que se ha	Josefina is a degraded woman, whom she doesn't like the look of, who should not show her deflowered bloom, who has made her offering to anyone and everyone, who has become

enorgullecido con párrafos de gacetilla, que quiere ser admirada, etc., etc. Como se vé, las señas son mortales.	inflated with pride by newspaper paragraphs, who wants to be admired, etc., etc. As is obvious, the signs are fatal.[39]

Fierro gives considerable space to Cristina's litany of insults, which through its enumerative composition calls to mind a reputedly feminine variety of nagging. Likely this was intentional by the editor, generating publicity by setting up a newsprint catfight between women. Cristina's attacks begin by insulting Josefina's sexual virtue, implying that she is promiscuous and desperate for male attention. This turns into a critique of Josefina's desire to be recognized for her writing and her presumed arrogance for having published her work in the newspapers. Although Dolores, in her dedication poem, did not focus on Josefina's supposed sexual indiscretions, she and Cristina both took offense at what they saw as Josefina's immodesty and need to be "admirada" (admired).

Scholar Shira Wolosky has examined the politics of gender and modesty in American society, touching on ideas applicable to the opinions Cristina and Dolores expressed about Josefina: "Modesty not only respects, but negotiates and redefines the relations between public and private spheres, in ways that penetrate and question their very meanings, and not only for women. This is especially the case in the context of literary production. As a mode of public appearing, publishing was explicitly seen as an issue of modesty."[40] When Cristina and Dolores criticize Josefina for her alleged desire for admiration and recognition in the publishing world, they do so in the context of respectability politics. It was considered the duty of women to police the modesty of other women.

Paradoxically, it is this social urgency to police and condemn feminine "immodesty" that grants Cristina and Dolores permission to publish their own voices in the public sphere, which otherwise would be considered an immodest transgression. This dynamic complicates the meaning and practice of modest behavior. Actions like publishing literary works were not immodest in and of themselves,

but their acceptability in the public sphere was based on a theater of social alliances and gendered politics, over which it seems the poetisa had little control. Fierro's comment capping his summary of Cristina's comments, "Como se vé, las señas son mortales" (As is obvious, the signs are fatal), reinforces Josefina's lack of agency when thrown to the wolves of public opinion. In terms of her career as a poetisa, Josefina was assailed by these fellow women simply for having attracted attention by publishing her work in the newspaper.

Dolores's criticism, on the other hand, goes beyond chastising Josefina for her supposed arrogance and lack of shame in sharing her poetic work with the public, and attacks Josefina's very claim to femininity. Dolores tries to strip Josefina of her pen name, voicing doubt that the poetisa behind the verse was really a woman at all:

Y para coronar la obra, Dolores, con aquella adorable sencillez que la es característica, después de confesar que ya está cansada de la "craza insensatez de la jóven poetisa, la llama Josefino. Horror de los horrores!" y héla aquí transformada en hombre hecho y derecho por…obra y gracias de unas cuantas frases escritas en un momento de malo ó buen humor.

And to complete the picture, Dolores, with that adorable simplicity that is characteristic of her, after confessing that she is already tired of the "crass folly of the young poetess, calls her Josefino. Horror of horrors!" And here we see her transformed into a full-fledged man by…the work and grace of a few sentences written in a moment of bad or good humor.[41]

Taking into consideration the sarcasm of Dolores's dedication poem, the accusation that Josefina was really a man likely was meant to mock, taunt, and bully her into acting like a conventional lady—that is, into silencing herself and ceasing to publish her poetry. Yet this comment brings to mind questions brought up earlier in this chapter regarding authorial anonymity and the fraught continuum of anonymity as a spectrum, especially when approaching texts and authors from the past. Since we do not know who Josefina was, the possibility of her being a masculine or gender-transgressive woman, or being an

outright male "Josefino," is not completely out of the realm of possibility.[42] It is not known if Dolores's accusation was meant simply as an insult or rather as a way of viciously "outing" an author whose literary identity she considered transgressive. But the truth of Josefina's sex and gender identification or expression is not my primary interest. Rather, considering the accusation as a flashpoint, I see Dolores's indictment as an invitation to think critically about the gendered aspects of the newspaper byline.

Based on the imprecise punctuation in the piece, it is unclear whether Dolores called Josefina "horror de los horrores" (horror of horrors) or whether this was an editorial interjection, perhaps a sarcastic one, by Fierro. Whether the comment was made by Dolores or an addition by Fierro, the idea being played upon is that there was something illegible or *horrific* about Josefina when her byline came into question on the basis of gender. As a Latina writer in nineteenth-century California, she is not conforming to the strict gender conventions of her time and place, at least in some people's minds, which leads to the conclusion that she must be in some way "unwomanly," and perhaps a bit monstrous.

Of course, if Dolores did have an in-person relationship with Josefina outside of their exchanges in the press, she might have had other reasons for making this particular accusation. The editor, playfully appropriating biblical language, implies that by Dolores's "obra y gracias" (work and grace)—or simply by virtue of her impulsively having written "unas cuantas frases escritas en un momento de malo ó buen humor" (a few sentences written in a moment of bad or good humor)—Josefina has been symbolically transformed into a man. The use of biblical language here harkens to the theological concept of the *word made flesh*. Josefina is an aberration from a lettered climate that has normalized a natural, sanctified order in which men are the producers of arts and letters and women, at best, read from the sidelines. This is a code of modesty and respectability that Dolores, likened to an incarnate deity, is intent on setting right through her own powerful words lodged against Josefina. In the end, Fierro's characterization of Dolores as a deity and Josefina turned to "Josefino" was likely meant

to mock both of these women, making them seem ridiculous in the roles assigned by him, the one holding true power: the male editor.

The overall effect of these words printed in the press about Josefina was potent and damaging because they denied Josefina's right to determine for herself how she would be read in terms of both her poetry and her literary persona. Although admittedly anachronistic when talking about nineteenth-century people, today's trans theory can be useful when it comes to thinking about an author's right to determine how they are read in the public sphere. Alexander Eastwood emphasizes that transgender narratives underscore the right to gender.[43] This urgent claim to self-determination is useful when thinking about the author's function in literature. According to Eastwood, "reading is an act of doubling: one reads, and one reads how one is being read, which in turn affects one's sense of self. This dynamic structures the experience of reading while trans and permeates daily life. Scenes of recognition easily devolve into scenes of misrecognition."[44] Dolores's assessment of Josefina as a "Josefino" goes beyond misrecognition; it is, rather, a purposeful misreading and rewriting. Denying the claim to femininity present in Josefina's byline and public persona as presented by Josefina herself, Dolores reassigns Josefina's gender. By doing so, she also reassigns Josefina's status as an author—as a poetisa. By rendering her a "Josefino," Dolores seeks to deny Josefina authorial status by dehumanizing her: she is not a woman, but a horror, a gender monster. This by extension implies that her poems are "senseless" and unreadable, like the howls of a beast.

In his summary of others' comments, Fierro takes Dolores's name-calling even further, painting a mental image of Josefina in pants: "para Dolores es un hombre con todo y pantalon todo lo cual da por resultado Josefina" (for Dolores, she is a man, with pants and everything—all of which results in Josefina). In the context of the Spanish-language literary tradition, this image of a woman in pants is meant to summon up long-established archetypes of the mujer varonil, marimacho, or hombruna. Sherry Velasco, who examines gender in early modern Spanish literature, has analyzed how these terms characterize women who transgress social norms, whether by

cross-dressing, showing too much independence, doing men's work, or being perceived as masculine in other ways. Indeed, the mujer varonil, dressed in the garments of a man, was a cliché of Golden Age Spanish literature and drama, appearing again and again in plotlines from Cervantes to Lope de Vega.[45] In Josefina's case, it was her intellectual capacity, boldness in publishing her works, and consequently her alleged lasciviousness, which placed her in these categories. Since her physical body was not present for the public to assess her musculature, hair, voice, or feminine beauty, judgments about her apparent masculinity were based on her verses; on her readiness to engage in a public literary skirmish with her detractors; and on the very fact that she had published her poems in the newspaper in the first place.

A CONCLUDING GLANCE AT JOSEFINA'S SONNETS AND "INDECISION"

From October 6 through November 3, 1877, Josefina published five sonnets in the "Seccion Literaria" (Literary Section) of *La Crónica*. The titles reveal the sentimental and generally melancholy, nostalgic themes of the poems: "Tristeza" (Sadness), "Entonces y ahora" (Then and Now), "¡Cuando!" (When!), "Duda" (Doubt), and "Bienaventurados los que lloran" (Blessed Are Those Who Weep). While the first three of these sonnets were published individually in different issues, the last two were published one after the other in a single issue. The title of each poem included the subtitle "SONETO" (SONNET) so as to emphasize the poetic form of the verses. The first poem included a bracketed inscription in the upper right-hand corner reading "[Para *La Crónica*]," indicating that Josefina intended the sonnets be published specifically in *La Crónica*, perhaps as a planned series that she had pitched to the editors or composed at their suggestion. It is also possible that she was simply drawn to the sonnet during the fall of 1877 and was experimenting with a form different from others that she had previously published.[46]

According to Natalie Houston, who has written about the sonnets of English-language Victorian women writers, not only was the sonnet a form with a certain claim to authority—it "counted as literature"—but it did not have especially gendered connotations, allowing poetesses to take up diverse topics relatively free of gender associations.[47] Though Houston refers to a specifically anglophone context, I have found her observations to be applicable to Latinas writing sonnets in the newspapers of California as well. Both men and women contributed sonnets to Spanish-language periodicals, and the form was not dominated by or associated with one sex or the other. This contrasts with the way that the brindis or dedication poems more overtly called the gendered body of the speaker to mind for readers.[48] In some ways, this made the sonnet an ideal form for Josefina to experiment with, especially since so much of the criticism directed at her was deeply sexist. At a time when technological and scientific advances were causing an increasingly marked degree of flux in nineteenth-century daily life, and when the mass medium of the newspaper was imposing a new set of aesthetic restrictions and preferences on poetic styles, "the sonnet was seen as a kind of documentary form able to record perceptions or emotions for later review. The importance of each word in a sonnet gave weight to each detail, and the poem's small size focused the reader's attention on things that might be overlooked in a longer descriptive poem."[49] For these reasons, the sonnet was especially appealing for publication in newspapers. Not only was it concise, in terms of length and emotional clarity, but it also had familiar parameters that a reader could rely on.

Josefina's turn to the sonnet form in the fall of 1877 may suggest that she was looking to gain a degree of control and clarity when it came to her emotions and her reputation as a poetisa. The final two poems in the sonnet series describe intense affective experiences of exclusion, humiliation, and martyrdom. In "Bienaventurados los que lloran," which was printed just below "Duda," the speaker ponders "Si Dios tiene un lugar predestinado / A los que horrenda humillacion devoran" (If God has a predestined place / For those who take

in horrendous humiliation).[50] In "Duda," the speaker concludes her poem with equally sorrowful lines:

No así yo que he sufrido punzadores	Not so I, who have suffered sharp pains,
Mil tormentos que causan mi delirio,	A thousand torments that cause my delirium,
Pobre flor siempre sola entre las flores,	Poor flower, always alone among the flowers,
Pobre lirio que no encontró otro lirio,	Poor lily that found no other lily,
Y aun ignoro si el premio á mis dolores	And I still do not know if the reward for my pains
Ha de ser la corona del martirio!……	Will be the crown of martyrdom!……[51]

The speaker says that she has suffered torment and pain equivalent to that of a martyr. She finds herself feeling alone in a crowd, without a partner in life, and she hopes to be crowned with companionship, presumably making the suffering worthwhile. These verses are not explicit about the cause of her pain, and could certainly imply romantic suffering, especially since it recycles much of the imagery used in her other unhappy love poems. It is also possible, however, that both of Josefina's sonnets express feelings of humiliation, exclusion, and injury stemming from other sources, perhaps including the backlash she suffered from Dolores and Cristina's attacks the year before. It is entirely possible that their hostility continued beyond the writings recovered thus far, or perhaps Josefina faced other naysayers in her personal life who did not support her creative endeavors.

Because so few issues of California's Spanish-language papers from the 1870s and 1880s have survived, we don't know if she wrote and published more sonnets in other presses. These sonnets and a single poem titled "Indecision," published on February 9, 1878, make up the last items in the poetic corpus that I have thus far been able to attribute to this poetisa. Considering that "Indecision" was a poem about a crossroads, the decision to shine in the light or hide in the shadows, perhaps Josefina was staging a subtle farewell, possibly letting her readers know that she had made the decision to retreat from the public sphere of the Spanish-language press. It's also possible, since "Josefina" was a pseudonym, that the poetisa actually chose to make the opposite decision and was retiring her pen name, so that she could

step into the light and publish under her true identity. Once again, we are left with more questions than answers.

Like in some of Josefina's other poems,[52] the dramas and inner lives of flowers are personified in "Indecision" and the poem seems to begin with a parable about the virtues of modesty and humility. The speaker describes a red poppy, "la reina de los campos" (queen of the fields), who flaunted her beauty and was eventually plucked by a young lady and left to wither in the girl's ebony hair. This poppy is contrasted with a violet living "en misteriosa soledad" (in mysterious solitude) next to a stream and protected under the shade of a bush. Though she doesn't receive attention or praise, the violet spreads her lovely aroma and is described as the picture of modest beauty. Eventually the speaker comes to understand the poppy and violet as representing two models with which to continue forward in her own life, concluding her ruminations with these stanzas:

Ah! de mi vida en la floresta hum-	Ah! regarding my life in the shady for
[bría[53]	[est
Dos sendas se presentan á mis ojos:	Two paths appear before my eyes:
Una de sombras, soledad y olvido,	One of shadows, loneliness and oblivion,
Otra de luz, de flores y de abrojós.	Another of light, flowers and thistles.
¿Cual seguiré, Dios mio, en que dis-	Which will I follow, my God, where can I en-
[frute	[joy
La inefable quietud de la existencia,	The ineffable quietude of existence,
Y á donde pueda conservar intacta	And where can I keep intact
De los primeros años la inocencia?	The innocence of my early years?

The fact that the speaker is left in *indecision*, not making a clear choice between these two paths, hints that she is not telling a parable with a clear-cut lesson to impart upon readers. In fact, the seemingly virtuous path of the violet is described as full of "sombras, soledad y olvido" (shadows, loneliness and oblivion), whereas the poppy's path includes light and flowers, but also "abrojós" (thistles), which are known for their thorns. The speaker yearns to enjoy peaceful quiet and keep intact her innocence, but struggles with the idea of living

in lonely shadows, seemingly forgotten by the outside world. Josefina must have been familiar with this particular crossroads. Though she longed to step out in the light and receive public recognition for her poetic abilities, her publications were often met with vicious thorns, particularly from her biggest detractors, Dolores and Cristina. It's quite possible that "Indecision" dramatized a turning point in Josefina's life as a poetisa in which she was deciding whether sharing her creative work publicly was worth the anguish brought on by these bullies.

This chapter has provided only a cursory introduction to Josefina, and focuses heavily on her anonymous persona and the impact she had on her Latinx reading public. Like the Gutierrez sisters, Josefina pursued her literary ambitions boldly and passionately, though unfortunately her writing was met with backlash. Josefina was likened to a man, or *horror de los horrores*, as her critics attempted to deny the feminine, Latina identity that she had fashioned for herself in the newspaper byline. Rather than protecting her, the fact that Josefina published semi-anonymously made her an open target for trolls, possibly derailing her rise as a poetisa in the California press. Whether or not Josefina stopped publishing as a result of the harsh indictments of her character and her craft, the overtly gendered nature of the attacks made them particularly powerful and injurious. This led Josefina to deploy the dedication poem in very different ways than poetisas like Carlota Gutierrez and Amelia Denis de Icaza. Instead of building alliances and expressing admiration, Josefina weaponized the dedication to both call out her adversaries and express opinions on the place of women in the realm of literature and poetry.

Whether or not Josefina was actually a Latina, her newspaper poems performed a culturally Latina identity in the public sphere, and in this sense, she has much in common with the other escritoras, poetisas, and orators highlighted in this book. My hope is that by thinking deeply about anonymity as a spectrum when it comes to historical figures like Josefina, her example might help us reexamine the words of other nineteenth-century Latinas with a special appreciation for their alterity, the "gaps and breaches" that researchers of today will never be able to overcome. I hope that you, reader, will now take time

to enjoy the verses that *La Crónica*'s correspondent Consuelo aptly described as *encantadores*. I hope that you form your own opinions and questions, not only about Josefina as a poetisa, but about her bravely crafted poetry as well.

SPANISH TRANSCRIPTIONS AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS FOR CHAPTER 5

Poems by Josefina

La Voz del Nuevo Mundo of San Francisco
September 3, 1875

A *******	To *******
Dulcísimo poéta que en melodiosos sones	Sweetest poet who in melodious sounds
Exhalas de tu lira tu canto sin igual,	Exhales from your lyre your song without equal,
No intentes que mi pecho sin fé, sin ilusiones,	Do not try to make my breast without faith, without dreams,
La calma de otro tiempo pretenda disfrutar.	Enjoy the calm of another time.
Es bárbara ironía decir que al mundo vino	It's barbarous irony to say that the wretched
A ser señora y reina la míseria mujer;	Woman came to the world to be lady and queen;
¡Mentira, atroz mentira! de esclava es su destino,	Lie, atrocious lie! her destiny is enslavement,
Su nombre simboliza lo amargo de su sér.	Her name symbolizes the bitterness of her being.
¡Buscar mi compañero! ¿quién quieres que me [quiera	Look for my partner! Who do you want to love [me
Si vírgen soy de amores, si nadie piensa en mí?	If I am a virgin to lovers, if nobody thinks of me?
¿Ni quién á una infelice querria por compañera	Or who would want an unhappy person for a partner
Si soy infortunada del punto en que nací?	If I'm unfortunate from the point I was born?
Si vieras tú mi pecho y en él todo un tesoro	If you saw my chest and within it the treasure
De amor que no podria ni un ángel comprender	Of love that not even an angel could understand
Tú si comprenderias la causa de mi lloro,	You would understand the cause of my tears,
Porque amo, y á quien amo me está prohibido ver.	Because I love, and whom I love, I am forbidden to see.
Y miéntras á mi oído los tiernos trovadores	And while in my ear the tender troubadours
Murmuran dulces frases de eterno y puro amor,	Murmur sweet phrases of eternal and pure love,
No observan que en mi pecho rugiendo mil do- [lores	They do not observe that in my breast a thousand roaring pa- [ins
Marchitan mi existencia ahora q'está en su flor.	Wither my existence now that it is in its prime.

¡Qué cosa no daria si alguna ves pudiera
Estar con el objeto que inspira mi querer,
Decirle que era suya mi vida toda entera
Y luego entre sus brazos sentirme adormecer!

Delirios, desvaríos de un alma lacerada
Que espera un imposible que no ha de realizar
¿Y esta es la reina mísera de espinas coronada
A quien se cree dichosa? No lo será jamas.

Déjame, pues, á solas llorando mi martirie,
Posando sobre abrojos mi mal seguro pie,
Y si á piedad te mueve mi bárbaro delirio
Tu compasion imploro, soy débil y mujer.

JOSEFINA

San Francisco, Setiembre 1.° de 1875.

What I wouldn't give if I only I could
Be with the object that inspires my affection,
Tell him that my entire life is his
And then in his arms feel myself fall asleep!

Delusions, ravings of a lacerated soul
That hopes for an impossibility that cannot happen
And this is the miserable queen crowned of thorns
Who you think is happy? She will never be.

Leave me, then, weeping alone in my martyrdom,
My bad sure foot posing on thorns,
And if my barbaric delirium moves you to mercy
I implore you for compassion, I am weak and a woman.

JOSEFINA

San Francisco, September 1, 1875

La Crónica of Los Angeles
October 27, 1875

[Para LA CRÓNICA.]

A LA LUNA.

—

Tendió la noche su oscuro velo,
Cambiose el cielo de estrellas mil,
Y allá á lo léjos, tras de una loma
La luna asoma pura y gentil.

—

Pálida vírgen, reina del cielo,
¡ Cuánto consuelo vierte tu luz
En mi alma triste que aquí te adora,
Que sufre y llora bajo una Cruz!

—

Cuando en el éter cruzar te miro
¿Por qué un suspiro sale de mí?
¿Por qué á mis ojos inunda el llanto?
¿Por qué te canto tan solo á tí?

—

[For LA CRÓNICA.]

TO THE MOON.

—

The night draped her dark veil,
The sky changed to a thousand stars,
And there in the distance, behind a hill
The moon appears pure and genteel.

—

Pale virgin, queen of heaven,
How much consolation does your light pour
Into my sad soul that, here, adores you,
That suffers and cries under a Cross!

—

When I see you traverse the ether
Why does a sigh escape me?
Why do tears flood my eyes?
Why do I sing only to you?

—

Sal de tu alcázar, vírgen hermosa,
Llena radiosa la inmensidad,
Y con tu rayo más esplendente
Baña mi frente de claridad.

—

De mi tristeza fiel compañera,
¡Oh quién pudiera contigo estar
En las regiones de lo infinito—
Lugar bendito de amor y paz.

—

Ah, dime, dime si hay en tus lares
Mudos pesares, tormentos mil,
Terribles penas, honda amargura,
Luto y tristeza como hay aquí.

—

O si al contrario si hay en tu cielo
Dicha y consuelo, perpétuo bien,
Flébiles auras, dulces presentes,
Rosas y frentes, plácido Eden.

—

¡Oh, luna bella! ¡cuánto he sentido
Mi bien perdido, mi dulce paz,
Sin esperanza de que algun dia
La pena mia terminará.

—

Nunca ha tocado mi débil planta
La tierra santa de promision
Que al fin encuentra de su jornada
La que es amada:—¡bella ilusion!

—

Ni la áurea copa de los placeres
Como otros séres, loca apuré,
Porque en mi vida, de angustia llena,
Lágrimas, pena solo encontré.

—

Come out of your alcazar, beautiful virgin,
Fill radiantly the immensity,
And with your most splendid ray
Bathe my brow in clarity.

—

Faithful companion of my sadness,
Oh! That I could accompany you
In the expanses of infinity—
Blessed place of love and peace.

—

Ah, tell me, tell me if in your hearth
There are mute sorrows, a thousand torments,
Terrible miseries, deep bitterness,
Mourning and sadness as there is here.

—

Or if, on the contrary, there is in your sky
Bliss and consolation, perpetual good,
Faint auras, sweet presents,
Roses and faces, placid Eden.

—

Oh, beautiful moon! How I have felt
The loss of my wellbeing, my sweet peace,
Without hope that one day
My misery will end.

—

My weak footstep has never touched
The holy ground of promise
That finally finds at the end of the day
She who is loved:—beautiful dream!

—

Nor the golden cup of pleasures
Like other beings, did I madly drink,
Because in my life, filled with anguish,
I found only tears and sorrow.

—

Por eso escuchan en mis lamentos
Los sentimientos de mi afliccion;
Más no comprenden que es mi gemido
Eco salido del corazon.

—

No ven los hombres tras mi sonrisa
La alma enfermiza de la muger,
Y no adivinan que está sin calma
Cansada el alma de padecer.

—

Ya que es mi suerte tan combatida,
Ya que es mi vida negro capuz,
Manda á mi pecho triste y quejoso
Tu más hermoso rayo de luz.

JOSEFINA.

SAN FRANCISCO, Octubre 19 de 1875.

That's why they hear in my cries
The feelings of my affliction;
But they do not understand that it's the
Echo of my whimper escaped from the heart.

—

Men do not see behind my smile
The ailing soul of a woman,
And they don't guess that the soul is
Restless, weary of suffering.

—

Since my fate is so battered,
Since my life is a black hood,
Send to my sad and fretful breast
Your most beautiful ray of light.

JOSEFINA.

SAN FRANCISCO, October 19, 1875.

La Crónica of Los Angeles
December 4, 1875

[Para LA CRÓNICA.]

MI CORAZON Y YO.

—

Ya que he llorado perdida
Hasta mi última ilusion,
Vamos á leer, corazon,
En el libro de mi vida.
—Dime ¿ qué ves en sus hojas?
—La historia de tu ternura.
— Y despues?
—Tu desventura.
—Y por final?
—Tus congojas.

[For LA CRÓNICA.]

MY HEART AND I.

—

Since I have wept, lost
Even my last illusion,
Let us read, heart,
In the book of my life.
"Tell me, what do you see in its pages?"
"The story of your tenderness."
"And then?"
"Your misfortune."
"And finally?
"Your sorrows."

De aquella época de gloria
Que eterna me parecia
¿ Qué le queda al alma mia?
—Solo una amarga memoria.
—¿ Qué es el amor?
—Desvarío.
—La felicidad?
—Quimera!
—Ah! Si dichosa yo fuera…
—Sentirás siempre el hastío.
—Triste es, corazon, ¿verdad?
Perder hasta la esperanza.
—En la tierra nadie alcanza
Completa felicidad.

—Creí en mis primeros años
Que era este mundo un vergel.
—Por eso apuras la hiel
De tus tristes desengaños.
—¿ Y he de vivir condenada
A llorar mi amargo duelo?
—Con la esperanza en el cielo
Serás ménos desgraciada.

—Nadie en el mundo ha vivido
Sin amar, sin ser amado.
—Mentiras! Te has engañado:
No hay amor correspondido.
—El que amo…
—No piensa en tí.
—Imposible…
—Es la verdad…
—Me juraba…
—¡Falsedad!
—¡Desventurada de mí!
No me robes, corazon,
Hasta el consuelo postrero;
Ve que sin su amor no quiero
Ni la eterna salvacion.

From that age of glory
That seemed to be eternal to me,
What remains to my soul?
"Only a bitter memory."
"What is love?"
"Delirium."
"Happiness?"
"Chimera!"
"Ah! If I were lucky…"
"You'll always feel tedium."
"It's sad, heart, isn't it,
To lose even hope?"
"On earth no one achieves
Complete happiness."

"I believed in my early years
That this world was an orchard."
"That's why you swallow the bitterness
Of your sad dissilussionments."
"And must I live condemned
To weep over my bitter grief?"
"With hope for heaven
You will be less unfortunate."

"No one in the world has ever lived
Without loving, without being loved."
"Lies! You've deceived yourself:
There is no reciprocal love."
"The one I love…"
"He doesn't think of you."
"Imposible…"
"It's the truth…"
"He swore to me…"
"Falsehood!"
"Woe is me!
Don't steal from me, heart,
Of even the last consolation;
You must see that without his love,
I don't want even eternal salvation."

—Son pueriles á mi ver,
Tus inocentes quimeras.
—No comprendo.
—Cuando mueras
Llegarás á comprender.
—¿ Qué queda á la que ha perdido
Cuanto place en la existencia?
—Tras el dolor, la experiencia,
Y con el tiempo el olvido.

JOSEFINA.

San Francisco Noviembre 19 de 1876.

"From my perspective, they're childish,
Your innocent chimeras."
"I don't understand."
"When you die,
You'll come to understand."
"What remains for her who has lost
All that gave her pleasure in existence?"
"After pain, comes experience,
And with time, forgetting."

JOSEFINA.

San Francisco, November 19, 1876.

La Crónica of Los Angeles
February 26, 1876

[Para LA CRÓNICA.]

LA ENVIDIA.

—

(IMITACION DEL SEÑOR SELGAS.)

—

Al mismo tiempo nacidas,
Bajo un sol todo fulgores,
Amanecieron dos flores
Al mismo tallo adheridas.

Sus lindas hojas, la fuente
Cristalina retrataba,
Y un ruiseñor les cantaba
Al compas de la corriente.

Cierto clavel en boton
Que paseaba en la pradera
Buscaba una compañera
A quien dar su corazon.

Al percibirlo, las flores
En extremo sonrojadas,
Atrajeron sus miradas
Con sus púdicos rubores;

[Para LA CRÓNICA.]

ENVY.

—

(IMITATION OF MR. SELGAS.)

—

Born at the same time
Under a totally brilliant sun,
Two flowers awakened,
Attached to the same stem.

The crystal-clear spring
Reflected their pretty leaves,
And for them a nightingale sang
To the rhythm of the current.

A certain carnation in bud
Was strolling in the meadow,
Looking for a lady companion
To whom to give his heart.

Upon noticing this, the flowers,
Exceedingly flushed,
Attracted his gaze
With their modest blushes;

Y él muy fino y cortesano
Al contemplarlas tan bellas,
Se enamoró de una de ellas
Y al punto le dió su mano.

Como era muy natural
La una se sintió humillada
Y denostó, despechada
Por la envidia, á su rival.

La otra de culpa inocente,
Corazon todo ternura,
Perdonó la zaña impura
De su hermana maldiciente.

Y una continuó injuriando
Con sobrada impertinencia,
Y con amor y paciencia
La otra siguió perdonando.

Mas ¡ay! que el cielo testigo
De esta escena lastimosa,
Privó á la flor rencorosa
De su aroma, por castigo;

Y en el cáliz nacarino
De su hermana encantadora,
Vertió sus perlas la aurora
Cuando á iluminarla vino.
…….
…….

Esto enseña, en conlcusion
Que una jóven ejemplar
No debe nunca abrigar
La envidia en su corazon.

JOSEFINA

San Francisco, Febrero 21 de 1876

And he was very refined and courtly.
Seeing they were so beautiful,
He fell in love with one of them
And immediately gave her his hand.

As was quite natural,
The other one felt humiliated
And, scorned, she denounced
Her rival out of envy.

The other, innocent of guilt,
Heart filled with tenderness,
Forgave the impure viciousness
Of her slanderous sister.

And the one continued insulting
With excessive impertinence,
And with love and patience
The other continued forgiving.

But alas! Heaven, witnessing
This pitiful scene,
Deprived the rancorous flower
Of her aroma as punishment;

And into the nacreous chalice
Of her lovely sister,
The dawn poured its pearls
When it came to illuminate her.
…….
…….

This teaches, in conclusion,
That an exemplary young woman
Should never reveal
The envy in her heart.

JOSEFINA

San Francisco, February 21, 1876

La Crónica of Los Angeles
March 29, 1876

[Para LA CRÓNICA.]
DEJEMOSLES REIR.

—

¿ Qué te importa, corazon,
Que de tu cruel agonía
Implacable y cruel se ria
El mundo sin compasion?

Nacido en hora fatal,
Predestinado al martirio,
Fué tu vida pobre lirio
Que marchitó el vendabal

Si la sociedad te hiere
Con inaudita vileza,
Pruébale tú con nobleza
Cómo se sufre y se muere.

Déjales reír ¡impíos!
Ya que en ello se complacen,
Mientras que las penas hacen,
De mis dos ojos dos rios.

¡Reir del dolor humano!
¿Tienen entrañas de fiera?
Dios mio, creí que era
Mejor este mundo vano.

[¡]Y sufres! [¿]por qué sufrir
Si la sociedad maldita,
En su locura inaudita,
No sabe mas que reir?

[Para LA CRÓNICA.]
LET THEM LAUGH.

—

What do you care, heart,
That the world laughs
Without compassion, relentless and cruel,
At your cruel agony?

Born in a fatal hour,
Predestined for martyrdom,
Your life was a poor lily
That the storm wilted….

If society wounds you
With unheard-of vileness,
Show it with nobility
How to suffer and die.

Let them laugh, infidels!
Since they delight in it,
While sorrows make
Two rivers of my two eyes.

To laugh at human pain!
Do they have the insides of a wild beast?
My God, I thought
This vain world was better.

And you suffer! Why suffer
If cursed society,
In its unheard-of madness,
Knows nothing but how to laugh?

Y lloras! ¿por qué llorar
Si en este mundo inclemente
De la que llora doliente
Sólo se saben burlar?

[¡]El llanto! Dulce bebida
Para una alma infortunada,
Fuente que queda cegada
Sólo al terminar la vida

¡Y causa risa tu llanto
Porque ignoran tus dolores,
Tus ansias tus sinsabores
Y tu amargo desencanto!
…….
…….
…….

[¡]Y sufres! ¿por qué sufrir?…
[¡]Y lloras! ¿por qué llorar?…
Si siempre se han de burlar,
Dejémosles, pues, reir.

JOSEFINA.
San Francisco, Marzo 20 de 1876

And you cry! Why cry
If in this inclement world
They only know how to mock
Her who weeps in pain?

Weeping! Sweet drink
For an unfortunate soul,
A spring that is stopped up
Only at the end of life.

And your weeping causes laughter
Because they do not know your sorrows,
Your anxieties, your troubles,
And your bitter disappointment!
…….
…….
…….

And you suffer! Why suffer?……
And you cry! Why cry?……
If they must always mock,
Let us, then, let them laugh.

JOSEFINA.
San Francisco, March 20, 1876

La Voz del Nuevo Mundo of San Francisco
April 18, 1876

A CRISTINA

En verdad, jóven festiva,
Que de necia me pasara
Si yo me apesadumbrara
Por tu charla inofenciva.

TO CRISTINA

Truly, jolly young lady,
What foolishness would befall me
If I were weighed down
By your harmless talk.

¿De cuando acá, poetisa,
Has dado en avergonzarte
Por faltas de Petra é Luisa?
¡Eso es el colmo del arte!

Esos púdicos rubores
Bien valen lo que una mina;
Más que los castos amores
De Lucrecia y Proserpina….

Por otra cosa debieras
Avergonzarte en el mundo,
No por fútiles quimeras
De un triste amor infecundo:

Sino por tu torpe anhelo
Y tu injusto proceder
Que ponen casi en el suelo
Tu dignidad de muger.

Yo sé que si te apreciaras
Y no fueras necia y loca,
Tu reputacion cuidaras
Y enmadeciera tu boca.

Callar porque no hay quien piense
Bien de la pobre Cristina;
No hay ninguno que la inciense
Ni siquiera lo imagina.

¿Quién te manda, dí, meterte
En lo que nada te importa?
Cuida mejor de tu suerte
Porque es la vida muy corta.

Ya bastante han divertido
Al público tus sandeces,
Y habrás sin duda advertido
Que charlando te envileces.

Since when, poetess,
Have you become ashamed
For the faults of Petra and Luisa?
That is the height of art!

Those modest blushes
Are well worth what one mines;
More than the chaste loves
Of Lucretia and Proserpina….

For something else should you
Shame yourself in this world,
Not for futile chimeras
Of a sad, fruitless love:

But because of your clumsy longing
And unjust advancing
That nearly throw away
Your dignity as a woman.

I know that if you appreciated yourself
And weren't foolish and crazy
You would take care of your reputation
And make wooden your mouth.

You'd shut up because no one thinks
Well of the poor Cristina;
There is no one who entertains it
Not even imagines it.

Who sends you, tell me, to insert yourself
In that which doesn't concern you?
Take better care of your fate
Because life is very short.

The public has been amused
Enough by your nonsense,
And you will have no doubt noticed
That by gossiping you debase yourself.

¿Tan mal estabas metida
Allá en tu apacible estancia
Que así vienes, engreída,
A exhibirnos tu ignorancia?

¿Es que anhelas, por ventura,
Las públicas emociones
Y andas á caza (oh locura!)
De entusiastas ovaciones?

¡Pretension estrafalaria
En ignorantes ¡Cristinas;
La carrera literaria
Está sembrada en espinas;

Y el laurel con que algun dia
Soñando estás coronarte
Está verde todavía,
Tan verde que el alma parte.

Quieres que todo concluya
Del mejor modo posible;
Todo, hijita, es obra tuya
Y como tuya risible.

¡Qué candor tan sin aliño!
¡Tu inocencia me da gozo!
¡Despues que está hogado el niño
Pretendes tapar el pozo!

Mas valiera que avisada
Jamas hubieras escrito:
¡Salir con esa embajada
Y despues de tanto grito!

En fin, que calles modesta
O en insultos te desates,
Me hallarás siempre dispuesta
A contestar tus dialates.

JOSEFINA.

San Francisco, Abril 12 de 1876.

Were you doing so badly
Out there on your peaceful farm,
That you come thus, presumptuous,
To show us your ignorance?

Is it that you yearn, perhaps,
For public sentiments
And go a-hunting (oh, madness!)
for enthusiastic applause?

The bizarre pretense
Of ignorant Cristinas;
A literary career
Is sown with thorns;

And the laurel which some day
You dream will be your crown
Is still green
So green that the soul departs.

You want everything to end
In the best possible way;
Everything, little girl, is your own doing
And, being yours, it is laughable.

What such unseasoned candor!
Your innocence brings me pleasure!
After the child is drowned
You seek to cover the well!

Better to have been warned
You would never have written:
gone out with that lowlife
And after so much shrieking!

In short, keep your modest silence
Or through your insults you'll unleash,
Me always ready
To answer your dialogic attacks.

JOSEFINA.

San Francisco, April 12, 1876.

La Crónica of Los Angeles
May 3, 1876

[Para LA CRÓNICA.]

INTRANQUILIDAD.

—

Más bella que la flor de la esperanza,
Más grata que los sueños de ventura,
Fué en el altar de mi existencia pura
Mi primera bellísima ilusion.
Placentera y feliz como las aves
Entré del mundo en la ignorada senda
Llevando ante mis ojos una venda
Y un cielo de placer mi corazon.

¡Oh! qué bello el vivir me parecia,
Qué tranquilo mi pecho palpitaba,
Al admirar del sol que declinaba
La nacarina luz crepuscular!
Y cuando en la mañana parecia
Para hermosear el cielo y la natura,
¡Cuán dichosa á aspirar el aura pura
Abandonaba el techo paternal!

¡Ah! los placeres de la tierna infancia
Que formaron mi dicha y mi contento,
Pasaron como ráfagas de viento,
Su recuerdo dejando al corazon.
Un recuerdo que siempre me acibara
Al contemplarme en este mundo sola,
Como en el mar la fugitiva ola
Que impele sin cesar el aquilon.

Y vivir siempre así! léjos muy léjos
De cuantos séres adoré en la tierra;
Conmigo misma en incesante guerra,
Sin esperanza de felicidad
Y vivir siempre así! huérfana el alma
Sin hallar de su amor la compañera,
Como el ave que llora en la pradera
Desierto el nido que dejó poco há.

[For LA CRÓNICA.]

RESTLESSNESS.

—

More beautiful than the flower of hope,
More pleasing than dreams of fortune,
Was on the altar of my pure existence
My first most beautiful illusion.
Pleasant and happy as the birds
I entered the world on the unknown path
Wearing a blindfold before my eyes
And a heaven of pleasure in my heart.

Oh! How beautiful life seemed to me,
How calmly my chest beat,
As I admired the setting sun
The pearly light of dusk!
And, in the morning, when it seemed
To beautify the sky and nature,
I was so happy to breathe in the pure breeze
That I abandoned my father's roof!

Ah! The pleasures of tender childhood
That shaped my happiness and contentment,
Passed like gusts of wind,
Leaving their memory in my heart.
A memory that will always bitterly haunt me
When I contemplate myself alone in this world,
Like the fugitive wave at sea
That the north wind drives without end.

And to live forever like this! Far, far away
From all the beings I adored on earth;
With myself in constant war,
Without hope of happiness
And to live forever like this! Soul orphaned
Without finding a companion for its love,
Like the bird that cries in the meadow,
The nest it left only momentarily, now empty.

De mis pasadas horas de alegría,
De aquel amor en que cifré mi gloria,
Solo queda una plácida memoria
¡Y es á veces tan triste recordar!……
¿ Porqué el tiempo que cura los dolores
Y el ovido que borra lo pasado
No han revuelto á mi pecho lacerado
Un momento siquiera, la dulce paz?

JOSEFINA.

San Francisco, Abril 14 de 1876.

Of my past hours of joy,
Of that love in which I encrypted my glory,
Only a placid memory remains
And sometimes it is so sad to remember!……
Why has time, which heals sorrows,
And oblivion, which erases the past,
Not, for even a moment,
Stirred sweet peace in my lacerated breast?

JOSEFINA.

San Francisco, April 14, 1876.

La Crónica of Los Angeles
May 13, 1876

[Para LA CRÓNICA.]

A UNAS NIÑAS.

—

Entre azucenas y violas,
Y dalias y clavellinas,
Al murmullo de la fuente,
Y á los besos de la brisa;
Ligeras cual mariposas
Y rebosando alegria,
Juegan en compacto grupo
Aquellas hermosas niñas.
¡Cómo corren afanosas
Sobre la grama mullida
Haciendo mil travesuras
Con que aumentan su delicia!
¡Oh, qué inocente es su gozo!
¡Y qué ruidosa su risa,
Y cuán radiantes sus ojos
Que como estrellas cintilan!
Dichosa edad en que el llanto
Al enturbiar la pupila
Se seca solo al instante
Con un beso en la mejilla:

[For LA CRÓNICA.]

TO SOME GIRLS.

—

Between lilies and violas,
And dahlias and carnations,
To the murmur of the fountain,
And to the kisses of the breeze;
Light as butterflies
And brimming with joy,
They play in a tight group
Those beautiful girls.
How busily they run
On the soft grass
Doing a thousand mischiefs
With which they increase their delight!
Oh, how innocent is their joy!
And how loud their laughter,
And how radiant their eyes
That twinkle like stars!
Blissful age in which tears
Upon puddling in the pupil
Dry instantly by themselves
With a kiss on the cheek:

En que del dolor la huella
Es tan leve y fugitiva,
Que la contempla una aurora
Y otra aurora la disipa.
¿ Y cómo no si esos años
Blandamente se deslisan
Al amparo de unos padres
Que nos cubren de caricias?
¿ Y cómo no si en la infancia
La conciencia está tranquila
Como las aguas del lago
Que suaves las auras rizan?
¡Oh quién volviera un momento
A esa época de la vida
Para olvidar los tormentos
Que el alma me martirizan!
Seguid jugando contentas,
Hermosas y tiernas niñas,
En tanto que os contemplo
Lleno el corazon de envidia.
Tiempo vendrá en que dejando
A un lado juegos y risas,
Sentireis en vuestro seno
El dardo de la desdicha.
Gozad hoy que en vuestro cielo
El sol expléndido brilla
Antes que en el horizonte
Oculte su frente altiva.
Porque pasan como un sueño

In which the trace of pain
Is so light and fleeting,
That one dawn contemplates it
And another dawn dissipates it.
And why not, if those years
Gently slip away
Under the protection of parents
Who shelter us with cuddles?
And why not, if in childhood
The conscience is tranquil
Like the waters of a lake
That the breezes ripple softly?
Oh who would return for a moment
To that season of life
To forget the torments
Of my soul which martyr me!
Keep playing happily,
Beautiful and tender girls,
While I contemplate you
My heart fills with envy.
The time will come when, leaving
Games and laughter aside,
You will feel in your bosom
The dart of misery.
Enjoy today, for in your sky
The sun splendidly shines
Before, along the horizon,
Its proud face is hidden.
Because they pass like a dream

Esos venturosos dias
Dejando solo en la mente
Una memoria querida;
Y luego vienen las horas
De letal melancolía
En que las flores del alma
Para siempre se marchitan.

JOSEFINA.

San Francisco, Abril 17 de 1876.

Those fortunate days
Leaving only in the mind
A cherished memory;
And then come the hours
Of lethal melancholy
In which those flowers of the soul
Wither forever.

JOSEFINA.

San Francisco, April 17, 1876.

La Crónica of Los Angeles
June 10, 1876

RECUERDA.

—

¡Recuerda! era una tarde
Fresca y hermosa
Como la blanda brisa,
Como la rosa;
Toda rumores,
Toda besos, caricias,
Luces y flores.

Al vernos tan dichosos
Por los jardines,
Suspiraban de envidia
Los querubines,
Porque Dios quiso
En nuestro amor brindarnos
Un paraíso.

REMEMBER.

—

Remember! It was an afternoon
Fresh and beautiful
Like the soft breeze,
Like the rose,
All whispers,
All kisses, caresses,
Lights, and flowers.

Seeing us so happy
In the gardens,
The cherubs[54]
sighed with envy,
Because by our love
God wanted to offer us
A paradise.

Tú me cortabas flores
Que entretejia
Para ceñir tu frente
Triste y sombría,
Siempre nublada
Por el presentimiento
De la desgracia.

De aquellas lindas flores,
Gala del prado,
Aun percibo el aroma
Tan delicado…
Flores divinas
Que clavaron en mi alma
Ay! solo espinas.

Tras de la tarde vino
La noche oscura,
Con sus dulces misterios,
Con su tristura,
Y ¡cuánto bellas
En el cielo asomaron
Blancas estrellas!

Recuerda! aquellas horas
Se deslizaron
Como la gondolilla
Que zurca el lago,
Solo dejando
Para el alma, emociones,
Miel, para el labio.

Tu mano entrelazaba
La mano mia,
A mi suspiro el tuyo
Le respondia,
Y aunque callaba

You cut me flowers
That I wove
To encircle your
Sad and somber brow,
Always clouded
By the foreboding
Of misfortune.

I still perceive the aroma
So delicate…
Of those pretty flowers,
Pride of the meadow,
Divine flowers
That drove into my soul,
Alas! only thorns.

After the afternoon came
The dark night,
With its sweet mysteries,
With its sadness,
And such beautiful
White stars
appeared in the sky!

Remember! Those hours
Slipped by
Like the little gondola
That plies the lake,
Leaving only
Emotions for the soul,
Honey for the lip.

Your hand entwined
With my hand,
Your sigh
Answered mine,
And though I remained silent,

Tú bien supiste entónces
Que te adoraba.

En un profundo cielo
Sin nube alguna
Su luz encantadora
Vertia la luna:
¡Y yo pensaba
Que á contemplar mi dicha
Solo llegaba!

Con qué placer entónces
Tú voz oia
Que, tierna, amor eterno
Me prometia;
¡Amor divino
Que á revelarme un cielo
Sin duda vino!

¡Cuanto gocé á tu lado
Sol de mi vida!
¿Por qué por qué mi mente
Jamas te olvida?
¿Porqué ha quedado
Tu recuerdo en el alma
Siempre grabado?……

Cuando, por fin, preciso
Fué separarnos,
Yo quedé con mi pena
Triste llorando…
¡Desde ese dia
Siempre cubre mi frente
Nube sombria!

JOSEFINA.

San Francisco, Mayo 30 de 1876.

You well knew in that moment
That I adored you.

In a deep sky
Without a single cloud,
The moon poured out
its enchanting light,
And I thought
That I had only just begun
to realize my happiness!

With what pleasure, then,
Did I hear your voice
Which promised me
Tender, eternal love:
Divine love
That came undoubtedly
To reveal a heaven to me!

Sun of my life,
how much I enjoyed being by your side!
Why, why does my mind
Never forget you?
Why has your memory
remained forever engraved
In my soul?……

When, finally, it was necessary
For us to separate,
I was left with my sorrow,
sad, crying…
Since that day,
a dark cloud
Forever covers my brow!

JOSEFINA.

San Francisco, May 30, 1876.

La Crónica of Los Angeles
January 24, 1877

[Para LA CRÓNICA]
DOS FLORES.

—

¡Ay! naúfrago tambien es Josefina
Que en el mar del dolor perdida flota.
M.M.A.

¿Te acuerdas? nos sentamos
Un tiempo allá en la orilla
Del caudaloso rio
De mí ciudad nativa;
En las movibles ondas
De su agua cristalina
Dos flores arrojamos
Que yo llevé prendidas.
La una, arrebatada
Por la ola fugitiva,
Partió quizá á perderse
Allá en la mar bravía;
Y á la otra, en los escollos
Quedando detenida,
La vimos desojarse
Llorando su desdicha,
Y miéntras en el agua
La hermosa flor se hundia
El rio sollozaba
Su música divina……
Aquellas pobres flores
Son ¡ay! la imágen viva
De tu existencia adversa
Y de la aciaga mia.
En dulce lazo unidos
Soñaba eterna dicha,

[For LA CRÓNICA]
TWO FLOWERS.

—

Alas! Josefina is also shipwrecked,
For she floats lost in the sea of sorrow.
M.M.A.[55]

Do you remember? We sat
For a time there on the bank
Of the mighty river
Of my native city;
Into the shifting waves
Of its crystalline water,
We cast two flowers
That I was wearing.
One, carried away
By the fugitive wave,
Perhaps went off to be lost
Over there in the rough sea;
And the other, caught on the rocks
Remained captive,
We saw her shed her petals
Weeping over her misfortune;
And meanwhile the beautiful flower
Sank into the water.
The river sobbed
Its divine music……
Those poor flowers
Are, alas! the living image
Of your unlucky existence
And of my ill-fated one.
United in a sweet bond,
I dreamed of eternal happiness,

Cuando la suerte quiso
Robarte á mis caricias;
Y yo te ví alejarte
De mi amorosa vista.
Sin que te detuvieran
Mis lágrimas furtivas;
Partiste y me dejaste
Como la florecilla
Luchando entre tormentos
Que aquí ninguno mira;
Y del dolor al golpe
Que á mi alma martiriza
Se va ya deshojando
Mi hermosa flor de un dia.

JOSEFINA.

San Francisco, Enero 19 de 1877.

Whereupon fate stepped in
To steal you away from my caresses,
And I saw you drift away
From my loving sight.
Without being stopped by
My furtive tears,
You departed and left me,
Like the little flower,
Struggling amidst torments
That no one here sees;
And from the pain of the blow
That martyrs my soul,
My beautiful flower of a single day
Is already shedding its petals.

JOSEFINA.

San Francisco, January 19, 1877.

La Crónica of Los Angeles
June 30, 1877

POR UNA ETERNIDAD

—

Á . ….

¡Ausente para siempre de mi lado!
¡Mis proyectos de amor desvanecidos!
¡Mis brillantes ensueños del pasado
Ya nunca volverán!…

¡Extraños los que tanto se quisieron!
¡Sepultado un amor que fué mi gloria!
¡No volver á ocupar en tu memoria
Ni siquiera un lugar!…

Yo quisiera olvidar que te he querido,
Yo quisiera ocultarle mi tormento
Y poder arrancar del pensamiento
Tu imágen celestial.

FOR AN ETERNITY

—

TO . ….

Forever absent from my side!
My visions of love vanished!
My brilliant dreams of the past
Will never return!…

Those who were so in love are strangers!
Buried a love that was my glory!
Never again to occupy in your memory
Any place at all!…

I would like to forget that I had loved you,
I would like to hide my torment from you
And be able to tear from my thoughts
Your heavenly image.

¿Pero cómo? ¡ay de mí! si solo puedo
En éxtásis divino idolatrarte;
Si sabes tú muy bien que de olvidarte
No tengo valuntad?

Por más que trato de ocultar mi pena
Y sonreir aunque el dolor me mata,
La turbacion de mi alma me delata,
Me duele el corazon.

Mas el llanto candente que derramo
Y los suspiros que sin fin te envío
¿No te dicen bien claro, dueño mio,.
Que te amo con pasion?

Tal vez otra mujer más verturosa[56]
Tus dolores y goces hoy comparte,
Y por eso me mandas olvidarte
Con bárbara crueldad.

Mas aunque herido el corazon devore
La amarga humillacion de tu desvío,
Yo siempre te amaré, dulce ángel mio,
Por una eternidad.

JOSEFINA.

San Francisco, Diciembre 20 de 1876.

But how? Woe is me! If I can only
Idolize you in divine ecstasy;
If you know very well that I have no will
To forget you?

As much as I try to hide my sorrow
And smile even though the pain kills me,
The turmoil of my soul betrays me,
My heart aches.

But the burning tears I shed
And the endless sighs that I send you
Don't they tell you very clearly, my master?
That I love you passionately?

Maybe another more fortunate woman
Shares your pains and joys today,
And that's why you order me to forget you
With barbaric cruelty.

But though my wounded heart devours
The bitter humiliation of your straying,
I will always love you, my sweet angel,
For an eternity.

JOSEFINA.

San Francisco, December 20, 1876.

La Crónica of Los Angeles
October 6, 1877

[Para LA CRÓNICA.]

¡TRISTEZA.

SONETO.

—

Como suele una madre dolorida
Dirigirse á la tumba desolada
Do yace para siempre sepultada
De su primer amor la hija querida;

[For LA CRÓNICA.]

SADNESS!

SONNET.

—

As a grieving mother habitually
Goes to the desolate grave
Where lies forever buried
Her first love, her dear daughter;

Y verter una lágrima encendida
Elevando á los cielos su mirada
Al recordar la faz idolatrada
Del ángel bello á quien le dió la vida;
Así yo suelo descender al fondo
De mi pecho sensible y conmovido
Donde mi eterno padecer escondo
A los ojos de un mundo descreido,
Y el corazon me duele en la más hondo
Al sentir que mi amor ha fenecido.

JOSEFINA.

San Francisco, Set. 30 de 1877.

And sheds a burning tear
Raising her gaze to the heavens
Remembering the venerated face
Of the beautiful angel to whom she gave life;
This is how I habitually descend to the depths
Of my sentimental and affected heart
Where I hide my eternal suffering
Before the eyes of a disbelieving world,
And my heart aches most profoundly
Feeling that my love has expired.

JOSEFINA.

San Francisco, Sept. 30, 1877.

La Crónica of Los Angeles
October 24, 1877

ENTONCES Y AHORA.

—

SONETO.

Me vió una vez y se acercó temblando
Y sonriendo me dijo que me amaba:
Ay! yo que en él mi porvenir cifrába
—Vuelve, le dije y me quedé pensando.

Volvió de nuevo (no recuerdo cuando)
Y su acento que al alma me llegaba
Amor y solo amor me demandaba,
De ternura y temor por mi lloraba.

Vencida al fin correspondí su anhelo
Porque en la fé de su pasion creía:
Partió despues y en mi infinito duelo
El caliz apuré de la agonía
Y de sú amor en que miraba un cielo
Solo me queda la ceniza fría.

JOSEFINA.

San Francisco, Octubre 5 de 1877.

THEN AND NOW.

—

SONNET.

Once, he saw me and trembling drew near
And smiling he told me that he loved me:
Oh! I who placed my future in him
"Come back," I told him and was left thinking.

He came back again (I don't remember when)
And his voice penetrated my soul
Love and only love he demanded of me,
Out of tenderness and fear he wept for me.

Finally defeated, I answered his longing.
Because I believed in the fidelity of his passion:
Later he departed and in my infinite grief
I drank from the chalice of agony
And of his love in which I saw heaven
I am left with only cold ash.

JOSEFINA.

San Francisco, October 5, 1877.

La Crónica of Los Angeles
October 27, 1877

¡CUANDO!……

—

SONETO.

—

Al rayar en Oriente la mañana
Me anunciaban con notas peregrinas
Su venida, las pardas golondrinas,
Y yo las escuchaba en mi ventana.
¡Ay! del invierno la estacion tirana
Las arrojó sañuda á otras colinas,
Y sus dulces canciones matutinas
A escuchar no volví, de gozo ufana.

La triste realidad ha disipado
De mi amor las quimé ricas ficciones
Con que gozó mi corazon helado
Mil supremas divinas emociones…
Las aves volverán al nido amado
¡Mas cuándo han de volver mis ilusio-
nes!

JOSEFINA.

San Francisco, Octubre 6 de 1877.

WHEN!……

—

SONNET.

—

As the morning dawns in the East
The brown swallows announced
Their arrival to me with peregrine notes
And I listened to them at my window.
Oh! The tyrannical season of winter
Wrenched them viciously to other hills,
And I didn't hear again their sweet
Morning songs, out of arrogant pleasure.

Sad reality has dispelled
Of my love the chiméric rich fictions
With which my frozen heart enjoyed
A thousand supreme divine emotions…
The birds will return to the beloved nest
But when will my dreams ret-
urn!

JOSEFINA.

San Francisco, October 6, 1877.

La Crónica
November 3, 1877

DUDA.

—

SONETO.

En aras de su fé no desmentida,
Por fieras en el circo destrozada,
Exhalaba la vírgen delicada
Sin un suspiro de pesar, la vida.
Mas al dejar la tierra aborrecida

DOUBT.

—

SONNET.

For the sake of her undeniable faith,
Destroyed by wild beasts of the circus,
The dainty virgin exhaled
Without a sigh of regret, her life.
But when leaving the abominable earth

Por la infinita bóveda azulada,
De su Dios en la expléndida morada
Hallaba recompensa merecida.

No así yo que he sufrido punzadores
Mil tormentos que causan mi delirio,
Pobre flor siempre sola entre las flores,
Pobre lirio que no encontró otro lirio,
Y aun ignoro si el premio á mis dolores
Ha de ser la corona del martirio!……

JOSEFINA.

San Francisco, Octubre 7 de 1877.

Through the infinite blue dome,
In the splendid dwelling of her God
She found her well-earned reward.

Not so I, who have suffered sharp pains,
A thousand torments that cause my delirium,
Poor flower, always alone among the flowers,
Poor lily that found no other lily,
And I still do not know if the reward for my pains
Will be the crown of martyrdom!……

JOSEFINA.

San Francisco, October 7, 1877.

La Crónica
November 3, 1877

BIENAVENTURADOS LOS QUE LLORAN.

—

SONETO.

Desde el momento en que anegada en [llanto
Del paraíso terrenal saliera,
Eva leyó á la humanidad entera
Una vida de pena y de quebranto.
¡Qué tormentos se ocultan baja el manto
De una dulce sonrisa placentera!
¡Es tan breve la dicha y pasagera!…
El corazon sensible sufre tanto!……

Si Dios tiene un lugar predestinado
A los que horrenda humillacion devoran
Y del fondo del pecho atribulado
Ardientemente su piedad imploran,
¿ A qué compadecer al desgraciado?
Felices ¡ay! los que en la tierra lloran!

JOSEFINA.

San Francisco Octubre 8 de 1877.

BLESSED ARE THOSE WHO CRY.

—

SONNET.

From the moment, flooded in [tears
She left the earthly paradise,
Eve read to all humanity
A life of sorrow and brokenness.
What torments are hidden under the mantle
Of a sweet, pleasant smile!
Happiness is so brief and fleeting!…
The sentimental heart suffers so much!…

If God has a predestined place
For those who take in horrendous humiliation
And from the depths of their distressed bosom
Ardently implore his mercy,
Why should we pity the unfortunate?
Alas! Happy are those who weep on earth!

JOSEFINA.

San Francisco October 8, 1877.

La Crónica
February 9, 1878

INDECISION

—

Ostentaba su cándida hermosura
Una roja amapola al mediodia.
Y en medio de otras mil, á cual más [bellas,
La reina de los campos parecia.
—¡ Qué feliz debe ser j[57]—pensé yo en- [tónces—
Pues que luce sus formas delicadas,
Y vienen á besar sus rojos pétalos
De la tarde las brisas perfumadas.

Un poco más allá, bajo el amparo,
De un arbusto que sombra la ofrecia,
Una hermosa violeta humildemente
En misteriosa soledad vivía.

—¡ Que infeliz debe ser!—dije yo en- [tónces—
Pues que nadie contempla sus primo- [res,
Ni la besan las brisas de la tarde,
Ni la envidian siquiera aquellas flores

Mas en esto una jóven peregina
Arrancó de su tallo la amapola
Y al prenderla[58] en su eburnea cabellera
Vi partida y marchita su corola.

Entre tanto, á la sombra del arbusto
La violeta su aroma derramaba,
Y en el cristal del arroyuelo límpido
Su modesta belleza retrataba.

—

INDECISION

—

She flaunted her naive beauty
A red poppy at noon.
And in the midst of a thousand others, each one [beautiful,
She seemed to be queen of the fields.
—How happy she must be!—I thought th— [en—
Well, she shows off her dainty forms,
And they come to kiss her red petals
In fragrant breezes of the afternoon.

A little further away, under the shelter,
From a bush that offered shade,
A beautiful violet humbly
Lived in mysterious solitude.

—How unhappy she must be!—I said th [en—
Well, no one considers her refine- [ments,
Nor do the afternoon breezes kiss her,
Nor do those other flowers envy her

Further on, a peregrine young lady
Plucked the poppy from its stem
And upon pinning it to her ebony hair
I saw her corolla broken and withered.

Meanwhile, in the shade of the bush
The violet diffused her aroma,
And in the crystal of the clear stream
She was the picture of modest beauty.

—

Ah! de mi vida en la floresta hum-
[bría
Dos sendas se presentan á mis ojos:
Una de sombras, soledad y olvido,
Otra de luz, de flores y de abrojós.

¿Cual seguiré, Dios mio, en que dis-
[frute
La inefable quietud de la existencia,
Y á donde pueda conservar intacta
De los primeros años la inocencia?

JOSEFINA.
San Francisco, 1º. de Febrero de 1878.

Ah! regarding my life in the shady for
[est
Two paths appear before my eyes:
One of shadows, loneliness and oblivion,
Another of light, flowers and thistles.

Which will I follow, my God, where can I en-
[joy
The ineffable quietude of existence,
And where can I keep intact
The innocence of my early years?

JOSEFINA.
San Francisco, February 1, 1878.

Writings About Josefina
Dedication to Josefina by Dolores
La Voz del Nuevo Mundo of San Francisco, February 18, 1876.

A Josefina.
[LISTEN TO ME.]

Por piedad no te disgustes
Si te imito, Josefina,
Intitulando mis versos
En esa *idioma divina*.

Mi objeto es únicamente
¡Oh políglota inspirada!
(En secreto de lo digo)
Ser de todos admirada.

Es tan grato que murmuren
Y digan: "¡qué inteligencia!
¡Conoce todas las lenguas!
¡Es un venero de ciencia!"

To Josefina.
[LISTEN TO ME.]

For pity's sake do not get upset
If I imitate you, Josefina,
Titling my verses
In that *divine language*.

My objective is only
Oh polyglot inspired!
(In secret I say)
Be of all admired.

It's so pleasant that they murmur
And say: "what intelligence!
She knows all languages!
She is a wellspring of science!"

Entre tú y yo conversando.
Te confieso humildemente
Que no parlo mas idioma
Que español y…malamente.

Pero copiaré en un libro
O veré en un diccionario
Porque de instruida pegarla
Del todo creo necesario.

¿Quién ha de tener, Pepita,
La audacia por un momento
De pensar que así lo hiciera?
¡Tanto, fuera atrevimiento!

Entre todos los idiomas
Prefiero el *inglés hermoso:*
Es tan *tierno, dulce y suave,*
Tan *sonoro y cadencioso!*

"Say to him." ¡Cuánta armonía
Esa bella frase encierra!
¿Habrá quien no se conmueva
Al eschucharla, en la tierra?

Segura estoy que al mirarla
Cristina y aquel osado,
Lo que en público dijeron
Contra tí, han anulado.

Será tu éxito completo
Y mi afecto á tí ya ciego
Si en tus otras producciones
Mezclares algo de griego.

Tambien de frances un poco,
De aleman, latin y ruso.
De chino de vez en cuando
Que escucharlo no rehuso.

Talking just between you and me.
I humbly confess to you
That I do not speak more languages
than Spanish and…badly

But I'll copy it in a book
Or look it up in a dictionary
Because I believe it wholly necessary
To do as an educated lady does.

Pepita, who would have
The audacity for a moment
To think that I would do so?
How very presumptuous!

Among all languages
I prefer *beautiful English:*
It is so *tender, sweet and soft,*
So *sonorous and rhythmic!*

"Say to him." How much harmony
That beautiful phrase encloses!
Will there be anyone on earth
Who is not moved upon hearing it?

I'm sure that upon seeing it
Cristina and that bold one,
Retracted what they said
In public about you.

Your success will be complete
And my affection for you will be blind
If in your other productions
You mix in some Greek.

Also a little French,
German, Latin and Russian.
Some Chinese from time to time
I wouldn't refuse to hear it.

Sin temor sigue adelante
Causándole al mundo pasmo,
Que si bien te atacan unos
Yo te elogio *sin sarcasmo*.

DOLORES.

Keep going without fear
Causing the world amazement,
For although some attack you
I praise you *without sarcasm*.

DOLORES.

Editorial Review in *La Crónica* of Los Angeles Reprinted from *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo* April 12, 1876.

No habrán olvidado nuestros lectores lo que nos dijo hace poco en una de sus interesantes cartas nuestro ilustrado corresponsal de San Francisco sobre la curiosidad que inspiraba á muchos la poetisa que tan frecuentemente ha contribuido á hacer más aceptables las páginas de LA CRÓNICA. No deja de ser curioso lo que á este respecto leemos en *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo,* que dice así:

"Mucho ha hecho cavilar esta poetisa á sus *admiradores.* A fin de satisfacer su justa curiosidad vamos á darles algunas luces acerca de Josefina, sin que exijamos por ello recompensa alguna.

Comenzaremos diciendo que nuestro galante amigo S. Betancourt, que en tratándose de jóvenes bonitas, es capaz de llamar Gracia á la misma desgracia personificada, no ha tenido inconveniente en calificar á Josefina de "bella hurí." Ricardo, el amartelado Ricardo, entre piropo y piropo la ha llamado "ángel divino" y "décima musa."

Our readers will not have forgotten what our illustrious correspondent from San Francisco recently told us in one of his interesting letters about the curiosity inspired in many by the poetess who has so often contributed to making the pages of LA CRÓNICA more agreeable. In this regard, we are still curious about what we read in *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo*, which states:

"This poetess has caused much cavillation among her *admirers*. In order to satisfy their justified curiosity, we are going to shed some light about Josefina, without demanding any reward.

We will begin by saying that our gallant friend S. Betancourt—who, in the case of pretty young women, is capable of baptizing as "Grace" someone who is disgrace personified—has not had any trouble in describing Josefina as a "beautiful houri." Ricardo, the infatuated Ricardo, between flirtatious compliment after flirtatious compliment has called her "divine angel" and "tenth Muse."

Viene en seguida Noel. es decir, nuestro amigo I. Herrera, hijo, que la cree "hermana de los ángeles." "Juanito," otro de los admiradores de la jóven poetisa, piensa que Josefina, Laura é Isabel son una misma persona.

Los Sres. M.M.A. y *** han tenido el buen gusto de llamarla "tórtola."

Pero los mejores datos para conocerla nos lo van á suministrar las señoritas Cristina y Dolores.

Dice la primera que Josefina es una muger degradada, que da mala espina, que no debiera mostrar su flor deshojada, que cada cual le ha hecho su ofrenda que se ha enorgullecido con párrafos de gacetilla, que quiere ser admirada, etc., etc. Como se vé, las señas son mortales.

Y para coronar la obra, Dolores, con aquella adorable sencillez que la es característica, despues de confesar que ya está cansada de la "craza insensatez de la jóven poetisa, la llama Josefino. Horror de los horrores!" y héla aquí transformada en hombre hecho y derecho por…obra y gracias de unas cuantas frases escritas en un momento de malo ó buen humor.

Reasumiendo, diremos que para Betancourt es una bella hurí, para Ricardo décima musa, para Noel, una hermana de los ángeles, para Juanito, tres personas distintas y una sola verdadera, para Alegre y ***es una tórtola, para Cristina es una de tantas, y finalmente para Dolores es un hombre con todo y pantalon todo lo cual da por resultado Josefina.

Next up is Noel, that is, our friend I. Herrera, junior, who believes her to be a "sister of the angels." "Juanito," another of the young poetess's admirers, thinks that Josefina, Laura, and Isabel are the same person.

Messrs. M.M.A. and *** have had the good taste to call her a "turtledove."

But the best information by which to know her will be provided by the young ladies Cristina and Dolores.

The first of them says that Josefina is a degraded woman, whom she doesn't like the look of, who should not show her deflowered bloom, who has made her offering to anyone and everyone, who has become inflated with pride by newspaper paragraphs, who wants to be admired, etc., etc. As is obvious, the signs are fatal.

And to complete the picture, Dolores, with that adorable simplicity that is characteristic of her, after confessing that she is already tired of the "crass folly of the young poetess, calls her Josefino. Horror of horrors!" And here we see her transformed into a full-fledged man by…the work and grace of a few sentences written in a moment of bad or good humor.

In summary, we will say that for Betancourt she is a beautiful houri, for Ricardo tenth muse, for Noel, a sister of the angels, for Juanito, three different people and only one true, for Alegre and ***es she is a turtledove, for Cristina she is one of many, and finally for Dolores, she is a man, with pants and everything—all of which results in Josefina.

Vergüenza será si con datos tan convincentes, el corresponsal de LA CRÓNICA no señala con el dedo á Josefina cuando alguno de sus galantes admiradores le pregunte ¿quién es ella?

Si desea obtener más apuntes, datos ó pormenores á acerca de la jóven en cuestión, en esta oficina se los darán completos."

It would be a shame if, being in possession of such convincing facts, the correspondent of La Crónica does not point their finger at Josefina when one of her gallant admirers asks, who is she?

If you wish to obtain further notes, facts, or particulars about the young lady in question, in this office they will be given completely."[59]

CODA

Anuncios, Comunicados, Suplicas, y Avisos

"pero yo una vez habíendome venido con intenciones de separarme formalmente de su lado, he querido sostener como muger de sentimiento mi dignidad y capricho, y pienso nunca más volver á su lado. El ahora está libre y puede gozar á su satisfacción de su nuevo estado. Asi como yo tambien quedo en derecho para hacerlo."[1]

"yet having come here with the intention of formally leaving his side, I have wanted to uphold my dignity and wishes as a woman of feeling, and I plan never to return to his side. Now he is free and can enjoy his new status to his own satisfaction, just as I also have the right to do so."

La República of San Francisco, October 16, 1886

Paulina Arana received quite a vexing letter from her estranged husband, Homobono Arana, in the fall of 1886. After being separated for about three months, he wrote to her address in Santa Cruz, requesting that she return to him in San Luis Obispo as quickly as possible. Not only did Paulina refuse, but she also published a "comunicado," or notice, in San Francisco's *La República* in which she outlined the general reasons for their breakup and how, based on her suggestion, they had come to a mutual agreement to separate. Likely because Homobono failed to respect this previous agreement by asking her to return, Paulina felt the need to "poner en conocimiento del público" (make known to the public) at least the basic details of their unhappy separation. In doing this, she confidently stood her ground,

asserting in the public sphere her dignity and agency. Paulina concluded her *comunicado* with the words quoted above, making it clear that Homobono was free to "gozar á su satisfacción de su nuevo estado" (enjoy his new status to his own satisfaction) and that she had every intention of doing the same.

The day-to-day concerns and personal affairs of women like Paulina[2] populated the Spanish-language newspapers of nineteenth-century California. Although Latinas were less visible in the press, compared to the many male editors and community members who contributed, they nonetheless published a diverse array of personal and professional writings, particularly advertisements, death notices, and missing persons announcements. Often, these types of publications were purchased through a newspaper agent and would run more than once. Although editors had considerable influence over what ultimately was or was not printed, many times the names of Latinas were included, indicating that these women were individually responsible for the content.

This book has generally privileged the voices of Latinas who published literary works, like the Gutierrez sisters and poetisa Josefina, as well as those who had social justice messages, like Anastasia Leyva and members of the Juntas Patrióticas de Señoras. While the outstanding works of these women certainly deserve close attention, the more mundane publications of business owners and community members contribute to a fuller picture of the visibility of Latinas in the press. Not only do these everyday writings shed light on the lives of lower-, middle-, and working-class Latinas, but they also reflect many other intersectional facets of their social selves. Even if their publications recycled boilerplate language or were heavily influenced by editorial staff, they still offered the potential for Latinas to perform their cultural identities and express their personal values in the public sphere. Advertisements, death notices, and missing persons announcements can help answer so many questions about daily life. What kinds of businesses did Latinas have? What clienteles did they try to attract? How did Latinas spread news of distressing family events such as deaths or lost loved ones? How did they search for husbands who deserted



FIGURE 18: *La Crónica* of Los Angeles, page 3, published on December 20, 1876. The many columns of advertisements take up most of the page. The advertisement for Jesus Tehran de Perez's benefit performance at Teatro Merced is at the top of the third column from the left. Courtesy of the California Digital Newspaper Collection, Center for Bibliographic Studies and Research, University of California, Riverside, http://cdnc.ucr.edu.

them? How did mothers preserve the memory of children who died before their time? My hope is that this coda will give a glimpse of these everyday, worldly concerns of nineteenth-century Latinas across California, showing, once again, the vastness of their thinking and lived experiences.

Let's begin with the multitude of advertisements printed in the Spanish-language newspapers. Ads meant revenue, and so editors did their best to squeeze in as many as they could. Both classified and box advertisements were stacked one upon another, like towers of building blocks, often lining the sides or bottoms of pages (see Figure 18). Sometimes the final page of newspaper issues would be made up almost entirely of advertising. Although the majority of Spanish-language advertisements in the newspapers featured businesses headed by men, Latinas also owned businesses and took an active role in marketing them. With an eye-catching array of fonts, creative formatting, and images, Latinas offered a variety of services to the public, particularly midwifery, cooking, sewing, and teaching. Latinas also participated in the arts and entertainment, and the names of Latina cast members were commonly included in advertising for theater productions. Although I focus on the Spanish-language press in this coda, you may recall from chapter 4 that the poetisa Carlota Gutierrez advertised her services as a Spanish instructor in an English-language newspaper, the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Sometimes Latinas offered their services in discreet, terse classified listings, like Carlota, while in other instances they took out larger box ads with both text and images.

The Mother Superior and sisters of the Convent of Nuestra Señora del Sagrado Corazón (Our Lady of the Sacred Heart) in Oakland, for example, must have either paid handsomely for their ad or had some connections among the editors of San Francisco's *La República*. The advertisement for their girls' *colegio*, or secondary school, included an image of the impressive convent surrounded by mountains (see Figure 19), as well as lengthy descriptions of the picturesque school grounds and classroom resources available to prospective students. Young ladies of the *colegio* were instructed in English, French, Spanish, and German. They learned music and needlework and had access to a



CONVENTO DE NTRA. SRA.
DEL SAGRADO CORAZON.

DIRIJIDO POR LAS HERMANAS
DEL SAGRADO NOMBRE
DE JESUS Y MARIA.

RESTAURANTE DEL AGUILA DE ORO.

(Anteriormente)

RESTAURANTE MEXICANO.

Calle de Dupont, No. 1306 cerca de la de Vallejo.

La que suscribe, habiendose hecho cargo del antiguo "Restaurante Mexicano," anuncia á los mexicanos ó hispano-americanos que deseen favorecerla con su patrocinio, que encontrarán el mejor servicio desde las 7 de la mañana hasta las 10 de la noche.

Se preparan comidas privadas al gusto de los que las ordenen.—La Barra está surtida con los mejores licores del mercado.

Comidas sencillas	0 25
id. extra con vino	0 50
Chocolate mexicano	0 25
Tee ó Café	0 12½

GUADALUPE RODRIGUEZ de RUBIO.

nov29 tf

Figure 19: Image on the left depicts the Convento de Nuestra Señora del Sagrado Corazón from an advertisement in *La República* of San Francisco on October 16, 1886. Image on the right is an advertisement for Guadalupe Rodriguez de Rubio's Restaurante del Aguila de Oro in *La Voz de Méjico* of San Francisco on December 4, 1862. Courtesy of the Chicano Resource Center, LA County Library.

library boasting fifteen hundred books. In contrast to the "sombrios y severos templos" (gloomy and severe temples) that some might associate with a convent, this *colegio* is described as being built of wood in a modern style "de alegre apariencia y de elegante forma, donde el alma encuentra horizontes bellísimos donde dilatarse" (cheerful appearance and elegant shape, where the soul finds beautiful horizons on which to expand).[3] The adjacent lake and surrounding mountains provide a "bello y poético recinto" (beautiful and poetic enclosure) for "una buena y sólida instruccion cristiana, y todo lo preciso para su recreo y divertimiento" (good, solid Christian instruction, and everything necessary for their recreation and amusement). At the end of the ad, readers are given a list of tuition prices and instructed to contact the Mother Superior of the convent for more information.

Secondary schools for young ladies like this one were visible in the press beyond the advertising section as well. Often Spanish-language newspapers would publish highlights from end-of-the-year "exhibition" ceremonies, where the musical skills, speaking eloquence,

artwork, and accolades of the students were on full display. In Los Angeles's *La Crónica*, a report on such a ceremony at the Colegio de las Hermanas de Los Angeles proudly names many Latina alumnae and professors, and describes the "vasta instruccion que honra sobremanera á las instruidas profesoras que las instruyen" (broad instruction that greatly honors the educated teachers who instruct them).[4]

Turning to the food industry, Latina restaurant owners were keen on enticing new customers to their tables by advertising their mouthwatering dishes, copious liquors, and fair prices. In the context of nineteenth-century California, David Hayes-Bautista notes that "the restaurateur's trade seemed a particularly fertile field for female entrepreneurship." Furthermore, Latinx people in California "constituted a distinct market" and "the provision of food provided business opportunities for those attuned to Latino customs."[5] Latina restaurateurs were familiar with the tastes of their Latinx community and likely had experience in their own kitchens cooking for and alongside their family members. These women competitively marketed their restaurants in the Spanish-language press and shifted their rhetoric to appeal to whatever particular clientele they sought to attract.

Let's take a look at some examples of restaurant advertisements in San Francisco and Los Angeles newspapers. In 1862, Isabel González made a point of highlighting the "Mexican-style hot chocolate" offered by her restaurant La Mejicana.[6] Both hot chocolate and liquors often were mentioned in restaurant ads, along with other particularly inviting dishes. Gertrudis Molina proudly wrote that her restaurant, Hermosillo, served "enchiladas, tamales, tortillas y chocolate del mejor."[7] Felicita de Mendibles drew attention to her "cuarto privado para familias" (private dining room for families) at her Restaurante de la Estrella.[8] In her 1866 advertisement, Petra Rodríguez similarly emphasized the fact that her Mexican restaurant had a private dining parlor for ladies, which according to Hayes-Bautista was "proof of its respectability" for potential new female customers.[9] The inclusion of such details when it comes to private dining areas was also part of a larger trend. Historian Paul Freedman describes how

nineteenth-century San Francisco restaurants and "ice cream saloons" increasingly offered alternatives for city women to the bars that promoted "free lunches" to men "in an atmosphere of jostling, smoking, drinking and other forms of off-putting behavior."[10] Of course, not all Latinas went along with this trend. While Rodríguez offered an alternative to eating in a rowdy saloon, Luz Ortega touted the "buen servicio y buenos licores" in her combined "Restaurante Mexicano y Cantina" in Los Angeles, which was open until midnight.[11]

Restaurateurs were particularly compelled to take out advertisements when they made changes to their businesses, and Latina restaurant owners were no exception. For instance, one Mexican restaurant on Dupont Street in San Francisco changed hands several times in 1862 and 1863, and advertising in *La Voz de Méjico* reflects the trail of new ownership. Advertisements indicate that it first was headed by Hipólito Jurado, then Antonio J. Domínguez,[12] followed by at least two women, Guadalupe Rodriguez de Rubio and the Chilean immigrant Estéfana Abello.[13] The latter's name often appears as "Estefana Abello y Ca.," which stood for Estefana Abello "y Compañía" (and Company), indicating that she had others as partners in her business venture.[14] The advertisements of Rodríguez de Rubio and Abello for the recently renamed Restaurante del Aguila de Oro, or Golden Eagle Restaurant, both begin by highlighting the change in ownership and feature the image of an eagle with outspread wings and a serpent in its beak (see Figure 19). Rodriguez de Rubio, however, highlights the diverse selection at the bar with "los mejores licores del mercado" (the finest liquors on the market),[15] whereas Abello emphasizes the well-prepared food served with "esmero y limpieza" (care and cleanliness). You can imagine the distinct clienteles these women respectively sought to attract, based on such differences in their marketing approaches.

Not all Latinas in the food services industry who took out advertisements were restaurateurs. Fabiana de Oropesa, for example, promoted the opening of her "Panaderia Mexicana," or Mexican bakery, in *La Crónica* of Los Angeles. Her shop offered a diverse range of baked goods; she listed not only "pan de agua, de manteca, de huevo,

de dulce, empanadas, tostados, bizcochuelos, marquesotes, etc." (water bread, butter bread, egg bread, sweet bread, empanadas, toasted bread, biscuits, sponge cakes, etc.), but also informed readers that she baked cakes for special occasions: "se trabajan panes finos, pasteles propios para toda clase de fiestas, segun órden" (fine breads and particular cakes are prepared for all kinds of celebrations, made to order).[16]

In addition to running restaurants and bakeries, women sometimes offered cooking services in classified advertisements. For instance, a woman identified as simply "una buena cocinera" (a good cook) publicized her skills in San Francisco's *La Voz de Méjico*, stating that she was open to working in either a restaurant or a private home. She mentioned that she also had housekeeping skills beyond cooking and provided her address to anyone interested in hiring her.[17]

Outside of the restaurant and food services industries, Latinas took out advertisements for many other diverse business ventures. Refugio Romo de Velasco offered not just sewing services to the ladies of San Francisco, but also lessons to girls interested in learning various skills in sewing and embroidery.[18] Most of her ad focused on the extensive curriculum she offered in the "educacion de las señoritas" (education of young ladies), so she likely was interested in expanding her business as a teacher in addition to sewing clients' clothes.

Turning from sewing to the stage, the names of Latina actresses, such as Laura de Molla (mentioned in the Introduction of this book), were often featured in marketing for upcoming theatrical productions. One actress, known as "Sra. Jesus Tehran de Perez,"[19] or "J.T. de Perez," vigorously promoted her Christmas Eve benefit performance at Los Angeles's Teatro Merced in *La Crónica* in 1876 (see Figure 18).[20] A benefit performance was a special supplemental production honoring and starring a particular actor, actress, or singer, who was allowed to keep part or all of the evening's proceeds. This type of stage production was not uncommon in the nineteenth century and sometimes compensated for the insufficient salaries often offered to performers.[21] These financial stakes might have explained Tehran de Pérez's investment in a large newspaper ad that billed the show as a "gran function

extraordinaria" (grand, extraordinary event) and detailed the entire program for the night.[22]

Advertisements for doctors, remedies, and medical services of all kinds were regularly included in California's Spanish-language press, and Latinas were visible in this industry as well. In Los Angeles, Emerenciana Alvarado de Roldán offered her services as a "Partera y Doctora" (midwife and doctor) in a succinct advertisement in *La Crónica* on March 31, 1877.[23] She includes her full name, occupation, and address without further embellishment or description. Interestingly, while Alvarado de Roldán's first ad describes her as both a midwife and doctor, her many subsequent advertisements only include the "partera" or "midwife" label.[24] This meant that there was more space for the word "partera," so it could be printed in a much larger font, perhaps more eye-catching for readers. The change, however, may also have downplayed other, more general medical services she offered. Alvarado de Roldán's business may have also benefited from an endorsement by *La Crónica*'s editor, Pastor de Célis. In a short editorial accompanying Alvarado de Roldán's first advertisement in the "Sueltos Locales," or "Local Affairs," section, de Célis draws attention to her skills as a midwife, writing "debemos añadir que hemos oido hacer grandes elogios de su habilidad en la profesion" (we must add that we have heard high praise of her skill in the profession).[25] With the support of the local editor and her newspaper advertising, which continued for at least seven months, Alvarado de Roldán took steps towards establishing herself as a qualified expert who mothers could trust to help birth their babies.

When Latinas were not marketing their own medical services, occasionally they provided testimonials for the quality of doctors they had visited and medicines they had taken. Agripina Chávez, for example, wrote a testimonial in *La Crónica* addressed to "la Humanidad Doliente," or "Suffering Humanity," in which she describes how she suffered for three years from a chronic cough and pains in her chest and lungs. Chávez claims she was cured by a Chinese doctor whose name is rendered as "Lee Chuck Nam." She marvels at how he "en

cosa de seis semanas y por muy módico precio me ha curado radicalmente, de los dolores que padecia" (in a matter of six weeks, and for a very modest price, completely cured me of the pains I was suffering).[26] Since Lee Chuck Nam was a Chinese doctor, perhaps the testimonial was useful in building or maintaining his reputation in the Latinx community of Los Angeles, especially among Latinas who might have identified with Chávez.

Latinas frequently published other kinds of announcements and notices as well. Obituaries and death notices commonly appeared in the columns of Spanish-language newspapers in nineteenth-century California, as they did in the English-language press. Death notices often appeared below the heading "Defuncion" (Death), and tended not to be as commemorative in nature as formal obituaries, providing only a chronicle of the death, funeral arrangements, and the names of immediate family and close friends.[27] Occasionally these death notices included a byline indicating that a Latina had written them or at least was responsible for the information provided. Since death notices for ordinary people generally were restricted to a short length and used boilerplate language, newspaper editors or other employees likely played a prominent role in these types of publications, in terms of condensing and organizing information. For those suffering the recent loss of a loved one, perhaps it was a comfort to be under no particular obligation to contribute more than the most basic details in a predetermined formula supplied by the editor.

Take, for example, two death notices credited to Latinas but written in the same formulaic style that appeared in San Francisco's *La República* about three months apart in 1882. The first, by Juana Quevedo, described the loss of her relative Doña Jesus Rodriguez de Quevedo, who was born in Rosario, Mexico, and died at the age of sixty.[28] The second was by Dorotea B. de Morales, widowed by the loss of her husband, Antonio Morales, who was born in Iquique, Peru, and died at the age of fifty-five.[29] Both death notices have introductory paragraphs which include basic details in the following order: date, time, and place of death; name, age, and birthplace of the deceased; then acknowledgment of bereaved immediate family members, described

with the same verbiage as "deja sumidos en el mas profundo dolor" (left sunk in the deepest grief). The death notices continue with the date of the funeral, which in both cases had already passed, then conclude with identical one-sentence paragraphs: "La que suscribe dá las mas expresivas gracias á las personas que le acompañaron en su última enfermedad y hasta darle sepultura" (The undersigned gives the sincerest thanks to the persons who accompanied the deceased in their final illness and until their burial). These concluding words draw attention to *la que suscribe*—that is, Juana and Dorotea—effectively positioning them as the primary representatives of their respective grieving families. Their signatures give familiar faces to the gesture of gratitude offered to those friends of the family who showed support for the deceased in their final days. Crediting these Latinas by name probably also meant that they had paid for the death notice to be printed in *La República* and could serve as points of contact for anyone who wished to express their condolences through direct personal missives.

While the death notice, unlike a proper obituary, was not a place for narrating highlights from the lives of deceased community members, nonetheless it served many practical and social functions. A death notice was particularly important to those who were immigrants to California, with loved ones still in other countries. For example, Dorotea included this request in her husband's death notice: "suplicamos á los periódicos de Lima, Perú, se sirvan reproducir la anterior noticia, para que llegue á conocimiento de su hermana y demas deudos"[30] (we ask the newspapers of Lima, Peru, to reproduce the above news, so that it reaches the attention of his sister and other bereaved). Since reprinting items was a common convention of newspapers across Latin America and the United States, an editor in Lima very well may have fulfilled such a request. Thus, for immigrants in California's Latinx community, like Antonio, the death notice in the newspaper was incredibly important when it came to informing their loved ones in Latin America about those who had died in distant lands. Despite not being able to attend the funeral or easily visit the graves of the deceased, those abroad might have been

comforted by the knowledge that their loved ones passed in the company of immediate family members and friends who cared enough about them to post a death notice in the newspaper. In the case of Dorotea, she showed special concern for her husband's family in Peru by mentioning them explicitly and requesting that the death notice be reprinted so that they could grieve collectively regardless of the borders between them.

Latinas of nineteenth-century California often identified strongly with their roles as mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, etc., and as we can see through the example of the death notice, such roles carried particular social and practical demands when a close family member passed away. Mothers who lost their children at times shared their painful loss and mourned publicly in the newspaper in ways that went beyond the formulaic parameters of the death notice. For instance, a short article titled "Recuerdo," or "Memory," appears on the second page of the July 2, 1870 issue of San Francisco's *La Sociedad*, in which Julia Ramírez commemorates the loss of her daughter, Rosenda Silva, who had died two years before. Her little girl was only six years and four months old at the time of her death. Ramírez describes her child in warm, emotional terms: "Desde tan temprana edad mostró siempre un corazon noble y una inteligencia despejada; buena y amable con todos, dejó en su muerte un vacío dificil de llenar" (From such an early age she always showed a noble heart and vibrant intelligence; good and kind to everyone, upon her death she left a void difficult to fill).[31] The grieving mother keeps the memory of her cherished daughter alive in the hearts of her Latinx San Francisco community, carefully tending to her child's image and reminding those around her not only of her personal grief, but also of the terrible collective loss of a noble-hearted, intelligent child who was a light in the lives of those around her.

María Loreto Miltar de Smith, whose son Colonel Bernardo Smith fought during the Second French Intervention in Mexico, also felt the need to tend to her child's public reputation. Although María Loreto lived in Mexico rather than California, the words she wrote about her son were reprinted in San Francisco's *La Voz de Méjico* from the

Mexican newspaper *Monitor Republicano*. Her goal was to clarify certain information about Colonel Smith that had been distorted by the general public. According to María Loreto, he served as a leader in the defense of Fort San Javier at Puebla, and was well deserving of the respect and admiration of his countrymen. To her great dismay, however, some had slandered Colonel Smith by saying "no es hijo de Méjico" (he is not a son of Mexico) because "lleva un apellido americano" (he has an American last name).[32] María Loreto sets the record straight, stating that her son was born in 1841 to her and Don José Smith, and provides his specific birthplace in Mexico. The fact that his last name was Smith has nothing to do with his nationality or loyalty to his patria. She also writes about her hesitation when it came to speaking out in the press, mainly due to anxiety over preserving her feminine modesty: "Yo creí de mi deber callar, no por otra razon sino por la de pertenecer à un sexo que me impone llevar por guìa la modestia; mas he consultado con mi conciencia, y esta me dice que debo hacer una aclaración" (I believed it my duty to remain silent, for no other reason than that of belonging to a sex compelling me to be guided by modesty; but I have consulted my conscience, and it tells me that I must make a clarification).[33] María Loreto's sense of duty to protect her son's reputation helped her overcome any reluctance she had about making a public statement. Whereas Julia tended to her daughter's memory, María Loreto insisted that her son's achievements be remembered accurately. Although they may or may not have been the type of women who otherwise would have published their thoughts and opinions in the newspaper, ensuring that their children were regarded appropriately by others meant that they were willing to speak out in the press.

Another family event that led Latinas to publish in newspapers was when a relative went missing. In the nineteenth century, Spanish-language newspapers in California frequently included publications inquiring as to the "paradero," or "whereabouts," of missing people. These were often mixed in among advertisements, under diverse headings, such as "Suplica" (Plea), "Aviso al Publico" (Public Notice), "Se Desea" (Wanted), and "Importante" (Important). In contrast to

death notices, the language of these missing person notices did not necessarily conform to a strict format. Although some basic information was always included, such as the name of the missing person and when they were last seen, other details could be more idiosyncratic. Interestingly, physical descriptions of the features of missing people were scarcely included, meaning that those who might respond to these ads most likely knew the missing individual personally or had news of them by word of mouth.

Latinas often were looking for close family members, particularly their children, husbands, siblings, and parents. For example, a missing person notice posted by a woman identified simply as "Señora Louisa" in *La Crónica* states that she had been in Los Angeles for a month but had not been able to locate her brother.[34] We do not know if she had not heard from him and had come to the city specifically to find him, or if she simply came to visit him, only to be surprised by his absence when she arrived. Although she does not provide many details, the situation must have been quite pressing for her to take out an ad in the newspaper.

Some women who were looking for their husbands—including Maria Robles de Romero and Concepcion de Montoya, who published in Los Angeles's *La Crónica*—indicated that their men had left their families and not been heard from for many years. These apparently deserted wives sometimes write with more exasperation than worry. Robles de Romero recounts that her husband "salió de este condado con no se sabe qué rumbo" (left this county in nobody knows what direction).[35] Montoya states that "la persona que sepa su residencia hará una caridad humana con avisar á una triste esposa que no sabe el paradero de su marido" (a person who knows his residence will do a humane charitable act by notifying an unhappy wife who does not know her husband's whereabouts).[36] Montoya hopes that someone among the reading public may know where her husband is and will do her the kindness of revealing his address. Under her name at the bottom of the notice, her residence is given as Santa Barbara, so she may have suspected her husband or close contacts of his were in Los Angeles, since she published her plea in *La Crónica* of that city. It's

also possible she published in *La Crónica* because of its relatively wide circulation in both California and Arizona.

As in the case of Dorotea's death notice for her husband, there were instances in which immigrant families hoped that their missing person notices would reach the reading public of newspapers in Latin America. Hermimia Wheeler, for instance, published a "Suplica," or "Plea," for information about her missing mother in *La República* on September 2, 1882:

Se desea tener noticia de la Sra. Refugio Ibarra de Descalso, mexicana, de 37 á 38 años de edad, que partió de aquí para México en 1875 algo enferma. Su hija, la abajo firmada, gratificará generosamente á la persona que tenga la bondad de dirigir alguna noticia verídica á esta redacción. Se suplica á todos los periódicos de México reproduzcan esta noticia.[37]

HERMIMIA WHEELER.

Wanted: to have news of Mrs. Refugio Ibarra de Descalso, a Mexican woman between 37 and 38 years of age, who left here for Mexico in 1875, somewhat ill. Her daughter, the undersigned, will generously reward anyone kind enough to direct some truthful information to this newspaper. All newspapers in Mexico are requested to reproduce this news.

HERMIMIA WHEELER.

Based on the details provided by Wheeler, it is likely she was intensely worried and concerned over the whereabouts of her mother. Not only had Ibarra de Descalso gone missing on a journey across the border to Mexico while she was "algo enferma" (somewhat ill), but she apparently had not been heard from for approximately seven years. Considering these ominous circumstances, it is not surprising that Wheeler states that she will "gratificará generosamente" or "generously reward" any person who can give her details on the whereabouts of her mother. Perhaps even unhappy news might have provided Wheeler with some peace under the circumstances.

I like to think about this book as being, in its own way, a very long, detailed missing persons notice. By transcribing, translating, and writing about both the profound and mundane words left behind

by nineteenth-century Latinas in the California press, I have sought to acquaint myself with women who now are also *missing persons* in some respects. Even if dozens of history books, documentaries, and articles had been written about these Latinas, people of our present day would still be separated from them by over a hundred years. In a way, I am posting my rhetorical ad, pointing to what is known about these nineteenth-century Latinas and the words they left behind. Nevertheless, they are still profoundly *missing*, not just from our collective scholarly knowledge and our pop culture, but also from our ability to fully see them as the complex, feeling human beings that they were. The traces left behind in newspapers, census records, city directories, etc. can only paint incomplete portraits of these women.

Reflecting on the anonymous poetisa Josefina, studying her poetry, and trying to uncover information about her has taught me to think critically about my own investment in anachronistic identity categories, such as "Latina" and "Latinx." There exists a spectrum of the known and unknowable, particularly when it comes to the innermost feelings of historical people about their gender identity, sexuality, cultural affiliation, and pretty much every other aspect of their personhood as well. As I write about Latinas, I structure and project meaning onto their words in ways that are, in some respects, limiting—but hopefully, in others, meaningful to readers of today.

Even when it comes to very basic information, many unanswered questions remain. For example, did the governor of California ever investigate the lynching of Anastasia Leyva's brother? Did other women who participated in the Mexican juntas patrióticas end up forming benefits societies from their members, or was this unique to Los Angeles's Zaragoza Club? Was the *Espinas y rosas* written by María Berta Quintero y Escudero in Spain inspired by Guadalupe Gutierrez's serialized novel? Where did the Panamanian poetisa Amelia Denis de Icaza learn of Carlota Gutierrez's poetry? What was the true identity of Josefina? There is so much yet to be discovered about the lived experiences of these women and their ways of thinking. I hope you, the reader, will respond to my missing persons advertisement, and pick up the trail left behind by these Latinas in nineteenth-century

newspapers. I encourage every interested person, no matter your educational background or credentials, to dive into the archives, whether online or in person, and add your own perspective to this emerging body of knowledge. I encourage opening new creative dialogues with these nineteenth-century Latinas as well, whether they be fictions, poems, films, or even homemade videos circulated on social media. Find your own way to share in their world. Remember that what partial admission we have to the past always involves a leap of our own imaginations.

In this book, I have provided you some basic history when it comes to the publications that Latinas contributed to their local and regional California newspapers. Perhaps more importantly, I have offered you Spanish transcriptions and English translations of as many of their works as possible. True, there is a lot we don't know about these women. But perhaps it is possible to both respect that radical element of mystery and separateness, while also connecting with their words not just on an intellectual level, but also on a personal, intimate one.

For me, the words of these Latinas allow us the most vibrant glimpses of their personalities and ways of thinking. I wonder what it would be like to have a drink at Luz Ortega's cantina. I laugh heartily at the thought of Silveria Luna toasting to Maximilian's throne being engulfed by cannon fire. I read the coming-of-age drama in Guadalupe Gutierrez's surviving chapter of *Espinas y rosas* and the tender verses of her sister Carlota's ode to the natural beauty of Los Angeles, and I can't help but root for the success of these ambitious Latina writers, these bright and adventurous sisters. When I read Josefina's dedication poem to Cristina, I relate to her underlying sense of hurt and distrust, even as she boldly cuts her bully down to size. How can anyone read the words of Anastasia Leyva decrying the horrific lynching of her brother and not feel their heart break at the loss and injustice of it all? The writing of these Latinas was deeply intertwined with their social selves and cultural values, and they chose their words carefully when performing these individual identities on the public stage of the newspaper. The Spanish-language press was a platform where social justice causes and literary ambitions had the potential to take flight,

offering valuable opportunities for even lower-, middle-, and working-class women.

The political perspectives, social concerns, transnational connections, and creative works of Latinas were as multifaceted and radiant as their lived experiences in the multicultural world of nineteenth-century California. When Carlota Gutierrez pleads to a higher power for a *vasto pensamiento*, or *vast thought*, she gives us a small clue as to the enormity of her inner world. No thought was too grand, too vast, for Carlota. She welcomed big ideas. In terms of emotion, intellect, and imagination, the inner worlds of Latinas were, and continue to be, cosmic, going far beyond what can be expressed by ink on a page.

SPANISH TRANSCRIPTIONS AND ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS FOR CODA

Paulina Arana's Comunicado About Separating from Her Husband

La República of San Francisco, October 16, 1886

COMUNICADO.
Santa Cruz, Octubre 6 de 1886

Yo, la abajo firmada, me veo hoy obligada á poner en conocimiento del público el motivo por qué me he separado de mi esposo. Triste y vergonzoso es, por cierto, para la pobre mujer que en un tiempo fué feliz, verse obligada, á dar una explicacion pública por guardar su honor y el de su esposo. Pero á pesar de lo que se dice, solamente mí salud me

DISPATCH.
Santa Cruz, October 6, 1886

I, the undersigned lady, find myself obliged today to make known to the public the reason why I have separated from my husband. It is certainly sad and shameful for a poor woman who was once happy to be forced to give a public explanation in order to preserve her honor and that of her husband. But despite what others say, it was only my health that forced me to request a divorce, the

obligó á pedir mi divorcio, siendo el motivo de este paso conocido solo por mi dicho esposo y por mí. Pero una vez que yo no podia, por circunstancias especiales, caminar de acuerdo con él, ni seguir en buena armonia, consideré seria mejor que cada cual tomara por su lado é hiciera lo que mejor le pareciera. Le hice esta proposicion, y él en el acto admitió.

Me vine á Santa Cruz de San Luis Obispo, lugar donde residiamos, por tener aqui mas conocidos y creerlo mas conveniente para el objeto; pero no bien había estado aquí tres meses cuando me escribe mi marido, el Sr. Homobono Arana, que me vuelva á su compañia tan pronoto como pueda, pero yo una vez habíendome venido con intenciones de separarme formalmente de su lado, he querido sostener como muger de sentimiento mi dignidad y capricho, y pienso nunca más volver á su lado. El ahora está libre y puede gozar á su satisfacción de su nuevo estado. Asi como yo tambien quedo en derecho para hacerlo.

PAULINA ARANA.

reason for this measure being known only to my said husband and by me. But since I could not, due to special circumstances, walk in union with him, nor continue in good harmony, I considered it better for each one of us to go our separate ways and do what seemed best to us. I made this proposition to him, and he immediately agreed.

I came to Santa Cruz from San Luis Obispo, where we lived, because I had more acquaintances here and believed it was more convenient for my purposes; but I had hardly been here three months when my husband, Mr. Homobono Arana, wrote to me, asking me to return to his company as soon as possible, yet having come here with the intention of formally leaving his side, I have wanted to uphold my dignity and wishes as a woman of feeling, and I plan never to return to his side. Now he is free and can enjoy his new status to his own satisfaction, just as I also have the right to do so.

PAULINA ARANA.

Faviana de Oropesa's Advertisement for Her Bakery
La Crónica, July 6, 1872

PANADERIA MEXICANA!
CALLE PRINCIPAL, NUM. 50.
Mas allá de la Iglesia Católica.

—

La que suscribe tiene el gusto de poner en conocimiento de los mexicanos é hispano-americanos y demas antiguos paroquianos, que desde el dia 8 de este mes, abrirà una NUEVA PANADERIA, en la parte ya citada; y en donde se hallarà toda clase de pan de agua, de manteca, de huevo, de dulce, empanadas, tostados, bizcochuelos, marquesotes, etc. Se trabajan panes finos, pasteles propios para toda clase de fiestas, segun órden.

FAVIANA DE OROPESA.

MEXICAN BAKERY!
MAIN STREET, NO. 50.
Beyond the Catholic Church.

—

The undersigned is pleased to inform Mexicans and Hispanic-Americans, and other distinguished parishioners that, starting on the 8th of this month, a NEW BAKERY will open in the aforementioned place. It will offer all kinds of water bread, butter bread, egg bread, sweet bread, empanadas, toasted bread, biscuits, sponge cakes, etc. Fine breads and particular cakes are prepared for all kinds of celebrations, made to order.

FAVIANA DE OROPESA.

Agripina Chavez's Testimonial for Dr. Lee Chuck Nam
La Crónica, October 3, 1877

A la Humanidad Doliente.

—

Por la presente certifico que habiendo padecido durante tres años de tó crónica y dolor en el pecho y pulmones sin obtener alivio con cuanta medicina se me recomendaba, acudí, al Doctor chino Lee Chuck Nam, que en cosa de seis semanas y por muy módico precio me ha curado radicalmente, de los dolores que padecia.

1v AGRIPINA CHAVEZ

To Suffering Humanity.

—

I hereby certify that having suffered for three years from chronic cough and pain in the chest and lungs without obtaining relief from any medicine recommended to me, I went to the Chinese Doctor Lee Chuck Nam, who in a matter of six weeks, and for a very modest price, completely cured me of the pains I was suffering.

1v AGRIPINA CHAVEZ

Julia Ramirez Commemorates Her Daughter's Death

La Sociedad, July 2, 1870

Un Recuerdo.

Hoy cumple dos años la muerte de la niña ROSENDA SILVA, la persona que se suscribe al hacer un recuerdo de su muerte eleva al cielo sus preses por el descanso de su alma. La niña R. Silva contaba 6 años y cuatro meses, y desde tan temprana edad mostró siempre un corazon noble y una inteligencia despejada; buena y amable con todos, dejó en su muerte un vacío dificil de llenar.

¡Que descanse en paz en union de los angeles

JULIA RAMIREZ

A Memory.

Today marks the second anniversary of the death of the girl ROSENDA SILVA, the undersigned person, by commemorating her death, raises prayers to heaven that her soul may rest. The girl R. Silva was 6 years and four months old, and from such an early age she always showed a noble heart and vibrant intelligence; good and kind to everyone, upon her death she left a void difficult to fill.

May she rest in peace in union with the angels

JULIA RAMIREZ

Maria Loreto Miltar de Smith Defends Her Son's Mexican Citizenship

La Voz de Méjico of San Francisco, May 28, 1863

El coronel Smith.

Con motivo de la duda que vàrios individuos tienen acerca de la nacionalidad de este denodado gefe que defendió el fuerte de San Javier en los asaltos que dieron los franceses, de donde fueron rechazados mas de una vez, publicamos á continuacion una aclaracion oportuna que encontramos en las columnas del *Monitor* y dice así:

Colonel Smith.

Due to the doubt that several individuals have about the nationality of this brave leader who defended the fort of San Javier in the assaults carried out by the French, from which they were forced out more than once, we publish below a timely clarification that we found in the columns of the *Monitor* and it reads as follows:

"Señores redactores del *Monitor Republicano.*—Muy señores mios.—He de agradecer á ustedes se sirvan dar un lugarcito en una de las columnas de su digno periòdico, á la siguiente aclaracion:

"En uno de los partes que el ciudadano general Ortega da al supremo gobierno, respecto de la actual cuestion, he tenido el gusto de ver recomendado muy particularmente el teniente coronel B. Smith, como gefe del punto de San Javier: este jòven es mi hijo, y con grande sentimiento ha llegado á mis noticias que de entre esa ma'dita canalla de imbéciles traidores, no han faltado miserables que quieran empañar las glorias de Bernardo, diciendo que "no es hijo de Méjico," apoyando su calumnia tal vez en que lleva un apellido americano. Yo creí de mi deber callar, no por otra razon sino por la de pertenecer à un sexo que me impone llevar por guìa la modestia; mas he consultado con mi conciencia, y esta me dice que debo hacer una aclaracion.

Nació Smith en Méjico el año de 1841, calle 2. ºº de las Damas número 4, su padre D. José Smith. En el Sagrario se encuentra la correspondiente fé de bautismo.

"Gentlemen editors of the *Monitor Republicano.*—My dear gentlemen.—I must thank you for kindly giving a little space in one of the columns of your worthy newspaper for the following clarification:

"In one of the reports that Citizen General Ortega gives to the supreme government, regarding the current question, I have had the pleasure of seeing Lieutenant Colonel B. Smith highly commended as head of the San Javier point: this young man is my son, and with great sorrow it has come to my attention that among that damned rabble of traitorous imbeciles, there have been no shortage of miserable people who want to tarnish the glories of Bernardo, saying that "he is not a son of Mexico," their slander is perhaps based on the fact that he has an American surname. I believed it my duty to remain silent, for no other reason than that of belonging to a sex compelling me to be guided by modesty; but I have consulted my conscience, and it tells me that I must make a clarification.

Smith was born in Mexico in the year 1841, 2. ºº de las Damas number 4, his father is Mr. José Smith. In the church sanctuary there is the corresponding baptism certificate.

Soy madre, y las madres quieren para sus hijos todo cuanto hay de grande y de sublime.

Estoy evidentemente convencida que los mejicanos independientes execrarian y verian con horror á algun loco traidor que se atreviera à blasfemar que la heróica defensa de Puebla la habian hecho tales ó cuales estranjeros. Con cuanta mas razon maldeciré yo y despreciaré à ciertos individuos que, sabiendo á ciencia cierta quien es mi hijo, y conociéndolo muchos años ha, lo calumnian de una manera tal, queriendo apacarle las glorias que como MEJICANO ha sabido conquistarse.

A mi, la primera, toca poner los hechos en su verdadero punto de vista: à mí la primera, toca dar un mentís à esas béstias de carga que quieren ver por los suelos las glorias de su pàtria. Yo descanso en que la sociedad entera harà justicia á una madre que, como yo, debe estar complacida de un hijo como el mio, en el cual cifro mi orgullo y mi esperanza.

Díspensen ustedes, señores redactores, las molestias de su afectísima servidora.—
Maria Loreto Miltar de Smith."

I am a mother, and mothers want for their children everything that is great and sublime.

I am thus convinced that the independent Mexicans would abhor and view with horror any traitorous madman who dared to blaspheme that the heroic defense of Puebla had been carried out by such and such foreigners. With all the more reason will I curse and despise certain individuals who, knowing for certain who my son is, and having known him for many years, slander him in such a way, wanting to deprive him of the glories that as a MEXICAN he has known how to achieve.

It is up to me, first and foremost, to put the facts in their true places: it is up to me, first and foremost, to refute those beasts of burden who want to see the glories of their country on the ground. I rest assured that all of society will do justice to a mother who, like me, should be pleased with a son like mine, in whom I place my pride and my hope.

Please forgive me, gentlemen editors, for the nuisances of your most affectionate servant.—
Maria Loreto Miltar de Smith."

Hermimia Wheeler's Missing Person Notice for Her Mother
La República of San Francisco, September 2, 1882

Se desea tener noticia de la Sra. Refugio Ibarra de Descalso, mexicana, de 37 á 38 años de edad, que partió de aquí para México en 1875 algo enferma. Su hija, la abajo firmada, gratificará generosamente á la persona que tenga la bondad de dirigir alguna noticia verídica á esta redaccion. Se suplica á todos los periódicos de México reproduzcan esta noticia.

HERMIMIA[38] WHEELER.

Wanted: to have news of Mrs. Refugio Ibarra de Descalso, a Mexican woman between 37 and 38 years of age, who left here for Mexico in 1875, somewhat ill. Her daughter, the undersigned, will generously reward anyone kind enough to direct some truthful information to this newspaper. All newspapers in Mexico are requested to reproduce this news.

HERMIMIA WHEELER.

Notes

Introduction

1. "Sociedad Patriotica de Senoras de Virginia City," (San Francisco) *El Nuevo Mundo*, April 28, 1865, p. 1.

2. Unless otherwise noted, all Spanish transcriptions and English translations are my own. Spelling and grammar have not been changed in the transcribed Spanish texts and therefore reflect the many idiosyncrasies of the nineteenth-century Spanish-language press.

3. For more on Francisco P. Ramirez, see Paul Bryan Gray, *A Clamor for Equality: Emergence and Exile of Californio Activist Francisco P. Ramírez*, American Liberty & Justice (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2012).

4. Francisco P. Ramirez, *El Nuevo Mundo*, April 17, 1865, pp. 1–4.

5. Latinx is not a term that would have been used in the nineteenth century and instead underscores a contemporary set of gender inclusive values. By using this term, I acknowledge that queer and gender nonconforming people have always been part of this diasporic community. According to David Hayes-Bautista, ethnic terms that were in circulation in the nineteenth century included "*hispano-americanos* (Hispanic-Americans), *españoles* (Spanish speakers), *hijos de las repúblicas hispano-americanas* (children of the Hispanic-American republics), and *raza Latina* (Latino race)." Justo Veytia, *The Latino Big Bang in California: The Diary of Justo Veytia, a Mexican Forty-Niner*, ed. David E. Hayes-Bautista, Cynthia L. Chamberlin, and Paul Bryan Gray (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2023), p. xiv.

6. "Sociedad Patriotica de Senoras de Virginia City," p. 1.

7. Ramón J. Hill, a young Californio state assemblyman, and Filomeno Ibarra, president of the men's Mexican patriotic assembly of Los Angeles, were particularly vocal Latino leaders who urged Latinx voters in their state to support the Union cause. Newspaper editors like Francisco P. Ramirez and *La Voz de Méjico*'s Antonio Mancillas also wrote in favor of the Union. David E. Hayes-Bautista, *El Cinco de Mayo: An American Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), pp. 82–84.

8. "Sociedad Patriotica de Senoras de Virginia City," p. 1.

9. Ibid.

10. The rise of the Spanish-language press had a profound impact on Latinx society in the United States and much more could be said about this topic. For example, Raúl Coronado contrasts the authority, order, and belonging offered by the church and state to an emerging Tejano Spanish-language newspaper culture: "by cognitively mapping the world for their readership (and those who listened as it was read aloud), newspapers ended up constructing an alternative, imagined, geographic sense of the world. Their agents and the news they reprinted provided the framework for understanding that world. Their readers are now part of a produced order, one made by humans." Raúl Coronado, *A World Not to Come: A History of Latino Writing and Print Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), p. 341.

11. Spanish-language newspaper readers of California likely had similar reading practices to those in Mexico and Latin America. In reference to newspaper culture in Mexico, Amy E. Wright describes how "beginning in the late colonial period, these newspapers were read aloud regularly in public spaces such as taverns and plazas, as well as in private spaces, such as in the evening around the fire or by candlelight before going to bed." Amy E. Wright, *Serial Mexico: Storytelling Across Media, from Nationhood to Now*, Critical Mexican Studies (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2023), p. 62.

12. Kirsten Silva Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture: The Transamerican Origins of Latino Writing*, Translation/Transnation (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), p. 15.

13. This book builds on and is in conversation with the work of many other scholars of nineteenth-century Latinx history and literature, particularly David Hayes-Bautista, Cynthia Chamberlin, Carmen Lamas, Raúl Coronado, Ayendy Bonifacio, Erin Murrah-Mandril, Marissa López, Evelyn Soto, Vanessa Fonseca-Chávez, Anita Huizar-Hernández, Marissa Ambio, and José Aranda, Jr. This book is not the first to examine the gendered aspects of nineteenth-century Latinx society and the role of women within it; Bernadine Hernández, Karen Roybal, and Yvette Saavedra deeply engage these topics. The Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage project is well-known for the publication of groundbreaking works, including most recently *Women and Print Culture: A Critical Exploration of the Archives of the Border Region of Mexico and the United States*, which studies women's writing in Texas and northeastern Mexico.

14. Throughout this book, I make reference to social performances in the public sphere, particularly performing solidarity and identity. Performance, in this sense, can be understood as an everyday social and cultural practice, what Diana Taylor describes as an epistemology, or way of knowing: "Civic obedience, resistance, citizenship, gender, ethnicity, and sexual identity, for example, are rehearsed and performed daily in the public sphere. To understand these *as* performance suggests that performance also functions as an epistemology. Embodied practice, along with and bound up with other cultural practices, offers a way of knowing." Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), p. 3.

15. Dionne Espinoza, María Eugenia Cotera, and Maylei Blackwell, eds., *Chicana Movidas: New Narratives of Activism and Feminism in the Movement Era*, 1st ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018). p. 11.

16. Ibid.

17. When using the term "recover" in connection with my archival investigation, I situate my work as part of the greater scholarly effort to highlight the importance and impact of historical Spanish-language Latinx writings. This is particularly informed by the Recovering the US Hispanic Literary Heritage ("Recovery") program. According to Antonia Castañeda and Clara Lomas: "In its movement to right the historical record and challenge US national literary historiography, Recovery has shaped the contours of an inclusive American identity and provided the power of the transnational narrative within the nation." Antonia Castañeda, and Clara Lomas, introduction to *Writing/Righting History: Twenty-Five Years of Recovering the US Hispanic Literary Heritage*, Recovering the US Hispanic Literary Heritage Series, vol. 10 (Houston: Arte Publico Press, 2019), p. 10.

18. By structuring the book in this way, I take the lead of one foundational scholar of nineteenth-century Latinx newspaper writing, Luis A. Torres. His book *The World of Early Chicano Poetry, 1846–1910* is an anthology of Spanish-language newspaper verses accompanied by English translations and brief narratives that provide historical context and literary readings. This book was an important starting point for me when I was a graduate student and wanted to read the words of nineteenth-century Latinx poets. Like Torres, I also seek to encourage a future generation of scholars to read Latinx primary sources.

19. When the Gutierrez sisters were referenced in the newspaper, their last name was spelled without an accent. Gutierrez family baptismal, marriage, and death records from Mexico also do not include an accent. So, although this is not the common spelling of the name in our contemporary times, for the purposes of this book, I use the spelling printed in the newspapers and noted in the records.

20. "Josefino" is the male version of "Josefina." So, she was being accused of secretly being a man.

21. Paul Bryan Gray, David E. Hayes-Bautista, and Cynthia L. Chamberlin, "'The Men Were Left Astonished': Mexican Women in *Las Juntas Patrióticas de Señoras*, 1863–1866," *Southern California Quarterly* 94, no. 2 (2012), p. 170.

22. Also see Karen R. Roybal, *Archives of Dispossession: Recovering the Testimonios of Mexican American Herederas, 1848–1960*, Gender and American Culture (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

23. Alta California refers to the territory controlled by Spain and then Mexico in the period before the Mexican-American War. The former Alta California now encompasses the US states of California, Nevada, and Utah, as well as parts of Colorado, Arizona, and Wyoming.

24. Yvette J. Saavedra, "Speaking for Themselves: *Rancheras* and Respectability in Mexican California, 1800–1850," *California History* 100, no. 1 (February 1, 2023), p. 5.

25. "Rateras," (San Francisco) *La Voz de Méjico*, April 15, 1865, p. 2.

26. Donna M. Kabalen de Bichara, and María Teresa Mijares Cervantes, eds., *Women and Print Culture: A Critical Exploration of the Archives of the Border Region of Mexico and the United States* (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2021), p. xiii.

27. Hayes-Bautista, *El Cinco de Mayo*, pp. 127–128.

28. "Los Willows," (San Francisco) *El Nuevo Mundo*, January 31, 1866, p. 2.

29. "Benefit Performance," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, July 20, 1998, https://www.britannica.com/art/benefit-performance.

30. "Revista Teatral," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, January 12, 1884, p. 3.

31. "Obsequio," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, April 28, 1877, sec. Seccion Literaria, p. 1.

32. Laura M. de Molla, "La Flor Del Alma," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, April 28, 1877, p. 1.

33. Jesus M. Paredes, "A La Sra. Laura M. de Molla," (San Francisco) *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo*, July 28, 1874, p. 2.

34. Paredes notably also wrote a dedication poem to celebrate the birthday of a woman whom he names as Lupita and describes with the abbreviation "Señorita G…G…." in the Los Angeles *La Crónica* of May 23, 1874. I suspect that he may be referring to the novelist Guadalupe Gutierrez, who is discussed at length in chapter 3 of this book, although I cannot be absolutely sure whom the poem is for. Jesus M. Paredes, "En El Cumpleaños de La Señorita G…G….," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, May 23, 1874, p. 1.

35. Una Señorita de Los Angeles, "A Jesus Maria Paredes," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, May 13, 1874, p. 1.

36. Another poetisa who dedicated verses to Paredes, Juana de Azpeiteigurrea, also focused her dedication poem on the possibility of an intense, emotional connection between two people despite physical distance between them. Juana de Azpeiteigurrea, "La Mirada," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, October 23, 1875, p. 2.

37. Ayendy Bonifacio, "Authorship, Genre, and Reprint Poems in Francisco P. Ramírez's *El Clamor Público*," *American Periodicals: A Journal of History & Criticism* 33, no. 1 (2023), p. 3.

38. Ibid., p. 15.

39. Gertrudis Gomez de Avellaneda, "Plegaria!," (Los Angeles) *El Democrata*, October 25, 1882, p. 4.

40. Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz, "A Los Hombres," (Los Angeles) *Las Dos Repúblicas*, September 23, 1892, p. 4.

41. "A Las Damas," *Las Dos Repúblicas*, September 27, 1892, p. 4.

42. Manuel del Palacio and Luis Rivera, *Museo Cómico ó Tesoro de Los Chistes* (Madrid: Imprenta de Vicente y Lavajos, 1864), pp. 516–521.

43. María Ámparo Ruiz de Burton also published a play in 1876 entitled Don Quixote de la Mancha: A Comedy in Five Acts: Taken From Cervantes' Novel of That Name.

44. Perrault, "Piel de Asno," trans. Margarita Martinez, (San Francisco) *La Voz de Chile y El Nuevo Mundo*, June 12, 1868, p. 2.

45. "Las Tres Bienaventuranzas Verdaderas y Cinco Contrarias," *The Los Angeles Star*, September 21, 1854, p. 3.

46. Ibid.

47. Californio refers to Mexican or Spanish residents of the Mexican state of Alta California before it was annexed by the United States in 1848.

48. To distinguish between Anastasia Leyva and her brother Luis Leyva, who shared a last name, I refer to them by their first names throughout the book.

49. Anastasia Leyva, "HORROROSO ASESINATO," *La Voz de Méjico*, February 9, 1864, p. 2.

50. Paul Bryan Gray, David E. Hayes-Bautista, and Cynthia L. Chamberlin, "'The Men Were Left Astonished': Mexican Women in *Las Juntas Patrióticas de Señoras*, 1863–1866," *Southern California Quarterly* 94, no. 2 (2012), p. 170.

51. Ibid., pp. 166–190.

52. Francisca Manzo de Cavazos, "DISCURSO," (San Francisco) *La Voz de Méjico*, July 16, 1863, p. 1.

53. Teodosia Enriquez de Gonzalez, "DISCURSO," (San Francisco) *La Voz de Méjico*, July 16, 1863, p. 1.

54. Andrea R. de Saenz, "Discurso," (San Francisco) *La Voz de Méjico*, July 16, 1863, p. 2.

55. María Noriega, "DISCURSO," (San Francisco) *La Voz de Méjico*, November 12, 1864, p. 2.

56. To distinguish between sisters Guadalupe Gutierrez and Carlota Gutierrez, who shared a last name, I refer to them by their first names throughout the book.

57. "Sueltos Locales," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, April 7, 1877, p. 3.

58. "EL BAILE EN EL UNION HALL," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, May 19, 1877, p. 3.

59. *Roman à clef* means "novel with a key" in French. The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "roman à clef." Encyclopedia Britannica, April 3, 2025. https://www.britannica.com/art/roman-a-clef.

60. *Bildungsroman* is a German term for a novel of "education" or "formation." The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. "bildungsroman." Encyclopedia Britannica, June 4, 2025. https://www.britannica.com/art/bildungsroman.

61. "Sueltos Locales," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, December 4, 1875, p. 3.

62. Josefina, "A CRISTINA," (San Francisco) *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo*, April 18, 1876, p. 2.

63. This was probably a misprint for "padeceres." The extraneous space was likely included in error.

Chapter 1

1. Maythee Rojas, "Re-Membering Josefa: Reading the Mexican Female Body in California Gold Rush Chronicles," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 35, no. 1/2 (Spring 2007), p. 127.

2. Scholars have called Josefa Segovia by various names. For example, William D. Carrigan and Clive Webb refer to her as Juana Loaiza in their *Forgotten Dead: Mob Violence against Mexicans in the United States, 1848–1928* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 69–73.

3. Rojas, "Re-Membering Josefa," p. 127.

4. Anastasia Leyva and her brother Luis Leyva will be referred to by their first names, so as to distinguish them from one another.

5. "Las tres bienaventuranzas verdaderas y cinco contrarias," *Los Angeles Star*, September 21, 1854, p. 3.

6. Anastasia Leyva, "REMITIDO," *La Voz de Méjico*, February 9, 1864, p. 2.

7. Manuel Clemente Rojo was succeeded in late 1854 by Francisco P. Ramírez. Paul Bryan Gray, *A Clamor for Equality: Emergence and Exile of Californio Activist Francisco P. Ramírez*, American Liberty & Justice (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2012), p. 14.

8. Antiquated spelling, misspelling, missing accents, and unusual punctuation were all common in the nineteenth-century Spanish-language press. I preserve these idiosyncrasies in my Spanish transcriptions.

9. "Las tres bienaventuranzas," *Los Angeles Star*, p. 3.

10. Ibid.

11. The word "lojia" was a misspelling or possibly alternate/antiquated spelling for either the word "lógica" (logic) or "logia" (lodge). I translate it as "logic" based on the context, though a case could also be made for "lodge." If it was interpreted as "lodge," then the author could perhaps be referencing a masonic lodge. Although they were not directly affiliated with local government, many Freemasons became political leaders in California after it was annexed by the United States. See Alexander Towney, and Ian Stewart, "California Masonry at 175: A State of Evolution," *California Freemason*, Spring 2025. https://californiafreemason.org/2025/03/16/state-of-evolution/.

12. Ibid.

13. Intermixing the English term "squatter" makes clear that the author's resentment was especially directed at the Anglo settlers rather than the contemporary influx of Latin American miners and immigrants who were also drawn to California by the Gold Rush. Newcomers arrived from places throughout Latin America, some from countries as distant as Chile.

14. Rosaura Sánchez, "The Land Act of 1851 as the Handmaiden of Manifest Destiny," in *Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage*, ed. Agnes Lugo-Ortiz and Kenya Dwirjub y Méndez, vol. V (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2006), p. 176.

15. Ibid., p. 177.

16. "Las tres bienaventuranzas," *Los Angeles Star*, p. 3.

17. Sánchez, "The Land Act of 1851," p. 178.

18. "Las tres bienaventuranzas," *Los Angeles Star*, p. 3.

19. Mob lynching of other ethnic groups was also growing in California. Asians, African Americans, and Latinx were all subject to this kind of violence in the mid-nineteenth century.

20. Philip J. Ethington, *The Public City: The Political Construction of Urban Life in San Francisco, 1850–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), p. 88.

21. Ibid., p. 100.

22. Carrigan and Webb, *Forgotten Dead*, p. 5.

23. "Los no completos," *El Clamor Público*, November 9, 1856.

24. Josefina, "Bienaventurados los que lloran," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, November 3, 1877, p. 1.

25. "Bienaventurados los que lloran!," *Las Dos Repúblicas*, August 19, 1893, p. 2.

26. "Anistaria Leba," United States Census, 1860 (Tuolumne County, Township No. 5: United States Census Bureau, August 22, 1860), p. 5.

27. Spelling of children's names and their ages are deduced from the 1860 census record for Anastasia. They should be taken with a grain of salt, especially considering the misspelling of Anastasia's name as "Anistaria." Her age, as indicated in the census, may have been an approximation.

28. The census lists Anastasia as the head of her household in 1860, and in her narrative she never mentions having a husband, instead describing herself as "sin ningun ausilio" (without any help) in her letter to the editors of *La Voz de Méjico*. For this reason, it is likely that she was unmarried. Anastasia Leyva, "REMITIDO," *La Voz de Méjico*, p. 2.

29. Anastasia Leyva, "HORROROSO ASESINATO," *La Voz de Méjico*, February 9, 1864, p. 2.

30. The "Remitido" section was common in Spanish-language newspapers of the nineteenth century and is comparable to a "Letters to the Editor" section in more contemporary English-language newspapers.

31. Antonio Mancillas, "Asesinato de Los Mejicanos Luis Lyeva [sic] y Cosme Nuñes," *La Voz de Méjico*, February 9, 1864, p. 2.

32. Ibid.

33. Anastasia Leyva, "REMITIDO," *La Voz de Méjico*, p. 2.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid.

36. "THE MOB HANGS TWO MEXICANS," *Stockton Daily Independent*, December 31, 1863, p. 2.

37. Carrigan and Webb, *Forgotten Dead*, p. 90.

38. Ibid., p. 88.

39. Ibid.

40. Anastasia uses the term "juez" or "judge" here, though given that the legal proceeding was an initial hearing to address Colorado's complaint against Luis, it was likely a justice of the peace and technically not a judge who oversaw this matter. For the purposes of this chapter, I will use the term "judge," since this is the word that Anastasia uses.

41. It is possible that sobriety was not an absolute condition of the bond and rather the bond was to keep the peace in general. Since Luis seemed to get into trouble as a result of his drinking, he and Anastasia might have interpreted sobriety as a requirement.

42. Anastasia Leyva, "HORROROSO ASESINATO," *La Voz de Méjico*, p. 2.

43. Since the case had not officially moved to the stage of a jury trial, it is likely that only a justice of the peace was present during Luis's initial hearing. Although this might have been a normal part of the legal process, Luis implied that the procedure was unfair without the presence of a jury.

44. "THE MOB HANGS TWO MEXICANS," *Stockton Daily Independent*, p. 2.

45. Anastasia Leyva, "HORROROSO ASESINATO," *La Voz de Méjico*, p. 2.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.

52. "No. 9—Protection of Mexican Citizens in California," in *Papers Relative to Mexican Affairs: Communicated to the Senate June 16, 1864* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1865), p. 78.

53. "No. 9—Protection of Mexican Citizens in California," pp. 78–79.

54. Walter Stahr, *Seward: Lincoln's Indispensable Man*, 1st Simon & Schuster hardcover ed. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2012), pp. 394–395.

55. "Sres. RR." is an abbreviation for "Señores Redactores" or "Messrs. Editors."

Chapter 2

1. Los Angeles Zaragoza Club, "Recepcion: Hecha En Los Angeles a Tres de Los Oficiales Que Fueron Deportados a Francia," *El Nuevo Mundo*, July 21, 1865, p. 1.

2. Los Angeles Zaragoza Club, "Discurso Pronunciado Por Da. Merced J. de Gonzalez, Presidenta Del Club Zaragoza de Señoras de Los Angeles: En Su Inauguración," *El Nuevo Mundo*, March 29, 1865, p. 1.

3. Paul Bryan Gray, David E. Hayes-Bautista, and Cynthia L. Chamberlin, "'The Men Were Left Astonished': Mexican Women in *Las Juntas Patrióticas De Señoras*, 1863–1866," *Southern California Quarterly* 94, no. 2 (2012): 161–192, p. 170.

4. *México de afuera* or "Mexico from Outside" is a concept that describes a sense of Mexican patriotism or identity in communities outside the borders of Mexico. Federico Allen Hinojosa and many other thinkers and scholars have used this term.

5. Gray, Hayes-Bautista, and Chamberlin, "'The Men Were Left Astonished,'" pp. 163–164.

6. Gray, Hayes-Bautista, and Chamberlin, "'The Men Were Left Astonished,'" p. 167.

7. Gray, Hayes-Bautista, and Chamberlin, "'The Men Were Left Astonished,'" p. 170.

8. Ibid.

9. Gray, Hayes-Bautista, and Chamberlin, "'The Men Were Left Astonished,'" pp. 166–190.

10. Francisca Manzo de Cavazos, "DISCURSO," *La Voz de Méjico*, July 16, 1863, p. 1.

11. Teodosia Enriquez de Gonzalez, "DISCURSO," *La Voz de Méjico*, July 16, 1863, p. 1.

12. Andrea R. de Saenz, "Discurso," *La Voz de Méjico*, July 16, 1863, p. 2.

13. María Noriega, "DISCURSO," *La Voz de Méjico*, November 12, 1864, p. 2.

14. Dolores Romero de Cuevas, "Alocucion," *La Voz de Méjico*, June 8, 1865, p. 2.

15. Gray, Hayes-Bautista, and Chamberlin, "'The Men Were Left Astonished,'" p. 182.

16. Francisca Manzo de Cavazos, "El Bello Sexo Mejicano En Los Angeles," *La Voz de Méjico*, July 16, 1863, p. 1.

17. Francisca Manzo de Cavazos, "DISCURSO," *La Voz de Méjico*, July 16, 1863, p. 1.

18. Francisca Manzo de Cavazos, "DISCURSO," *La Voz de Méjico*, July 23, 1864, p. 1.

19. Teresa Diaz de Casanova, "Junta Patriotica de Sras. En San José," *La Voz de Méjico*, November 5, 1863, p. 2.

20. Gray, Hayes-Bautista, and Chamberlin, "'The Men Were Left Astonished,'" p. 172.

21. María Noriega, "DISCURSO," *La Voz de Méjico*, November 12, 1864, p. 2.

22. It is important to note that Sparta was not a democracy, and so Manzo de Cavazos was likely misinformed when she described it as such. According to Gray, Hayes-Bautista, and Chamberlin, Manzo de Cavazos's error "might have stemmed from the California Spanish-language newspaper *El Clamor Público*'s quotation of a speech by Sra. Muñoz de Ruiz de Chávez in which the same mistake was made (*El Clamor Público*, July 4, 1857) or from the popular informative dictionaries published in Mexico that provided short identifications of terms for women's self-improvement. The errors contained in these dictionaries were repeated in women's publications such as *La Panorama*." See Gray, Hayes-Bautista, and Chamberlin, "'The Men Were Left Astonished,'" p. 169, n. 21.

23. Francisca Manzo de Cavazos, "DISCURSO," *La Voz de Méjico*, July 16, 1863, p. 1.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. Francisca Fernandez, "DISCURSO," *La Voz de Méjico*, July 23, 1864, p. 1.

27. "Leyado" was probably a misspelling or alternate/antiquated spelling of the word "legado" or "legacy."

28. Francisca Fernandez, "DISCURSO," *La Voz de Méjico.*

29. Louise M. Burkhart, "The Solar Christ in Nahuatl Doctrinal Texts of Early Colonial Mexico," *Ethnohistory* 35, no. 3 (1988): 234–256, p. 252.

30. Francisca Fernandez, "DISCURSO," *La Voz de Méjico*, July 23, 1864, p. 1.

31. I use the term Nahua here in reference to the common cultural traditions of the Nahuatl-speaking peoples of Mesoamerica.

32. Dolores Romero de Cuevas, "Alocucion," *La Voz de Méjico*, June 8, 1865, p. 2.

33. Francisca Fernandez, "DISCURSO," *La Voz de Méjico*, July 23, 1864, p. 1.

34. In this context, the abbreviation "C.D." stands for "Ciudadano Don" or "Citizen Sir." During this time, Mexican republicans commonly adopted the French revolutionary practice of referring to government leaders who held republican views by the honorific "Citizen" (ciudadano) or "Citizeness" (ciudadana), regularly abbreviated "C." or C^{a}."

35. María Noriega, "DISCURSO," *La Voz de Méjico*, November 12, 1864, p. 2.

36. Francisca Manzo de Cavazos, "DISCURSO," *La Voz de Méjico*, July 16, 1863, p. 1.

37. Richard Holmes, ed., "The Oxford Companion to Military History," in *Zouaves*, Oxford Reference Online Premium (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

38. Also recall the anti-slavery position of Virginia City junta leader Vicenta Mendoza whose words open the introduction of this book. Reflecting on the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln, she proclaimed: "este hecho horroroso debe con justa razon conmover el alma de toda persona que no esté contaminada con las doctrinas retrógradas de la esclavitud" (this horrifying deed rightly should move the soul of every person who has not been contaminated with the regressive doctrines of slavery). Vicenta Mendoza, "Sociedad Patriotica de Senoras de Virginia City," *El Nuevo Mundo*, April 28, 1865, p. 1.

39. Francisca Fernandez, "DISCURSO," *La Voz de Méjico*, July 23, 1864, p. 1.

40. Based on my archival research on newspaper publications in the nineteenth century, this is the earliest set of brindis published in the newspapers related to Latina women's patriotic organizations in the Southwest. Gaps exist in these records, and new materials are still being recovered which may yield more brindis poems in the future.

41. Gray, Hayes-Bautista, and Chamberlin, "'The Men Were Left Astonished,'" p. 184.

42. Gray, Hayes-Bautista, and Chamberlin, "'The Men Were Left Astonished,'" p. 187.

43. This section of chapter 2 draws from and builds on my previously published journal article. See Vanessa Ovalle Perez, "Toasting *México* in the American West: *Brindis* Poems and Political Loyalties of Women's Mexican Patriotic Clubs," *Letras Femeninas* 43, no. 1 (Summer–Fall 2017): 60–77.

44. Luis A. Torres, *The World of Early Chicano Poetry, 1846–1910* (Encino, CA: Floricanto Press, 1994), p. 473.

45. Kirsten Silva Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture: The Transamerican Origins of Latino Writing*, Translation/Transnation (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), p. 179.

46. Ibid.

47. Virginia City Patriotic Club of Mexico, "La Celebración Del 5 de Mayo. En Virginia City, Estado de Nevada," *El Nuevo Mundo*, May 15, 1865, p. 1.

48. "Miramar" was likely a reference to Miramare Castle, Ferdinand Maximilian's primary estate in the Austrian Empire, near what is now Trieste, Italy.

49. In the newspaper, the surname is printed "Belarde," but Andrea's last name probably was actually spelled "Velarde." In this book, however, I spell her surname as it was printed in *El Nuevo Mundo*.

50. Los Angeles Zaragoza Club, "Correspondencia de 'El Nuevo Mundo,'" *El Nuevo Mundo*, March 29, 1865, p. 2.

51. Dianna C. Niebylski, *Humoring Resistance: Laughter and the Excessive Body in Contemporary Latin American Women's Fiction*, SUNY Series in Latin American and Iberian Thought and Culture (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004), p. 18.

52. Niebylski, *Humoring Resistance*, p. 19.

53. Los Angeles Zaragoza Club, "Recepcion: Hecha En Los Angeles a Tres de Los Oficiales Que Fueron Deportados a Francia," *El Nuevo Mundo*, July 21, 1865, p. 1.

54. Ibid.

55. The term "deber" in the sense of "debt" might also be thought of in tandem with the historical context that launched Mexico into war with France in the first place. In the 1860s, the invasion of Mexico by Napoleon III was, at its outset, ostensibly justified by a claim of debt collection. The Convention of London of 1861 marked cooperation by Spain, Britain, and France to occupy and seize customs revenues from Mexico until debts to their countries' respective (private) banks were paid. Matthew Redinger, "France, Intervention in Mexico, 1862–1867," in *Encyclopedia of U.S.–Latin American Relations*, ed. Thomas M. Leonard (Thousand Oaks, CA: CQ Press, 2012), pp. 360–361.

56. There is much at play in terms of gender and the rhetoric of "deber" when it comes to finances. In the autumn of 1863, when the women's Patriotic Assembly of San José, California, was formed, its leader, Teresa Díaz de Casanova, gave a speech in which she urged that her fellow women had a duty to pick up the slack caused by the abrupt decline in donations from the men's juntas following the French capture of Puebla in May of that year. Díaz de Casanova said that because the men were lagging in their contributions, women must make special efforts to make up for their shortcomings. In fact, she had been called upon by leaders of the men's junta on an earlier occasion to collect money from women, so that funds towards the war effort could be gathered more quickly and with greater propriety. According to Gray, Hayes-Bautista, and Chamberlin, "no self-respecting Latino man of the period would have wanted to be thought less resolute or less patriotic than a woman"; furthermore, "he especially would not want women to view him in that light." Gray, Hayes-Bautista, and Chamberlin, "'The Men Were Left Astonished,'" p. 173.

57. "Recepcion: Hecha En Los Angeles a Tres de Los Oficiales Que Fueron Deportados a Francia," *El Nuevo Mundo*, July 21, 1865, p. 1.

58. "Auxiiiar" was a misspelling of "axiliar."

59. "Grtega" was a misspelling of "Ortega."

Chapter 3

1. The metropolis being referred to here is San Francisco.

2. Pastor de Célis, "Sueltos Locales," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, April 7, 1877, p. 3.

3. To distinguish between Guadalupe Gutierrez, Carlota Gutierrez, and other members of the Gutierrez family, I refer to them by only their first names. Chapter 4 of this book focuses on Carlota Gutierrez's beautifully crafted poetry. The term escritora is the feminine Spanish word for "writer," and poetisa is the feminine Spanish word for "poet."

4. *La Crónica*. "COMPAÑIA DE VAPORES DE LA COSTA." May 2, 1877, p. 3.

5. "Rosa Gutierrez Household," United States Census, 1870 (San Francisco: United States Census Bureau, July 26, 1870), FHL microfilm 545,578, National Archives and Records Administration, p. 231. Familysearch.org.

6. Henry G. Langley, *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing October, 1868* (San Francisco: Bacon & Company, Excelsior Steam Presses, 1868), p. 254.

7. Henry G. Langley, *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing April, 1874* (San Francisco: Francis and Valentine, Commercial Steam Presses, 1874), p. 294.

8. D.M. Bishop, *Bishop's Directory of the City and County of San Francisco* (San Francisco: B.C. Vandall, 1878), p. 400.

9. The most comparable known Latina novelist of nineteenth-century California would be María Amparo Ruiz de Burton. Her novels *Who Would Have Thought It?* (1872) and *The Squatter and the Don* (1885) were written in English and not serialized or published in the newspapers.

10. Parts of this chapter draw from and build on my previously published essay. See Vanessa Ovalle Perez, "Inspiration or Coincidence? Guadalupe Gutierrez and María Berta Quintero y Escudero's *Espinas y rosas* as Discursive Doubles," in *Spain, the United States, and Transatlantic Literary Culture Throughout the Nineteenth Century*, ed. John C. Havard and Ricardo Migel-Alfonso, 1st ed., Routledge Transnational Perspectives on American Literature (New York: Routledge, 2022), pp. 111–131.

11. "María Guadalupe Cristina Gutierrez." Baptismal Record. Culiacán, Sinaloa, Mexico, July 25, 1852. Sagrario de San Miguel, Bautismos 1850–1854. Mexico, Sinaloa, Catholic Church Records, 1671–1968. Familysearch.org.

12. "María Carlota Silvestre Gutierrez." Baptismal Record. Culiacán, Sinaloa, Mexico, January 3, 1856. San Miguel. Baptism Records 1854–1858. Familysearch.org.

13. Henry G. Langley, *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing December, 1869* (San Francisco: Bacon & Company, Excelsior Steam Presses, 1869), p. 278.

14. San Francisco directory records indicate that Jacinta lived in San Francisco at the same address as her children and that she was a widow (see Langley directories for 1869, 1873, and 1875). Based on Mexican parochial marriage records,

she was seventeen years old in 1843 when she wed Rafael Gutierrez. This means Jacinta would have been forty-four years old in 1870, just as the census indicates. It is possible the English-speaking census enumerator mixed up Jacinta's name (especially since her daughter Rosa Cuevas also lived at their address) or that Rosa was a nickname or alternative name that Jacinta went by. "Rafael Gutierrez and Jacinta Cuevas." Marriage Record. Culiacán, Sinaloa, Mexico, May 20, 1843. San Miguel. Religious Marriage Investigation Files 1840–1841, 1841–1849. México, Sinaloa, registros parroquiales, 1671–1968. Familysearch.org.

15. "Francisco Silvestre Gutierrez." Baptismal Record. Culiacán, Sinaloa, Mexico, January 2, 1858. San Miguel. Baptism Records 1854–1858. Familysearch.org.

16. "Armando Guillermo Gutierrez." Baptismal Record. Culiacán, Sinaloa, Mexico, February 9, 1860. Culiacán. Baptism Records 1858–1861. Familysearch.org.

17. "María Del Rosario Gutierrez." Baptismal Record. Culiacán, Sinaloa, Mexico, March 26, 1844. San Miguel. Baptism Records 1841–1844, 1844–1847. Familysearch.org.

18. "United States Census, 1870," Census Record (San Francisco: United States Census Bureau, July 26, 1870), FHL microfilm 545,578, National Archives and Records Administration, p. 231.

19. "Rafael Gutierrez and Jacinta Cuevas." Marriage Record. Familysearch.org.

20. See Familysearch.org, San Miguel parish (Culiacán, Sinaloa) baptismal records for María Josefa Abram Gutierrez (1846), María del Rosario Gutierrez (1844), María Guadalupe Gutierrez (1849), José Amado Gutierrez (1851), María Guadalupe Cristina Gutierrez (1852), María Carlota Silvestre Gutierrez (1856), Francisco Silvestre Gutierrez (1858), and Armando Guillermo Gutierrez (1860).

21. Henry G. Langley, *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing October, 1868* (San Francisco: Bacon & Company, 1868), p. 254.

22. Henry G. Langley, *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing March, 1873* (San Francisco: Francis and Valentine, 1873), p. 275.

23. Henry G. Langley, *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing April, 1880* (San Francisco: Francis, Valentine & Co., 1880), p. 397.

24. For more on Guillermo Prieto's travel writing and contact with Latinx communities in the United States see the book section "Most Faithful Fidel: Guillermo Prieto's Reconstruction Travelogue" in chapter 5 of Kirsten Silva Gruesz's *Ambassadors of Culture: The Transamerican Origins of Latino Writing*, Translation/Transnation (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002).

25. D.M. Bishop, *Bishop's Directory of the City and County of San Francisco* (San Francisco: B.C. Vandall, 1878), p. 400.

26. Guillermo Prieto, *Viaje a Los Estados Unidos, Tomo I*. The Project Gutenberg eBook (México, D.F.: Imprenta del Comercio, de Dublan y Chavez, 1877). https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/49354/pg49354-images.html, pp. 500–502.

27. Although "Consuelo" is generally a feminine name, the editor of *La Crónica* describes him as a male writer, or "el escritor." See "Otro Corresponsal.," *La Crónica*, July 28, 1877, p. 2.

28. Carlota Gutierrez's future husband, Manuel María Alegre, also spoke at this event. Consuelo praises his eloquence and describes how his speech received applause and a warm reception from the audience. I will provide more biographical details about Carlota and Alegre in chapter 4.

29. 'Consuelo,' "El programa de la noche," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, September 23, 1876, p. 2.

30. The word *admiración* can also mean "wonder" or "astonishment."

31. Pastor de Célis, "Al Cesar Lo Que Es Del Cesar," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, May 23, 1877, p. 2.

32. Pastor de Célis, "EL BAILE EN EL UNION HALL," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, May 19, 1877, p. 3.

33. Pastor de Célis, "Gacetilla," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, July 11, 1877, p. 3.

34. Ibid.

35. 'Consuelo,' "Carta de San Francisco," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, July 28, 1877, p. 2.

36. Pastor de Célis, "Gacetilla," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, August 18, 1877, p. 3.

37. Pastor de Célis, "Gacetilla," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, August 22, 1877, p. 3.

38. Pastor de Célis, "Gacetilla," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, September 12, 1877, p. 3.

39. *Errata* list refers to a list of corrected errors.

40. You can see this practice of printing serialized novels in many different cultural and language contexts. For example, describing the Norwegian American newspaper *Decorah-Posten* of Decorah, Iowa, Patricia Okker writes that "serials selected for book publication were printed in the newspaper with a book-page layout and with the book pages numbered and arranged as for binding, making it convenient to print the book with the plates used for the newspaper or for subscribers to cut out the pages and themselves have them bound as books for their home library." See Patricia Okker, ed., *Transnationalism and American Serial Fiction*, Routledge Transnational Perspectives on American Literature 16 (New York: Routledge, 2012), p. 190.

41. Pastor de Célis, "Gacetilla," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, October 3, 1877, p. 3.

42. Ibid.

43. In chapter 5 of this book, I discuss how the editors of San Francisco's *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo* encouraged readers to visit their offices in person to discover the true identity of the poetisa who wrote under the pseudonym "Josefina."

44. Henry G. Langley, *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing April, 1877* (San Francisco: Francis and Valentine), p. 385.

45. While the 1877 San Francisco directory lists Francisco Gutierrez as a printer for *La Sociedad* specifically, in 1876 he is simply listed as a printer, with no particular employer indicated. Henry G. Langley, *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing April, 1876* (San Francisco: Francis and Valentine, 1876), p. 364.

46. Pastor de Célis, "Cosas de 'La Sociedad,'" (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, November 14, 1877, p. 2.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. Ibid.

50. Carlos Tully, editorial in (Tucson) *Las Dos Repúblicas*; rpt. as "Espinas y rosas," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, December 1, 1877, p. 2.

51. Ibid.

52. Soňa Šnircová, *Girlhood in British Coming-of-Age Novels: The Bildungsroman Heroine Revisited* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), p. 68.

53. Guadalupe is referred to several times as Lupita Gutierrez in San Francisco city directories: in 1873 (albeit misspelled as "Loquita"), 1874, and 1875.

54. Carlos Manuel Salomon, *Pío Pico: The Last Governor of Mexican California* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014), p. 155.

55. Ibid, p. 152.

56. Guadalupe Gutierrez, "Espinas y rosas," *La Sociedad*, October 27, 1877, p. 1.

57. Yolanda A. Doub, *Journeys of Formation: The Spanish American Bildungsroman*, Currents in Comparative Romance Languages and Literatures, vol. 174 (New York: Peter Lang, 2010), p. 89.

58. *Michael Bell, Open Secrets: Literature, Education, and Authority from J-J. Rousseau to J.M. Coetzee* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 3.

59. Guadalupe Gutierrez, "Espinas y rosas," (San Francisco) *La Sociedad*, October 27, 1877, p. 2.

60. Ibid.

61. Hugh T. Hodges, "PART III. Charles Maclay: California Missionary, San Fernando Valley Pioneer," *Southern California Quarterly*, 68, no. 4 (Winter 1986), pp. 330–332.

62. Take this image with a grain of salt, especially considering it came from an English-language source which may have embellished or romanticized her physical description. "ROMANTIC DAY, PATHETIC END. Sad Burial of Once Wealthy Scion of Spain," *Los Angeles Times*, May 26, 1903, p. 7.

63. Guadalupe Gutierrez, "Espinas y rosas," p. 1.

64. Francisca Sánchez Pinilla, "La narración para niños: autoras, circuitos y textos en el cambio del siglo XIX al XX" (doctoral dissertation, Universidad de Valencia, Valencia, Spain, 2015), p. 114.

65. In Quintero's *Espinas y rosas*, Joaquín's wife is generally referred to as Guadalupe. In order to more easily distinguish between Guadalupe Gutierrez and the Guadalupe character in Quintero's novel, I will refer to the latter character simply by the nickname Lupe.

66. María Berta Quintero y Escudero, *Espinas y rosas*. Biblioteca Patria de Obras Premiadas, vol. 276 (Madrid: Madrid Biblioteca Patria, 1920), p. 180.

Chapter 4

1. Carlota Gutierrez, "A Los Angeles," *La Crónica*, August 18, 1877, p. 1. All translations are mine. Quotations from nineteenth-century sources have not been edited for spelling or grammar.

2. An editorial note in the "Gacetilla" section indicates that "A Los Angeles" was originally published in San Francisco's *La Sociedad* and is being reprinted in *La Crónica*. "Llamamos la atencion…," *La Crónica*, August 18, 1877, p. 3.

3. Los Angeles was not always associated with traffic, smog, and urban sprawl. It wasn't until the 1880s, with the arrival of the railroad, that the area experienced a really large population boom. Increased development and infrastructure followed. David Samuel Torres-Rouff, *Before L.A.: Race, Space, and Municipal Power in Los Angeles, 1781–1894* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 207.

4. "EL BAILE EN EL UNION HALL," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, May 19, 1877, p. 3.

5. "Al Cesar Lo Que Es Del Cesar," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, May 23, 1877, p. 2.

6. Henry G. Langley, ed., *The San Francisco Directory* (San Francisco: Henry G. Langley, 1874), p. 294.

7. Thomas C. Jepsen, *My Sisters Telegraphic: Women in the Telegraph Office, 1846–1950* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2000), p. 2.

8. Carlota Gutierrez, "Spanish Lessons," classified advertisement, *San Francisco Chronicle*, 1879–1880.

9. Amelia Denis de Icaza, "A la Sta. Carlota S. Gutierrez," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, April 1, 1876, p. 1.

10. This section of chapter 4 draws from and builds on my previously published journal article. See Vanessa Ovalle Perez, "Voicing a Transnational Latina Poetics: The Dedication Poems of Amelia Denis and Carlota Gutierrez," *J19: The Journal of Nineteenth-Century Americanists* 8, no. 2 (Fall 2020), pp. 295–319.

11. "Colombia," *Merriam-Webster's Geographical Dictionary* (Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster, 2007).

12. Cristina Ramos Cobano, "Central American Female Writers: Women Occupying Liberal Public Space," in *Enemies Within: Cultural Hierarchies and Liberal Political Models in the Hispanic World*, ed. María Sierra (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), pp. 82–83.

13. Ibid., 85.

14. Elba D. Birmingham-Pokorny and Luis A. Jiménez, "Patria, mujer, y sociedad en la obra poética de Amelia Denis de Icaza," in *La voz de la mujer en la literatura hispanoamericana fin-de-siglo* (San José: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 1999), p. 90.

15. Anastasia Leyva, who wrote a testimony condemning the injustice of her brother's lynching, also penned a letter to the editor in a similar self-deprecating style. See chapter 1.

16. Amelia Denis de Icaza, "Una Poetisa Colombiana," (San Salvador) *La America Central*, September 22, 1875, p. 4.

17. Ralph Lee Woodward, *Rafael Carrera and the Emergence of the Republic of Guatemala, 1821–1871* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1993), p. 326. Perhaps Denis's sympathy for General González indicates that she had similar liberal leanings, although it is also possible that she chose to dedicate the poem to him simply because he was the national leader.

18. Oscar G. Peláez Almengor, "Central America, Independence of," *Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture* (Detroit: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2008), pp. 246–247.

19. Amelia Denis de Icaza, "El 15 de setiembre. Dedicado á S.E. Jeneral Santiago Gonzalez," (San Salvador) *La America Central*, September 22, 1875, p. 4.

20. Ibid.

21. Carlota Gutierrez, "A la Inspirada Poetisa Colombiana Amelia Denis," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, May 17, 1876, p. 2.

22. Carlos M. Collantes Sánchez and Ignacio García Aguilar describe how "entre la poeta y la virreina encontraron el modo de establecer una relación literaria que redundó en la fijación, difusión y también en la validación de la escritura poética de la monja mejicana" (between the poet and the vicereine, they found a means to establish a literary relationship that resulted in the securing, diffusion, and also the validation of the Mexican nun's poetic writing). Carlos M. Collantes Sánchez and Ignacio García Aguilar, "Dedicatorias femeninas en la poesía imprenta del bajo barroco," *Criticón* 125 (January 2015), pp. 50–52.

23. Paula R. Backscheider, *Eighteenth-Century Women Poets and Their Poetry: Inventing Agency, Inventing Genre* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), p. 176.

24. Carlota Gutierrez, "A la inspirada poetisa colombiana Amelia Denis."

25. Victoria Olwell, *The Genius of Democracy: Fictions of Gender and Citizenship in the United States, 1860–1945* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), p. 4.

26. Carlota's sister, Guadalupe, illustrates in her serialized novel *Espinas y rosas* the frustrations of a budding Latina writer who encounters the entitlement of an Anglo male writer, the character Mr. Plumb. See chapter 3.

27. Eliza Richards, *Gender and the Poetics of Reception in Poe's Circle*, Cambridge Studies in American Literature and Culture 144 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 16–18.

28. The prominent Mexican politician, writer, editor, and *poeta nacional* Guillermo Prieto also compared the verses of one of the Gutierrez sisters (likely Carlota) to melodious birdsong: "Lindísimos versos, alma pura de mujer, cantos de ave melodiosa que enajenan por su elevacion y su pureza cristalina" (Beautiful verses, pure soul of woman, melodious bird songs that are mesmerizing for their elevation and crystalline purity). Prieto wrote in his travel memoir about a delightful

evening spent in the company of the Gutierrez sisters in their San Francisco home on Green Street. See chapter 3 of this book for more details. Guillermo Prieto, *Viaje a Los Estados Unidos, Tomo I*, The Project Gutenberg eBook (México, D. F.: Imprenta del Comercio, de Dublan y Chavez, 1877), https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/49354/pg49354-images.html, p. 502.

29. Carlota Gutierrez, "A la inspirada poetisa colombiana Amelia Denis."

30. Mladen Dolar, *A Voice and Nothing More*, Short Circuits (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006), p. 11.

31. Amelia Denis de Icaza, "A la Señorita Carlota S. Gutierrez."

32. Considering the connections between poetry and the lyre, there is a genre of poetry called *lyric* poetry in which short, highly musical verse conveys powerful feelings.

33. According to Karmen MacKendrick, the "non-origin" of voice is not an echo that imitates and is merely physiological. Rather, it can be conceptualized as *resonance*: a prolongation of the movement of sound through reverberation. Conceptualizing voice in terms of resonance is helpful in understanding how Carlota and Denis construct the sensation of each other's presence in their poetics. Karmen MacKendrick, *The Matter of Voice: Sensual Soundings*, 1st ed. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), pp. 23–24; see also "Resonance," *OED Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, March 2023), https://www-oed-com.libproxy.lib.csusb.edu/view/Entry/163743?redirectedFrom=resonance.

34. Amelia Denis de Icaza, "A la Señorita Carlota S. Gutierrez."

35. "CARLOTA GUTIERREZ, Poetisa Mejicana," *La Estrella de Panamá*, June 2, 1886, p. 8.

36. Consuelo, "MEXICO Y CHILE," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, September 23, 1876, p. 2.

37. Pastor de Célis, "Gacetilla" (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, September 5, 1877, p. 3.

38. Pastor de Célis, "Gacetilla," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, September 26, 1877, p. 3.

39. Arturo Chang, p. 718 in "Restoring Anáhuac: Indigenous Genealogies and Hemispheric Republicanism in Postcolonial Mexico," *American Journal of Political Science* 67, no. 3 (July 2023), pp. 718–731.

40. Ibid., pp. 718–719.

41. Ibid., p. 719.

42. Chris Baldick, "Rhyme Royal," in *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

43. In his discussion of James Merrill and postmodern writers, Evans Lansing Smith addresses the rhyme scheme of the well-known poem "The Wild Swans at Coole," by William Butler Yeats. This poem also has an ABCBDD rhyme scheme, and Lansing Smith describes its derivation from rhyme royal. Carlota's "Hidalgo" predates Yeats's poem, so it is possible that this ABCBDD structure was relatively well known among late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century poets in America and Europe. See Evans Lansing Smith, *James Merrill: Postmodern Magus: Myth and Poetics* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2008), p. 65.

44. Carlota Gutierrez, "Hidalgo," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, September 26, 1877, p. 1.

45. Ibid.

46. Carlota Gutierrez, "La flor y el destello," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, November 28, 1877, p. 1.

47. To distinguish her from other members of the Andrade family, Carmen Andrade is referred to in this chapter by her first name.

48. Andrea Kunard, "Traditions of Collecting and Remembering: Gender, Class and the Nineteenth-century Sentiment Album and Photographic Album," *Early Popular Visual Culture* 4, no. 3 (November 2006), pp. 227–228.

49. Henry G. Langley, *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing April, 1871* (San Francisco: Bacon and Company, 1871), p. 72.

50. "William (Wm.) Andrade and Family," United States Census, 1870 (San Francisco: United States Census Bureau, July 30, 1870), FHL microfilm 593, roll 83, National Archives and Records Administration. Familysearch.org.

51. Ibid.

52. William Oral Hendricks, "Guillermo Andrade and Land Development on the Mexican Colorado River Delta, 1874–1905" (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1967), pp. ii–iv.

53. "School Exercises," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 29, 1871, p. 3.

54. Carlota Gutierrez, "La Flor y El Destello." *La Crónica*, November 28, 1877, p. 1.

55. Andrea Kunard, "Traditions of Collecting and Remembering," p. 234.

56. Carlota Gutierrez, "Invocacion: nocturna," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, May 11, 1878, p. 1.

57. Daniel Herman, "Whose Knocking? Spiritualism as Entertainment and Therapy in Nineteenth-century San Francisco," *American Nineteenth Century History* 7, no. 3 (September 2006), pp. 420–421.

58. Carlota Gutierrez, "Invocacion: nocturna," p. 1.

59. Elisabeth G. Gitter, "The Power of Women's Hair in the Victorian Imagination," *PMLA/Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 99, no. 5 (October 1984), p. 942.

60. Carlota Gutierrez, "Mi Rizo," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, May 18, 1878, p. 1.

61. Technically, "la flor y el destello" was likely written originally for Andrade's album, but in the newspaper it still had a label above the title that read "*Escrita para la Crónica*."

62. 'Consuelo.' "El programa de la noche," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, September 23, 1876, p. 2.

63. Bishop, D.M. *Bishop's Directory of the City and County of San Francisco*. San Francisco: B.C. Vandall, 1878, p. 119.

64. Henry G. Langley, *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing April, 1882* (San Francisco: Francis, Valentine & Co., 1882).

65. "Manuel María Alegre." Death Record. Mexico City, August 12, 1924. Defunciones 1924. Mexico, Distrito Federal, Civil Registration, 1832–2006. Familysearch.org.

66. "Señora Carlota Gutierrez." Death Record. Mexico City, April 23, 1930. Ciudad de México, Defunciones 1930. Mexico, Distrito Federal, Civil Registration, 1832–2006. Familysearch.org.

67. "Manuel María Alegre." Death Record.

68. Roberto Peredo, "Manuel María Alegre." In *Diccionario Enciclopédico Veracruzano*. Universidad Veracruzana, 2017. https://sapp.uv.mx/egv/index.aspx.

69. "Guadalupe Alegre Gutierrez." Birth Record. Chacaltianguis, Veracruz, January 20, 1889. Chacaltianguis, Nacimientos 1889–1909. Mexico, Veracruz, Civil Registration, 1821–1963. Familysearch.org.

70. Roberto Peredo, "Manuel María Alegre."

71. Manuel María Alegre, *¿Cómo Escapar Del Peligro Sajón? Sajonizándonos* (Mexico City: Tipografía Artística, 1903).

72. See Familysearch.org, civil birth records for Carlota Alegre Gutierrez (Tlacoltalpan, 1887) and Manuel María Alegre Gutierrez (Mexico City, 1893). Also see Familysearch.org, civil marriage record for María Luisa Alegre Gutierrez and Carlos Fuge Schmidt (Mexico City, 1911). It is unclear whether María Luisa Alegre Gutierrez and Carlota Alegre Gutierrez are the same person, since records indicate that they were born in the same city around the same year. They could have been born very close together or an error could exist in the records. I have not been able to find a birth record for María Luisa.

73. "Guadalupe Alegre Gutierrez." Birth Record. Chacaltianguis, Veracruz, January 20, 1889. Chacaltianguis, Nacimientos 1889–1909. Mexico, Veracruz, Civil Registration, 1821–1963. Familysearch.org.

74. Interestingly, Josefina Alegre Gutierrez's death record indicates that she was born in San Francisco, which might mean that Carlota and Alegre started their family before leaving California and settling in Mexico. Since I haven't been able to find any birth records for Josefina, it is hard to know exactly the timing of this move and her birth. Josefina passed away at thirty-six years old, only two weeks after her father, which must have been a terrible blow for Carlota and the entire family. "Josefina Alegre Gutierrez." Death Record. Mexico City, August 24, 1924. Defunciones 1924. México, Distrito Federal, Registro Civil, 1832–2005. Familysearch.org.

75. A male admirer of Josefina's poetry was known by the initials M.M.A., which could possibly have stood for Manuel María Alegre. Additionally, Josefina's poem "Dos flores" (Two Flowers) included an epigraph by M.M.A. See chapter 5 for more details.

Chapter 5

1. Original quotations have not been edited for spelling or grammar. All translations of nineteenth-century Spanish texts are mine.

2. E.F. Teodoli, "Josefina," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, April 12, 1876, p. 2.

3. J.A. Oliver and S. Armor, *Directory of Los Angeles for 1875* (Los Angeles: Mirror Book and Job Printing Office, 1875), p. 84.

4. The Spanish word "galante" can mean "gallant" or "courteous," but it also can mean "flirtatious" or even "licentious." Perhaps in this case it implied both meanings at the same time.

5. 'Consuelo,' "NOTICIAS PERSONALES.," *La Crónica*, March 22, 1876, p. 2.

6. E.F. Teodoli, "SUELTOS LOCALES," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, December 4, 1875, p. 3.

7. The newspaper byline is a line that stands by itself indicating the author of a piece of writing. It tells you who the article, editorial, or, in this case, poem is written by.

8. Michel Foucault, *Aesthetics, Method, and Epistemology*, ed. James D. Faubion, trans. Robert Hurley and others, Essential Works of Foucault 1954–1984 / Michel Foucault, vol. 2 (New York: New Press, 1998), p. 209.

9. "Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer," in *Gale Contextual Encyclopedia of World Literature* (Detroit: Gale, 2009), p. 161.

10. Notably, in November of 1872 and February of 1873, more poems by Bécquer were published in *La Crónica*, but on those occasions his initials were printed in the byline: "G.A.B."

11. Josefina, "La Envidia," *La Crónica*, February 26, 1876, p. 3.

12. The pen name Violet Fane is a reference to the fictional character in Benjamin Disraeli's 1826 novel *Vivian Grey*.

13. Kathryn Ledbetter, "Time and the Poetess: Violet Fane and Fin-de-Siècle Poetry in Periodicals," *Victorian Poetry* 52, no. 1 (2014), p. 145.

14. Cristina Ramos Cobano, "Central American Female Writers: Women Occupying Liberal Public Space," in *Enemies Within: Cultural Hierarchies and Liberal Political Models in the Hispanic World*, ed. María Sierra (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), p. 85.

15. "Gómez de Avellaneda, Gertrudis," in *Merriam Webster's Encyclopedia of Literature* (Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster, 1995).

16. While usually used for women, the Spanish name Dolores can also be a name for men. In the case of a man called Dolores, the name is usually short for José de los Dolores.

17. This was probably a misspelling, "de" should have been "te" here.

18. 'Dolores,' "A Josefina. *[Listen To Me.]*," (San Francisco) *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo*, February 18, 1876, p. 2.

19. In September of 1849, *La Patria* of New Orleans published an admonishing article titled "Sobre la corrupción de la prensa periódica" (On the Corruption of the Popular Press), in which other Latino editors are implicated and mocked for printing dual-language newspapers in English and Spanish—this in spite of the fact that *La Patria* had also previously dabbled in the publication of English pages in some issues. Kirsten Silva Gruesz describes how in this article by *La Patria* "the English language is associated with imitation (cut and paste) and excess (taking too many words to say too few things). English—at least as practiced by journalists—tends

toward mere linguistic accumulation rather than quality." This outlook has striking similarities to the attitude of Dolores towards Josefina and her critique of Josefina's supposed pretensions when it comes to the English language. Kirsten Silva Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture: The Transamerican Origins of Latino Writing*, Translation/Transnation (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), p. 120.

20. Dolores, "A Josefina."

21. Ibid.

22. Josefina, "A *******."

23. Josefina, "A CRISTINA," *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo*, April 18, 1876, p. 2.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. Josefina, "A La Luna," *La Crónica*, October 27, 1875, p. 1.

27. Josefina, "A Unas Niñas," *La Crónica*, May 13, 1876, p. 2.

28. Josefina, "Por Una Eternidad," *La Crónica*, June 30, 1877, p. 1.

29. Josefina, "A *******," *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo*, September 3, 1875, p. 2.

30. The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Courtly Love," in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, January 8, 2020, https://www.britannica.com/art/courtly-love.

31. Josefina, "A *******," p. 2.

32. Ibid.

33. Mary Loeffelholz describes poetess sentimentalism in nineteenth-century English-language verse as "the identification with others by means of sympathy with primal feelings of suffering and loss; the reading of those feelings through the signs of the expressive body, its blushes and tears, met by the reader's own tears offered up in response." Mary Loeffelholz, *From School to Salon: Reading Nineteenth-Century American Women's Poetry* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 196.

34. E.F. Teodoli "Josefina."

35. It is unclear whether or not in the Spanish of the nineteenth century the word "piropo" was used as slang for a "catcall" as it is used today. I settled on translating "piropo" as "flirtatious compliment" after consulting the *Diccionario de la lengua castellana por la Academia Española* from 1869, which, among other definitions, describes "piropo" as a "lisonja, requiebro" (compliment, flirtatious remark). "Piropo," in *Diccionario de La Lengua Castellana Por La Academia Española* (Madrid: Imprenta de Don Manuel Rivadeneyra, 1869).

36. M.M.A. were likely the initials of Manuel María Alegre, the man who Carlota Gutierrez eventually married (see chapters 3 and 4). This possible link suggests that Alegre, the Gutierrez sisters, and Josefina were part of the same Latinx social and literary circles. Coincidentally, Carlota and Alegre had a daughter named Josefina who was born around 1888. "Josefina Alegre Gutierrez." Death Record, August 24, 1924. Defunciones 1924. México, Distrito Federal, Registro Civil, 1832–2005.

37. This topic is covered in more depth in my analysis of how Carlota Gutierrez and Amelia Denis de Icaza described one another's verses using metaphors of sound. See chapter 4.

38. For more on the *piropo*, see Nerea Aresti, "Shaping the Spanish Modern Man: The Conflict of Masculine Ideals Through a Court Case in the 1920s," *Feminist Studies* 33, no. 3 (Fall 2007), pp. 606–31.

39. E.F. Teodoli, "Josefina."

40. Shira Wolosky, *Poetry and Public Discourse in Nineteenth-Century America*, Nineteenth-Century Major Lives and Letters (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 8.

41. E.F. Teodoli, "Josefina."

42. Peter Boag describes many instances of transgenderism in the nineteenth-century western United States. For example, Elvira Virginia Mugarrieta, born in San Francisco, became Jack Garland in 1892. Bessi Martini and Llene Shaw, also Californians, also posed as men. "Old Nash" was born male, but lived as a washerwoman for the Seventh Cavalry and married a succession of soldiers. Peter Boag, "Go West Young Man, Go East Young Woman: Searching for the Trans in Western Gender History," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (December 1, 2005), pp. 484–92.

43. Alexander Eastwood, "How, Then, Might the Transsexual Read?: Notes Toward a Trans Literary History," *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly* 1, no. 4 (January 1, 2014), p. 593.

44. Ibid., 596.

45. Sherry Velasco, "Marimachos, Hombrunas, Barbudas: The Masculine Woman in Cervantes," *Cervantes: Bulletin of the Cervantes Society of America* 20, no. 1 (2000), pp. 69–71. For more on the *mujer varonil* in early modern Spain, also see Melveena McKendrick, *Woman and Society in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age: A Study of the Mujer Varonil* (London, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974).

46. Josefina wrote her sonnets under the general umbrella of the Petrarchan style, beginning her rhyme ABBAABBA, with her closing sestet in the CDCDCD rhyme scheme.

47. Natalie Houston, "Towards a New History: Fin-de-Siècle Women Poets and the Sonnet," *Essays and Studies* 56 (2003), p. 153.

48. Recall that the *brindis* were transcribed from events where a woman would have stood up and spoken. Her name was then credited in the newspaper. Dedication poems, between Amelia Denis de Icaza and Carlota Gutierrez for example, call to mind women's bodies by being explicitly dedicated from one woman to another, as indicated in the title. In a sense, the dedication poems symbolically exchanged hands.

49. Ibid.

50. Josefina, "Bienaventurados Los Que Lloran. Soneto," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, November 3, 1877, p. 1.

51. Josefina, "Duda. Soneto," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, November 3, 1877, p. 1.

52. "La envidia" (Envy), "Recuerda" (Remember), "Dos Flores" (Two Flowers), "Duda" (Doubt), and "Indecision" all include flower imagery and metaphoric language.

53. "Humbría" was probably a misspelling or different spelling for "umbría" which means "shadowy" or "shady." These verses resonate strongly with Carlota Gutierrez's poem "La flor y el destello" written in the album of Carmen Andrade and published in *La Crónica* on November 28, 1877. Recall that Carlota's poem depicted "una flor del bosque umbrío" (a flower of the shadowy forest) who withers and dies after allowing a sunbeam to pass over her. The poem tells a cautionary tale about how a young lady's chastity can be ruined by a man. Perhaps Josefina wrote "Indecision" in conversation with Carlota's verses in that she plays upon similar metaphors with regard to flowers and how they are protected by the shade of the forest, which in both poems represents modesty.

54. The word "querubines" might also be translated as "cherubims," angelic beings referenced in the Bible who were depicted as being part human and part mythical animal/creature. Catholic University of America and Gale eBooks, eds. "Cherubim." In *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Detroit: Thomson/Gale, 2003), pp. 466–467.

55. The initials M.M.A. likely reference the same admirer who compared Josefina to a tórtola or turtledove in the review about her. The identity of this person was probably Manuel María Alegre. See note 36.

56. "Verturosa" is probably a misspelling for "venturosa."

57. This "j" was probably meant to be an exclamation point.

58. Certain letters were not visible in the archival newspaper image, so "prenderla" (pin it on) is my best guess at transcribing this word.

59. It is rather difficult to interpret whether the last two paragraphs are *La Crónica* editor E.F. Teodoli's words or whether he is still quoting Felipe Fierro of *La Voz del Nuevo Mundo*. I attribute them to Fierro, but a case could be made that it was actually the editor of *La Crónica* who was willing to out Josefina.

Coda

1. Paulina Arana, "Comunicado," (San Francisco) *La República*, October 16, 1886, p. 1.

2. Paulina Arana's maiden name was Freund, which is derived from the German word "freunde" which means "friend." Unfortunately, I have not found records of who her parents were in order to more fully understand her heritage. It's possible her mother was Latina and taught her Spanish, but it is also possible she had no Latinx heritage and learned Spanish from her ex-husband or others in the Latinx community. Perhaps she didn't know Spanish very well and had help writing her "comunicado." Although her name would *read* as a Latina name on the surface, as discussed in chapter 5, when approaching historical writers, there are always unknowns that should be respected. "Homobono Arana and Paulina Freund Marriage Record" (Marriage Record, Santa Cruz, California, December 15, 1871), California, County Marriages, 1850–1953, Familysearch.org.

3. "Convento de Ntra. Sra. Del Sagrado Corazon," (San Francisco) *La República*, October 16, 1886, p. 4.

4. "El Colegio de Las Hermanas," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, June 19, 1875, p. 3.

5. David E. Hayes-Bautista, *El Cinco de Mayo: An American Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), pp. 126–127.

6. Ibid.

7. Gertrudis Molina, "Nuevo Restaurante," (San Francisco) *La Voz de Méjico*, November 19, 1864, p. 1.

8. Felicita de Mendibles, "Restaurante de La Estrella," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, November 17, 1883, p. 3.

9. Hayes-Bautista, *El Cinco de Mayo*, p. 127.

10. Paul Freedman, "Women and Restaurants in the Nineteenth-Century United States," *Journal of Social History* 48, no. 1 (September 1, 2014), p. 10.

11. Luz Ortega, "Restaurante Mexicano y Cantina," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, June 25, 1887, p. 3.

12. Hayes-Bautista, *El Cinco de Mayo*, pp. 126–127.

13. Estéfana Abello was also known as "Fanny" Abello de Stocking. She advertised her restaurant under both forms of her name.

14. Estéfana Abello y Ca., "Restaurante Del Aguila de Oro," (San Francisco) *La Voz de Méjico*, September 29, 1863, p. 2.

15. Guadalupe Rodríguez de Rubio, "Restaurante Del Aguila de Oro," (San Francisco) *La Voz de Méjico*, December 4, 1862, p. 2.

16. Fabiana de Oropesa, "Panaderia Mexicana!," (Los Angeles) *La Crónica*, June 29, 1872, p. 4.

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