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# El Grito

A JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY MEXICAN-AMERICAN THOUGHT

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Volume V, Number 4

Summer 1972

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## QUINTO SOL AND CHICANO PUBLICATIONS

The First Five Years  
1967 – 1972

By

Octavio I. Romano-V.                      Herminio Ríos C.  
Editors: QUINTO SOL PUBLICATIONS INC.

With this issue of EL GRITO (Volume V, Number 4), Quinto Sol Publications completes its first five years of self-supporting, independent, publishing activities. In this light, a few words about the Quinto Sol enterprise seem appropriate. Future historians of Chicano history and literature, as well as interested individuals, may have need for the following statements of Quinto Sol purpose and its publishing program to date.

### PURPOSE

1. Since its inception in 1967, it has been the goal of Quinto Sol Publications to analyze the fallacious and educationally detrimental content of social science studies of Mexican Americans. Such content has been the mainstay of major policy decisions in public schools where Chicano students are enrolled. The responses to Quinto Sol efforts in this direction have been overwhelming, thus testifying to the fact that Quinto Sol has been articulating what has previously existed in Chicano communities throughout the Southwest. Outside of the Southwest, the response has been equally receptive, demonstrating that others have also been eager for alternatives to old and worn out social science rhetoric and social science fiction in the U.S.

2. Social science concepts (fatalism, under-achievement, non-goal oriented) have also crept into studies of Chicano history (see Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios*). Therefore, it has been a goal of Quinto Sol to counter this modern variant of the Mexican sleeping under the cactus. Articles appearing in EL GRITO on community organizations and history, Chicano publications and history, bibliographies, etc., have contributed greatly to the eradication of the non-literate, passive Mexicans who inhabit the pages of social science and history studies.

3. Quinto Sol Publications has never taken the position of "helping to develop talent," or "helping Chicanos to find an identity," and other



such glib slogans (emerging, awakening, stirring, etc.) which basically tell Chicanos that in the beginning they are nothing, and the vacuum must be filled. On the contrary, it is the position of *Quinto Sol* that both talent and identity already exist and have always existed in the Chicano community. The great amount of both identity and talent that has appeared in the pages of publications by *Quinto Sol* amply vindicates this *Quinto Sol* perspective on Chicano existence.

4. It is the purpose of *Quinto Sol* to provide an autonomous publishing outlet for the wealth of talent that exists in Chicano communities throughout the nation. Therefore, *Quinto Sol* has scrupulously avoided publishing Latin-Americans and Spaniards under the banner of Chicano or Mexican American literature. This, however, has not been the case with other publishing efforts, especially recently issued anthologies of literature. Three such efforts are presently in the market, three anthologies of so-called Chicano literature. One such anthology, for example, contains almost 100 authors of which only a third are Chicanos. Yet, the title boldly proclaims Chicano literature! Similarly, another anthology has 22 authors of which 6 only are Chicanos. And the most recent anthology fares no better, with only a fourth of its pages by Chicanos. It seems to us that these anthologies represent a gross and opportunistic exploitation of the word Chicano. They have, by their emphasis on non-Chicanos, further pushed Chicano writers into the background of literature. This emphasis on non-Chicano writers is an action of repetition of what has always been readily available rather an action of creation in which new literary efforts are brought to the forefront. Who can argue against the fact that Spaniards as well as Latin Americans have always enjoyed publishing outlets, a reading public in their own countries as well as in foreign countries, and that in the United States strong Departments of Spanish exist for the sole purpose of studying peninsular Spanish and Latin American works, and that in fact these same Spanish departments in the United States provide a vast and ready market for works from Latin America and Spain. All this is painful contrast to Chicano literary efforts which have had the doors of the publishing world sealed to them for the last 124 years, and that until the recent inception of Chicano Studies departments their creative efforts went largely unnoticed. *Quinto Sol* will not accept the pushing of Chicano writers into the background. Thus, any one current issue of *EL GRITO* contains more literature by Chicanos than any one of these recent anthologies of so-called Chicano literature.

Nevertheless, whereas we will refrain from exercising the big lie of presenting Latin American works under the name of Chicano literature, we shall be receptive to those Latin Americans who have extended us their friendship, and who have united their efforts with our own and in whose works the very heartbeat of Chicano inspiration is present. For

in this light, such presentations will be made on the basis of mutual respect and not on the basis of a vile opportunism.

5. While a major purpose has been to meet these contemporary issues head-on, there has been another more fundamental and overriding purpose. This purpose has been not to react, but to create. Herein, the literature division of Quinto Sol Publications has forged new ground in literary publications which now include a collection of short stories, a novel, an epic poem, and an anthology in its fifth printing, all of which represent the first substantial fruits of an extensive publishing program. These books are in addition to the poets and writers who regularly appear in the quarterly issues of EL GRITO.

6. Finally, it is not the purpose of Quinto Sol Publications to loudly proclaim support for bilingual-bicultural education, and then proceed to publish only in English. (See the Introduction to EL ESPEJO—SELECTED CHICANO LITERATURE for further commentary on this subject.)

### PUBLISHING PROGRAM

To date, twenty issues of EL GRITO: A JOURNAL OF CONTEMPORARY MEXICAN-AMERICAN THOUGHT have been published and distributed. During the period 1967-1972, 135 authors were published. From its beginning in 1967 to the present in 1972, over 100,000 copies of EL GRITO have been put in circulation, making this journal the largest single source of contemporary Chicano thought in modern times. This expression is rivaled only by the extensive publishing efforts of Chicanos in the late 1800's and the first four decades of the 1900's.

EL GRITO can be found in thousands of homes, hundreds of schools, hundreds of colleges, and hundreds of universities, both in library and classroom use. EL GRITO has been exhibited nationally throughout the United States as well as in the Frankfurt Book Fair in Germany, in the Belgrade Book Fair in Yugoslavia, and in Mexico City. Presently EL GRITO is sent to eight foreign nations.

In 1969, Quinto Sol Publications published its first book, EL ESPEJO. In the years following, EL ESPEJO has enjoyed four printings. In the summer of 1972, EL ESPEJO was revised and expanded. Now in its Fifth Printing, EL ESPEJO promises to continue to be a fundamental work in Chicano literature.

In 1969, Quinto Sol announced the First Annual Premio Quinto Sol, a \$1,000 award for best literary work written by a Chicano. A large number of manuscripts were received from different states in the U.S. Dr. Tomás Rivera, now Professor of Romance Languages at the University of Texas at San Antonio, was the winner of the first annual award with his collection of short stories, “. . . y no se lo tragó la tierra.”

Printed by Quinto Sol, the book is totally bilingual. It has been extremely well received, with favorable reviews in the U.S., México, and Brazil.

In 1971, Quinto Sol published another book, VOICES: READINGS FROM EL GRITO. VOICES is a collection of the best from EL GRITO, featuring articles of social import by 14 Chicano authors that deal with community organization, drugs, huelga, library services, advertising, the family, police, I.Q. testing, education, fiction, modern society, poverty, land in New Mexico.

By now the time for the Second Annual Premio Quinto Sol was approaching. Again a large number of manuscripts were received. The 1971 winner of the \$1,000 award was BLESS ME, ULTIMA, a novel in English written by Rudolfo A. Anaya. The novel deals with the physical, spiritual, and emotional odyssey of a child in New Mexico. This work has been called the best novel written by a Chicano to date.

During this period, Quinto Sol announced still another \$1,000 award, the CHICANO PERSPECTIVE. This award is destined for best manuscript of a study of America written by a Chicano.

Following these events, PERROS Y ANTIPERROS, a 75 page poetic work written by Dr. Sergio Elizondo and translated by Dr. Gustavo Segade into English, was published in a continuing effort to bring to the public the best of Chicano literature.

To summarize, in addition to the twenty issues of EL GRITO, Quinto Sol Publications has published five books to date. Several more volumes are presently in various stages of planning and production. They will be announced as they become available.

A final word. The production of Quinto Sol printed materials is an independent Chicano enterprise, from writing to editing to publication. They are not the property of some Board of Trustees of some college, but Chicano owned. In short, it is a Chicano cultural expression unchanged by editors or owners of another culture. Should the day come in which Quinto Sol materials are edited and changed by non-Chicanos, then Quinto Sol will have died, and from that day on Chicano literature and creativity will no longer belong to those who developed them and brought them forth into the light of the world.

The world "world" is used here intentionally, for it is the unwavering conviction of the Quinto Sol editors that Chicano thought and literature fully belong among world intellectual and artistic traditions.



# QUINTO SOL Y LAS PUBLICACIONES CHICANAS

Los Primeros Cinco Años  
1967 – 1972

por

Octavio I. Romano-V.                      Herminio Ríos  
Editores: QUINTO SOL PUBLICATIONS

Con este número de *El Grito* (Vol. V, Núm. 4) la casa editorial Quinto Sol concluye los primeros cinco años de publicaciones llevadas a cabo dentro de una completa independencia económica e intelectual. En vista de esto, nos parece propicio hacer algunos comentarios acerca de los esfuerzos de Quinto Sol. Futuros historiadores, tanto de la historia propia como de la historia literaria, al igual que otras personas interesadas, acaso necesiten de estos comentarios acerca de los propósitos de esta casa editorial y de su programa de publicaciones.

## PROPOSITOS

1. Desde su establecimiento en 1967, ha sido el propósito de la casa Quinto Sol analizar el falso y dañante contenido de los estudios realizados en el campo de las ciencias sociales en EE.UU. sobre al méxico-americano. Dicho contenido ha sido la base primordial de importantes decisiones en lo que respecta a los programas de estudio en las escuelas donde existen estudiantes chicanos. El acogimiento que se les ha dado a los esfuerzos de Quinto Sol sobre esta cuestión ha sido sumamente alentador, de esta manera corroborando el hecho de que Quinto Sol ha articulado el sentimiento que siempre ha existido dentro del pueblo chicano a través del suroeste de EE.UU. Fuera del suroeste el acogimiento ha sido igualmente favorable, señalando así que otros también han anhelado alternativas a la caduca y trillada retórica de las ciencias sociales en EE.UU.

2. Los conceptos vigentes dentro de las ciencias sociales sobre el chicano (fatalista, carente de éxito, carente de iniciativa) se han filtrado en los estudios históricos sobre el chicano. (Véase Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios*) Por consiguiente, ha sido el propósito de Quinto Sol contrarrestar esta versión moderna de la imagen del mexicano dormido bajo un nopal. Los ensayos sobre los esfuerzos de organización en las comunidades chicanas vistos a través de la historia, tanto como estudios bibliográficos, etc., han contribuído enormemente a la

destrucción de las imágenes peyorativas del mexicano analfabeto y pasivo de las cuales están plagados los libros de las ciencias sociales y de historia en EE.UU.

3. Quinto Sol nunca se ha interesado en “desarrollar talento” o en “ayudar a los chicanos a encontrar su identidad” o en otros lemas huecos por el estilo tales como “en desarrollo” “despertando” etc., los cuales básicamente le dicen al chicano que desde un principio no es nada y que existe dentro de él un vacío que se tiene que llenar. Al contrario, la posición que ha tomado Quinto Sol ha sido que tanto el talento como la identidad ya existen dentro de la comunidad chicana y que siempre han existido. Y las grandes cantidades de talento y de identidad que han aparecido en las páginas de las publicaciones de Quinto Sol ampliamente justifican esta perspectiva sobre la existencia del chicano.

4. Es el propósito de Quinto Sol facilitar un vehículo por medio del cual se pueda publicar la riqueza de talento que existe en la comunidad chicana. Por esta razón Quinto Sol ha desistido de publicar obras de latinoamericanos y de españoles bajo el nombre de literatura chicana. Sin embargo, este no ha sido el caso de otros esfuerzos editoriales, especialmente en las recién publicadas antologías de supuesta literatura chicana. En la actualidad hay tres antologías de supuesta literatura chicana en el mercado publicadas por editoriales ánglonorteamericanas. Una incluye cerca de cien autores de los cuales solamente la tercera parte son chicanos. Sin embargo, el título de esta antología proclama ser una antología de literatura chicana. De igual manera, una segunda antología contiene 22 autores de los cuales solamente 6 son chicanos. La tercera y más reciente de las antologías de supuesta literatura chicana no se libra de estas inconsistencias ya que menos del 25% de su contenido fue escrito por escritores chicanos. A nosotros nos parece que esto representa una gran explotación de la palabra “chicano.” Los compiladores de estas tres antologías, por medio de su énfasis en escritores no chicanos han empujado al escritor chicano aún más hacia el limbo literario. Además, este énfasis en escritores no chicanos es un acto de repetición de lo que siempre ha estado presente y no un acto creador en el cual se presentan nuevos valores literarios. Quien puede desmentir el hecho de que tanto españoles como latinoamericanos siempre han gozado de medios de publicación y de públicos lectores tanto en sus propios países como en el extranjero, y que además, en Estados Unidos fuertes departamentos de español existen con el solo propósito de estudiar y de fomentar el interés en las obras españolas y latinoamericanas. Estos mismos departamentos de español facilitan un amplio mercado para las obras que provienen de la América Latina y de España. Todo esto en doloroso contraste a los esfuerzos literarios chicanos que han encontrado cerradas las puertas de las casas editoriales ánglo-

norteamericanas durante los últimos 124 años. Aún más, hasta la reciente creación de departamentos de estudios chicanos en las universidades estos mismos esfuerzos literarios habían sido completamente ignorados tanto por los departamentos de español como por otros departamentos en las universidades.

Quinto Sol de ninguna manera puede aceptar esta afrenta a los escritores chicanos. Por lo tanto, cualquier número literario de *El Grito* contiene más literatura chicana que cualesquiera de estas antologías de supuesta literatura chicana.

Sin embargo, mientras que desistiremos de ejercer la gran mentira de presentar obras latinoamericanas bajo el nombre de literatura chicana, no cerramos las puertas a aquellos latinoamericanos que nos han brindado su amistad y que han unido sus esfuerzos a los nuestros y en cuyas obras palpita la inspiración chicana porque entonces estas presentaciones se harán a base de un respeto mutuo y no a base de un vil oportunismo.

5. Mientras que uno de los propósitos fundamentales de Quinto Sol ha sido confrontarse a estas cuestiones directamente y sin titubeos, ha existido otro propósito de aún mayor importancia. Este propósito ha sido el de no simplemente reaccionar ante el mundo ánglonorteamericano, sino de crear. Partiendo desde este acto creador, Quinto Sol ha forjado nuevos caminos en el mundo literario. Se han publicado una colección de cuentos, una novela, un poema de dimensiones épicas, y una antología que en la actualidad está en la quinta impresión. Estos son los primeros frutos de una programa extenso de publicaciones. A estas cuatro obras se suman los muchos escritores y pintores que aparecen en las páginas de nuestra revista trimestral, *El Grito*.

6. Finalmente, no es el propósito de Quinto Sol abogar por la enseñanza bilingüe-bicultural y luego publicar solamente en inglés. (Véase la introducción a *El Espejo*, antología de literatura chicana, para más amplios comentarios acerca de este tema.)

## PROGRAMA DE PUBLICACIONES

Hasta la fecha, se han publicado veinte números de la revista *El Grito: Revista de Pensamiento Chicano Contemporáneo*. Visto de otra manera, se han presentado 135 autores chicanos desde 1967 hasta 1972. Se han distribuido más de 100,000 ejemplares de *El Grito*. Siendo así, *El Grito* representa la fuente más extensa del pensamiento chicano en la actualidad. Solamente se ha alcanzado un esfuerzo tan extenso en las postremerías del siglo pasado y en las primeras cuatro décadas del siglo veinte.

*El Grito* se encuentra en miles de hogares, cientos de escuelas superiores, en cientos de universidades tanto en las bibliotecas como en las



salas de clase. *El Grito* se ha exhibido nacionalmente en EE.UU.; en la Feria del Libro en Francfort, Alemania; la Feria del Libro en Belgrado, Yugoslavia; y en la Ciudad de México. Se distribuye en ocho países extranjeros.

El primer libro publicado por Quinto Sol fue *El Espejo*, antología de literatura chicana. Desde 1969, fecha de la primera impresión, hasta 1972 se hicieron 4 impresiones. Durante el verano de 1972 se imprimió una edición enmendada, y aumentada de *El Espejo*. *El Espejo* promete ser una de las obras fundamentales de literatura chicana.

En 1969 se anunció el primer concurso literario en el cual se ofrecía un premio de \$1,000.00 dólares por la mejor obra literaria escrita por un chicano residente de EE.UU. Se recibió un gran número de obras de diferentes partes de EE.UU. La obra premiada fue . . . *y no se lo tragó la tierra*, una colección de cuentos escrita por el Dr. Tomás Rivera, profesor de lenguas romances en la Universidad de Texas en San Antonio. Esta obra se publicó en forma bilingüe. . . *y no se lo tragó la tierra* ha merecido reseñas favorables tanto en EE.UU. como en México y el Brasil.

En 1971 Quinto Sol publicó un segundo libro, *Voices: Readings from El Grito*. *Voices* es una colección de los mejores ensayos seleccionados de *El Grito*. Se incluyen obras de trece escritores chicanos quienes escribieron sobre los siguientes temas: esfuerzos de organización en las comunidades chicanas, huelgas, servicios bibliotecarios, medios de publicidad, crítica literaria, el estado moderno, la pobreza entre los chicanos, y la cuestión de la tierra en Nuevo México.

El concurso literario correspondiente a 1971 atrajo un gran número de manuscritos. La obra premiada fue *Bless Me, Ultima*, novela escrita en inglés, por Rudolfo A. Anaya. Trata de la odisea física, espiritual, y emocional de un niño en Nuevo México. Esta obra ha sido llamada la mejor novela escrita por un escritor chicano.

Durante este mismo período de 1972 se anunció aún otro concurso más, y que también llevaría un premio de \$1,000.00 dólares. Se le llamó a este concurso *Chicano Perspective*. El premio se le otorgaría al mejor estudio de la sociedad ánglonorteamericana escrito por un chicano residente de EE.UU.

También en 1972 se publicó *Perros y Antiperros*, poema de dimensiones épicas escrito por el Dr. Sergio Elizondo y traducido al inglés por el Dr. Gustavo Segade.

Para resumir, además de los veinte números de *El Grito*, se han publicado cinco libros. Otros tomos se encuentran en varios estados de preparación, y se anunciarán en cuanto estén disponibles.

Debe advertirse que los esfuerzos de la casa editorial Quinto Sol son esfuerzos completamente chicanos e independientes. De ninguna manera pertenecen a alguna mesa directiva de una universidad o a alguna

fundación ánglonorteamericana. Es, pues, una expresión chicana sin la intervención extranjera. Si llegare el día en que las publicaciones de Quinto Sol sufrieran cambios a manos de no-chicanos, en ese día Quinto Sol habrá muerto, y desde ese día en adelante los esfuerzos creadores chicanos ya no pertenecerán a quienes los concibieron y los dieron a la luz mundial. Y decimos “mundial” a sabiendas de su conotación internacional ya que es la firme creencia de los editores de Quinto Sol que tanto el pensamiento como la literatura chicana pertenecen plenamente dentro de las tradiciones intelectuales y artísticas universales.

## ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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1967 – 1972

The following bibliography is provided here for two purposes. First, many individuals may wish to obtain publications still in print. Second, since the publications listed herein are available in libraries throughout the country, they are noted here for purposes of research in Chicano studies. The annotations are to guide the reader in the selection of materials desired either for research or for purchase.

The materials in this bibliography are also available in catalogue form. For a copy, write to:

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1967 - 1972

Se presenta la siguiente bibliografía por dos razones. Primeramente, muchas personas querrán obtener publicaciones que aún no estén agotadas. En segundo lugar, ya que las publicaciones aquí anotadas se encuentran en bibliotecas por todo EE.UU., se señalan aquí para ayudar en las investigaciones sobre el chicano. Las anotaciones llevan el propósito de ayudar al lector en la selección de materiales, ya para hacer investigaciones o para realizar compras.

Las publicaciones incluídas en esta bibliografía también se han incluído en un catálogo. Para obtener este catálogo, escriba a:

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 A satire on role models for Mexican-American youth.
- Miguel Méndez-M.  
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 A superbly written short story dealing with the Sonora desert and the Yaqui Indians in their struggle for independence. Based on historical documentation. In Spanish with English translation by O. I. Romano-V.
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 EL ESPEJO 47-60  
 A short story, existentialist in nature, about a man and a woman. In Spanish with English translation by O. I. Romano-V.
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 A prophetic article outlining the essential conservatism of the Black Movement in America and the concept of Black power as promulgated by Carmichael and others.
- Miguel Ponce  
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Rudy Espinosa

LITTLE EAGLE AND THE RAINBOW

page 78-80

A mural in words. The poetic imagery of this San Francisco writer captures the imagination and evokes dreams that we've all had and cherished.

Malaquías Montoya

PORTFOLIO

81-84

Black and white reproductions of this well-known Chicano artist.

Volume II, Number 3

(Spring 1969, 64 pages)

\$1.25 ea

Entire issue devoted to now well-known Chicano artists.  
Black and white reproductions of their works.

Malaquías Montoya

PORTFOLIO 1: "I paint because of my daily confrontations with life."

Esteban Villa

PORTFOLIO 2: "Primero, I want to say I paint and draw as a Chicano."

Manuel Hernández Trujillo

PORTFOLIO 3: "Para saber a dónde vamos es importante preocuparnos por saber de dónde venimos."

René Yáñez

PORTFOLIO 4: "I paint about people I meet—gods, freaks, and you."

José Ernesto Montoya

PORTFOLIO 5: "I paint because I love Orozco and Shan."  
"I paint to destroy Orozco and Shan."

Volume II, Number 4

(Summer 1969, 64 pages)

EDITORIAL

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A satire concerning Congressman Henri B. Gonzales' attacks against Texas Chicanos

Thomás Martínez

ADVERTISING AND RACISM: THE CASE OF THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN

3-13

An article in which the title speaks for itself, followed by considerable documentation.

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Volume III, Number 1      (Fall 1969, 68 pages)      \$1.25 ea

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| A play satirizing foundations, grantsmanship and grants to study "CHI-CAW-NOSE."  |                         |            |
| Ricardo Guadra  |                         |            |
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| Highly original art work done with felt-tip pens by a San Francisco artist.   |                         |            |
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| Volume III, Number 3  | (Spring 1970, 80 pages) | \$1.25 ea  |
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| A comprehensive and highly competent critical review of the Mexican-Americans as depicted in the social sciences. This is Part One of a two-part series by a Chicano sociologist. |                         |            |
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| PROBLEMS RELATED TO PRESENT TESTING INSTRUMENTS   |                         | 25-29      |
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| A comprehensive article on Mexican-Americans and Education. Includes sections on "Existing Programs for Mexican-Americans," "Languages in Conflict," "Mexican-Americans and the Illusory I.Q.," "The Dropout Problem," "College Enrollment," and the future. |                         |            |
| Ronald Arias   |                         |            |
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| A short story, contemporary variant of an old folk tale.   |                         |            |
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| A remarkable poetic work written by a Chicano while in a cell on the fifth tier in San Quentín in 1967. Based on "The Rubiyat of Omar Khayyam," this work comprises 75 verses.   |                         |            |
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| BOOK REVIEW: <i>Chicano</i> by Richard Vásquez.  |                         | 67-70      |
| A penetrating review that concludes with asking why must the Chicano always be depicted as pathological?   |                         |            |
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| Volume III, Number 4   | (Summer 1970, 96 pages) | \$1.25 ea  |
| Sergio Elizondo, Ph.D.   |                         |            |
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| Excerpt from the Chicano epic poem by the distinguished scholar. ANTIPERROS has been published in its entirety by Quinto Sol Publications (see books).   |                         |            |



- Jesús Maldonado  
 CAPIROCITA ROJA page 12-16  
 An updated version of *La Capi a la Chicano*.  
 Herminio Ríos and Lupe Castillo
- TOWARD A TRUE CHICANO BIBLIOGRAPHY:  
 Mexican-American Newspapers: 1848-1942 17-24  
 A remarkable research achievement by Lupe Castillo of Tucson, Arizona, and the editor of the Literature Division of *Quinto Sol*, this is a listing of 193 published Mexican-American newspapers. Aside from the fact that historians have virtually ignored these primary sources, this list dispels the notion of the non-literate Chicano. Indications are that some 500 or more papers were published during 1848-1970. A wealth of source material for Chicano historians.
- Joseph A. Clark y Moreno  
 A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BIBLIOGRAPHIES RELATING TO MEXICAN-AMERICAN STUDIES 25-31  
 A listing of eighty-nine bibliographies of materials relating to Mexican-Americans.
- Nick C. Vaca  
 BOOK REVIEW: *Viva Chicano* by Frank Bonham. 32-33  
 A review of still another book that deals with Chicanos as pathological and as problems to society at large.
- Mario T. García  
 BOOK REVIEW: *The Mexican-Americans: An Awakening Minority* 34-36  
 A review of a book which, by its title and contents, accepts the Anglo concept of the Mexican sleeping under a cactus who only now, 500 years later, is about to awake.
- Francisco O. Burruel  
 THE DIALOGUE OF CUCO ROCHA 37-45  
 A one-act play dealing with militancy, prison, and a Chicano pinto who has faith in his people.
- J. L. Navarro  
 TAMALE LEOPARD 46-55  
 A short story about the urban scene, a bar, a pickup, and the encounter that follows.
- Miguel Montiel  
 THE SOCIAL SCIENCE MYTH OF THE MEXICAN AMERICAN FAMILY 56-63

A penetrating and creative piece of research revealing the fallacies involved in social research that assumes a perfect continuum between Mexican families and Chicano families. The article goes on to expose the concept of machismo as found in social science studies as a device by which Chicanos are described as pathological. The article concludes that studies of Chicanos have been more ideological than scientific.

Armand J. Sánchez

**AFFLUENCE AMID POVERTY**

page 64-84

A comprehensive review and analysis of the Welfare State, the Public Welfare System, A Democratized Economy, Noblesse Oblige, and the Welfare Dollar in the Economy of a Community. Concludes that "How ever inadequate the welfare grant is, it contributes significantly to the economy of a community," while neglecting to aid the "economic and social development of low-income communities."

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Volume IV, Number 1 (Fall 1971, 88 pages) OUT OF PRINT

Octavio I. Romano-V., Ph.D.

**SOCIAL SCIENCE, OBJECTIVITY, AND THE CHICANOS**

4-16

A discussion of the origin of the mind-body separation in Greek Orphic mystery religion, the emulation of the physical sciences by the social sciences, major criticisms of the concept of "objectivity" both in the U.S. and internationally as used by social scientists, and how social science is often substituted for real history. This article is significant in view of the fact that contemporary American historians are drawing more and more heavily from the social sciences, i.e., non-history, in order to bolster their theories. An example of the latter is Leonard Pitt, the historian qua sociologist.

Nick C. Vaca

**THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: PART II: 1936-1970**

17-51

The second part of the most comprehensive review of the social science literature on Chicanos

ever published. Vaca here details the substance contained in this subject matter. He documents the opposing views between the school of "cultural determinism" vs. "structural-environmental determinism," showing that "cultural determinism" prevailed in the end and became the dominant analytical paradigm in studies of Mexican-Americans. Vaca concludes that "it seems certain that the major reason for the triumph of cultural determinism in the 1950's was ideological . . . by viewing the causality of the social ills of the Mexican-American as stemming from within him." (p. 46)

Armando Morales

**POLICE DEPLOYMENT THEORIES AND THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY**

page 52-64

A well-documented article that demonstrates that "Contrary to common belief—even though [in Los Angeles, 2 neighborhoods] there is a higher incidence of crime in the middle class Anglo-Saxon community, there is a greater amount of police deployment in the poorer, Mexican-American community. One possible explanation might be that police administrators, by placing a greater emphasis on a historical belief that lower socio-economic ethnic minorities commit a much higher proportion of crime, accordingly assign more police to those areas even though statistical analyses do not warrant this deployment." (p. 59)

Samuel R. Alvidrez

**DRUG USE TRENDS IN CALIFORNIA**

65-81

California state reports refute the widely held views on drug use advanced by sociologist John Clausen and others, as documented by Mr. Alvidrez. In the words of the author, "According to one investigator (Clausen), the use of narcotics and drugs is to be found in slum districts, which are characterized by poverty, high population mobility, high crime and disease rates and, in general, a variety of social problems. . . . in California the Mexican-American and Negro suffer from all the conditions imputed by Clausen and the others cited, yet it is not the Mexican-

American or Negro that are the most flagrant narcotic or drug users." (p. 77)

Volume IV, Number 2 (Winter 1971, 80 pages) OUT OF PRINT

REPRINT OF ARTICLE IN PAPEL CHICANO,  
CPA, HOUSTON, TEXAS

page 4-6

Article deals with an interview (en Español) with Dr. Tomás Rivera of Texas, winner of FIRST ANNUAL \$1000 PREMIO QUINTO SOL for best Chicano literary work for 1970.

Tomás Rivera

EL AÑO PERDIDO (Español)

9

THE LOST YEAR (English)

10

A reprint in which Tomás Rivera sets the stage for what follows in his award-winning work. His style is unique in Chicano letters, yet universal in substance as attested to by reviews of his work in México, Brazil, and Chile

"... Y NO SE LO TRAGO LA TIERRA" (Español)

12-16

"... AND THE EARTH DID NOT PART" (English)

17-21

Tomás Rivera recreates the speech patterns of the rural Mexican-Americans and brings them to a high literary plane. In this regard, he reminds us so much of Juan Rulfo and his artistic treatment of Mexican campesino syntax. But the quality of Rivera's work does not rest solely on form; it is equally evident in the content. In his short story "... y no se lo trago la tierra," the young protagonist questions not only the why of his station in life, but also the nature and even the very existence of a Supreme being. When he finds his answer, he feels that he has gained a psychological control over his universe.

Rubén Darío Sálaz

THE RACE (English)

22-33

A story of "the frontier" in which Sálaz breaks away from the structural conventions of Anglo American "stories of the frontier," probing deeply into the psyche of the Indian protagonist, Ulzana, and also the psyche of the gabacho antagonist, corporal White of the U. S. cavalry. The

villain becomes the hero and the hero develops into the villain.

Reymundo Marín

TENTO

page 34-37

A short story. In "Tento" Reymundo Marín takes the town idiot stereotype from the comic situation, as the target of jokes and pranks, and develops him into a multidimensional tragic figure.

Rudy Espinosa

MONO (en Español)

38-39

MONO (in English)

40-41

In Rudy Espinosa's short stories we find a richness in imagery that few writers achieve. His short stories are particularly suitable for use in children's classes. We present a bilingual edition of "Mono" that we highly recommend for use in elementary school bilingual classes.

Irene Casteñeda

CRONICA DE CRISTAL (Español)

42-47

CHRONICLE OF CRYSTAL CITY (English)

48-53

The migrant experience of the Mexican-American is deeply felt in this chronicle. Cristal, Tejas; North Dakota; Minnesota; Cristal, Tejas; the seasonal cycle of many families, punctuated by moments of tragedy made bearable by an indomitable spirit that realizes moments of laughter.

Rudy Espinosa

LA CASITA (Español)

54-55

LA CASITA (English)

56-57

Mr. Espinosa continues in his distinctive style in this short work about Little Eagle and his family.

Juan G. Guevara

POETRY (Español/English)

59-60

Pedro Ugalde Sierra (Carlos Ugalde Sierra)

POETRY (Español)

60-61

Octavio I. Romano-V., Ph.D.

POETRY (Español)

62-66

Ricardo Salinas

LA TORTILLA (in English)

67-68

Mr. Salinas gives the tortilla a significant historical role. "No one ever gave the tortilla any credit except us natives—La Raza."

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| Volume IV, Number 3      | (Spring 1971, 88 pages) | \$1.50 ea  |

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| Estela Portillo de Trambley  |  |       |
| THE DAY OF THE SWALLOWS  |  | 4-47  |
| Human passions are layed bare through the powerful central character, doña Josefa, who is a misanthropic lesbian. The priest and the villagers think of her as the epitome of virtue. A play in three acts.  |  |       |
| Mauro Chávez   |  |       |
| THE LAST DAY OF CLASS  |  | 48-63 |
| A satire on a contemporary semantics class at any college or university. There is an underlying theme of social protest. A play, one act.  |  |       |
| Raquel Moreno  |  |       |
| EL MILAGRUCHO  |  | 64-66 |
| Raquel Moreno presents her version of a popular story about a pachuco and San Martín de Porres. She masterfully handles the pachuco expressions, metaphors, and puns. El Milagrucho is interesting from both the literary and linguistic points of view. |  |       |
| Salvador Alvarez   |  |       |
| MEXICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS   |  | 68-77 |
| Mr. Alvarez explodes the myth of the non-organized Chicano as advanced by social scientists, using considerable documentation and historical depth. This article should be the model for future studies of Mexican-American community organizations.     |  |       |



Octavio I. Romano-V., Ph.D.

NOTES ON THE MODERN STATE

page 78-88

An article dealing with the extent of institutional care in a modern state such as California, using data gathered by state agencies, and outlining the problems such institutional care entails.

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Volume IV, Number 4 (Summer 1971, 80 pages)

\$1.50 ea

Armand J. Sánchez

THE DEFINERS AND THE DEFINED: A MENTAL HEALTH ISSUE

4-11

The title largely speaks for itself. "Politically, the medical model [in mental health] lends itself well to retention of a colonialist posture, for it establishes the definer and the defined—the manipulator and the manipulated. . . . In the final analysis, the Chicano predicament is a problem caused by social, political, and economic conditions: to force these conditions into the inner psyche of the Chicano is detrimental to and destructive of a distinctive way of life." (p. 8)

Charles Ornelas

BOOK REVIEW: *The Mexican-American People: The Nation's Second Largest Minority*, by Leo Grebler, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph C. Guzmán

12-20

"Far from being apolitical, the book conveys a definite message—the only viable path for economic mobility is socio-cultural assimilation along with political accommodation." (p. 18)

Manuel Ramírez III, Ph.D.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF ACCULTURATION TO EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT. . . .

21-28

A review of the literature in psychology reveals that, for Chicanos, identification with ethnic group can be an asset in educational achievement and personality adjustment.

Frank Ortega

SPECIAL EDUCATION PLACEMENT AND MEXICAN-AMERICANS

29-35

Mr. Ortega, an educator, is concerned about the Chicano children labeled as "mentally retarded"

in California public schools. "The actual problem appears to be the fact that educators have been unwilling to accept language and cultural differences in children, and to modify their curricula for the specific needs of children. They have succumbed to the easier panacea of labeling Spanish speaking children as educable mentally retarded." (p. 35)

Guadalupe Salinas

**MEXICAN-AMERICANS AND THE DESEGREGATION OF SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTHWEST**

page 36-59

First published in the Houston Law Review, then distributed by the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), this article is the most comprehensive study of segregation-desegregation in schools and Chicanos ever compiled. It was reprinted in EL GRITO to bring it to the attention of a broader range of Chicano readers. The article contains information on cases going back several decades.

**MEXICAN-AMERICANS AND THE DESEGREGATION OF SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTHWEST: A SUPPLEMENT**

Mr. Salinas writes a supplement to his original article especially for EL GRITO. Comprehensive documentation accompanies this supplement, as the original article, concluding with the statement that, "the overall objective, however, is to convince the American judicial system that La Raza—Mexican-Americans, Chicanos, Hispanos, Latinos—has been treated unjustly educationally and legally, therefore requiring the intervention of the judiciary in areas of interest to La Raza." (p. 68)

Carmen Lomas Garza

**PORTFOLIO**

70-73

Ink and pencil drawings. Her work, "Pobreza—La Perra entre la Raza" appears as the cover design of this issue.

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Volume V, Number 1 (Fall 1971, 80 pages)

\$1.50 ea

Octavio I. Romano-V., Ph.D.

**INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS**

6-8

An editorial opinion on the potential damage to Chicano students by such books as Edward Simmen's *Chicano: From Caricature to Self-Portrait*, and how such books perpetuate invidious stereotypes.

Herminio Ríos

INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

page 9-12

A continuation of the commentary on Simmen's (Pan American College, Edinburg, Texas) book *Chicano: From Caricature to Self-Portrait*.

"... Simmen's book tells the world much about Edward Simmen, and nothing about Chicano literature... when all is said and done, this book is an ideological book first, and a poor literary effort second." (p. 12)

Rafael Jesús González

BRIEF SONGS FROM THE NAHUATL (English translation)

13-18

The delicate beauty and profound philosophy of the Aztec ancestors is brought to life in this rendering. "We only fill an earthly ministry, O friend/We have to leave the lovely songs we give." (p. 15)

Don Pablo de la Guerra

EXCERPT FROM HIS SPEECH BEFORE THE CALIFORNIA LEGISLATURE 1856) (Español/English)

19-22

"I have seen seventy and sixty year olds cry like children because they have been uprooted from the lands of their fathers. They have been humiliated and insulted; they have been refused the privilege of taking water from their own wells, they have been denied the privilege of cutting their own firewood. And those who have committed these outrages still come here seeking help. . . ." (p. 19)

Francisco P. Ramírez 1854

POETRY (from EL CLAMOR PUBLICO) (Español)

22-23

(Anonymous) 1855-1856

POETRY (from EL CLAMOR PUBLICO, Los Angeles) (Español)

24-25

José Elías González 1856

POETRY (from EL CLAMOR PUBLICO, Los Angeles) (Español)

26

- J. M. Vigil 1864  
 POETRY (from EL NUEVO MUNDO, San Francisco) (Español) page 27
- Juan B. Hajar y Haro 1865  
 POETRY (from EL NUEVO MUNDO, San Francisco) (Español) 28-31
- José E. Gutiérrez 1879  
 POETRY (from LA GACETA, Santa Bárbara) (Español) 31
- F. N. Gutiérrez 1880  
 POETRY (from LA GACETA, Santa Bárbara) (Español) 32
- Fausto Avendaño  
 LA MUJER DESNUDA (Español) 33-37  
 A blending of realism and dream in which the young protagonist, while in a state of innocence, can enter the world of fantasy by climbing the tree of hope and knowledge without harm. Loss of innocence leads to loss of ability to climb the tree of hope and knowledge without penalty of death.
- Diane de Anda  
 Y VIENE 38-42  
 Marcela, an illegitimate girl, is brought up by her grandparents. She seeks consolation from the sea and the world of dreams.
- Jak Haws  
 SHORT STORY (English) 43  
 No title. A Capsulization of Man's doubts about the existence of "gods."  
 SHORT STORY (English) 44  
 No title. Story of a match that longs to fulfill its purpose, and does—explosively.
- Octavio I. Romano-V., Ph.D.  
 STRINGS FOR A HOLIDAY (English) 45-54  
 A satire at the symbolic level that stings as well-done satire usually does, and is entertaining as well done satire usually is.
- Juan Antonio García  
 POETRY (Español) 55-57
- José Nájera  
 POETRY (English) 58-61
- Juan G. Guevara  
 POETRY (Español) 61-62

|                                   |            |
|-----------------------------------|------------|
| Jorge Alvarez                     |            |
| POETRY (English)                  | page 62-66 |
| Víctor Mejía                      |            |
| POETRY (Español)                  | 67         |
| Paula Ballister                   |            |
| POETRY (English)                  | 67         |
| Tino Villanueva                   |            |
| POETRY (Español/English)          | 68-71      |
| Raymond Padilla                   |            |
| POETRY                            | 72-75      |
| Art in this issue: Ramsés Noriega |            |

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Volume V, Number 2      (Winter 1971-72, 84 pages)      \$1.50 ea

INTRODUCTION 2

A commentary on the contents of this special issue.

Ray Padilla

APUNTES PARA LA DOCUMENTACION DE LA CULTURA CHICANA (English) 3-46

In this research contribution, Ray Padilla joins others who have published outstanding and original research in the pages of EL GRITO, such as Nick C. Vaca's research in social theory and Chicanos, Frank Ortega's work on I.Q. testing, Salvador Alvarez on Mexican-American community organizations, Romano's research on institutionalization in modern society, and others.

Padilla's landmark work is an in-depth, documented study of bibliographies relating to Chicanos. Contrary to the widely held belief that such bibliographies are recent, Mr. Padilla traces their origin to the late 1800's. He then divides the periods of bibliographic output into three periods: First period (1848-1919), Second Period (1920-1959), and Third Period (1960- ). He then proceeds to analyze these bibliographies, demonstrating that bibliographies are not innocuous collections, but rather they are documents which reflect the biases of their time, their place, and their authors. Ending with the present proliferation of bibliographies, Padilla has included a commentary on the documentation of La Cultura Chicana. The significance of

this work, for those engaged in research concerning Chicanos, is obvious. This article should be required reading for all Chicano students upon undertaking research at the college level.

Joseph A. Clark Moreno

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BIBLIOGRAPHIES RELATING TO STUDIES OF MEXICAN AMERICANS.

page 47-79

Listing of 457 bibliographies in existence today relating to Mexican-Americans. In addition, others listed by Ray Padilla (see above), bring the grand total to 513. An excellent source of research materials after reading *Apuntes Para La Documentación de la Cultura Chicana*.

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Volume V, Number 3 (Spring 1972, 88 pages)

\$1.50 ea

Rudolfo A. Anaya

BLESS ME, ULTIMA (Excerpt from the novel)

4-17

Mr. Anaya is the \$1,000 winner of the second annual Premio Quinto Sol for best literary work by a Chicano author. The novel has been published by Quinto Sol Publications.

Tomás Rivera, Ph.D.

EVA Y DANIEL (Español/English)

18-25

A moving story about two young lovers who are separated shortly after their wedding when Daniel receives his draft notice. English translation.

R. R. Hinojosa, Ph.D.

POR ESAS COSAS QUE PASAN (Bilingual)

26-36

The story of Baldemar Cordero who is on trial for killing Ernesto Tamez in a bar incident. Expertly handled newspaper excerpts from before and after the trial serve as a framework for the story and as an indictment of the system of justice as it relates to the Chicano.

Octavio I. Romano-V., Ph.D.

THE CHOSEN ONE, EL ARCO IRIS, THE MISSIONARY, JUAN, EL MESTIZO, Y EL CONSEJO (Bilingual)

37-41

Experimental short story which departs from traditional structures. The connections between the six short divisions of the story are to be



made in terms of images and ideas rather than on purely structural grounds.

Estela Portillo

THE APPLE TREES

page 42-54

Nina, the central character of this story would do anything to secure wealth and power. The tension in the story lies in the exploration of elemental human passions.

José A. Torres

DORMIR ES VIVIR (Español)

55-56

A short story written primarily for children, but which would be challenging reading for anyone. The basic theme is the philosophical statement "Life is but a dream, and dreams are made of dreams."

Rudy Espinosa

MAMA

57

A very short "cuadro poético" that is rich in imagery. Little Eagle and Rosalia face the loss of their mother. They receive consolation by establishing a primal connection with nature.

Juan Antonio García

EL BAUTISMO DE DOÑA PORFIRIA (Español)

58-64

A delightfully humorous story about a very Christian woman whose great weakness is the inability to adhere to any religious sect for any length of time. She is easily converted to the sect of whatever minister happens to be preaching in the area.

Thelma Reyna

THE GRAPEVINE

65-69

A dying grandfather lovingly recalls past family events, and things to which he had great sentimental attachment. In his last moments he asks for his grapevine. The surprise ending comes when the grapevine wilts and dies.

Alfredo de la Torre

ILEANA (Español)

70-73

A sensitive story which takes place partly in the U.S., partly in México. In a surprise ending the protagonist is saved from death by grandparents long dead.

Francisco Jiménez

UN AGUINALDO (Español/English)

74

Set in Corcoran, California, extreme poverty does not allow for the purchase of even a modest gift for the children.

MUERTE FRIA (Español/English)

76-79

The author writes from his experiences as a migrant worker. Inhuman living conditions lead to the death of a Chicano baby.

Ramsés Noriega

Ink drawings

80-83

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### Editorial Note:

In the summer 1970 issue of EL GRITO (Volume III, Number 4, pp. 17-24), Quinto Sol published Part I of "Toward a True Chicano Bibliography," a listing of 195 Mexican-American newspapers published between 1848 and 1942. This newspaper bibliography, compiled by Herminio Ríos C. and Lupe Castillo, contributed greatly toward the eradication of the commonly disseminated but erroneous notions of the non-literate, non-literary, and non-intellectual Mexican-American.

Now, in this issue of EL GRITO is presented this addition to the original bibliography, an addition of 185 Mexican-American newspapers published between 1881 and 1958. This brings the grand total of such newspapers to 380.

Although this two-part bibliography comprises more titles of Mexican-American newspapers than has ever been listed before in one source, it is still by no means complete. Mr. Ríos, as a Fellow at the *Quinto Sol Center for Advanced Mexican-American Social Research* will continue his research that deals with Mexican-American newspapers which have been published and distributed by a people about whom Celia Heller, the Hunter College sociologist, has said that there has been no stress on intellectual effort, and about whom professor Edward Simmen of Pan-American College in Edinburg, Texas, has recently said that Mexican-Americans absolutely have never been either inclined or capable of writing literature.\*

In view of the 380 Mexican-American newspapers now listed in the pages of EL GRITO, it seems appropriate at this time to present again the final paragraph of the original introduction to Part I of "Toward a True Chicano Bibliography."

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\*For a commentary on the relationship of newspapers and literature, see the Introductory Commentaries to the Fall 1971 issue of EL GRITO, Volume V, number 1.

Even if nothing more than the publication of this Mexican-American newspaper bibliography is forthcoming, it will have served a major purpose—for, in itself, it is a damning blow to those myopic historians who have led some to believe that the Mexican-American had no history, or to believe that what history he has had was not recorded by Mexican-Americans themselves. (EL GRITO: Volume III, No. 4, p. 17)

It is patently evident by now that the stereotype of the non-literate and non-literary Mexican-American has been an academic absurdity promulgated by sociologists, historians, and would-be “experts” on Chicano literature. In fact, many of the titles of the newspapers themselves offer striking and revealing evidence that also destroys the stereotype of the “passive” and “fatalistic” Mexican-American. Now, when all is said and done, no one in his right mind can deny that it has been a phenomenal fact of history that such an economically impoverished population actually has managed to publish so many newspapers!

A major component of all Chicano Studies programs in colleges and universities has been course offerings in Chicano history. This newspaper bibliography amply vindicates this interest. Thus, it becomes an indispensable research tool for those Chicanos who, in the near future, will do historical research based on the firm knowledge that the Mexican-American not only had a body, but also a mind to go along with it.

Finally, it can now be said that were it not for the abuelos who published this astounding number of newspapers, there would be no written Chicano history today for us to claim as our own.

THE EDITORS

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## Toward A True Chicano Bibliography—Part II

### CALIFORNIA

#### BAKERSFIELD

1. El Correo Mexicano (irregular) 1913-?

#### BRAWLEY

1. Gaceta del Valle Imperial (weekly) 1929-?

#### CALEXICO

1. La Crónica (weekly) 1924-?
2. La Frontera (weekly) 1924-1929
3. El Monitor (weekly, tri-weekly) 1918-1924
4. La Voz del Mundo (daily except Sunday) 1934-1950

#### FILLMORE AND SANTA PAULA

1. Voz de la Colonia (irregular) 1924-1932

#### FRESNO

1. El Excelsior (weekly) 1924-?

#### LOS ANGELES

1. El Alacrán (bi-weekly, weekly) 1924-?
2. La Alianza (monthly) 1927-?
3. El Correo Mexicano (irregular) 1924-?
4. La Esperanza (weekly) 1929-?
5. Gaceta de los Estados Unidos (weekly, tri-weekly, monthly) 1918-1924

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*Note:* Probably the country's largest collection of Mexican-American newspapers is housed at two locations at the University of California, Berkeley: The Chicano Studies Library and The Bancroft Library. Other collections exist throughout the country, but most of them have been duplicated and are now housed at the Chicano Studies Library at the University of California at Berkeley.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 6. Gráfico (sporadic issues)                         | 1928 March-April<br>1932 August<br>1933 February |
| 7. La Guía del Comprador (monthly)                   | 1925-?   |
| 8. El Heraldo Mexicano (weekly)                      | 1913-?   |
| 9. El Mundial (irregular)                            | 1927-?   |
| 10. El Malcriado (weekly)                            | 1923-1930  |
| 11. México (weekly)                                  | 1929-?   |
| 12. El Monitor Mexicano (weekly, bi-weekly)          | 1890-1911  |
| 13. Las Noticias (irregular)                         | 1929-?   |
| 14. Nueva Senda (monthly)                            | 1928-?   |
| 15. Regeneración (weekly, weekly with interruptions) | 1905-1918  |
| 16. Revolución (weekly)                              | 1910-?   |

OXNARD

- |                            |        |
|----------------------------|--------|
| 1. El Mexicano (bi-weekly) | 1918-? |
|----------------------------|--------|

POINT LOMA

- |   |        |
|---|--------|
| 1. Sendero Teosófico (monthly, quarterly) | 1911-? |
|---|--------|

POMONA

- |                           |        |
|---------------------------|--------|
| 1. El Espectador (weekly) | 1932-? |
|---------------------------|--------|

SAN BERNARDINO

- |                        |        |
|------------------------|--------|
| 1. El Heraldo (weekly) | 1949-? |
|------------------------|--------|

SAN DIEGO

- |                             |        |
|-----------------------------|--------|
| 1. El Imparcial (irregular) | 1927-? |
| 2. La Libertad (irregular)  | 1915-? |

SAN FRANCISCO

- |   |           |
|---|-----------|
| 1. Hispano-Americano (weekly)                                 | 1915-1927 |
| 2. Mefistófeles (irregular, together with<br>Hispano America) | 1916-1918 |
| 3. Resurrección (bi-weekly)                                   | 1909-?    |

ARIZONA

DOUGLAS

- |                                   |        |
|-----------------------------------|--------|
| 1. El Correo Mexicano (irregular) | 1916-? |
| 2. La Industrial (irregular)      | 1910-? |

CLIFTON

- |                              |           |
|------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. El Observador (irregular) | 1914-1917 |
|------------------------------|-----------|

## MIAMI

- |   |           |
|---|-----------|
| 1. El Internacional (bi-weekly)<br>(1926 published in Nogales, Arizona) | 1918-1925 |
|---|-----------|

## NOGALES

- |   |        |
|---|--------|
| 1. Morning Times (daily, English-Spanish) | 1917-? |
| 2. Patria Libre (bi-weekly)               | 1917-? |
| 3. Sonora (monthly)                       | 1921-? |

## PHOENIX

- |                         |           |
|-------------------------|-----------|
| 1. La Justicia (weekly) | 1916-?    |
| 2. El Sol (weekly)      | 1922-1958 |

## TUCSON

- |                        |        |
|------------------------|--------|
| 1. El Monitor (weekly) | 1910-? |
|------------------------|--------|

## YUMA

- |                                 |        |
|---------------------------------|--------|
| 1. El Independiente (irregular) | 1916-? |
|---------------------------------|--------|

## NEW MEXICO

## ALBUQUERQUE

- |   |                        |
|---|------------------------|
| 1. El Abogado Cristiano (monthly, weekly) | 1895-1908<br>1916-1920 |
| 2. La Aurora (weekly)                     | 1928-?                 |
| 3. El Faro del Río Grande                 | 1916-?                 |
| 4. La Gaceta (weekly)                     | 1926-?                 |
| 5. La Opinión Pública (irregular)         | 1908-1911              |

## BELEN

- |                           |        |
|---------------------------|--------|
| 1. News (English-Spanish) | 1925-? |
|---------------------------|--------|

## BERNALILLO

- |   |        |
|---|--------|
| 1. El Agricultor Moderno (quarterly-weekly) | 1915-? |
| 2. Times (weekly, English-Spanish)          | 1931-? |

## ENCINO

- |                                  |        |
|----------------------------------|--------|
| 1. El Progreso (English-Spanish) | 1910-? |
|----------------------------------|--------|

## ESPAÑOLA

- |   |           |
|---|-----------|
| 1. Luz (bi-weekly)  | 1900-1910 |
| 2. El Nuevo Mexicano (weekly)<br>(Appears as section of Española Valley News) | 1937-?    |
| 3. Río Grande Sun (weekly, English-Spanish)                                   | 1956-?    |

## ESTANCA

- |                                     |           |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. Herald (weekly, English-Spanish) | 1910-1913 |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|



*Chicano Bibliography*

**CLAYTON**

1. El Cosmopolita (irregular) 1921-?
2. Fénix (weekly, bi-weekly) 1899
3. Union County Leader (English-Spanish) 1936-?

**GALLUP**

1. Jornal del Pobre (weekly) 1916-?

**LAS CRUCES**

1. Citizen (English-Spanish during first few years) 1902-?
2. La Estrella (weekly) 1910-1930
3. Estrella de Nuevo México (weekly) 1906-1909

**MORA**

1. Eco del Norte (weekly) 1907-1920
2. Mensajero (weekly) 1911-1913

**MOUNTAINAIR**

1. El Independiente (English-Spanish) 1916-1923

**RATON**

1. Gate City Sun (English-Spanish) 1931-?
2. La Victoria (irregular) 1925-1930

**RAY**

1. El Hispano-Americano (Published in Belén, N.M.) 1906-1915  
Published as section of Belén News 1925-?

**RUNGE**

1. Voz del Pueblo (irregular) 1918-?

**ROSEWELL**

1. Register Tribune (English-Spanish) 1910-?

**SANTA FE**

1. Revista Ilustrada (English-Spanish) 1906-1932
2. Sancho Panza (monthly) 1935-?

**SANTA ROSA**

1. News (weekly, English-Spanish) 1922-?

**SOCORRO**

1. El Heraldo (weekly) 1914-?

**TAOS**

1. El Bien Público (irregular) 1912-?
2. Boletín Popular (irregular) 1919-?

- |  |        |
|--|--------|
| 3. El Crepúsculo (English-Spanish)           | 1835-? |
| (Published as Taos Valley News y Crepúsculo) | 1910-? |
| 4. El Crepúsculo (weekly, English-Spanish)   | 1835-? |
| 5. Recorder y Bien Público (irregular)       | 1915-? |
| 6. Review (English-Spanish)                  | 1935-? |

## TERRERO

- |                               |        |
|-------------------------------|--------|
| 1. La Epoca (English-Spanish) | 1909-? |
|-------------------------------|--------|

## TIERRA AMARILLA

- |  |           |
|--|-----------|
| 1. El Nuevo Estado   | 1901-1925 |
| (Weekly, irregular, English-Spanish)                           |           |
| (Published as El Republicano, as El Palito,<br>Española, N.M.) | 1901-1907 |

## FOLSON AND RATON

- |  |           |
|--|-----------|
| 1. El Cometa (weekly, Spanish-English) | 1911-1919 |
|--|-----------|

## VAUGHN

- |                           |        |
|---------------------------|--------|
| 1. News (English-Spanish) | 1926-? |
|---------------------------|--------|

## LAS VEGAS

- |   |           |
|---|-----------|
| 1. La Aurora                                | 1902-1908 |
| 2. East Las Vegas                           | 1911-?    |
| 3. Albuquerque (bi-weekly, English-Spanish) | 1913-?    |
| 4. La Prensa (irregular)                    | 1937-?    |

## EAST LAS VEGAS

- |                                     |        |
|-------------------------------------|--------|
| 1. La Granja y el Hogar (bi-weekly) | 1918-? |
|-------------------------------------|--------|

## WAGON MOUND

- |   |           |
|---|-----------|
| 1. Mora County News (weekly, English-Spanish) | 1925-?    |
| 2. Sentinel y Combate (English-Spanish)       | 1911-1920 |

## TEXAS

## ALICE

- |                                 |           |
|---------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. Cosmopolita (weekly)         | 1904-1912 |
| 2. El Latino Americano (weekly) | 1916-1922 |
| 3. El Sol (weekly)              | 1904-1910 |

## BROWNSVILLE

- |                             |           |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
| 1. El Adelante (weekly)     | 1908-1913 |
| 2. El Eco Fronterizo        | 1924-?    |
| 3. El Liberal (weekly)      | 1912-1917 |
| 4. El Porvenir (bi-weekly)  | 1890-1917 |
| 5. La República (irregular) | 1916-?    |

## CORPUS CHRISTI

- |                                |                 |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. El Fígaro (daily)           | 1915-?          |
| 2. El Paladín (irregular)      | 1925-1940       |
| 3. La Verdad (English-Spanish) | 1942-1958       |
| 4. La Trompeta (monthly)       | 1912-?          |
| 5. El Universal                | 1937-1958 cont. |

## DALLAS

- |                         |        |
|-------------------------|--------|
| 1. La Libertad (weekly) | 1936-? |
| 2. La Libertad (weekly) | 1936-? |
| 3. La Luz               | 1943-? |

## DEL RIO

- |                              |           |
|------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. La Razón                  | 1927-?    |
| 2. La Avispa (irregular)     | 1930-?    |
| 3. El Internacional (weekly) | 1923-1927 |
| 4. El Liberal (weekly)       | 1900-1911 |
| 5. Las Noticias (irregular)  | 1928-?    |
| 6. Nueva Era (weekly)        | 1922-1923 |

## DEVINE

- |                                 |        |
|---------------------------------|--------|
| 1. El Independiente (irregular) | 1911-? |
|---------------------------------|--------|

## EAGLE PASS

- |   |           |
|---|-----------|
| 1. International News Guide (weekly, English-Spanish) | 1886-?    |
| 2. News Guide (weekly)                                | 1888-1932 |
| (daily, English-Spanish)                              | 1917-1940 |

## EDINBURG

- |                                  |           |
|----------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. El Defensor (weekly)          | 1930-1931 |
| 2. Revista del Valle (irregular) | 1915-?    |

## FLORESVILLE

- |                            |            |
|----------------------------|------------|
| 1. El Hogar                | 1914-1917? |
| 2. El Progreso (irregular) | 1915-?     |

## EL PASO

- |   |           |
|---|-----------|
| 1. El Internacional (daily)             | 1913-?    |
| 2. El Internacional (daily)             | 1925-?    |
| 3. La Justicia (daily, English-Spanish) | 1915-1916 |
| 4. Justice (Spanish-English)            | 1906-1908 |
| 5. México Libre (weekly)                | 1915-?    |
| 6. Las Noticias (daily)                 | 1923-?    |
| 7. El Pueblo (irregular)                | 1926-?    |
| 8. Puerto Rico (irregular)              | 1908-1909 |
| 9. La República (daily)                 | 1915-1929 |
| 10. Revista Ilustrada (irregular)       | 1908-1912 |

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|--|-----------------|
| 11. El Sol (weekly)  | 1926-?          |
| 12. Líneas en Español (daily)                                      | 1913-1918       |
| <b>FALFURRIAS</b>  |                 |
| 1. Eco de Falfurrias (bi-weekly)                                   | 1909-1919       |
| <b>GRULLA</b>  |                 |
| 1. Star City Democrat (English-Spanish during political elections) | 1934            |
| <b>HARLINGEN</b>   |                 |
| 1. El Precursor (weekly)   | 1918-1920       |
| 2. La Prensa del Valle (irregular)                                 | 1924-?          |
| <b>HOUSTON</b>   |                 |
| 1. El Tecolote (monthly)   | 1926-1930       |
| <b>KINGSVILLE</b>  |                 |
| 1. Milicia (weekly)  | 1918-?          |
| 2. Notas de Kingsville (weekly)                                    | 1944-1958?      |
| 3. Las Novedades (weekly)  | 1935-?          |
| 4. La Nueva Era (irregular)  | 1927-?          |
| 5. El Popular  | 1914-?          |
| <b>LAREDO</b>  |                 |
| 1. La Crónica (irregular)  | 1910-?          |
| 2. Luz y Verdad (bi-weekly)  | 1921-1926       |
| 3. Las Noticias (weekly)   | 1929-?          |
| 4. El Obrero (weekly)  | 1916-1920       |
| 5. El Progreso (weekly)  | 1913-1915       |
| 6. Times (English-Spanish)   | 1881-1958 Cont. |
| <b>MISSION</b>   |                 |
| 1. El Progreso (weekly)  | 1915-1921       |
| <b>MC ALLEN</b>  |                 |
| 1. Calaveras (annual)  | 1917-?          |
| 2. Mañana (weekly)   | 1917-1919 June  |
| <b>MERCEDES</b>  |                 |
| 1. Centro del Valle (weekly)                                       | 1927-1929       |
| <b>RAYMONDVILLE</b>  |                 |
| 1. El Tiempo (weekly)  | 1937-1958       |
| <b>RIO GRANDE</b>  |                 |
| 1. Actualidades (weekly, irregular)                                | 1914-1930       |
| 2. Las Dos Riberas (weekly)  | 1915-1918       |

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|--|----------------|
| 3. El Herald                                   | 1920-1921      |
| 4. Río Grande Herald (weekly, English Spanish) | 1927-?         |
| 5. El Independiente (weekly)                   | 1931 Feb.-Dec. |

## SABINAL

- |                              |        |
|------------------------------|--------|
| 1. Justice (English-Spanish) | 1912-? |
|------------------------------|--------|

## SAN ANTONIO

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|------------------------------------|------------|
| 1. Adelante (monthly)              | 1916-1920  |
| 2. Amigo del Pueblo (weekly)       | 1908-1917? |
| 3. Boletín Mexicano (4 issues)     | 1926-?     |
| 4. Imparcial de Texas (weekly)     | 1908-1924  |
| 5. Chiltipiquín (weekly)           | 1914-1915  |
| 6. La Defensa (weekly)             | 1917-1921  |
| 7. El látigo (weekly)              | 1895-1910  |
| 8. México Internacional (weekly)   | 1909-1910  |
| 9. Monitor Democrático (bi-weekly) | 1910-1911  |
| 10. El Noticioso (weekly)          | 1907-1909  |
| 11. El Presente (weekly)           | 1914-1915  |
| 12. La Raza (daily)                | 1914-1915  |
| 13. La República (weekly)          | 1913-?     |
| 14. Revista Mexicana (weekly)      | 1915-1920  |
| 15. Revista Mensual (monthly)      | 1907-1909  |
| 16. El Trabajo (weekly)            | 1919-?     |
| 17. El Vacilón (weekly)            | 1929-?     |
| 18. La Voz (irregular)             | 1926-?     |

## SAN ANTONIO AND LAREDO

- |   |           |
|---|-----------|
| 1. La Voz de Juárez (weekly with interruptions) | 1908-1919 |
|---|-----------|

## SAN BENITO

- |                       |        |
|-----------------------|--------|
| 1. La Luz (irregular) | 1913-? |
|-----------------------|--------|

## SAN DIEGO

- |  |           |
|--|-----------|
| 1. La Gaceta                             | 1918-?    |
| 2. La Libertad (weekly, English-Spanish) | 1888-1940 |
| 3. El Porvenir (irregular)               | 1927-?    |

## ZAPATA

- |   |           |
|---|-----------|
| 1. Zapata County News (English-Spanish) | 1936-1958 |
|---|-----------|

*Teresa Urrea, "La Santa Teresa de Cabora," was not a revolutionary leader nor a conspirator. All she did was to devote her life to the healing of people. Her part in the history of Aztlán should be known, and that is our goal in writing the following account.*

**TERESA URREA  
HER LIFE, AS IT AFFECTED  
THE MEXICAN-U.S. FRONTIER**

**Richard and Gloria L. Rodriguez**

**EL ALBA**

*Díaz*

The mid-1870's marked the beginning of a new era for México, the beginning of the regime of General José De La Cruz Porfirio Díaz. The populace believed that Don Porfirio would lead the nation out of troubled times, and into a more sedate and progressive future. However, in 1877, under Lerdo de Tejada, a rebellion began in northern México. The northern beginnings were led by Coronel Pedro Valdez and General Mariano Escobedo.<sup>1</sup> The following year, in Jalapa, Lorenzo Hernández and his followers joined in the rebellion against Díaz. Subsequently, Javier Espino and his men rebelled in the town of Tlapacoyán. In 1879 the rebellion continued, and on June 2, in Tepozotlán, Lieutenant Miguel Negrete, son of the hero of the Cinco de Mayo, joined the revolt against the government. The Lieutenant's father, General Miguel Negrete, labelled his son's movement subversive. Nevertheless, the movement continued to spread to other regions within the states of Veracruz and Puebla.

For a time, the Díaz government believed that the revolt had been crushed by General Luis Mier y Terán in Veracruz, since the plot had been discovered. Mier captured most of the conspirators, but many others managed to escape. Those who had been captured were executed on the 25th of June, 1879. These executions inspired other revolts in Sinaloa. One such revolt was led by General Jesús Ramírez Terrón, followed by still another in the Sierra Madre led by Heraclio Bernal. Two other uprisings were put down by the government; one in 1886 in Zacatecas led by General Trinidad García de la Cadena, and the other in 1890 on the border led by General Francisco Ruiz Sandoval. Nevertheless, despite the setbacks, the rebellions continued. In one way or

another, these historical events, and those that followed, touched the life of Teresa Urrea.

### *Don Tomás*

In Ocoroni, Sinaloa, México, on the 15th of October of 1872 or 1873 (our sources are not in agreement), Teresa was born of Cayetana Chávez, a poor Yaqui Indian woman, and Don Tomás Urrea, a Mexican patrón of the ranch at which Cayetana was living. The parents were not married.

Her mother was only fourteen when she gave birth to Teresa. Her father had a total of eighteen children and her mother had four, but not one of them was a full brother or sister of Teresa's. Teresa and her mother lived in the dirt floor shack of Cayetana's sister.<sup>2</sup>

Don Tomás Urrea was a well-to-do rancher, active in the political affairs of México, and who considered himself a liberal. In 1876 he supported Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada, also a liberal, who was running for reelection as President of México against the conservative, autocratic, General Porfirio Díaz. The election never took place. Díaz executed a military coup; declared himself "elected," and seized power. Lerdo fled into exile. Thereupon Díaz began to liquidate the opposition, that is, the supporters of Lerdo. Don Tomás then realized that he must either support Díaz or leave the state of Sinaloa.

By now Don Tomás had married his first cousin, Doña Loreto Eceberri. Their uncle, Miguel Urrea, who owned silver mines in Alamos, Sonora and Chinipas, Chihuahua, as well as several cattle ranches in Sonora, gave them one of his ranches called Cabora as a wedding present. Don Tomás decided to leave Sinaloa and move to the ranch of Cabora in Sonora. First he went to Alamos and conferred with his Uncle Miguel who encouraged him to make the change, in addition offering to give him and Doña Loreto a large house in Alamos and to sell them at a low price two other ranches adjoining Cabora. The latter were the ranches of Aquihuiquichi and Santa María. The three ranches were situated about halfway between Alamos and the present city of Obregón.

### *Rancho Cabora*

The arrangements to move completed, in 1880 Don Tomás returned to Sinaloa to bring his family and retainers to the new location. The result was an exodus of vaqueros, field workers, and domestic servants, herds and flocks, bullcarts, horses, mules and donkeys. Teresa and her





mother went along with the family of Cayetana's sister. There is no evidence that Doña Loreto knew of the identity of Teresa at this time.

Don Tomás left Doña Loreto and her children and attendants in a large house called "La Capilla," at the edge of Alamos. With his workmen and herds, he then moved on to the ranch of Santa María, which was nearest to Alamos. The ranch at Cabora was in need of repair due to damage done by Yaqui Indians two or three years earlier. Don Tomás used Santa María as a base while he made improvements at Cabora. When the improvements at Cabora were finished and several hundred acres of irrigated farm land had been put to cultivation, Don Tomás installed a beautiful teenage girl, Gabriela Cantúa, as mistress of Cabora. She later became his common-law wife. Doña Loreto and her troupe continued to live at La Capilla in Alamos. During these years, from 1880 to 1888, it is not certain where Teresa and her mother lived. It could have been at Alamos, at Santa María, or at Aquihuiquichi.<sup>3</sup> However, Teresa has been reported as saying, "When I was sixteen my father sent for me to come to his home. I went to his hacienda at Cabora."<sup>4</sup>

At that time the condition of the Indians was one of rampant poverty, with the government doing nothing to alleviate the problem. Instead, the Díaz regime sent engineers who built bridges and irrigation ditches so that large land owners could have water for their crops.

### *La Santa*

Don Tomás had in his employ an old Indian servant named María Sonora. Research reveals varying accounts concerning the role María played in influencing Teresa Urrea's life. One such account recorded María as a practicing curandera and that Teresa became her understudy, learning thereby the names of over one-hundred herbs and what they might cure.<sup>5</sup> Other accounts relate that María taught Teresa to read, and that she suffered from a paralysis which Teresa cured "by rubbing her gently with her hands."<sup>6</sup>

Teresa's healing power was a result of a cataleptic state she experienced during her first few months at Cabora. It lasted three months and eighteen days. During the first fourteen days in the trance, Teresa's heartbeat became fainter and fainter until it seemed to cease altogether. Believing her dead, her family began preparations for her burial. An all night wake was held and late that night, as the women knelt around her saying their prayers and fingering their rosaries, Teresa revived, raised herself up, and inquired as to what was going on. For the three months following that occurrence Teresa was in a state of abstraction. It is reported that Teresa said, "For three months and eighteen days, I was in a trance. I know nothing of what I did during that time. They told

me, those who saw, that I could move about but they had to feed me; that I talked strange things about God and religion, that people came to me from all (over) the country, and if they were sick or crippled, I put my hands on them and they got well. Of this I remember nothing, but when I came to myself I saw they were well.”<sup>7</sup>

The news of the girl of Cabora who could cure all illnesses spread rapidly and soon the roads leading to Cabora were filled with the sick and crippled. Her curing power continued, and the crowds grew to enormous proportions. A reporter from a newspaper in Las Cruces, New Mexico, reported the number of people on the day he was there at five-thousand.

With the ever-increasing numbers of people coming to see Santa Teresa, as her followers now called her, the problem of housing and feeding them, as most of them were the poor and the downtrodden, became apparent to Don Tomás. At first he was not a believer in Teresa's power, but he could not influence her to turn her patients away. Therefore he resigned himself to digging more wells and opening a commissary that sold food to those who could pay and giving food to those who could not. He also gave Teresa a house of her own in which she could receive her patients without having to bring them into his own home. The majority of Santa Teresa's followers were the poor, and predominant among them were Indians, especially the Yaquis and Mayos of Sonora, the Gusaves of Sinaloa, and the Tarahumaras from Chihuahua. It is interesting that such a vast number of people could actually visit one person, see that person as a healer and a saint, and still return home believers. One such group of believers were the Tarahumara Indians from the village of Tomochi.

## MEDIODIA

### *Tomochi*

In the year 1891 the Governor of Chihuahua, Lauro Carrillo, decided to travel through his large state. While visiting Tomochi, a small village in the sierra of Chihuahua, he discovered a beautiful portrait of the Virgen de Guadalupe. Upon his return to the capitol he ordered the jefe político of Tomochi to take the painting and submit it to the State. The Indians of Tomochi protested with such vigor that the Governor felt obligated to return the painting.

Governor Carrillo never forgave the people of Tomochi for this “discourtesy.” Thereupon, Joaquín Chávez, a powerful regional political chief, took advantage of the Governor's antipathy toward the Tarahumaras of Tomochi. Chávez conspired with his brother Juan Ignacio and their brother-in-law, Reyes Domínguez, to rid the town of

Tarahumaras. These three conspirators operated the British-owned mines of Pinos Altos and Ocampo of the Rayón District. In addition, it was rumored that Díaz himself had his eye on Tomochi because of its pine and fir tree covered mountains. Similarly, José Ives Limantour, the up-and-coming Secretary of the Treasury, exchanged valueless land in Baja California and some offshore islands for 170,000 hectares of this beautiful mountain forest area.<sup>9</sup> Tomochi was valuable. But it was valuable only to the people who had the money to develop it. The Tarahumaras had no money, nor knowledge of the economic value of the forest that surrounded their villages.

The only people who resisted the Chávez brothers, Joaquín and Juan Ignacio, and their brother-in-law Reyes Domínguez, were Cruz and Manuel Chávez. Cruz was known to have punished Reyes for taking advantage of some impoverished Indians. Having worked for such little pay for Reyes, the Indians now began to work at other mines or saw-mills. There they discovered that they could earn more money. Thus, more and more Indians left the Pinos Altos mine.

False messages of uprisings went out from Joaquín, Juan, and Reyes. Joaquín Chávez, through his influence with the jefe político of Ciudad Guerrero, had one such message transmitted to Governor Carrillo. The Governor, in turn, forwarded the message to General Porfirio Díaz. The government responded by drafting all the young men who refused to work at the Pinos Altos mine.

After the conscription of the young men, Joaquín would no longer enter the village of Tomochi. The Indians had learned that it was he who had sent the fabricated message to the Governor, and that he was thus principally responsible for the legal kidnapping of their young men. The power that Joaquín had in the government now became evident. He openly laid siege on the house of Jorge Ortiz, ostensibly for no other reason than to take the land for himself.

Cruz and Manuel Chávez then decided that they could no longer stand aside while such injustices were committed on their people. Some nights after the takeover of the Ortiz house, the Tarahumaras met at the house of José Dolores Rodríguez. Thirty-three men attended and they decided to organize militarily. Cruz was elected Captain and Manuel was to be his second in command.

Some of the residents of Tomochi had visited Teresa, and perhaps some of these thirty-three men had seen her. But the military organization itself was neither inspired nor directed by Teresa Urrea. Nonetheless, she had probably spoken of the injustices by the government while the Church remained passive.

On December 5, 1891, formal accusations were brought on the people of Tomochi. A telegram from the jefe político of Ciudad de Guerrero to Carrillo, the Governor of Sonora, read,

Just this moment I have been notified by Captain Joaquín Chávez, that there are forty armed rebels in Tomochi, that will not recognize authority. I am recruiting an army to march on said village and require the assistance of Captain Chávez, and a detachment from the 110 Battalion that is stationed here.<sup>10</sup>

On the same day, the Governor received another telegram from Captain Chávez (he had the rank of Captain in the National Guard). It read,

Since the 25th of November about forty armed men had been encountered in Tomochi, according to information from the village President, with the purpose of becoming independent from the government. Today the jefe político wants me to accompany him with an escort to Tomochi. I am presently in command of three companies that I cannot leave; but if you order it, I will leave with the jefe político.<sup>11</sup>

On the 25th of November of 1891 the house of Jorge Ortiz had been seized by Captain Chávez. The meeting at Rodríguez' house with the Chávez and their followers had not taken place until the 30th of November. Joaquín Chávez, in his telegram, had informed the Governor that since the 25th of November forty armed men were to be found in Tomochi. The governor did not trouble himself to investigate these accusations. He accepted them without question. His reply to the jefe político was,

You are ordered to go to Tomochi with the detachments from the 110 Battalion and to help the people of said village in whatever measures are adequate in the restoration of tranquility.<sup>12</sup>

The destruction of the small village of about three-hundred people was in progress. The Tomochis met the first detachment of federal troops at the outskirts of the village. Due to a shortage of ammunition, the Tarahumaras had to fall back. They retreated to the mountains and the federal troops did not pursue them. Instead, the soldiers, led by Joaquín Chávez, took over the village of Tomochi. Other detachments were sent for to join in the search for the rebellious Tarahumaras.

While the new detachment searched for the rebels, Don Silvano González along with Joaquín and Juan Ignacio Chávez, and Reyes Domínguez took over Tomochi. Martial law was declared. The people who lived on the best lands mysteriously disappeared at night and were never heard from again. Because of the reign of terror in the town, the majority of the villagers abandoned their homes.

The defeated Tarahumaras, led by Cruz and Manuel, at this juncture

decided to go to Sonora and see Teresa Urrea. The trip from the sierras of Chihuahua to Cabora took many days. After crossing into the State of Sonora, they went directly to the Urrea rancho at Cabora. They did not find Teresa there so they decided to wait. When several days had elapsed with no success in their mission, they decided to return to their sierra. They left their younger brother, Jesús José Chávez, behind. He had been suffering from a high fever for several days. The older brothers left Cabora, knowing that the federales of Sonora had been notified of the uprising in Tomochi and that it would be dangerous to remain there any longer.

The National Guard of Sonora had been alerted about the Tarahumaras. They realized that the Tarahumaras were somewhere in the state, but they did not suspect any connection between the rebels' presence and Teresita. Somewhat later, a detachment of federal soldiers came upon a group of Indians who had stopped briefly to drink water at the small river of el Alamo de Palomares which ran through the Rancho del Alamo. This ranch was owned by Don Miguel Urrea, the uncle of Don Tomás Urrea. The military detachment was led by Captain Emilio Enríquez who thereupon laid siege upon the group of Indians. A short battle ensued. Captain Enríquez and some officers and men lost their lives. This event led the Tomochis to decide that it would be too dangerous to return to their village. They decided to remain in the mountains, only coming down to steal cattle and arms from the outlying ranchos. According to Francisco P. Troncoso's *Las Guerras Con Las Tribus Yaqui y Mayo Del Estado De Sonora*, the soldiers who patrolled the sierras at that time reported considerable organized Indian activity in the vicinity. At the same time, the Yaquis were also in arms against the government. The Yaquis were led by Juan Maldonado, known as Tetabiate.

It was not until August of 1892 that the Tarahumaras returned to Chihuahua. 1892 was a bloody year for the State of Sonora. While the Yaquis continued their guerrilla attacks against federal troops, the Mayo Indians of Navajoa took over that town to the cry of, "VIVA LA SANTA DE CABORA." Almost immediately this uprising was put down by Lieutenant Coronel Severiano Talamante. Although the Mayos had succeeded in killing the jefe político and other prominent citizens, they themselves were almost annihilated by Talamante and reinforcements.<sup>13</sup>

Upon their return to Tomochi, the Tarahumaras slipped into the village unnoticed and found refuge in the homes of sympathizers. There they learned of what had happened during their absence. Now the small group of Indians increased from thirty-five to sixty men. Also supporting them were people in the outlying villages.

The jefe político of Ciudad de Guerrero learned of the Indians'

return, and he informed the governor. Indecisive, the governor wired General Díaz. Subsequently General Díaz personally supervised the attack on Tomochi from México City. Two-hundred men were sent from Ciudad de Guerrero. The Tomochis waited for the soldiers in the valley just outside of their village. The third battle ensued, and the Tarahumaras were victorious. The commander of the federal forces was Lieutenant Coronel José María Ramírez who was taken prisoner. In addition, the Tomochis gained considerable booty from their victory. When the report of this defeat reached the capitol, General Porfirio Díaz is said to have become furious. He sent more reinforcements from Chihuahua and Sonora to deal with the situation.<sup>14</sup>

The last battle at Tomochi was the most furious. The first wave of attacking soldiers numbered about six-hundred, under the command of General José María Rangel. The men of Tomochi numbered about one-hundred, counting some boys of about fourteen. The battle began on October 29, 1892 around 8 o'clock in the morning, and the first encounter lasted two hours. The Tomochis would attack and fall back repeatedly throughout the day of the 20th. On the night of the 20th they picked up their wounded, the arms and munitions of the dead, and fell back once again. On the 21st nothing occurred since General Rangel had suffered heavy casualties and was awaiting reinforcements. On the 22nd artillery arrived. But the cannon was too light, and could not reach the buildings of the village where the people had taken refuge. The battle lasted two days, but its destruction would last forever. The government had lost more than seven-hundred men, dead and wounded. The village was leveled and burned. Only a few walls were left standing. Tomochi had been destroyed.

### *Tomasachi*

On the 4th of April of 1893 two brothers named Celso and Simón Anaya led another village, Tomasachi, in rebellion against the Díaz government. It was said that the brothers Anaya had been sent to Tomasachi by Cruz Chávez to avenge the destruction of the village of Tomochi. The brothers brought with them what was now the battlecry: VIVA EL GRAN PODER DE DIOS—VIVA LA SANTA DE CABORA. The brothers enlisted four-hundred Tomasachios to lay siege to Ciudad de Guerrero. The 90th Battalion was sent to stop them, and the Battle of Casa Blanca was fought. The 90th suffered heavy losses and reinforcements had to be summoned. The newspapers of the day reported the rebels to number five-thousand, and that three-thousand of these were Yaqui and Mayo Indians. This account appears to be a gross exaggeration. Nevertheless, the rebels captured Ciudad de Guerrero on or about the 20th of April. Once again reinforcements were ordered to



Chihuahua from Sonora, and in May of 1893 the Tomasachios abandoned Ciudad de Guerrero and returned to their village.

### *Exile*

No evidence has ever been uncovered to the effect that either Teresa or Don Tomás inspired these rebellions, even though delegations from the Tarahumaras, Mayos, and Yaquis visited and sought her approval. To their inquiries, Teresa would only answer, "God intended for you to have the lands, or He would not have given them to you."<sup>16</sup> Thus, the Mexican government concluded that Teresa was a threat and decided to take measures to "subdue" the young lady.

Even before the Tomasachio capture of Ciudad de Guerrero, therefore, on May 19, 1892, General Abraham Bandala arrived at Rancho Cabora, ordered Don Tomás and Teresa arrested, and had them sent to Cocorit, Sonora. The general had them detained because he had discovered that the Rancho de Cabora was the nucleus of all the Indian uprisings. He ascertained that the Urreas could no longer remain in the area. From Cocorit he ordered the Urreas transferred to Guaymas, along with whatever evidence he had that led to their arrest. But the Governor of Sonora did not know what to do with Don Tomás and Teresa, so he wired Porfirio Díaz who in turn ordered them deported. Teresa and her father crossed the border into the United States at Nogales, Arizona, in the year 1892<sup>18</sup> where they were provided with a small furnished house by the citizens of Nogales.<sup>19</sup> When Gabriela, the common-law wife of Don Tomás, and her children along with a company of aides joined the two in Arizona it became necessary to move to a more spacious location. They moved to El Bosque, located several miles north of Nogales.

This place became the mecca for pilgrims seeking cures from as far away as Sinaloa. Not only the sick and crippled came, but political refugees as well. Nogales and El Bosque became the rendezvous for revolutionaries plotting the overthrow of the Díaz government. Their main recruiting source was from among the throngs of people streaming out of México to see Teresita. The agitators were collecting arms and ammunition. Don Tomás realized the revolutionists were anxious to exploit Teresita's influence over the Indians and the Mexican peons.<sup>20</sup>

The Urrea family stayed at El Bosque for three years until an invitation for them to move was offered by the people of Solomonville in eastern Arizona. Realizing the necessity to move further away from the border, and the conspiracies initiating there, Don Tomás made the decision to move. Thereupon the town of Solomonville sent a caravan of

twenty-five wagons to move the household. However, some eight months later, in June, 1896, the family moved again, this time to El Paso, Texas. The reason for this move is not clear, but of primary influence was a man named Lauro Aguirre, a Mexican newspaperman. Also in exile from México, due to his publication of anti-Díaz literature, by 1896 Aguirre had established three newspapers in the United States: *El Independiente*<sup>21</sup> and *El Progresista*<sup>22</sup> published in El Paso, and *El Independiente* published in Nogales.<sup>23</sup> The nature of his influence on Don Tomás to move to El Paso is not known, but it is reasonable to assume that it could not have been to assist in starting a revolution since that precisely was the principal reason that caused Don Tomás to move his family from Nogales.

### *Nogales*

It had been hardly more than a month since Teresa had settled in El Paso when the Mexican customs house at Nogales, Sonora, was attacked by "a band of Santa Teresa fanatics." On the morning of Wednesday, August 12, 1896, at approximately 4:00 a.m., a group of sixty or seventy Indians, said to be Yaqui and Tomochi (Tarahumaras), rode in from the American side of the border armed with a variety of weapons; rifles, pistols, knives, bows and arrows. The citizens from both sides of the border (only a narrow street separates Nogales, México from Nogales, Arizona) were awakened by the shots and yells of VIVA LA SANTA DE CABORA. "Many on the American side, securing arms of the local Arizona National Guard company, crossed over the line and joined their Mexican neighbors in expelling their Yaqui assailants."<sup>24</sup> The battle lasted three hours, resulting in the death of ten Indians, one prisoner taken, four Mexican guards killed and two wounded.<sup>25</sup> No casualties among the Americans were reported. The attacking Indians succeeded in securing arms and ammunition from the customs house, but they failed to obtain \$20,000 stored inside. Then they retreated across the border to Arizona, heading toward Tubac. Letters and newspaper articles found on the dead Indians left behind revealed that the band had organized a week earlier at Huevavi, on the American side, eight miles north of Nogales. The following account was printed in the *Arizona Daily Star*.

The indians seem to be crazy on account of the fanatical worship of Santa Teresa de Cabora. On the body of a leader was found a picture of the saint and a half dozen copies of 'El Independent'; published at Nogales by Lauro Aguirre, who undoubtedly is the cause of inciting the rebellion; also several letters containing plans for an attack on the night of August 11th.<sup>27</sup>



The *New York Times* also showed an interest in these events.

Copies of 'The Independence', Lauro Aguirre's paper published at El Paso, Texas, were found on the dead Yaquis. The papers were dated June 8 and July 25, 1896, and were special editions, containing nothing but revolutionary matter against the Mexican government. Some people think Lauro Aguirre was with the raiders, but no one seems to have recognized him.<sup>28</sup>

Within ten hours following the attack at Nogales a train from Magdalena brought the famed Colonel Emilio Kosterlitzky and his gendarmería to protect the Mexican side of Nogales. Shortly thereafter two companies of U.S. infantry were sent by rail to Nogales, Arizona, under the command of Colonel John Back of Fort Huachuca, Arizona. They were to protect the American citizens from further attacks and to assist the Mexican army in tracking down the insurrectionists.

On the Sonora side of the line there are four prisoners in jail. One of them, named Francisco Vásquez, has outlined a history of the movement and the intentions of the leaders. He says Arvizu came to Greaterville, where Vásquez was at work, on the 9th, and enlisted nineteen Yaquis there. They moved to Huevavi on the eleventh, and were there joined by twenty-five others. Before daylight of the twelfth they attacked the custom house and were successful. But for Lieutenant Piper's (of the Arizona National Guard) prompt action in turning his guns loose upon them they would have carried out the next steps in the programme—get the money out of the vaults of the custom house, loot the town, and move on Magdalena. The plan was to reach Magdalena on the sixteenth. At that place they were to be joined by a force from the Yaqui river. Col. Kosterlitzky is officially informed that a band of armed Yaquis was seen near Magdalena on the fourteenth. With failure on the attack on Nogales they retired. Magdalena captured and looted the plan was then to move on Hermosillo, gathering arms and adherents on route, and appear at the Sonora capital with more than 1,000 armed men. The rest of the plan involved a movement to the Yaqui river from Hermosillo, after the capture of that place, junction with the fighting Yaquis there, and an expulsion of all Mexicans—whether soldiers or citizens—from that valley, with a complete overturning of the present constituted authority in the State of Sonora. How far they could have carried that plan is a matter of conjecture only.<sup>29</sup>

Mrs. Carrillo, of this city, has received a letter from a son

who is in Agua Cerca, Sonora, in which he relates an experience which he and two companions had recently with a band of Santa Teresa fanatics.

He and his companions were quietly in the pursuit of their avocations when a crowd of the worshippers came up, seized and bound them and threatened them with death. When the three discovered the character of their assailants they set up a lusty shout of "Viva Santa Teresa de Cabora" and were at once released. The fanatics relieved them of guns and other articles of which they were in need and went on their way rejoicing.<sup>30</sup>

Nogales, Arizona, August 18, 1896—Word has been received here that the Yaquis, numbering about 1,000 employed in placer mining in the Altar District of Sonora, Cirnega, eighty miles southwest of Nogales, have risen in sympathy with the recent revolutionary movement in this place.<sup>31</sup>

Nogales, Arizona, August 19, 1896—The Indian José Salcedo, who was brought in Sunday, is on the list of the original nineteen rebels and has been identified as one of those engaged in the fight on the morning of the 12th. All the prisoners were given a hearing yesterday before United States Court Commissioner Taylor and pleaded not guilty. Much speculation as to whether they can be turned over to the Mexican Government exists. Once across the line, short work would be made of all of them. It is reported here that the Mexican Government has already made a requisition on the United States for Lauro Aguirre and Teresa de Cabora, and her father, who is with her at El Paso.

The indian prisoners say her father is more to blame than she, as the girl does about as he wants her to. Aguirre is the worst, they say, as he has complete control over Teresa's father.

Aguirre is a highly educated man in his language, but is said to be dissipated. It is estimated by the Mexican officials here that he and Santa Teresa, by their influence, have caused the death of more than 1,000 people in the last six or seven years.

None of the Yaquis who quit work on the railway and who were around town yesterday before the attack on Nogales, have returned to work or applied for their pay.<sup>32</sup>

Despite these events, responsibility for the attack on Nogales was not directly ascribed to Teresa. For example, in the U.S. Secretary of War Report for 1896, mention of her was as follows: "Those engaged in the attack on the Mexican customhouse were undoubtedly followers of the so-called St. Teresa, styled from her birthplace Santa Teresa de

Caborda (*sic*). Her teachings, however, do not appear to be of a political or revolutionary character.”

Mrs. Marguerite Peck, wife of the editor of the Nogales Border Vidette, recalled an article of August 14, 1896 which stated, “The insurrection, for it is nothing less, is undoubtedly the result of the revolutionary articles printed in *El Independiente*, published in El Paso, by Lauro Aguirre.”<sup>33</sup>

Apparently Lauro Aguirre was very much sought after by the Mexican government, for ten years later an article appeared in the *Arizona Daily Citizen* regarding this interest:

Lauro Aguirre, editor of “*La Reforma Social*” of El Paso, is again a free man. For 38 days he was kept in jail without a hearing while Federal Officials connected with the Immigration Department hunted high and low for evidence against him. They failed to find a single thing against him and he was released today.<sup>34</sup>

Teresa herself refused publicly to have any part in the affairs of México. On September 11, 1896, she issued a statement printed in the *El Paso Herald*. This open letter is of significance even today in that it is one of only three documents in existence that contain direct quotations by her. She wrote as follows,

The press generally in these days has occupied itself with my humble person in terms unfavorable in the highest degree, since in a fashion most unjust—the fashion in the Republic of México; they refer to me as participating in political matters; they connect me to the events that have happened in Nogales, Sonora, Coyame and Presidio del Norte, Chihuahua, where people have risen in arms against the government of Sr. General Don Porfirio Díaz.

I am not one who encourages such uprisings, nor one who in any way mixes up with them and I protest once, and as many times as may be necessary, against the imputations of my enemies.

In the month of October of the past year, I went out from a point called El Bosque, sixteen miles from Nogales, Arizona, where I remained with my parents three years and three months, giving my attention exclusively to thousands of sick people who were constantly coming to that place from all over the world in search of my services. I arrived at Solomonville the last of October of the same year, and remained there seven months, or until June of the present year when I came to this city; that is to say,

three months have I resided here, and all this time have I given to my numerous patients, to whom, notwithstanding that I gave them all my attentions, I was unable to fully attend; the smallest number I have cared for in one day being one hundred and eighty, although generally the number was placed at two hundred.

I should note that the local authorities of each place where I have resided, in view of my entirely peaceful and orderly conduct, have been pleased to issue me credentials of very satisfactory character which may be seen by persons in this community having occasion to look at them. My neighbors generally in this hospitable town also can testify to my good conduct. Very honorable persons in this community have thought it worthwhile to offer me their kindly offices in defending me; and as for me, my conscience is at rest in that I have never committed any misdeed. I extend to those kind people my grateful acknowledgements.

I have noticed with much pain that the persons who have taken up arms in Mexican territory have invoked my name in aid of the schemes they are carrying through. But I repeat I am not one who authorizes or at the same time interferes with these proceedings. Decidedly I am a victim since in a most unjust way have I been expatriated from my country since May 19, 1892. It is now over four years, and this expatriation was announced to my father and myself through General Abraham Bandals and José Tiburcio Otero, as being ordered by the president of the republic, Don Porfirio Díaz, by telegraph. Without doubt the haste with which he acted was inspired of my enemies; but I ask, would it not have been more just in this case, if General Díaz, instead of ordering me expelled, has consented to order a judicial investigation before the authorities of my place of residence that the tribunal might judge whether or not I was guilty of wrong doing? Nothing was done beyond expelling me, but this was in such a way that I and my family were forced to hunt in a foreign country the guarantees which our own country denied us. Oh, that heaven may pardon this ingratitude of which I have been made the victim by the president of the Republic of México, with whom I condole with all my heart for being misled.

In conclusion I will state that if in the future more uprisings follow in the Republic of México, and as, even now, it has been said by my enemies that I am the kind of a person to start these movements, I will say once more that I am taking no part in them. Am I to blame because my offending compatriots demand

of the government justice for me? I think not, and appeal to the judgement of every sensible person.

TERESA URREA

El Paso, Texas

September 8, 1896<sup>35</sup>

## LA PUESTA

— *Clifton* —

With all of the turmoil concerning Teresa, at this time Don Tomás decided to move his family to Clifton, Arizona, a mining town as remote and isolated as he could find without living too distant from his properties in Sonora and Sinaloa. But before they left El Paso, Teresa and Lauro Aguirre wrote and published a book in Spanish titled *Tomochic*.

Clifton was a small copper-mining town, and the lives of the residents was slow-paced and uneventful. Upon arriving at Clifton, Teresa was warmly received by the townspeople and due to the remoteness of the location she found few pressures or demands made upon her. A local physician, Dr. L. A. W. Burtch became interested in her work with the families of the workers, and he visited her home frequently where he observed her methods of treatment. And in some of his own patients whom he had been unable to help he saw improvements. He had no medical answers for the phenomenon, but nevertheless he continued to refer cases to her. A deep friendship developed between this doctor and Teresa. It was through him that other wealthy Americans learned of her, such as the manager of the First National Bank, Charles P. Rosencrans. The bank manager had a daughter whom the doctors had said could not be cured. Thereupon he took the girl to Santa Teresa who soon cured the girl.

In 1899, Teresa and a Yaqui worker from the mines, Guadalupe Rodríguez, became interested in each other. But, "Lupe" was not looked upon favorably by Don Tomás. Nevertheless, against the wishes of her father, on June 22, 1900, Lupe Rodríguez and Teresa Urrea were married. The union lasted but a brief time, for the following morning Lupe armed himself and began acting somewhat violently. He was disarmed by some Mexican workers who were furious about his marriage to their "saint." Lupe was placed in jail and tried. Found insane, he was sent to an asylum.

— *El Viaje* —

It was after this episode in Teresa's life that Charles Rosencrans persuaded her to go to San Francisco.<sup>36</sup> In that California city Teresa

helped the daughter of Mrs. A. C. Fessler of nearby San Jose. The newspapers learned of this occasion and became interested in the story. The *San Francisco Examiner*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and the *Call* sent their reporters to interview Teresa.

Somewhat later, some scheming promoters induced Teresa to join them in forming a medical company that would tour the United States on a "Curing Crusade." She was promised the sum of ten-thousand dollars for her services. Teresa agreed on the condition that none of her patients would be charged for her help. It was her understanding that the venture was philanthropic, financed by wealthy people. However, she did not know that a substantial fee would be charged to all clients. After a few months in San Francisco, in January of 1901, the Medical Company moved to St. Louis for several months. While there, Teresa wrote a letter to her friend, Mrs. Juana Van Order, in Solomonville, Arizona, asking her to send one of her children to act as an interpreter. Teresa had met the Van Orders in 1895 when the Urrea family had moved from El Bosque to Solomonville. Juana Van Order sent her second oldest son, John, who was bilingual and four or five years younger than Teresa. Teresa was very pleased with John and soon thereafter she became his wife.

The Medical Company moved on to New York City. While there, news arrived that Don Tomás was seriously ill with typhoid. Teresa, in advanced pregnancy, was unable to return to Clifton. Don Tomás died on September 22, 1902. A few days later Teresa's first child was born in New York City. It was a girl.

— *Return to Clifton* —

Little is known of what Teresa did in New York. For publicity purposes, the Medical Company entered her in a beauty contest, and she was elected Queen of something-or-other. However, the Company was not a total success in New York, and in December of 1902 left for Los Angeles. In 1904, Teresa finally became totally disillusioned with the Medical Company and employed a lawyer who found justifiable grounds for her to terminate her contract. By this time she was pregnant with her second child. She arrived back in Solomonville in time for the birth of her second daughter, on June 29, 1904, at the home of Juana Van Order.<sup>37</sup>

She then returned once again to Clifton. With such money as she had earned on tour she had a two-story house erected where she hoped to "nurse the sick to health and heal the wounds of the injured."

During December, 1905, the San Francisco River flooded Clifton, overflowing its channel and sweeping away many houses. Teresa was in the cold rain and water for hours, rescuing people and their possessions.





From the *Reminiscences of Ignacio Calvillo* a story is told of this incident: "At one time she was caught in a big flood. The man with her and his mule were doomed. The following night people saw a supernatural light in the mountains and going to it found Santa Teresa lodged in a tree."<sup>38</sup>

She contracted a critical bronchial condition which put her in bed for days. A short while later (eighteen months after her return to Clifton), in January of 1906<sup>39</sup> Teresa died peacefully. Dr. Burtch's records show she died of consumption, but the family and the Mexicans said that she had worn out her spirit in the service of her people.<sup>40</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Gill, "Teresa Urrea, La Santa De Cabora," p. 626.
2. Putnam, "Teresa Urrea, The Saint of Cabora," p. 247.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 248.
4. *San Francisco Examiner*, July 27, 1900.
5. Putnam, p. 248.
6. Patton, *History of Clifton*, p. 205. and Ridgway, *Saint or Nurse*, p. 22.
7. Putnam, p. 249.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 250.
9. Lister, *Chihuabua—Storehouse of Storms*, p. 179.
10. Chávez Calderón, *La Defensa de Tomochi*, pp. 16-17.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Troncoso, *Las Guerras Con Las Tribus Yaqui Y Mayo Del Estado De Sonora*, p. 196.
14. Lister, p. 185.
15. Gill, p. 642.
16. Putnam, p. 253.
17. Troncoso, p. 196.
18. Berber, *Nociones De Historia De Sonora*, p. 268.
19. Putnam, p. 254.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *New York Times*, August 14, 1896.
22. Putnam, p. 255.
23. *Arizona Daily Star*, August 12, 1896.
24. Report of the Secretary of War, 1896, *House Documents*, p. 146.
25. Western Union Telegram, August 12, 1896.
26. Report of the Secretary of War, 1896, *House Documents*, p. 146.
27. *Arizona Daily Star*, August 13, 1896.
28. *New York Times*, August 14, 1896.
29. *The Oasis*, August 22, 1896.
30. *Arizona Daily Citizen*, August 18, 1896.
31. *New York Times*, August 19, 1896.
32. *New York Times*, August 20, 1896.
33. Peck, *In The Memory Of A Man*, p. 374.



34. *Arizona Daily Citizen*, December 22, 1906.
35. Putnam, pp. 256-257.
36. Patton, p. 208.
37. Putnam, p. 263.
38. Calvillo, *Reminiscences of Ignacio Calvillo*.
39. Patton, p. 208.
40. Putnam, p. 264.

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NOTE: Photography courtesy of Arizona Historical Society Library.

## AZTEC MEDICINE

Felix Valdez

There has been so much rehash and speculation over myth and magic in the pre-hispanic world of the Aztecs that their intellectual efforts, speculative and empirical, that also occupied them is either forgotten or ignored. Rational, empirical and scientific knowledge was an important part of Aztec medicine and greatly affected Europe. The purpose of this paper is to shed light on this scientific knowledge and to show the practical side of indigenous Mexican medicine.

Doctors were members of an elite and had a highly respected position in Aztec society.<sup>1</sup> They were quite wealthy, too, not only from receiving gifts from Montezuma and other Aztec kings and princes for the services they rendered to the community but also from charging a fee for their services. The doctors remained a distinctive class in Aztec society because medicine, like sculpture and adorning of feathers and mosaics, was a hereditary trade.<sup>2</sup>

Medicine was taught in schools that were annexes to the temples. As a hereditary trade, medical knowledge was passed orally, with student accompaniment, in practice. In this fashion the father or another relative acted as the teacher. Their sons were instructed in the character and variety of ailments that the human body is subject to and in the knowledge that the Divine Providence has for its remedy, and the virtual cures they had learned from their elders. They were even shown how to distinguish the different degrees of the same illness, to prepare the medicines and to apply them.

The Aztecs practiced two forms of medicine: one was developed in the small communities (small towns and villages); and another of a higher mold developed in the large communities (the cities and capitals). Small community medicine was more magic and less surgery and therapy empirically derived than in the big cities so for the purpose of brevity and, in order to keep on the scientific train of thought I will by-pass small community medicine and concentrate on the medicine practiced in the large communities.

In the main cities the Aztecs had such an organization of medical

services for the populace that medicine was given a certain form and unity of knowledgeable practices that it brought the commentary of the Spanish Conquistadores. They had hospitals in all the main cities and capitals. There were hospitals at Mexico, Texcoco, Cholula, and other places. At the hospitals the poor were received and cared for gratuitously. In this way the people who could not pay the fee that private practitioner demanded were insured of being cared for. There is no need to feel sorry for the private practitioners, though. There were enough affluent people in demand of their services to keep him or her<sup>3</sup> busy and their purses full. The common people rarely saw physicians anyway because the herbal remedies were common knowledge (the people were educated as to the properties of the medicinal plants) and they could make their own remedies from the plants grown in their private gardens, or from the herbs from the great gardens of the city. All the large cities had "great gardens" in which all medicinal plants known to the Aztecs were grown. The great gardens were owned and maintained by the Aztec state for the benefit and use of all the people. At the great gardens, herbs were given freely to anyone who asked for them. Advice as to which herbs to use was also given out freely.<sup>4</sup> In this way the people could take care of their own illnesses if they were not too serious. The doctors handled diseases of a more serious nature and channeled those cases that were too complicated to the hospitals. Treatment was offered for all diseases at the hospitals but they tended to get the more serious and emergency cases as a rule.

The Aztec's hospitals had functional beds with special facilities for bowel and bladder incontinence. They had others for patients who were lethargically ill, and special beds for those who were violently ill and required restraining beds. For those with high fevers there were special beds with special sun visors. The Aztecs even offered a corps that provided ambulance services, transporting the wounded to a place where there were surgeons during military expeditions and during peace time transporting herbs for distribution around the country.

Aztec medicine was highly specialized so excellent care in many different types of divisions was offered. There were doctors who practiced clinical medicine and cured with drugs, external applications, and performed average physicals. Surgeons performed minor sorts of surgery. They cut out tumors with obsidian knives;<sup>5</sup> and when operating the Aztecs used rudimentary anesthetics. Among many anesthetics that they used were the flowers of the Myaya plant (which contains small quantities of atropine and hiosciamina), the seeds of the thevetia yecotl; A.D.C. (which yielded a drink called tvetl), peyotl and ololihqui. Dentists drilled and filled teeth with a poultice made from cactus, tenochtl and farina.<sup>6</sup> The Aztec medical organization also offered herbalists, pathologists, orthopedists, and doctors of traumatism, obstetrics

(also midwives), and phlebotomy (blood-letting). All these and possibly more services were offered at Aztec hospitals. The fragmentary information given us by the Spanish prevents me from going into greater detail.

For the times, the medical care offered by the Aztecs was of a better quality than the care offered in Europe. The Spaniards were treated by Aztec doctors of such experience and knowledge in their practice that they were able to cure many old and grave illnesses the Spaniards had suffered without finding remedies. In a letter to Charles V, Hernan Cortes asks the King not to send them any doctors because the Aztec doctors were good enough for them.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps the best evidence of the better quality of Mexican medicine is that it was taught at the College of Santa Cruz of Tlateloco (Tlatilulci) in preference to Spanish medicine.<sup>8</sup>

Apart from the magical trappings that the Mexican physicians assumed, they understood the use of treatment founded on a certain knowledge of the human body. There was without a doubt more true science in their usage of medicinal plants than of the European *Di-afoirus* of that time. Through the experience gained by experimentation and observation the Aztecs in the course of time amassed an astonishing amount of positive knowledge of the plants of their country. Modern research shows that the Aztecs had very accurately distinguished the properties of the plants they used as purges, emetics, diuretics, sedatives, febrifuges, etc.<sup>9</sup> The medicine in their pharmacological forms were the juices extracted from leaves, flowers, and roots; infusions, brewed drinks, syrups, oils, powders, emulsions, ointments, and plasters.

The Aztecs and the other Indians of the Americas gave us Peruvian balm, jalap, *iztacpatli* (*psoralea pentaphyllial* which was effectively used against fever), *chichiguauitl* (*garrya laurifolia* hartw, effective against dysentery), *iztacoanepilli* (a diuretic), *nixtamalaxochitl* (a counter irritant), valerian (which they used as an antispasmodic) and *matlalitztic* (*commelina pallida*, an anti-hemorrhagic),<sup>10</sup> cocaine (used as a local anaesthetic), quinine (used effectively against malaria and other fevers),<sup>11</sup> *sarsaparilla* (used in Spain for a long time as a depurative, especially for syphilis. Nowadays, it is scarcely used.), *Impecachuana* (used against bloody diarrheas, intestinal diseases, and as an emetic), rhubard (an astringent and purgative), calisays, aconite, wintergreen, and *sassafras* (sources of salicylic acid and aspirin), liverwort, *arnica* (much used as an external application in sprains and bruises), *bonset*, gold thread, ginseng, mandrake, *viburnum*, tansy, yarrow (sometimes used as a tonic and astringent), and a host of others.<sup>12</sup> Francisco Hernandez, the doctor sent to America by Charles V, lists in his herbal lists no less than twelve hundred medical plants.<sup>13</sup> There is still wide room

for exploration and there is a great deal that needs to be done in identifying all of the plants.

In many books I have researched in acquiring the data necessary for this paper I noticed that generally Aztec contributions to medicine are either not mentioned or barely brushed upon. The contributions of Aztec medicine should not be ignored or played down. I agree with A. Hyatt Verrill and Ruth Verrill who stated in *America's Ancient Civilization*, "It's a miracle the people of the Old World could have survived without the medicines of the New World. How they must have suffered with injuries and illnesses without the sedatives, pain killers, and local anaesthetics which were used by the ancient Americans."<sup>14</sup>

### FOOTNOTES

1. Doctors were included in Montezuma's court.
2. *Daily Life of the Aztecs*, Jacques Soustelle, p. 75.
3. Doctors could be either men or women.
4. *Medicina Aborigen Americana*, Dr. Ramon Pardal, p. 246.
5. *The Ancient Sun Kingdoms of the Americas*, Victor Wolfgang von Hagen, p. 111.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
7. *Arqueopatologia*, Ernesto Ramos Meza, p. 252-53.
8. *Concerning the Badianus Manuscript, an Aztec Herbal, "Codex Barberini,"* Latin 241, p. 114.
9. Soustelle, p. 201.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 201.
11. Pardal, p. 254.
12. *America's Ancient Civilizations*, A. Hyatt Verrill and Ruth Verrill, p. 118.
13. Soustelle, p. 201.
14. Verrill and Verrill, p. 118.

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## AZTEC EPISTEMOLOGY

Francisco H. Vásquez

The general lack of concern for non-Western philosophies in the Western world is probably due to the belief that they are not worthy of serious attention at the academic level. Non-Western philosophies, nevertheless, offer many avenues for the search of answers which are critically needed in our times, such as in ethics, in politics, in individual development. The quest for alternative ways of life is obvious in some aspects of society, as in the hippie movement, the popularity of oriental philosophies and religions among some people, the use of drugs, the quest for cultural pluralism, and so forth.

These events are significant in the area of epistemology because the way in which people perceive their physical world, their concept of truth, perception, in other words life itself, is based on knowledge. Thus, how knowledge is conceived ultimately affects how life—as a whole— is conceived. For many years, knowledge has been conceived in the traditional Western sense, that is to say, based on certain rules of logic and influenced by Christianity. This conception of knowledge is worldwide not because of its validity, but due to its imposition by the world powers. However, there are other alternatives. Within this perspective, I intend to describe and discuss the Aztec's search for truth and knowledge.

### *Existence of Philosophy Among the Náhuatl*

It is well known that the structure of a language is very important for the creation of a philosophical tradition. Hindu philosophy and religion, for example, are rich in metaphysical concepts due to the flexibility of the Hindu language; on the other hand, the Chinese have more emphasis on earthly concepts due to the rigidity of their language. Náhuatl, the language spoken by the Aztecs, like German and Greek, was conducive to philosophical enterprises because of the abundance of suffixes, prefixes and infixes. It was also widely spoken, as it formed a common bond between the different tribes which lived in Mexico, many of which were participants in Náhuatl culture.

The sources that provide information about an Aztec philosophy are many and varied. Among these are: the texts in Náhuatl given to Fray Bernardino de Sahagún by Indian informants; *El Libro de los Colo-*



*quios*, which is the last public appearance of Aztec learned men confronting the first twelve Franciscan friars of New Spain; and the *Collección de Cantares Mexicanos*, a collection of poems, talks and exhortations addressed to students in pre-Hispanic times.<sup>1</sup>

In most beginning philosophies, as in pre-Socratic times, the first indications of such enterprise take the form of short poems. Similarly, the Aztecs begin to express their doubts and problems in such fashion. In addition to information regarding an Aztec philosophy separate from their religion, there is evidence of the existence of *tlamatinime*, or wise men. Sahagún, in his *Historia General de las Cosas de la Nueva España*—a very rich source regarding the life of the Aztecs in pre-Hispanic times—notes several references of the existence of men dedicated to the pursuit of knowledge. Sahagún also refers to the rhetoric, the moral philosophy and theology of the Mexican people.

### *Discovery of the Problems*

A particular poem attributed to the famous philosopher-king, Nezahualcōyotl, illustrates the questions posed by the *tlamatinime*:

What does your mind seek?  
 Where is your heart?  
 If you give your heart to each and every thing,  
 you lead it nowhere: you destroy your heart.  
 Can anything be found on earth?<sup>2</sup>

In this poem Miguel León-Portilla sees three fundamental concepts. First, there is the question of what significance can mind and heart discover here on earth. A key to the meaning of this concept is the etymology of the word “heart”; this word is derived, in Náhuatl, from a root which means movement, thus “heart” signifies the dynamic being of man. Secondly, if man gives his heart to everything, he proceeds without destination. The last concept concerns the possibility of finding anything capable of satisfying the dynamic being of man. In other words, can anything be found on earth which provides stability? This poetry indicates that the Náhuatl wise men were aware of the problem inherent in the attempt to establish values in a changing world.\*

In their search for the foundation of life on earth, the Aztecs speculated about an explanation of man’s life and work; this particular interest was engendered by the religious prophesies regarding the extermination of the fifth world. According to their cosmogenic myths,

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\*It is not difficult to see that these three fundamental concepts are being presently expressed. For example, the dispute between philosophers who advocate the correspondence theory and the contextualists. The question persists: What are the foundations? Are they sense-data? Or ideas implanted by a god?

there had been four historical ages, called Suns: they were earth, wind, fire and water. Each one had been destroyed, and the present era, the Sun of Movement, was also doomed. It is to be destroyed by famine and earthquakes. This conception caused doubt among the tlamatime about what exists beyond death.

Do flowers go to the region of the death?  
 In the Beyond, are we dead or do we still live?  
 Where is the source of life since that which gives  
 life hides itself?<sup>3</sup>

Through poetry, the Aztecs also expressed the complexity and ambiguity of life. It is interesting that their position in the following poem is one very similar to an existential position.

Where are we going?  
 We came only to be born  
 Our home is beyond:  
 In the realm of the defleshed ones.  
 I suffer:  
 Happiness, good fortune never comes my way.  
 Have I come here to struggle in vain?  
 This is not the place to accomplish things.  
 Certainly nothing grows green here:  
 Misfortune opens its blossoms.<sup>4</sup>

The tlamatime analyzed the ancient myths in their attempt to find new meanings, but they began to doubt them, so they searched for alternative answers. There is a parallel between the Greek philosophers and the tlamatime, for the Greek sages also began their philosophies by the rationalization of their myths.<sup>5</sup>

The tlamatime then began to question the significance of a human life in which things are transitory.

Truly do we live on earth?  
 Not forever on earth; only a little while here.  
 Although it be jade, it will be broken.  
 Although it be gold, it is crushed.  
 Although it be quetzal feathers, it is torn asunder.  
 Not forever on earth; only a little while here.<sup>6</sup>

The search continues for stability and foundation in a world in continuous flux. The inability to find truth leads the tlamatime to the conception that life is like a dream. This conception becomes a recurrent theme in several writings, for example, in the discourse of the elders. The dreamlike quality of life in turn, engenders another problem: Is it possible to escape from the "unreality" of this world?

Does man possess any truth?  
 If not our song is no longer true.  
 Is anything stable and lasting?  
 What reaches its aim?<sup>7</sup>

“Truth” in Náhuatl is derived from the root that means “root” from which, in turn, comes “foundation.” Making a brief contrast with Western philosophies, on the problem of the transitory nature of life, it is found that Scholasticism evolved to the concept of the transcendental principle, Hegel to the universal immanent substance and Existentialism to existing with no foundation. On the other hand, the tlamatime continued the search for a principle of stability.

### *In Search for the Principle of Stability*

Upon the realization of the transitory quality of life and man’s apparent lack of stability, then the conclusion followed that man’s words cannot be true. The tlamatime consequently turned to the metaphysical level in their search. In this process, they followed a course similar to Thales, that is: “there are gods everywhere.” The solution to the problem of truth is accredited to Quetzalcóatl, the personification of wisdom. Quetzalcóatl, it is said, would invoke “she of the starry skirt (and) he whose radiance envelopes things . . . (those) who endow the earth with solidity.”<sup>8</sup> In other words, the dual divinity which maintains and gives order to the universe: *Ometéotl*. *Ometéotl*, the god of duality was the principle of stability, and the source of cosmic energy upon which everything depended; but he/she was not alone in the universe. According to an ancient account in the “Historia de los Mexicanos por sus Pinturas,” *Ometéotl* gave birth to four sons. These four gods activated the history of the world and the symbolism permitted their identification with the elements, the directions of space, and the periods of time allotted to their influence. The significance of the Aztec concept of duality is readily apparent. Today the concept of a male-female entity as the source of energy and stability offers a different and more varied range of possibility of application in different aspects of life when compared to the Western conception of a male divine power alone in the universe. Although my intention is not to present a non-Western vs. Western argument, I do believe that a contrast helps visualize the position of the Aztec’s metaphysics.

An equally important development of Aztec philosophy was that of the four sons of *Ometéotl*. They created fire, sun, the land of the dead, the place of the waters and region behind the heavens. They were also responsible for earth, man and time. Despite the tlamatime’s search for a principle of stability, they did not become absolutists. In other words, they did not, upon coming to a possible source of stability,

attempt to make that possible source applicable in every case and to every problem. The tlamatime apparently realized that there were many forces acting upon life; they did not, however, develop different "schools of thought," each trying to prove the other wrong, as happened in Western philosophy.

Vital to Aztec philosophy was the concept of space and time. Briefly, both space and time were conceived not as empty stage settings, but as factors that entered fully into the world, both combining to regulate the occurrence of cosmic events.

### *Possibility of Finding Truth*

The tlamatime compared their metaphysically oriented knowledge with the ideal of true knowledge to the extent that man is able to grasp it, and their doubts about the possibility of finding truth grew.

Is there perchance any truth to our words here?  
All seems so like a dream only do we rise from sleep,  
only on earth do our words remain.<sup>8</sup>

Thus they arrived at a paradox: if life is only a dream, then words have no meaning. The immediate and inevitable answer evident to the tlamatime was to live a life of pleasure, a sort of epicureanism. This was not, however, the only answer nor the most widely accepted. Therefore, they searched for truth in religion.

Perchance, oh Giver of Life, do we really speak?  
Even though we may offer the Giver of Life  
emeralds and fine ointments,  
if with the offering of necklaces you are invoked,  
with the strength of the eagle, of the tiger  
it may be that on earth no one speaks the truth.<sup>9</sup>

### *Song and Flower*

Even though their efforts had only met with defeat, rather than polarizing in pro-religion and anti-religion groups the tlamatime continued their search. Their objective now was to seek for the possibility of saying "true words" about "what is above us and beyond." In Western terms it is safe to say that they were in search of "meaningful sentences." The tlamatime then presented their theory of metaphysical knowledge in terms of poetry. At this point it may be argued that "meaningful sentences" are supposed to be verifiable and thus, cannot be metaphysical; however, the Indian sages held that even though they had a theory of knowledge, it was still possible that no one spoke the truth. Again, they did not take an absolutist position. The Aztec epistemological conception was crystallized in a meeting of poets and wise

men. A particular poem was recited which embodies the concept of “flower and song” as the way to find truth.

Thus spoke Ayoruan Cuetzpaltzin  
 Who without doubt knew the Giver of Life . . .  
 “Now do I hear the words of the coyelly bird  
 as he makes answer to the Giver of Life.  
 He goes his way singing, offering flowers.  
 And his words rain down  
 like jade and quetzal plumes.  
 Is that what pleases the Giver of Life?  
 Is that the only truth on earth?”<sup>10</sup>

As noted before, the Náhuatl language is a very rich language, and one of its characteristics is the extensive use of *difrasismos* (coining of two words); “song and flower” is precisely one of the most important, for in addition to the literal meaning, *in xochitl*, *in cuicatl*, they are also a metaphor for poetry. Poetry in turn, was considered the only truth on earth.

But although they had found poetry to be “the truth,” the *tlamatinime* again held that it was possible that no one spoke the truth on earth. Does that mean they were absolute skeptics? Not necessarily. The wise men held poetry to be a very particular type of knowledge, which was the result of inner experience and intuition. Poetry was held to be, moreover, a profound expression which allowed man to discover himself and to communicate what he had discovered. The poet, however, felt that his words could never express what he wanted to express, so he suffered, and at times his words possibly embodied authentic knowledge and revelation. In this sense, a correlation could be drawn between poetry and Wittgenstein’s concept of “What cannot be said.” But the *tlamatinime* went beyond this stage, to search for the origins of poetry, arriving at the conclusion that by intensifying man’s emotions this enabled man to perceive the inordinary. The final conclusion: Only through poetry man receives inspiration from beyond, which enables him to speak the only truth on earth.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. For more information regarding sources of Aztec philosophy see *Aztec Thought and Culture* by Miguel León-Portilla. Trans. by Jack Emory Davis. University of Oklahoma Press, 1963. All the poems were taken from the book above. Additional information was obtained from *Filosofía Náhuatl* by the same author.

2. p. 4.

5. p. xxi.

8. p. 71.

3. p. 6.

6. p. 7.

9. p. 74.

4. p. 5.

7. p. 7.

10. p. 74.

## LA RAZA INFLUENCE IN JAZZ

Ronald D. Arroyo

During the late 30's, a coterie of La Raza became evident by their mode of dress, talk and non-conformist habits. The emergent phenomena was the pachuco. An integral part of the pachuco scene was jazz. The pachuco, whom Ruben Salazar later elevated to the status of folk-hero, walked the jazz scene digging the sounds of the big bands of Woody Herman, Count Basie, Stan Kenton, Duke Ellington and the others. He dressed in wide brimmed hat, knee length coat with the reet-pleat pants waist high, broad tie, pointed shoes with a high shine. The pachuca who accompanied him wore her hair high on her head, much makeup, heavy lipstick, large round earrings, a suit jacket resembling the pachuco's with padded shoulders, above-the-knee tight skirts, net stockings, and high heels with straps around the ankle. When they went stepping, they dug jazz at the Avalon, the Palladium, the Civic Auditorium, the Paramount. Dancing the swing or the dirty boogie or sitting quietly at Town Hall, they dug the sounds which were ethnic in origin and bicultural in composition. The pachucos did not realize, as they dug the sounds, the deep influences of La Raza on Jazz music.

Jazz in the late 40's began to emerge, from ghettos where it was born and nurtured, to other communities through the media of radio and records. Jazz began to be accepted and enjoyed by a larger population. The big jazz bands brought jazz to the forefront of popular music. A parallel rise in the popularity of Latin bands predicted an inevitable fusion. The bands of Miguelito, Valdes, Desi Arnaz, Noro Morales and others brought the multi-variety of Latin music to popularity. The sophisticated angloized sounds of Vincent Lopez and Xavier Cugat were replaced by the more ethnic beats of Valdes, Arnaz and Morales. Valdes and Arnaz also brought to prominence the conga drum, the primary instrument responsible for the percussive infusion of Raza music to jazz.

As the 40's ended and the 50's began, the pachuco had put away his zoot suit having felt the wrath of prejudice erupt into the violence of the Pachuco War of 1943 with the continuing battles of the late 40's. The bopsters appeared, with young Chicanos and Puerto Ricans getting caught up in an acculturation wave that drowned their ethnicity. In place of the zoot suit, young batos were picking up on one button roll



suits, white shirts with Mr. B collars, knit suspenders and matching tie, and Marine Cordovan dyed shoes. Their chicks kept their hair high, but put aside the suits for black sweaters and black skirts sometimes split on the side, a gold or silver cross decorated their breasts, bobby socks and low saddle shoes replaced the high heels. These cool pairs dug jazz now called bop.

The big bands kept swinging but the sidemen began migrating to small groups in small clubs on 51st Street in New York, Rush Street in Chicago, Sunset Boulevard in Los Angeles and the Tenderloin in San Francisco. A tradition began with the small band migration which gave the sidemen of the Latin bands a chance to explore their unique talents within jazz music. The jam session seemed to prove that the African beat of jazz could be complemented by the Latin beat. Jazz critics proclaimed the fusion as unique, but some critics wondered about the easy amalgamation of the two. Jazz had always been regarded as the music of the Blacks. Now some researchers began to look closely at the influence of Creole music to jazz with the implications of Latin Music as a primary source. What these theorists, led by Ernest Borneman, discovered was that jazz was spawned from a mixture of African and Spanish influences in the West Indies and Carribean Islands. The Carribean and West Indies were used by slave traders as stopovers between Africa and the American South. The Blacks who landed in these islands rediscovered a music with a familiarity they could assimilate easily.

As early as the Middle Ages, African music received a strong influence of Arab music. The Arabic music in turn had been imbued with Spanish music during the Moorish period and vice versa. Borneman felt there were all kinds of African strains in the music of Spain which the Black slaves then recognized "as a sort of musical second cousin." While other critics, like Schuller, disputed this theory, Schuller did admit it might be fruitful "to investigate further the notion that, with nearly eight hundred years of domination of Northern Africa and Spain by the Arabs, certain Islamic influences eventually found their way to the New World via the Spanish and Portugese settlers, and these found acceptance among the African slaves, not because they recognized any African strains therein but because specific musical elements were discovered to be identical with those in their own tradition." The influence of Spanish music which had become Latin music in the New World thus was a prime catalyst in the formation of jazz music. The Blacks discovering the elements of a new music were fusing the Latin music to their own long before the jazz musician of the 40's and 50's rediscovered this second cousin influence.

The other integral part of jazz spawned by the works of Bessie Smith, Ma Rainey and Leadbelly was the blues. Again the relationship between Andalusian flamenco music, especially the Cante Hondo, and

the blues is a workable theory. Hondo (or jondo) is said by philologists to mean "soul" in Sindhi language, one of the Mohammedan people of India. So the web of evidence spreads to conclusions which are difficult at best to dispute. Following this course of evidence, jazz music is the music of two cultures (Latin and Black) rather than one (Black).

While theories are arguable, clearly the Latino musician has been a vital part of the jazz scene. In the late 40's and early 50's the Latino musicians came out of the Latin bands which were predominantly Cuban and began to join jazz groups. Through the jam sessions, the Latinos proved again that jazz could accept the Latin rhythms. The music that emerged from the recombining of Black and Raza music was named Afro-Cuban by gavacho writers who lacked an understanding of the ethnic differences within La Raza. The music was not strictly Cubano. Moreover, the impact was immediate and dynamic.

Again the assumption was that this was the first impact by Latin musicians on the jazz scene. The truth was that Latin musicians were among the pioneers of jazz music. When jazz music moved from the minstrel shows to its own entity, one of the early jazz bands was led by "Papa" Laine. Making up his band were a cornetist named Lawrence Vega, a Mexican guitarist by the unlikely name of Morton Abraham, and a clarinetist who was to have a great impact on jazz named Alcide "Yellow" Nuñez. This same Nuñez later formed the original Dixieland Jazz Band. However, the first group to use the word jazz and take it out of its ghetto connotation was Brown's Dixieland Jaass Band which featured Ray Lopez on cornet and Arnold Loyocano on bass and piano. The actual word "jazz" was then first used by the Original Dixieland Jazz Band which was also the first band to record jazz music. "Yellow" Nuñez, certainly so nicknamed because he was not Black but like many musicians of that time, Latin, claimed the copyright of *Livery Stable Blues*, the first jazz hit recording. He then started his own group, "The Louisiana Five." In 1919 he recorded some forty sides. One of them, *Yelping Howard Blues*, was the most popular jazz hit of its day. Nuñez was also one of the pioneers of improvisation. The Latin musician was then not only an early influence on the Black jazz but also responsible for the white off-shoot which has been termed Dixieland.

Not only was the musical past of jazz influenced so heavily by Raza musicians, but since jazz was a culture which encompassed music, dress, and also language, some of the most important jazz pieces were *en español*. Without realizing that he was reading and speaking Spanish, the jazz buff listened to *Manteca* by Dizzy Gillespie, *Un Poco Loco* by Bud Powell, or the jazz classic *Perdido* recorded by almost every group.

The most influential impact of La Raza musicians on jazz was in the rhythm section. The standard rhythm section for jazz groups and bands were drums, bass and piano with sometimes a guitar. Into this standard



grouping first came the conga drum, then bongos and later the other instruments peculiar to Latin music. What this instrumentation accorded to jazz was a return to the native instruments forsaken in the acculturation of jazz. The Latin beat was a native beat which took jazz back to its roots in the Carribean and Indies. Because it was so elementary for jazz, and the Latin beat was so influential, Stan Kenton once exclaimed in an interview that it threatened to take over all jazz.

The different varieties of music which the Latin world offered also made an impact. Jazz musicians began to experiment with the different structures offered by the mambo, tango, samba, canción, etc. In the earliest days of jazz, Marshall Stearns told in his *Story of Jazz*, Creole ('signifyin') songs in New Orleans used a rhumba rhythm and Jelly Roll Morton incorporated a tango rhythm in his playing which he called 'The Spanish Tinge.' Even W. C. Handy, the father of the Blues used a tango rhythm in *Memphis Blues* and also in the very popular *St. Louis Blues*. Experimentation with Latin Music began as early as the 30's. Cab Calloway recorded *Doin' the Rhumba* in 1931 and later with the assistance of Mario Bauza produced many Cuban-flavored jazz records—one of which had the innocuous title of *Chile Con Conga*. At the same time, Puerto Rican trombonist, Juan Tizol, began recording with Duke Ellington such tunes as *Caravan*, *Conga Bravo* and *Bakiff*. He also brought the valve trombone into prominence.

So Raza musicians throughout the history of jazz music were integrally influential. Like the music itself, a fusion of Black and Raza, the musicians came from mixed cultures having names like Chico O'Farrill, Chico Hamilton, Paul Gonzalves and Roger King Mozian.

The most influential reunion of Latin and Black music was seen in the rhythm section with Chano Pozo, Machito and Humberto Morales—later Willie Bobo, Potato, and Mongo Santamaria. But other musicians emerged on the front line. Laurindo Almeida did double duty as one of the foremost Latin classical guitarists, and a sideman with Stan Kenton. Later Almeida combined with Bud Shank and still later with the Modern Jazz Quartet for some jazz masterpieces. Composers Chico O'Farrill, Mario Bouza and Russ Garcia helped fuse the unique sounds of Latin music to jazz structures. O'Farrill with Machito's band cemented the melding of Latin sounds to modern jazz. Garcia moved out of the Latin influences and became influential strictly as a jazz composer-arranger.

Two jazz vocalists were extremely influential with their unique styles. Babs Gonzalves is credited with being the first scat or bop singer to use his voice as an instrument. Diminutive Damita Jo became influential with rock singers of a later generation.

The bright moments of La Raza in jazz were Jazz at the Philharmonic playing *Perdido*, Juan Tizol's soft solos with Duke Ellington, Machito included in Norman Granz's 500 releases only album *The*

*Jazz Scene*, the Lighthouse at Hermosa Beach swinging to the Shelley Manne solos with *Viva Zapata!* originally written by Shorty Rogers as *Mambo Del Crow*, Paul Smith's amazingly rapid rendition of *Cumbanchero*, Chano Pozo with Dizzy Gillespie at Town Hall, Jackie and Roy's bop vocal with Charlie Ventura in what was called a bop rhumba *Piña Colada*. The Easter Sunday "Tico Tico" dance at the Manhattan Center, which featured five Afro-Cuban bands (Hose Budet, Alberto Iznaga, El Boy, Louis Del Campo and Machito) lasted from one o'clock in the afternoon to one o'clock the next day. Two hours after the start of the concert, the Fire Department closed the door on a mob of 5000 aficionados.

Other bright moments of *La Raza* in jazz were Machito's rhythm section making Stan Kenton a hit with *The Peanut Vendor*, these same drummers walking into a radio station and sitting in with Will Bradley's Dixieland Jazz Band featuring Ella Fitzgerald, Tito Puente's popularity at the jazz corner of the world, Birdland, causing his inclusion in the Birdland Hall of Fame paintings, Ernie Caceres with the Metronome All Star Band, young Virgil Gonzales at the Monterey Jazz Festival and four years later an older Bola Sete in the same scene playing solo with Dizzy Gillespie, Stan Getz's poignant sound enhanced by the bossa nova of Antonio Carlos Jobim and Joao Gilberto, later the fusion of Getz's soft tone and Astrud Gilberto's soft voice in the popular *Girl From Ipanema*, Willie Correa being named Willie Bobo by the foremost woman jazz pianist, Mary Lou Williams, Mongo Santamaria performing Herbie Hancock's *Watermelon Man*, the classical albums of Charlie Parker with Machito, the all-Cuban jazz album produced by Norman Granz. And finally, but most important, modern guitarists can thank Nick Esposito for the design of their instruments.

The influences of *La Raza* were lasting because these influences began in its formation and continued through its growth. The influence has spread to the stepchild of jazz, rock music with the sounds of Santana, Malo, Jerry Garcia and El Chicano. Influence on jazz music is perhaps a misnomer since *La Raza* was an integral and rooted entity of jazz. Jazz is not Black, perhaps it is not even a fusion of Black and *Raza*. Perhaps jazz is the music of the people because it stems from many cultures and has been accepted by so many other cultures.

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