

CHAPTER V
PERFECTING CITIZENSHIP IN NEW MEXICO: HISPANAS AND THEIR QUEST
FOR THE VOTE

The purpose of this chapter is to conclude the discussion on citizenship in New Mexico during the twentieth century and the impact it made on the native, Spanish-speaking population. Second, this chapter will briefly survey the sociopolitical setting for Hispanas during the territorial period and lastly this chapter will describe their participation in the struggle for women's suffrage and the right to hold public office in New Mexico from 1910 to 1922.

By the turn of the century, the U.S. had emerged as an imperial western power. Under this age of "progressivism and the New American Empire, 1898-1910" statehood for New Mexico would finally be achieved (Smith, 1997, 410). Notwithstanding, although statehood provided for full political and legal rights of citizenship for males—including the voting franchise—women would have to wait twelve more years. This chapter consequently provides a brief historical summary of the social space that women occupied during the territorial period and, more importantly to this study, an assessment of women's suffrage in New Mexico and their inherent right to hold political office, especially Hispanas, who came from the majority population.

The Territorial Period

The U.S. Territorial period opens another chapter in the history of women in New Mexico that must also be addressed. During this era, education was central to both women and men in the territory. For women, education was distinguished by two sectarian orders in particular, *The Sisters of Charity* in 1850 and the Sisters of Loretto in 1852. Both were located in Santa Fe (Rebolledo, 1992, 32). By the end of the nineteenth century, these schools and their

male counterpart, St. Michael's College, represented a direct challenge to the emergent Presbyterian schools at Española and Albuquerque. In an effort to Americanize the native Spanish-speaking populations of New Mexico, these schools—including the recently-established public schools—raced to educate the native populations in both Spanish and English. While they contributed immensely to the process of Americanization for the local Spanish-speaking citizenry, these schools also helped create what has been described by Gabriel Meléndez, as a “generation of young men and women who would provide leadership to the *Nuevomexicano* community” (1997, 45).

Advancements in education helped expand much-needed learning among all sectors of New Mexico's population, especially during the first part of the twentieth century. Due to the remoteness and isolated nature of many New Mexico villages, however, the challenge and effort to expand education to those areas was more difficult and slower in occurring. The increased arrival of Anglo-Americans and other European groups to New Mexico did, however, have a major impact on education, not just on males, but women and education as well. The issue of education for New Mexico's youth, both men and women, was forever duly recognized, not only by native Hispanos, but outsiders as well. This occurred during the Spanish and Mexican Periods, and later during the early Territorial period. It continued through early Statehood.

In 1812, Don Pedro Bautista Pino traveled to Spain as a special envoy to represent New Mexico in the Spanish *Cortes*. While there, he made a special appeal to the Spanish Crown for support in addressing the educational needs of New Mexico's children. After his return, he had a Mexican attorney, Antonio Barreiro, come to New Mexico to visit and pursue the issue further. While Barreiro covered many issues related to New Mexico's condition, he lamented the few schools that existed in the isolated territory that was far removed from Mexico's interior. On

behalf of Pino, he requested that a system of schools be established in the Spanish territory for its youth, and that it be supported through church tithing (Antonio Barreiro, 1832, 17, 18).

Various other efforts related to education followed during the early 1800s, and always, the difficulty New Mexico faced in developing adequate schools related to poverty, the lack of a strong surplus economy, and the isolated nature of New Mexico from the Spanish Crown. The same situation continued during the early Mexican period through 1846. The need to educate not only boys, but girls as well, was periodically expressed. (Arellano, 1990, 220)

After 1821, American and foreign arrivals in New Mexico via the Santa Fe Trail also chronicled the educational needs for New Mexico's youth. One of the first was Josiah Gregg, the famous prairie traveler and trader, in his famous book *Commerce of the Prairies* who stated that close to seventy-five per cent of New Mexico's people could not read or write (Gregg, 1954, 141, 142). Later, after the American Occupation in 1846, General Stephen Watts Kearny and the Catholic Clergy that arrived with Bishop Jean Baptiste Lamy, also stressed the importance of education for the youth and citizens of New Mexico. And they, too, emphasized those needs for the women of the new American acquisition (Arellano, 221).

In 1847, *El Republicano/The Republican*, the first American newspaper published in New Mexico—in both English and Spanish—stated that it was happy to see some new developments in the Territory, emphasizing that it would like to see a school in every community. The weekly publication emphasized that women were particularly deficient in even the most basic rudiments of an education, and for that reason, they felt that some schools should be established for females only (*El Republicano/The Republican*, September 9, 1847).

During the Spanish Colonial and Mexican periods, New Mexicans lived in a very simple social structure, mostly due to their distant isolation from the government's administration in

Mexico City. And even after the arrival of the Americans in 1846 and the new American political administration—that addressed citizenship rights, education, and other societal concerns—the situation changed very little for New Mexico’s Spanish-speaking natives, and especially for women. Improvement in these areas was slow in coming, and it was not until the arrival of the railroad in 1879 that dramatic change began to occur.

Janet Lecompte, in an article titled, “The Independent Women of Hispanic New Mexico, 1821-1846,” stresses that during this early period the culture of New Mexicans, and especially those societal elements that relate to women, were much different to those of Central Mexico. New Mexicans yet maintained very strong ties to the culture and social structure they had brought from Spain during their permanent settlement here in 1598 (1981, 17).

Men and women in New Mexico had a balanced division of labor and domestic responsibility that was almost parallel to their Pueblo Indian neighbors. In their daily labors, Hispano men raised livestock, farmed, hunted, and took care of other outside duties such as *acequia* irrigation and wood hauling. Women were occupied with all the household duties that, in addition to raising their young children and maintaining their household duties, they prepared and dried foods for future use, made clothing, and provided work duties in support of the men when required. This involved fall harvest, the arduous tasks of thrashing wheat, shucking corn and grinding, by hand, grains for unbolted wheat flour and corn meal. They also made corn syrup through a most difficult laborious method of pounding corn stalks with wooden mallets before they evaporated the mash to produce the sweet product. One contrast to Hispanas was that their Indian female counterparts plowed fields, hoed furrows and irrigated crops and carried other outside duties normally reserved for men (Arellano, 1990, 98).

Early American arrivals to New Mexico did notice some of the differences that existed between American women and Hispanas. American women, during the early nineteenth century, lost most of their economic and legal importance once they married. Property and wages belonged to the male spouse with the woman's place confined mostly to the house. Hispanas, on the contrary, were allowed to retain their property, had legal rights, and even kept their maiden name throughout their lifetime (Lecompte, 18,19).

Many of the Spanish and Mexican Archives, especially municipal *alcalde*, or mayor, records contain strong evidence of the civil rights Hispana women had in New Mexico, as well as the democratic conditions they experienced in their daily lives. In more ways than one, they held equal status to their male counterparts-civil law. As Lecompte points out a "...woman could own, inherit, loan, convey, or pawn property,..." as those records reflect (24).

In her book *Refusing The Favor* (1999), Deena González examines multiple cases of the Spanish-Mexican women of Santa Fe and their involvement in the courts during the nineteenth century.ⁱ During the Mexican period González notes how before the war with the U.S. women filed over forty civil suits in the Mexican courts (21). In her study of these court records, González points out several interesting characteristics: poor women tended to file just as often as the affluent and how women and men jointly brought cases to the courts. González' analysis also revealed that gender did not seem to influence the outcome of the rulings (21). In New Mexico, the courtroom was a familiar arena for women (21). It is important to note that while some women were speaking out and seeking due process, conformity was the standard in society. González carefully points out that women who entered the courtroom were not the norm but instead those courageous enough to step outside the norm (36).ⁱⁱ

González' study of Hispanas in Santa Fe during the U.S. territorial period also provides an import perspective on how they established themselves economically through successful businesses, and socially. González further points out that while Spanish-Mexican women may have been far removed from the decision-making settings in nineteenth century New Mexico they were far from invisible (8). Women defied the church when it threatened their personal autonomy (8). Lastly, González recounts how the Spanish-Mexican women of Santa Fe accommodated and survived the U.S. take over. In spite of the challenges of surviving colonialism González notes how the Spanish-Mexican women of New Mexico retained and “embellished particular cultural traditions, which distinguished them as well from other ethnic groups of the nineteenth century” (9). González' study of the Spanish-Mexican women of Santa Fe extends far beyond the scope of this chapters focus; however, it is important to note that any reading of nineteenth century New Mexico history would be incomplete without González' work.

In her study, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940* (1987), Sarah Deutsch provides other examples of female participation in Hispanic society in New Mexico. It reflects their contentment, cooperative participation and support roles in community activities, and how much of that experience carried over into the early twentieth century.

The social organization of village women in New Mexico during this period, are defined by three clear institutions according to Deutsch: the first being the Catholic Church, followed by the social structure of the village, and the institution of marriage (42-44). In one description of the church and its impact on the women of New Mexico, Deutsch pointed out that the village society generated aspects of an egalitarian society. Following a young girl's first Communion,

Deutsch noted that, “they could dance at *bailes* and learn adult tasks” (42). In effect, a young girl’s first communion represented an important rite of passage from adolescence to womanhood to marriage (42). The development and direction of female roles within the societal structure of the village was characterized through male and female interactions at village dances, designed to pair bond couples, in a clearly defined set of village and societal norm as that included property transfer, family networks, and loose norms that debilitated women’s sexual and societal standing and authority (43, 45).

Within the institution of marriage, village women in New Mexico enjoyed certain economic advantages that their contemporary Anglo-American counterparts failed to enjoy. In the Hispanic villages of New Mexico, “husband and wife shared rights in property acquired during marriage...that was the rule for Hispanic families long before it became so for Anglos, as was equal inheritance by sons and daughters” (45). Such a legal and cultural trait created a society where females throughout New Mexico possessed important, economic, and societal head of household status.

Within this village society women also found agency as midwives. In the power dynamics of New Mexico village society, the midwife possessed an important traditional role that was of major significance in the advancement of women’s rights. According to Deutsch, the midwife’s knowledge provided them a vital function that helped earn them a degree of respect and social standing in the village (48).

The midwife was the only type of leader in a village community except for the men who were politically inclined, and of course, except for the religious teachers. People would go to the midwife because there was no other leader” (as quoted by Deutsch, 48).

The communal-based society of pre-modern New Mexico, to a large extent, consequently came to be dependent on the knowledge, character, and function of midwives. In these villages the midwife was an important “counselor” for both women and men (48).

In the book, *Nuestras Mujeres: Hispanas of New Mexico, Their Images and Their Lives, 1582-1992* (1992), we find another socio-historical example of women that is also useful to this study. It expands our conceptual understanding of women in New Mexico from the Spanish Colonial period through the present. As an academic study, this book provides a snap shot of women who helped shape the social and political course of this state’s history. It highlights how recent writers are researching available archival records and documents to further explore the contributions women made to the early history and society of Hispanic New Mexico:

Using muster roles, baptism certificates, marriage declarations, wills, court judgements, and other creative ways of exploring history, they have been able to document the ways in which Hispanic women participated in the explorations, colonization, and settlement of New Mexico...Where conventional documentary evidence is not available, we must turn to evidence of a different kind: folklore, ritual, religious ceremonies ...nevertheless we see glimpses and hints of their lives in songs and plays, dichos, cuentos and memorate; popular stories of local origin in which people tell their own history (1).

By the turn of the century, women in New Mexico were poised to stake out further social and political space in their communities. On the eve of statehood newly emerging women’s organizations at the national level established a strong following in New Mexico. Women’s suffrage was ripe for political contestation at the 1910 New Mexico Constitution Convention.

The 1910 Constitutional Convention and the Quest for Suffrage

In her master’s thesis, “For The Best Interests of the Community: The Origins and Impact of The Women’s Suffrage Movement In New Mexico, 1900-1930,” Janine Young notes that during New Mexico’s long quest for statehood, the primary mission of Hispano political leaders

was to ensure that “their traditional political and civil rights” directly influenced the complex history of women’s suffrage (1984, 31).

There was one significant lobbying suffrage group at the 1910 Constitutional Convention, the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) that had chapters throughout the country, including New Mexico (32). In New Mexico, the WCTU faced the daunting challenge of competing with and even supporting the Hispano quest for civil rights, the prohibition lobby, and other powerful economic interests (32-33). Recognizing their challenge, the WCTU placed their efforts on pursuing the right vote in school elections rather than a comprehensive suffrage package.

The WCTU produced many articles, literature and poetry, and in Santa Fe, *El Nuevo Mexicano* published lengthy Spanish articles and poetry that strongly argued in favor of prohibition while admonishing the ruinous evils of alcohol. In Spanish, they were *La Unión Mujeril de Temperanza Cristiana*, the UMTC (ENM, April 10, 1909). In 1907, the New Mexico Territorial Legislature passed a law that prohibited the issuance of liquor licenses in communities that had less than 100 residents. Other larger, incorporated municipalities had options to enact local laws and ordinances to close bars, prohibit them, or limit the number they would allow, as was the initial case in Roswell (ENM, January 9, 1909).

In Santa Fe, they lobbied successfully for a new ordinance that would no longer allow for any liquor establishment to be open after December 31, 1909 (ENM, April 10, 1909). They successfully lobbied and protested for other communities to pursue these local options to close bars before the federal prohibition law was enacted. The leaders of the Temperance Movement, who were primarily Anglo Protestants in New Mexico, did get some support from Hispanas and they used the Spanish newspapers such as *El Nuevo Mexicano* to plead their case:

The majority of the natives recognize that prohibition will greatly assist their efforts towards economic salvation, and improve their ability to compete with the Anglo-Saxons and other recent arrivals to New Mexico. This would be especially true among native women, because they are the ones who have suffered the ill-effects of cheap liquor the most—because they are the wives, the mothers and daughters who have suffered due to the poverty they encounter and due to the tolerance to cheap liquor available to men in cheap bars throughout rural New Mexico and the larger communities and cities as well (ENM, January 9, 1909).ⁱⁱⁱ

By late November of 1910, the Constitutional Convention was well under way, and a *Santa Fe New Mexican* headline read, “Women at School Election: Constitutional Convention Accedes Them Right to Vote and Hold Office” (November 9, 1910). The article describes the debates on this issue as a “battle waged to and fro for several hours. The question of women’s suffrage was up, and the supporters as well as the opponents of the proposition outdid each other in gallantry” (SFNM, November 9, 1910). During these debates, two key delegates supported the cause for women’s suffrage during these proceedings, Solomon Luna and H.O. Bursum (SFNM, November 9, 1910). What the *Santa Fe New Mexican* article does not mention are the politics and players behind the scene. From all accounts, the 1910 Constitution Convention represented the political emergence of Nina Otero-Warren, niece of the wealthy Republican leader, Solomon Luna.

Otero-Warren hoped the convention would yield partial suffrage or at least the opportunity for women to participate in school elections (Whaley, 1994, 67). According to the *Santa Fe New Mexican*, the issue of women’s suffrage and the right to vote in school elections was considered a done deal, but a last minute report from the Committee on Elective Franchise changed all of that. At the center of debate was the word male which was inserted before the word “citizen... of the United States shall be qualified to vote or hold office...” in Section 2 of the Elective Franchise Article (1910).

Opposed to the idea of wide-spread women's suffrage were Convention Delegates Dougherty and Sena. Delegate Dougherty was "absolutely opposed to extending the franchise to women at all school elections," when he falsely opined, or claimed, that he did "not believe that the women of New Mexico are clamoring for the right of suffrage" (*Santa Fe New Mexican*, November 9, 1910). Delegate Sena's opposition to women's suffrage was according to the *Santa Fe New Mexican* based on the notion that he was concerned over the safety of "mothers, wives and sisters," who would be forced to "mingle" with a "class" of people who might pose a direct physical threat to them (SFNM, November 9, 1910). Whether Sena is demonstrating a genuine chivalric concern for the physical safety of women, and the danger posed to them by the masses or if he is simply using this general statement to conceal some sort of sexist view is not clear from this or other articles during the proceedings.

Ultimately, the women's suffrage lobby was pleased with efforts they carried out to achieve the right to vote in school elections or as it was commonly called the school vote; but, they also recognized how their own suffrage became entangled with Hispano men and their own efforts at achieving a stronger position in politics and other civil matters (35).^{iv} Complicating women's suffrage even further, were some last minute amendments to the Constitution that required three-fourths of the voters in every county to change the suffrage article, which was designed to protect male Hispano civil rights. Hispano women were omitted from the article, and the three-fourths rule in the constitution made the possibility of women's suffrage through referendum virtually impossible (35). The New Mexico Constitution temporarily delayed the right for women to vote, but franchise

through the federal constitution did remain a viable option, until it later led to eventual suffrage for them as well.

Another issue of the *Santa Fe New Mexican* addressed women's suffrage in an editorial titled, "Women May Hold Office." The newspaper defended the Republican Delegates from conservative Democrats, who claimed that certain Hispano men—and apparently mostly Republican—of New Mexico wished to hold their women in the bonds of oppression (SFNM, November 9, 1910).^v Six days later, the *Santa Fe New Mexican* reported, "the Republican conference...came to an agreement on the apportionment as well as on the matter of giving women the franchise at school elections" (SFNM, November 15, 1910). However, in spite of typical overwhelming support Hispanic women's suffrage received from leading Hispano Republicans, this race-driven stigma against women carried into the early 1920s.

In 1914, the New Mexico Federation of Women's Club officially made suffrage its chief aim. They also sought the establishment of a tuberculosis sanatorium, addressed prohibition, and pledged for world peace. By this time, "club" women in the state were officially committed to suffrage" (Young, 1982, 39). One of the primary organizers for the WCTU addressed the state annual convention that year (39). According to Young, these efforts directly contributed to the establishment of the New Mexico Chapter of the Congressional Union, first organized in 1916 (40).

With this official organization in place, women in New Mexico were able to get additional support and directly focus their efforts on suffrage (40). From this point forward, the suffrage cause maintained two specific aims: first, to publicize their cause by recruiting new members through mass village meetings; and second, and more

importantly, it launched an effort to pressure New Mexico's three representatives in Washington D.C. to support the "the vote for women" (40). The political arena is where women's suffrage faced its greatest challenge. While U.S. Senator Albert Fall supported women's suffrage, U.S. Senator Thomas Catron bitterly opposed it throughout his five-year tenure in office (40). Young points out that New Mexico women made little headway in the suffrage struggle until Catron's timely defeat during his 1916 bid for re-election (41). Beginning in 1916, after Catron left office, and up until 1922, all New Mexico's representatives to Washington supported women's suffrage (42).

Following statehood, women in New Mexico developed what Janine A. Young described as a well-planned "defense for the vote" through various "women's clubs" (43). In New Mexico women used these organizations to demonstrate the contribution that women could make in all sectors of both private and public life (43). Young details the strategy of these groups:

Until World War I, suffragists in the state emphasized that women should vote because they had unique interests and because they were different from men. They often couched their arguments in moralistic tones. If women voted, they would purify politics and reform each hamlet and town until bloodlers (murders) and swindlers would be on the run. Other women, however, stressed their belief in fairness. One member of the Albuquerque Women's Club, for example, felt that the issue should not be argued from a sentimental, idealistic view point; its foundation is simple justice (44).

Prior to World War I, there was little evidence to suggest that attitudes and perceptions regarding suffrage for women in New Mexico had changed since the late nineteenth century (Young, 50). However, by the conclusion of the war, more New Mexicans supported the effort (50). Widespread mobilization of firmly-rooted women's organizations in the state changed the opinions of many New Mexicans. One of their key

functions during the war years was to encourage women— through mass meetings and statewide newspapers—to assume “responsibility” for “conservation duties...and later to help produce war materials” (50). Young emphasizes that such activities by women was “one of the most important reasons for the United States’ success in Europe and it helped tip the balance to the Allied side” (50).

One of the major changes that occurred among women in New Mexico—in their struggle for suffrage before World War I and their activism during the war itself—was that, once the war was under way, they shifted their involvement, support, and commitment almost exclusively to the war effort. Patriotism, civic duty and participation in wartime activities in defense of their country became primary and foremost in their involvement. Suffrage took a temporary second seat until the war was over. Women had now contributed to their state and country during war time, and obviously, their ultimate reward should now be nothing less than full suffrage, like that bestowed on their male counterparts many years before.

The socioeconomic impact World War I made on women and their right to vote and hold public office was clearly evident. Following the war, women from the lower economic stratum, who gained clerical and other service-related occupation skills, significantly expanded the middle class sector of society in New Mexico as they filled additional post-war positions (58). For men, women’s contributions to the war helped re-shape male attitudes about them and forge new opinions of respect as they recognized a new emerging identity among the Hispanas (59). Men quickly began to see women as “able to do just about any type of work” (59). While these changes were significant, the most important, clearly, was

the change in women's attitude towards politics and participation in that new, endowed privilege (59).

After the war, suffrage for women expanded significantly across the United States. And closer in New Mexico, suffragists initially placed their efforts on specific political agendas. One major issue was prohibition, which, in 1917, passed in New Mexico by over 20,000 votes. Suffragists in New Mexico also stressed the importance of women's participation in school elections, as well as a statewide effort to educate as many young women as possible (61).

Women's Suffrage and Public Office in New Mexico

The role Hispanic women played in the suffrage movement is highly commendable; and like their male counterparts, Hispanas made significant contributions in shaping the body politic of New Mexico in various ways. Soon after New Mexico achieved statehood, women such as Lola Chávez de Armijo demonstrated an important historical example of women's quest for political equality in New Mexico (Díaz, 1992, 30). Like men, the majority of Hispanic women were from the lower rungs of the social and economic community in an emerging new state that was heavily influenced by a preponderance of wealth, economic power and political control that was, more and more, Anglo driven.^{vi}

The few Hispanic women who stand above the rest during this pivotal political period came from wealthier, affluent families who were a small minority. Chávez de Armijo's political stand to maintain her appointment of State Librarian represents an important moment for Hispanas in New Mexico history. Chávez de Armijo's court battle resulted in the first documented case of job discrimination based on gender during the early months of statehood (31). The center of debate stemmed from the nomination and appointment of Chávez de Armijo to the position of State Librarian by outgoing Republican Territorial Governor, William J. Mills (31).

President Woodrow Wilson, a Democrat, appointed William C. McDonald governor of New Mexico. Complicating Chávez de Armijo's appointment was the fact that she was a Republican, and McDonald wished to replace her with a Democrat. However, the Republican-dominated Legislature held its ground, and they opposed the Governor's nominee in favor of Chávez de Armijo (31). Resentful of the Republican Senate's defiance toward his candidate, Governor McDonald attempted to oust Chávez de Armijo by citing the Elective Franchise Article which gave women the right to vote in public school elections only (31).

Since the Constitution did not define women's right to hold public office, Governor McDonald argued that Chávez de Armijo could not maintain her post. Instead of yielding to the legal and political pressure from the Governor, Chávez de Armijo took the battle to the New Mexico courts (31). The case was first heard in District Court by a Republican, Judge Edund C. Abot, who ruled in favor of Chávez de Armijo (31). Not satisfied with the judge's ruling, the Governor chose to take the case to the New Mexico Supreme Court (32). And in the end, also, the New Mexico high court ruled in favor of Chávez de Armijo by a 2-1 margin (32).

Armijo found that the most important result of her personal battle was the increased public awareness and outrage regarding the case which was being covered by the *Santa Fe New Mexican*, and the *Albuquerque Journal*...which until this time scant public attention had been paid to her personal and political struggle (32).

More importantly, Chávez de Armijo's court battle inspired women throughout the territory to adamantly address other issues related to their plight and rising concerns in their effort to achieve equal political status to men. Beyond suffrage, women set their sights on achieving full political equality. In 1913, Chávez de Armijo's pivotal court battle paved the way for motivated Republicans to guarantee women the opportunity to hold appointed offices through legislative Bill 150 (Salas, 1995, 371). Following the successful

passage of this bill, Chávez de Armijo retained her position as state librarian until 1917, according to her biographer.

By 1915 the national women's suffrage organization, The Congressional Union (CU), achieved a large membership in New Mexico, and most of its membership came from women whose husbands were in the dominant Republican Party. The CU knew that if suffrage was to be achieved, political allies from within the Republican Party were needed. Nationally and locally, organized efforts concluded, and the passage of the Susan B. Anthony women's suffrage amendment in Congress was underway (Jensen, 1986, 301).

The Congressional Union realized that membership and support from Hispanic women was essential if they were to achieve success in New Mexico. Two influential Hispanic women surfaced in the New Mexico suffrage movement, and their participation aided that effort tremendously. One was Aurora Lucero, Democrat and daughter of the Secretary of State, Antonio Lucero; and the second was Adelina Otero-Warren, a thirty-four-year-old niece of the wealthy and powerful Republican Solomon Luna (310). As the CU campaigned across the state, Lucero and Otero-Warren were recruited to speak primarily to Hispanic women of New Mexico. Initially, Lucero was the more outspoken of the two, but by 1917 Otero-Warren emerged as the most influential Hispanic member of the CU (311).

Adelina Otero-Warren was born October 23, 1881, to Eloisa Luna and Manuel B. Otero (NMHR, 1995, 369)^{vii}. Otero-Warren's father was killed in a shootout over a land dispute while she was quite young, and her mother had re-married Alfred M Bergere, a member of another prominent Santa Fe family. Otero-Warren had the fortune of also being from one of the wealthiest families of New Mexico, and as a result, she had an extensive educational

background. Otero first attended a private girls school in St. Louis, and later attended Maryville College of the Sacred Heart, also in St. Louis. At the age of twenty-seven, Adelina married Lieutenant Rawson Warren of the U.S. Army (370).

According to the Salas article, Otero-Warren found life as an Army officer's wife "too confusing" and divorced him after two years. In New Mexico, however, she later reported that she was a widow. During Nina's 1922 bid for Congress, her lie would come back to haunt her (370). Between 1912-1914, Otero-Warren lived in New York where she worked for an organization that advocated work for poor children (370). In 1915 Otero-Warren was recruited by Alice Paul, founder of the Congressional Union, to aid the New Mexico suffrage cause. Quiet and unassuming at first, she became the chair of the New Mexico chapter of the CU by 1917 (371).

The year 1917 proved to be a decisive year for Otero-Warren and the CU's effort to promote suffrage in New Mexico. Local women's factions and partisanships had destabilized the CUs efforts in the first part of 1917, but under Otero-Warren the organization found new strength and stability. Otero-Warren also chaired the women's division of the Republican State Committee for New Mexico (371).

In 1917, Ezequiel Cabeza de Baca, a Democrat and New Mexico's first Hispanic Governor, appointed Republican Otero-Warren Superintendent of the Santa Fe Schools, in a bold, non-partisan move. The following year, Otero-Warren set a precedent for other women in the state by successfully defeating a male candidate for the same position (Perrigo, 1985, 77). Otero-Warren maintained this post until 1929. As superintendent of Santa Fe schools, she turned the district from indebtedness into a financially sound administration. In this post, she actively sought out federal monies to further help the

school district (Salas, 372). Her success as superintendent of the Santa Fe public schools did not go unrecognized at the national level. In a 1919 August issue, the popular, *Holland* magazine featured and described Otero-Warren by stating that no

American women could be more emancipated, more business-like, more efficient, more wide-awake, and also possess that peculiar Spanish charm, gracious, modesty, and the poise and consideration of others found so often in the convent bred women. Mrs. Otero-Warren shows how the daughter of a Spanish Don, but one generation removed from old world traditions in regard to the life of a women, can emancipate herself from what is useless in the old life, still retaining what is charming and really worthwhile (as quoted by Whaley, 1994,92).^{viii}

Philosophically, Otero-Warren encouraged an education system that promoted bi-cultural education through Hispano arts and crafts; however, she did not believe that instruction should be given in Spanish (372). Some educated, acculturated Hispanos, such as Otero-Warren, obviously saw the value of learning English as a springboard and advantage to competing in different societal settings, even in New Mexico where Anglo domination was already being felt during this early period of Statehood. Otero-Warren's reluctance to support Spanish instruction in the schools is revealed in one of her personal writings. It strongly alludes to the need for Hispanos to assimilate into the mainstream of American society. She mentioned that she was thinking of how to encourage them to preserve the arts, the customs, and the traditions of this New Spain in an effort to save its charm, which is its very life. This is an American School, giving those little children the same reading, writing, and arithmetic which is taught in the far west, the middle west and the east...I might add in passing that we cannot permit the children to speak Spanish in the classroom, and teachers are instructed to keep the children from conversing in it on the playground, thereby conforming to the national system of education!...**There is no shirking of our suffrage responsibility. In**

times of national and state elections we go eagerly to the polls for we love the political game. What then is to be the trend of education in New Mexico? Is it not a question of our gradual merging, of our assimilation, into this great nation, but at the same time of conserving our distinctive contribution through the preservation of the customs, traditions, the arts and crafts of the Spanish west?^{ix}

In 1918, women initiated their final push for passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would give them the voting franchise (Young, 1984, 69). Janine Young's work notes how suffrage could have easily been achieved in New Mexico during this year, had it not been for the roadblocks of the United States Senate (69). In both 1917 and 1918, New Mexico representatives overwhelmingly supported suffrage. In the House, Representative William Walter, and Senator Andrew Jones, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Suffrage, both used their influence to persuade President Woodrow Wilson to urge the Senate to support suffrage (69). Young cites one particular passage from President Wilson that highlights his particular view on the issue:

We have made partners of the women in the war; shall we admit them only to a partnership of suffering and sacrifice and toil and not to a partnership of privilege and right? This war could not have been fought, either by the other nations engaged or by America, if it had not been for the service of the women—in the fields of effort in which we have been accustomed to see them work, but whatever men have worked, and upon the very skirts and edges of the battle itself...I tell you plainly that this measure which I urge upon you is vital to the winning of the war and the energies alike of preparation and of battle (69).

Governor Octaviano Larrazolo also championed women's suffrage during this time. Since he had changed party affiliation to successfully run for governor as a Republican, he obviously received much praise from both men and women in New Mexico for his position on suffrage. Larrazolo's effort to secure suffrage for women while he was Governor must be noted. His biography, *Octaviano A. Larrazolo: A Moment In New Mexico History* (1986), quotes a direct view of Larrazolo's on women's suffrage (109).

The provisions of our state constitution seem to stand in the way of any legislative enactment on that subject (woman suffrage). I therefore recommend that you propose an amendment to the state constitution, in the manner provided by law, to the effect that women may be admitted to the enjoyment of the right of suffrage on equality with men. Slowly but steadily the women of our country have been extending their sphere of usefulness. No longer confined exclusively to domestic duties, woman has been enlarged in many of the industrial pursuits of life, working to earn a living, very much the same as men do. Therefore, in this particular they are entitled to the same protection that the law (109).

In 1919, Governor Larrazolo appointed Otero-Warren to the state Health Board where she later became chairman. Otero-Warren soon used her position and influence with Larrazolo to encourage the governor to support a state-wide bill supporting suffrage. The Nineteenth Amendment that allowed for women's suffrage finally passed in June 1919, at the federal level, and New Mexico suffragist supporters were hoping that their state would be one of the first to pass the amendment (Salas, 1995, 373). In spite of Governor Larrazolo's support, women's suffrage, during the 1919 Legislative Session encountered a "thorny path," as reported in the *Santa Fe New Mexican* (February 20). Women's suffrage ultimately perished during this session in the House of Representatives' Committee on Constitutional Amendments. It never reached the House Floor (SFNM, February 20, 1919).

Ironically, several English magazines and newspapers suggested it was Spanish-speaking lawmakers who defeated suffrage in 1919. Governor Larrazolo criticized members of both parties who had voted against suffrage that year (Whaley, 1994, 92). While suffrage failed during the 1919 legislative session, Otero-Warren did achieve some consolation in two other legislative bills that passed. She ardently and successfully supported these welfare bills that sought aid for women and children (93).

The following year at the start of the 1920 legislative session, women in New Mexico, once again, actively lobbied lawmakers in the suffrage cause. Governor Larrazolo called a special legislative session for that sole purpose in February (Young, 1982, 70). Otero-Warren was determined to see suffrage pass, especially after the 1919 bid had failed; and as a leader of the women's division of the Republican Party, Otero-Warren worked to ensure that all Hispanic Republicans were on board (Jensen, 1986, 311). At the national level, suffragist were determined to have full ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, but they were still fourteen states short. Success in the western states consequently became a major focus for suffragist supporters.

Throughout the entire special session in New Mexico, suffrage experienced roadblocks; and supporters realized the final vote was going to be close. On February 18, suffragist supporters packed the Senate gallery to hear any final debates before it went to a vote. The following day, the Senate ratified the amendment by vote of seventeen to five. Later that day, the House followed by a ratifying the amendment by a vote of thirty-six to ten. New Mexico consequently had become the thirty-second state in the Union to officially pass women's suffrage. Historian Janine Young extolled Otero-Warren's efforts by stating:

The New Mexican victory can be credited partly to Nina Otero-Warren's efforts on the final day, for she held a three hour private meeting with the dominant Republican caucus (1986, 70).

With the right to vote, Hispanic women of New Mexico took this political privilege seriously. During this period it has been reported that, "It became a custom for young women of all Hispano classes to celebrate their twenty-first birthday by registering to vote as a coming-of-age ritual" (Salas, 1993, 373). Measuring the impact of Hispanic voter

participation as a result of suffrage can be seen in the numbers. In 1920, 59 percent of eligible Hispanic voters voted, and by 1924, participation increased to 68 percent (373).

Oddly enough, another special election had to take place to allow women the right to hold public office. Apparently, Bill 150 that passed in 1913 only applied to “appointive” positions (373). On September 20, 1921, a special election was held to amend Section 2 of Article II (Elective Franchise) (Chávez, 1999, 1). After the votes were tallied the amendment had passed with 26,744 votes in favor, and 19,751 votes against (1). Once this major victory that asserted women’s voting rights was concluded, women in New Mexico wasted little time in organizing their own party support and launching their own candidates for public office.

As the interest to have female candidates run for public office fomented, different names came up and among them were popular Hispana leaders and educators Nina Otero-Warren and Soledad Chávez de Chacón. Hispanos soon began to participate in this important dialogue on woman’s suffrage that was no longer debate but a new reality and impending experience. Different Hispano leaders, both political and civic, had strongly supported women’s suffrage since the issue surfaced. Some of these were individuals such as Congressman Nestor Montoya, historian-attorney Benjamin Read, and Governor Octaviano Larrazolo. Read, who regularly published articles about New Mexico’s historical legacy and its Hispano populace, in the *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican* and its weekly Spanish counterpart, *El Nuevo Mexicano*, drafted a long, convincing article on women’s right to vote and hold public office.

Read’s article appeared in *El Nuevo Mexicano* on August 31, 1922, a few weeks before the November election. He lauded the historical role and contributions women made to the

world since the beginning of humanity. “Women have always provided proof of their strength and virility, and the countries of the world have always held them in high esteem with many of them holding high positions, including those that require the knowledge and understanding of the science to govern others,” he wrote. He provided various examples of women who left great legacies and who made lasting impressions on the history of humankind. Among those he mentioned were Joan of Arc, Queen Victoria, Madame Maentenon, Santa Teresa de Jesús, Madame de Stael, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, and Doña Josefita Ortiz de Domínguez, *la corregidora*, the administrator. “There are many more celebrated heroines,” he stated, “including Queen Isabel, the Catholic monarch from Castilla, who deserves the name, ‘Mother of Humanity’ ” (*ENM*, August 31, 1922).

Read emphasized that the two great political parties of New Mexico should give women what they wanted, otherwise, “*ya verá el zurriago que llevarán,*” or “they will see the whipping they will get.” He felt that men had nothing to worry about, once women had all those rights equal to those men now had. “*Lo hecho, hecho. Seamos francos. Seamos hombres,*” or “What’s done is done. Let’s be frank. Let’s be men” (*ENM*, August 31, 1922).

By late 1922, the “Women’s Party of New Mexico” nominated a bipartisan, all-women’s ticket for state and national office: Julia Asplund for Governor of New Mexico; Nina Otero-Warren for the U.S. House of Representatives; Soledad Chávez Chacón for Secretary of State; and Isabel Eckles for New Mexico Superintendent of Schools (Young, 1986, 72).

The 1922 elections demonstrated the rapid evolution of progressive politics which included women running for major state and federal positions. For Otero-Warren, the election would radically change her life. The first challenge she encountered in her 1922

bid for the U.S. House of Representatives was to defeat the Republican incumbent, Nestor Montoya. Interestingly, Montoya had, throughout his political career, championed education rights that included women, and he was also one of the more vocal suffrage supporters for women (95). And although Republican Party leaders urged her not to run against Montoya, she, nevertheless, did run. They asked her to be a candidate in a lower position, since they feared the experiment of nominating a woman, especially against an incumbent. In one article from the *Santa Fe New Mexican*, Otero-Warren argued that she was not running for office out of monetary need but instead because she was the best candidate for the job. The article goes on to state:

...if they did not want her as a candidate on the ticket all they had to do was beat her for the nomination. At the same time she informed them she was a good loser but was going to try to be a good fighter and that if she did not get the nomination she would support the nominee...state politicians believed he [Montoya] would be successful, in fact her chances were considered so doubtful that others entered the field (SFNM, September 23, 1922).

Being of quick mind and wit, Otero-Warren went to work to convince party members that she was the best candidate for Congress. At a Republican delegation meeting, she met a prominent party leader, who told her that he opposed women in public office. It appears that Nina was about to give up trying to solicit his support when she put her “good sense of humor” to work. She noticed that he had red hair like herself, and she spontaneously reminded him that she, too, was a redhead. Otero-Warren then, according to reports, told him “put your money on red and we will win this game” upon which “she had the delegation sold” (SFNM, September 23, 1922).

Once Nina aggressively sought the party nomination, the 1922 Congressional race heated up. The *Carrizozo Outlook* reported that interest in Otero-Warren gained national attention when she allowed for the publication of her first campaign picture. The publication stated that

newspapers from New York, Chicago, Boston and Philadelphia all requested her picture and “found special interest” in her bid for Congress (September 29, 1922)

In the end, Otero-Warren received the Republican Party nomination when she defeated Montoya, by a margin of 446 votes to his 99. Otero-Warren even defeated Montoya in all but one of the state’s predominantly Hispanic counties, including his home county of Bernalillo; and subsequently, she became the first woman in the history of New Mexico to be nominated for high federal office (Whaley, 1997, 97).

After defeating Montoya, Otero-Warren set her sights on the Democrat challenger, John R. Morrow, a popular Democrat from Colfax County. On the campaign trail Otero-Warren reminded Hispanic voters that “the Democratic Party was the White Man’s Party; the Republican Party is the only political party that is distinctly American” (as quoted by Whaley, 97). The Republican Party printed leaflets that noted her political ascendancy.

A ready and resourceful debater...well read and thoroughly familiar with the science of political economy and also with all the public questions which (at the present time) are agitating the entire nation. No person in New Mexico knows better than Mrs. Warren the condition and wants of our state and the needs of its people...If elected, she will make her mark in the national halls of Congress and that success will crown her efforts. VOTE FOR HER (as quoted by Whaley, 98).^x

In the general election, Otero-Warren received more than forty-nine thousand votes, but she was defeated by Morrow by less than 9 percent of the vote. Additionally, she carried all but one of the state’s predominantly Hispanic counties (98). One situation that developed a few days before the election where political articles supporting Otero-Warren. They heavily downplayed and criticized John Conway, the State Superintendent of Public Schools. None appeared in *El Nuevo Mexicano*, but the newspaper reported on November 2, 1922 that articles that appeared in other newspapers stated that John Conway had done very little to help the schools in New

Mexico, and that some of the schools in Santa Fe County were in a deplorable condition before Nina Otero-Warren took them over. The schools were in a ruinous condition before Nina took them over to improve them, that instruction and teaching methods were the poorest possible (ENM, November 2, 1922).

Those articles, *El Nuevo Mexicano* continued, stated that in four short years, Otero-Warren restored the schools in Santa Fe County, and now they were second to none. She restored faith in the public schools and was responsible for much of the new construction that occurred in the county. She had brought new “interest in learning to the pathetic population” (ENM, November 2, 1922).

Many of Conway’s supporters felt indignant about this campaign literature, since they were aware of the tireless work he carried out to improve education throughout New Mexico, and especially Santa Fe, when he served as County Schools Superintendent. During his tenure, Conway, who was also Hispano on his mother’s side, received much support from female organizations in public schools, did much to bring schools out of debt, and he received nationwide recognition for opening evening schools for adults. He had also received recognition from the National Education Association and from the United States Commissioner of Education. The article concluded that Conway, the current State Superintendent of Schools, had offered no comment to the negative publicity and affronts on his character, and instead, he did no less than support Otero-Warren, who he respected, by making her “*una ofrenda en el altar de las aspiraciones congresionales,*” “an offering in the altar of congressional aspirations” (ENM, November, 22, 1922).

It is evident that the attack on Conway was divisive and obviously hurt Otero-Warren at the polls, and it would appear that the fabricators of the articles printed them to hurt her

campaign, since both she and Conway were Republicans. It is also possible, to a certain extent, that misrepresentation of her marital status compromised and also cost her votes and the 1922 U.S. House of Representatives election. Some have argued it did. Further, extensive research can determine a closer conclusion to this assumption. It should also be noted, however, that few Republicans won in New Mexico, or nationwide. Soledad Chacón, who ran as a Democrat, won overwhelmingly for Secretary of State, even taking the conservative, Anglo-dominated counties along the eastern border of New Mexico, but that area was also predominantly Democrat (ENM, November 30, 1922), known to most for the longest time as “Little Texas.”

Throughout her political career, Otero-Warren told people that she was a widow when, in fact, she was divorced (Salas, 1995, 376-378). Ironically, it was Otero-Warren’s first cousin and former governor, Miguel A. Otero, who provided the information regarding her marital status. Apparently, Nina had insulted her cousin by not publicly acknowledging his political prominence (369). Whatever M.A. Otero did, or said, was bad enough that Nina’s older brother, Eduardo, followed the former Governor into the Capital City Bank of Santa Fe two weeks after the election and assaulted him. He cut the lower part of an eye and loosened the sixty-three-year-old’s teeth with another fist to the mouth, Eduardo paid a \$5.00 fine for assault and battery, (ENM, November 23, 1922). Although this encounter appeared to put closure to Nina’s loss in her bid for Congress and her rift with M.A. Otero, the former Governor filed a civil suit against Eduardo, his cousin and junior by about twenty years. Attorney J.O. Seth was seeking \$10,000.00 in damages for his client (ENM, November 30, 1922).

Nina Otero-Warren never again ran for public office in New Mexico, but notwithstanding, for seven additional years she tirelessly served the people of New Mexico in other capacities. To her credit, she had truly championed women's suffrage in New Mexico like no other individual, and her contributions to the education of New Mexico's youth are still felt in the Capital City of Santa Fe and throughout the state as well.

A poem written by a Hispano poet (Felipe Maximiliano Chacón) entitled, "*A La Señora Adelina Otero-Warren: Candidata Republicana para el Congreso, 1922,*" or, "To Mrs. Adelina Otero-Warren: Republican Candidate for Congress 1922," summarizes her political career. The historical significance of this poem is that it represents one of the first political poems, popular among the Spanish language newspapers, recognizing a Hispana politician. The poem appeared in *La Bandera Americana*, November 3, 1922 and also in Chacón's book on poetry, *Poesía y Prosa: Obras de Felipe Maximiliano Chacón, "El Cantor New Mexicano,"* (37, 1924). The English translation is from Salas.

A la Señora Adelina Otero-Warren

*Ceñida está tu frente de laureles
Y tu nombre de honores irradiá;
hoy se asoma tu estrella en los dinteles
de la aurora triunfal de un nuevo día.*

*El mundo avanza con la idea humana
y nacen nuevas cosas en la vida;
hoy refleja la luz de la mañana
en otra esfera la mujer nacida.*

*Nacida en el sufragio, igual al hombre,
pero en lo espiritual, más elevada,
en pureza moral labra su nombre,
y la tierra va bien en su jornada.*

*Aquesta evolución tan meritoria,
marcando el alto paso del progreso,
cubrirá Nuevo México de gloria,
poniendo una mujer en el Congreso.*

*Hablidosa, competente honrada,
de alma gentil, de corazón sincero,*

*¡héla ahí, la del pueblo proclamada,
la dama típica, Adelina Otero!*

*Vástago noble de español linaje,
y más aún, americana pura,
pero, ¡qué importa el exterior ropaje
del que amerita distinguida altura!*

*No es exclusiva la grandeza humana,
que no limita con nación ninguna;
del alto Cielo su poder dimana
y a quien le place su belleza aduna.*

*Mas no es esta lisonja que motiva
el servil interés del egoísmo,
que sólo encierra mi intención altiva
teñir en la Justicia un idealismo.*

*Salud! Salud! Un brindis de alegría
placer del progresivo ciudadano,
os manda junto con la trova mía,
¡el saludo de un pueblo soberano!*

To Mrs. Adelina Otero-Warren

**Your forehead is ringed with laurel
And your name radiates honor,
Today your star appears on the threshold
Of the triumphal dawn of a new day.**

**The world advances with human thought
And new things are born in life.
Today the morning light is reflected
In a new sphere where woman is born.**

**Born in suffrage equal to man,
But spiritually, more elevated,
In moral purity she carves her name
And the earth benefits from her journey.**

**This very meritorious evolution
Marking the noble path of Progress
Will cover New Mexico with glory
By putting a women in Congress.**

**Able, competent, honorable,
With a gentle soul and a sincere heart
There she is, proclaimed by the people,
The typical lady, Adelina Otero!**

**Noble offspring of Spanish Lineage,
And what more, pure American,
But what does outer clothing matter
In one who merits distinguished heights!**

**Human greatness is not exclusive
Nor limited to any nation,
From heaven above emits
Its beauty with discretion.**

**But this flattery is not motivated
By the servile interest of egotism,
My noble intention is only
To point out the Justice of an Ideal.**

**Here, here! A toast of Joy,
Pleasure of a progressive citizen,
I send you along with my verses
The greeting of a sovereign people!**

(As quoted and translated in Salas, 1995, 377, 378)

While Otero-Warren was defeated in the 1922 elections, Democrat Soledad Chávez de Chacón was elected Secretary of State. It should be noted, that although a Democrat, Soledad ran her picture and personal profile in *El Nuevo Mexicano* about four times, a newspaper that openly claimed to be partisan and Republican (ENM, November 9, 1922), while Nina Otero-Warren, a Republican, did not run her picture or profile in the Spanish weekly once. Soledad Chacón became the first Hispana elected to one of the highest elected positions in New Mexico state government (Chávez, 1996, 9). In 1924 Chávez Chacón also became the first woman to preside as New Mexico governor (12). While acting Governor Hinkle was attending to business away from New Mexico, acting Lieutenant Governor José A. Baca, died in the spring of 1924. While Governor Hinkle was absent, Chávez Chacón served as governor for two weeks. The *Santa Fe New Mexican* reported that Chávez Chacón had also become the first woman in the history of the U.S. to ever preside as governor of a state (12). Chávez Chacón, who deserves equal recognition as Otero-Warren, later served in the New Mexico House of Representatives (14).

Conclusion

With women's suffrage and the right to hold public office an important chapter in the political history of New Mexico ended. The period between 1910 and 1922 also represents an important chapter in the sociopolitical history of Hispanas. During the nineteenth century Hispanic women in New Mexico endured and prospered under three different governments: the Spanish, Mexican and U.S. By the turn of the century Hispanic women in New Mexico were poised to become a significant force in the women's suffrage movement.

By 1910 the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the Congressional Union (CU) in New Mexico had a number of Hispanic women from both the Republicans and Democrats. Building their efforts on educating women in the territory of numerous social and family issues the WCTU and CU would evolve into a force that championed women's suffrage. At the 1910 New Mexico Constitution Convention the CU and the WCTU hoped that New Mexico would become one of the first western states to grant suffrage. While full suffrage was not achieved, this historic event witnessed the emergence of Hispanas into the ranks of the movement. This period also witnessed a profound court case where Lola Chávez de Armijo's court battle to hold a public office in New Mexico sparked women's quest for political equality.

By the end of World War I, the CU emerged as the women's suffrage organization that Hispanas in the territory would stake their claim. Out of these women one would stand out like no other, Nina Otero-Warren. Like many men who had come from generations of military and political leaders in New Mexico, Otero-Warren represents their female counterpart. She was from a long line of politicians and judges in the territory. Otero-Warren symbolized the pride and heritage that had characterized the Spanish-speaking people of New Mexico and their determination to participate in the making of

their history. Otero-Warren has also been described by one scholar as an important example of a “Hispana precursor to the modern-day ethnic women politician” (Salas, 1995, 380). In a time when very few women in any part of the country were considering political office, Otero-Warren came close to becoming the first Hispana and women Congressional Representative in 1922. More importantly her candidacy demonstrates the complexity of “being a modern, highly educated, career-oriented, well-traveled Hispana in the early part of the twentieth century.

By 1922 both suffrage and the right to hold public office had been achieved for women in New Mexico. The cultural importance of these rights for Hispanas has been described by Elizabeth Salas who noted that

After American women gained the vote in 1920, Hispanas in New Mexico did their best to make the most of it. It became a custom for young women of all Hispano classes to celebrate their twenty-first birth-days by registering to vote as part of the coming of age ritual (373).

ⁱ Gonzalez defines “Spanish-Mexican” as those persons who were Spanish-speaking, who lived under the Mexican period, and who often considered themselves Spaniards, although the majority were not Spanish, but *mestizos*.

ⁱⁱ Gonzalez’ study of the Spanish-Mexican women of New Mexico is an important examination of women generating legal, social and political space during the nineteenth century. More importantly, as she points out, her study is an examination of how women survived colonization during the nineteenth century. Gonzalez’ study also exposes how most histories on New Mexico have undervalued women’s stories.

ⁱⁱⁱ All Spanish translations in Chapter V were provided by Dr. Anselmo Arellano of Las Vegas, New Mexico.

^{iv} **The right to vote in school elections was seen by some moderate women in the Republican Party as a start toward full suffrage. Janine Young notes that some women saw this tokenism and a setback for suffrage in New Mexico, especially because of the language in the bill that stated that if a majority of men in the district voted to keep women from voting**

in these elections, women's participation could be repelled. (34-36). See the work of Joan Jensen for this discussion also.

^v Numerous works discussing women's suffrage during the 1910 Constitution Convention of New Mexico mention how Democrats from eastern New Mexico imply that it was a cultural issue for Hispano men voting against suffrage. Joan Jensen book *New Mexico Women* (1986) suggest that this charge by Anglo Democrats was merely a ploy by them to divide the issue along race lines (305).

^{vi} Rose Díaz, Elizabeth Salas and Dan Chávez' work on recovering and documenting the Lola Chávez de Armijo court case contributes to the expansion of New Mexico's social history. More importantly their work provides valuable political history of Hispanic women in New Mexico during the first quarter of the twentieth century.

^{vii} Elizabeth Salas' article, "Ethnicity, Gender, and Divorce: Adelina Otero-Warren for the U.S. House of Representatives," in the October 1995 edition of the *New Mexico Historical Review* is an excellent source examining the complex life of Otero-Warren. More importantly, this article discusses the rise and fall of her short lived political career.

^{viii} See the three-page article "My People" by Adelina Otero 1 May 1931 for a complete reading of her personal thoughts and reflection on New Mexico. This article was taken from the biography files, "Nina Otero Warren" at the University of New Mexico's, Center for Southwest Studies.

⁹ See the three-page article "My People" by Adelina Otero 1 May 1931 for a complete reading of her personal thoughts and reflection on New Mexico. This article was taken from the biography files, "Nina Otero Warren" at the University of New Mexico's, Center for Southwest Studies.

^x For a complete reading of the leaflet and other documents related to the 1922 campaign see the Benjamin Read Papers (the file is titled 1922 AMB Papers at the University of New Mexico's Center for Southwest Studies Library).

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MARTINEZ, Stephen C. **Civic ideals in New Mexico: The sacred quest for citizenship**, Dissertation, 2006. Summary: This **dissertation** is a study of the civic identity of the Hispanic people of New Mexico between 1820 and 1922. This study asserts that the Hispanic people of New Mexico have a long liberal republican civic identity that has been influenced by both Latin America and the United States. This study employs an interdisciplinary approach that maps out the historical development of liberal republican civic ideals that the Hispanic people of New Mexico used to gain sociopolitical agency during this important period of the American Southwest. This study is valuable for any scholar interested in the racial, political, and social dynamic of the American Southwest.