

BEYOND MACHISMO, LA FAMILIA, AND LADIES AUXILIARIES: A HISTORIOGRAPHY OF MEXICAN-ORIGIN WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS AND POLITICS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1870-1990

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This essay is an assessment of the literature on Mexican-origin women's participation in voluntary associations and politics in the nineteenth and twentieth century. In making this assessment, I will: 1) discuss conceptual problems in the literature; 2) explain why there is a paucity of research on the topic; 3) examine racial, gender, and sexuality ideologies to explain these gaps; 4) point to these ideologies in the current literature; and 5) provide directions for reconceptualizing the study of Mexican-origin women in organizational life. Attention will be given to heterosexual women and lesbians in mixed-gender organizations, and associations composed entirely of women.

In 1967, when historian Kaye Lynn Briegel began her thesis on Mexican American political associations, she noted that "it was curious" that she found only one article on Mexican American organizations in an academic journal.¹ Pre-1970 scholars, primarily European-American men, had largely ignored *la Raza*. Briegel's 1974 dissertation on the *Alianza Hispano Americana*, the first national voluntary association organized by the Mexican-origin community, represented increased scholarly attention to Chicano and social history in the 1970s. Research on the Mexican-origin population has since burgeoned, and the field of Chicano Studies developed.

In 1994 the *Chicano Studies Periodical Index* on CD-ROM listed 258 citations under the term "organizations," but most citations reflected contemporary issues in existing associations; few are historical surveys.² Those voluntary associations which have been studied have largely been composed of men and women (mixed-gender), and are male-dominated. Scholars have rarely asked how gender mattered in the associations, and have hardly considered women's participation in them.³

Chicano Studies scholars have not focused on women in organizational activism. Two key books on twentieth century politics, Carlos Muñoz' *Youth, Identity, and Power: The Chicano Movement* and Juan Gómez Quiñones' *Chicano Politics, Reality and Promise, 1940-1990*, for instance, failed to use gender as a conceptual tool and thus ignored Chicana politics, Chicana organizations, and women in community organizations.⁴ Another barometer of the neglect of Chicanas in associations is the *Chicana Studies Index*, a 1992 index to periodical literature spanning the previous twenty years. It included only eighteen articles about Chicanas and organizations, few of which are historical surveys.⁵

In contrast to Mexican-origin associations, European-American women's voluntary organizations have received significant attention from historians. Anne Firor Scott's *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History* is the most comprehensive survey, while Karen Blair has prepared a book-length bibliography on the topic.⁶ Scott also included African American women, several years earlier having noted that she had "discovered" that "the history of Black women's voluntary associations is as long as that of white women's."⁷ With the exception of African American women, Scott ignored other women of color.

Similarly, Blair's bibliography did not include a reference to Chicanas. Neither scholar ventured into Chicana/Chicano Studies to understand Mexican-descent women's participation in community organizations. The *Chicano Periodical Index* and Chicana/Chicano Studies bibliographies could have provided access to writings about Mexican associations. Sylvia Gonzales' *Hispanic American Voluntary Organizations*, for instance, would have been useful.⁸

European-American historians have shown that white women's activism in club and organizational life has been pervasive and effective. In *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*, historian Nancy F. Cott has called their efforts in effecting social change "voluntarist politics."⁹ She noted the proliferation of women's organizations in the 1920s. On the national level, this decade also witnessed the rise of national Jewish women's organizations and the continuation of African American women's struggles in the male-dominated National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and women's organizations like the National Association of Colored Women.

Cott's analysis has little relevance for Mexican-origin women, since they did not belong to a national women's organization until the 1970s. In fact, the first separate women-centered national meeting of Chicanas occurred in 1971,

although women had previously congregated at national meetings and conventions of civil rights and labor organizations. Thus Cott's periodization and analysis cannot explain Mexican-origin women's participation in voluntary associations.

Chicana voluntarist politics (and Chicana feminism) are also significantly different from those of African American women. African American women were more urbanized, had greater access to higher education, and have a larger middle class, and thus organized decades earlier. The National Association of Colored Women, for instance, had 50,000 members in 28 federations and 1,000 clubs in 1914. Moreover, some predominately European-American organizations such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) had separate branches for African American women, but not for Mexican-origin women. Scott has called African American women's voluntary associations "most invisible of all," but it is apparent that several other groups are equally invisible—or at least invisible to some historians.¹⁰

For over a century Chicanas have belonged to voluntary associations. We too have a history of voluntarist politics but our scholarly discourse on the subject is not about "volunteerism" or "voluntarist politics" but rather in the discourse of "community organizations," "activism," and the politics of "resistance."

To adequately address the voluntarist politics of Mexican-origin women and the grounding of Chicana feminism, a focus on organizations composed of women is insufficient. European-American historians have studied women's organizations (where most females have organized) but have given less attention to associations composed of *both* women and men. Such is the case because many historians believe sexism is a major contradiction in their lives and the lives of women in the past; hence, the study of gender and the idea that women are "natural allies" and that "separatism is strategy."¹¹ In 1979 historian Estelle Freedman claimed, "At certain historical periods, the creation of a public female sphere might be the only viable political strategy for women."¹²

To understand Mexican women's organizational activism across history, it is necessary to study associations composed of both women and men, because Mexican-origin women have organized with men along racial and class lines. Mexican-origin women have historically had other "natural allies"—the men of la Raza, members of the working class, and men or women of the same sexual

identity. Consequently, Chicana politics must also focus on mixed-gender associations. Mixed-gender organizations in the Mexican-descent community date back to the nineteenth century but are primarily a post-World War II phenomena.

Both heterosexual Chicanas and Chicana lesbians have organized with men. In the post-1965 era Chicana lesbians have had their own “natural allies”—Chicano/Latino men. A Chicana lesbian expressed this when she said:

The oppression of lesbians is different from that experienced by Latino gay men; we are women, we are lesbians, and we are Latinas, so we get it from three directions. But if we do not work with our natural allies, our brothers de corazón y de Raza, who are we going to work with?¹³

Indeed, a significant number of Chicana lesbians have organized with Chicano gay men as well as maintaining separatist groups.

Ninety-nine percent of all libraries function on heterosexual principles and do not solicit the history (or herstory) of gays and lesbians. The Dennis Medina Papers at the Benson Latin American Collection at the University of Texas at Austin may be the only Chicano gay collection in a straight library. Lesbians and gays have to contend with the problem of “outing,” identifying their sexuality to straight society. Lesbians and gays have formed their own herstory and history associations, institutions, and archives, although most are controlled by European-Americans. The *Chicano Periodical Index* lists only 113 entries on Chicana/o and Latina/o lesbians and gays in Chicano Studies materials. Most focus on AIDS and writers Gloria Anzaldúa and Cherríe Moraga; organizational histories have yet to be written.

In addition to mixed-gender associations, the tradition of same gender (women-only) organizations is significant in understanding the voluntarist heritage of Mexican women. This tradition is rooted in the gendered division of labor. This division of labor by gender extended into social relations and created gender-based patterns of socialization and socializing. Bonds between women emerged to create what Jean Lipman-Blumen called “homosocial” relations.¹⁴

Homosociality is important in understanding why women organize with women and men with men. Women’s organizational experience first emerged in a homosocial context in the nineteenth century. Then women organized with men. Mixed-gender organizations appeared in the late nineteenth century

but were not common until after World War II. In the 1970s, some Chicana feminists rejected the mixed-gender tradition and created a homosocial feminist organizational tradition (that is, by women and for women.) Homosociality persists into the 1990s, with separate women's groups and separate men's groups. Before discussing the organizational heritage of Chicanas, I will address scholars' assumptions about Mexican-origin women's activism.

Deconstructing Ideological Assumptions

One of the first scholarly essays on Chicanas in public/political life was Theresa Aragon de Valdez' "Organizing as a Political Tool for the Chicana," written in 1980. Referring to the Chicano Movement, she asked, "What are the constraints which impede her [the Chicana's] ability to organize, and what resources at her disposal can be identified that will facilitate organizing?"¹⁵ Few have sought to answer Aragon de Valdez' question, a question just as easily asked of the late nineteenth century. Aragon de Valdez seemed to hint that economic resources are needed to tackle these constraints. However, structural, ideological, and cultural constraints are equally as important.

Scholars' past and present assumptions about women's consciousness and actions help explain the paucity of writings on Mexican-origin women's organizational activism. These assumptions are based on ideologies about women and women of Mexican-descent in particular; I refer to them as ideologies of gender, race, class, and sexuality.

These ideologies can be summarized as follows: 1) women lack a fundamental interest in politics; 2) *machismo* prevents Mexican-descent women from participation in the public sphere; 3) when motivated to participate in the public sphere, it is family ideology that motivates Mexican women; 4) if active, Mexican-origin women get involved in ladies auxiliaries; 5) when active, Mexican-descent women seek to "help their men"; and 6) Mexican-origin women lack a feminist tradition. These ideologies permeate writing on Mexican-descent women's participation in voluntary associations.

One ideology prevalent in the literature is the notion that women lack a fundamental interest in politics. Anthropologist Jane Fishburne Collier noted in a 1974 essay on women and politics that "it cannot be lightly assumed that women have not cared about wider political issues."¹⁶ Feminists and women historians have expanded the typical understanding of the "political," whether

it be for reform or liberation defined by race, ethnicity, color, gender, nationality, region, locality, or sexuality. The idea that women don't care about politics or power may sound like a ridiculous statement to the public of the 1990s or students of women's history, but the prevailing belief among the general public is that before the 1960s, women did not get involved in politics, with perhaps the exception of suffragists. About Mexican-descent women, political scientist Ralph Guzmán noted in 1976, "Women seldom appeared in the Anglo world alone or with their husbands to demand social change."¹⁷

A second ideology in the literature specific to Mexican-origin women (and Latinas) is the idea that machismo among Mexican/Latino men prevents/has prevented Mexican-descent women from participating in community organizations. Machismo is usually defined as an exaggerated sense of "manhood" and understood as a Mexican or Latino cultural trait; México and other parts of Latin America have been considered the "land of machismo."¹⁸ Machismo is generally treated as a hegemonic and static force.

Several Chicana scholars have acknowledged machismo's negative effects on women. Aragon de Valdez observed that "some Chicanas have been so completely dominated that they cannot even envision another role for themselves." Literary critic María González hinted at an omnipresent machismo when she noted, "The tradition of subservience, silence, passivity, will need to be changed if Hispanic women are to make any impact on mainstream society."¹⁹

Critiques of the ideology of machismo have been launched by Chicana scholars Adaljiza Sosa Riddell, Maxine Baca Zinn, and Alma García, among others. Political scientist Sosa Riddell condemned the ideology of machismo as "a myth propagated by subjugators and colonizers which created damaging stereotypes of Mexican/Chicano males."²⁰ Sociologist Baca Zinn has noted that the ideology of machismo fosters a stereotype of Chicanas as "subordinated," "passive" and "locked in the home."²¹

Another scholar, a male political scientist, also challenged the ideology of machismo. In 1966 Ralph Guzmán noted that the general public believed that machismo had historically stifled Mexican women. Nevertheless, referring to Mexican American middle-class women of the 1930s, he argued that they "led some of the protests of the barrio." Here, he referred to women like Emma Tenayuca of San Antonio, Texas, an ardent unionist, Communist, and progressive activist. Guzmán concluded that machismo did not stifle women's commu-

nity activism. Accordingly, he referred to the “myth of disabling machismo.”²² But by 1976 he reverted to the machismo model noting that, indeed, the role of Mexican women in organizational life “was defined by a chauvinistic concept of manhood called machismo.”²³

Machismo is both theory and praxis. Machismo posits a patriarch heading a family and does not allow for female-headed families or other variations in family structure. Moreover, the machismo myth creates an omnipresent male, even for single women, widows, and lesbians who have no husband or father or significant male other. Machismo is also an ahistorical concept since it does not allow for social change in patriarchal structures and ideologies. Nor does it allow for varieties of manhood or masculinity among *la Raza* or allow for the variables of class, education, or sexuality.

Nevertheless, machismo is a useful concept—it identifies patriarchy at the personal, cultural, ideological, and structural level. At the personal level, machismo is expressed through sexual harassment, heterosexism, and homophobia. At the ideological level, it has meant conscious and unconscious exclusion or hatred of women. It has also translated into ignoring the significance of gender in relations of power. It can also be used to mean the oppressive and exclusive behavior by men which prevented, limited, and inhibited women’s involvement in the public sphere based on the ideology of male superiority and power. At the same time, it is important not to stereotype Mexican-origin men as “*machos*.”

A third ideology about Mexican-origin women (and Latinas) concerns their supposed adherence to family ideology or familism. They allegedly idealize their families and place family interest above all else, including themselves. The family has been conceptualized as a heterosexual entity embodying “man,” “wife,” and “children.” “Woman” is conceptualized as a married adult with children; teenagers, single women, women without children, lesbians, and the elderly are typically ignored.

When Mexican-descent women have ventured out of the home or private sphere, it has been assumed that their concern for family pushed them to the public/political sphere. In 1975 Baca Zinn named this phenomena, as it applies to Chicanas, “political familism,” which she defined as “a phenomenon in which the continuity of family groups and the adherence to family ideology provide the basis for struggle.”²⁴ In other words, when women act politically, they are

motivated by affective ties to the family and seek the opportunity to improve the lives of their families. Thus, women work on behalf of families, for husband and children, or community, but not on behalf of themselves or women. Ironically, a review of the literature reveals that although the work of women for their families, children, community, and "Raza" has been idealized (especially by 1970s Chicano Movement activists), specific studies of this contribution are few.

A fourth ideology about Mexican women is that when they do participate politically, moved by familial values, they seek to "assist" their husbands. Sister Frances Jerome Woods, a sociologist, argued in her 1949 study of Mexicans in San Antonio that "For the most part, the women endorse policies of their husbands, and when a man expresses an opinion, one can be reasonably certain that his family stands behind him."²⁵ Since women are constructed as heterosexual, married to men, and subservient to their spouses, women help their men. Activist women are seen as assisting husbands or boyfriends in "their" endeavor.

Anthropologist David Schneider noted that "almost every woman is perceived to be under the authority of some man who sponsors her participation in social and political life."²⁶ Many women, including lesbians, single women, and married women have not been sponsored. Fishburne Collier explained that "women are seldom seen as political actors, but rather as pawns to be used in the political maneuvers of men: hoarded for their productive, reproductive, and prestige-enhancing value."²⁷ The woman as male helper also tends to emphasize the work of individual men and women and thus, undermines a focus on communal struggles. In addition, women are rarely considered leaders. Woods, for instance, proclaimed, "Among most minority groups, certainly the Mexican minority, leadership is the prerogative of the males."²⁸

Another ideology prevalent in the literature is the idea that women, particularly in the pre-1960 era, participated in ladies auxiliaries. The general public assumes that before the 1960s, Chicana voluntarist politics were limited to ladies auxiliaries. In a brief sketch of Chicana history, literary critic Tey Diana Rebolledo and Eliana Rivera noted that among Chicanos, "there were also literary clubs, music clubs, and theatre clubs. And, of course, they [the men] had their women's auxiliaries."²⁹ Writing about la Raza in Houston, Texas, historian Thomas Kreneck noted, "while men ran most of these community associations

with auxiliary participation from their wives by the 1930s, women's groups began to take root."³⁰ Too often, it has been merely assumed that women were in ladies auxiliaries, that members were wives, and that men told them what to do.

Moreover, ladies auxiliaries, a political expression of women's culture and a cultural expression of women's politics, have either been denigrated or made invisible. Commenting on San Antonio, Texas, in the late 1940s, Jerome Woods noted, "Some ethnic associations have women's auxiliaries, but the accomplishments of these groups are meager in contrast with the men's groups."³¹ At issue here is the devaluation of women's work.

Ralph Guzmán also assumed most Mexican-origin women were in ladies auxiliaries though he could not name a specific example. Nevertheless, he provided this generally positive assessment:

While ladies auxiliaries did not involve women directly in the center of organizational power they made it possible for women to learn about the external milieu. The auxiliary brought women together in social settings. They learned to organize banquets, dances, and other social events. Several excelled in church functions and others became super fund raisers. The auxiliaries were important appendages to male-run organizations; they provided money, food, service, and entertainment.³²

This positive assessment acknowledges the "female" aspect of women's work. Historians Judy Aulette and Trudy Mills have noted, "women may be praised when they do men's work but the total range of their work and the significance of their contributions remains invisible."³³

Another assumption is that before the mid-1960s, Chicanas expressed little feminist (or womanist) consciousness, and thus have no feminist heritage.³⁴ In 1976 Ralph Guzmán argued, "there is no record of a female group organized exclusively by women for women."³⁵ Since the 1970s, historian Marta Cotera has attempted to dispel the myth that Chicanas lack a feminist heritage, and the myth that we learned feminism from European-American women.³⁶ Mexican-origin feminists in the early twentieth century, for example, established women's newspapers and associations and wrote feminist essays, but scholars have given them little attention.³⁷

Scholars have expressed these ideologies in their writings on the political participation of Mexican-descent women in the twentieth century. These ide-

ologies help explain the paucity of research on Mexican-origin women in community organizations, the assumptions that researchers have brought to their studies, and some of their research “findings.” Major works on Chicano community organizations are grounded in these assumptions.

Review of the Literature

The best overview of Mexican American organizational resistance is Ralph Guzmán’s “Politics and Policies of the Mexican-American Community,” although it is focused on men, political activism, and the post-1920 period.³⁸ Most Chicano histories focus on mutual-aid societies, civil rights associations, and Chicano Movement organizations, most of which have been male-dominated and mixed-gender associations. My survey analyzes this literature. A discussion of organizations composed solely of women follows.

Historically, Chicanos and Chicanas have participated in a wide variety of organizations such as labor unions, mutual-aid societies, and political clubs, civic, professional, cultural, religious, and philanthropic groups. Most Chicana and Chicano historians date the first voluntary associations among the Mexican community in the United States in the mid-nineteenth century.³⁹ Organizational life, however, dates back to 1718, when religious societies called *cofradías* or *confraternidades* conducted religious activities in the absence of priests, maintained churches, and provided mutual aid in New Mexico. *Penitente* societies—confraternity groups with scourging and bloodletting rituals—existed from the mid-nineteenth century to the 1920s. And in the 1890s, Las Gorras Blancas (The White Caps) in New Mexico protected land rights. But the typical nineteenth century southwestern Chicano organization was the mutual-aid society.⁴⁰

Before the rise of Chicano Studies in the late 1960s, the European-American dominant order believed la Raza docile and lacking organizations. Political scientist Charles Chandler referred to the “lack of a Mexican tradition of participation in democratic voluntary associations.”⁴¹ Social scientist Nancie L. González explained, “It is true that many Spanish names appear on the rolls of the more usual types of Anglo clubs such as the nationally known men’s service clubs, college fraternities, women’s clubs, country clubs, etc. However, . . . Hispanos do in fact participate.”⁴²

John Hart Lane’s 1968 dissertation on voluntary associations provides a

glance into the vast array of groups la Raza participated in during the 1960s in San Antonio.⁴³ They belonged to over 500 "ethnic" associations. Similarly, anthropologist James E. Officer has analyzed men's and women's club participation in Tucson in the early 1960s. La Raza has also joined organizations with non-Chicanos, but that is not my focus.⁴⁴

Mutual-Aid Societies and Women

Mutual-aid societies appeared in México in the 1800s. Political scientist Mario Barrera has noted that *sociedades mutualistas* were the most important social organization among Chicanos from the late nineteenth century to the 1930s.⁴⁵ They served the social, cultural, political, and economic needs and interests of Chicanos. Appearing in towns and cities, they were largely a response to working-class life, a racist society, and a dominant European-American order. Historian Emilio Zamora has noted that most nineteenth century voluntary associations were predominantly male, reflecting the subordinate status of women and the prevailing patriarchal order.⁴⁶

José Hernández' *Mutual Aid for Survival: The Case of the Mexican American* (1983) is the only comprehensive overview of *sociedades mutualistas*.⁴⁷ He focused on several organizations including the Alianza Hispano-Americana, founded in 1894 in Tucson, Arizona; the Primer Congreso Mexicanista of Laredo in 1911, which was the first civil rights meeting in the United States; and the Order of the Sons of America, a Texas civil rights organization founded in 1921. Hernández gave little attention to women in these groups but concluded optimistically:

This study has shown that Mexican-American women enjoyed the greatest freedom to join societies of mutual benefit. Indeed, the women served in various capacities in these organizations and were elected to responsible offices. They participated in regional conferences as an equal voice with men. Also, they founded their own lodges and benevolent societies with comparatively large memberships.⁴⁸

Hernández based these conclusions on cursory attention to women; the parameters of how, when, and why they participated in various mutual-aid societies in different decades requires further study.⁴⁹ He ignored the tradition of sexism in voluntarist politics and stressed equal participation; studies of specific associations suggest his optimism was unwarranted.

The Alianza was the first mutual-aid society to spread across the United States, but was especially significant in Arizona, New Mexico, and California. Kaye Briegel's 1974 study "Alianza Hispano-Americana, 1894-1965: A Mexican-American Fraternal Insurance Society" mentions the "fraternal" (i.e. communal) nature of the organization. Writing before gender and men were subjects of study, she ignored the particularly male-dominant character of the organization. She also slighted the Alianza's female membership.⁵⁰

Women in the Alianza have been the subject of an essay by Olivia Arrieta. She examined the purpose, process, structure, functions, and maintenance of the association in Arizona and New Mexico from 1894 to 1965.⁵¹ Although the premise of her study was that sociedades mutualistas "have basically been male organizations," she elaborated on women's involvement.

They participated in Alianza ladies' auxiliaries between 1894 and 1913, becoming full members thereafter. Nineteenth century *machismo* did not exclude women's participation but, rather, provided for segregated female participation. Women's homosocial traditions also guaranteed separate participation. Arrieta noted that women were active in charity and fund-raising activities.

Several questions remain. Did women struggle for full membership and why? What patterns of participation appeared after 1913? Arrieta noted that an Alianza juvenile department was created in 1924; did women establish it? She noted that "by the 1940s and into the 1960s, women had not figured significantly in the official business of the Alianza."⁵² What accounts for this lack of official leadership? And what of women's work in the Alianza's unofficial business? Affiliate girl clubs—Club Orquidea and Club Azalea—were formed in the 1950s; what was their purpose? Arrieta's forthcoming book may answer some of these questions.

Historian James McBride's essay on the Liga Protectora Latina documents the statewide mutualista founded in 1914 in Arizona. With thirty chapters in the state by 1917, it also spread to California, New Mexico, and Pennsylvania. Its connection to labor, particularly among Mexican male immigrants, was significant and its work at the legislative level made the group unique during this era. McBride ignored the particularly male composition of the organization.

Julie Lenninger Pycior's 1979 survey, "La Raza Organizes: Mutual Aid Societies in San Antonio, 1915-1930"⁵³ is the only other major study of sociedades mutualistas. San Antonio had the largest population of Mexicans in the United

States during this period, and some 10,000 joined during these years. Lenninger Pycior identified nineteen mutualistas in San Antonio, seven of which permitted women to join and hold office. Two others, Sociedad Benevolencia Mexicana and Sociedad de la Unión, both founded in the nineteenth century, established women's auxiliaries in the 1920s. The auxiliaries maintained a separate leadership structure and operated in a semi-autonomous fashion. Thus, nine of the nineteen groups included women. Pycior's work suggests increased participation in the 1920s, and thus a break in the men-only homosocial principle. The integration of women can probably be attributed to the increase of women in the workforce and public schools.

Pycior discussed leadership and noted that men held most of the elected offices. In the 1920s only one woman, Luisa M. de González, presided over a mixed (male/female) mutualista, the Alianza Hispano Americana. According to the historian, women in integrated mutualistas "eschewed feminist rhetoric" and "their moderate, pragmatic stance earned them the respect and cooperation of most male mutualista members."⁵⁴ Here she suggested women sought the approval of male mutualista members and that conflict did not exist between members of the opposite sex. Such a conclusion is preliminary in a brief survey of women's participation, especially when interviewees included no women. To understand women's participation in sociedades mutualistas, women's and men's consciousness requires attention.

Typically, only men belonged to nineteenth century mutual-aid societies, but there were exceptions. Women participated in auxiliaries, but Mexican women also belonged to separate women's groups. Historian Roberto Calderon's essay on nineteenth century Laredo, Texas, documents the existence of four women-only mutualistas among nine male mutual-aid societies in this colonial city founded in 1755. Women organized Sociedad Josefa Ortíz de Dominguez, named after a heroine in México's struggle for independence, and another called Sociedad Unión Mexicana de Señoras y Señoritas.⁵⁵ Moreover, here single women or girls (señoritas) organized with married women.

Another important voluntary association in the early twentieth century (though not a mutualista) was the Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM), an anarcho-syndicalist organization based in México, which established chapters throughout the Southwest in places like El Paso, Los Angeles, San Antonio, and Laredo. Juan Gómez Quiñones' *Sembradores, Ricardo Flores Magón y El Partido Liberal*

Mexicano: A Eulogy and Critique discusses women largely as supporters of men's activism. He introduced several women, including Andrea Villarreal and María Taravera, but he does not assess women's activism as a group.⁵⁶ Analyzing El Partido's ideology as it relates to gender, historian Emma Pérez has written an important revisionist critique. She exposed the contradictions of PLM ideology about women's oppression. Women worked as journalists, soldiers, and organizers. Separate women's organizations were not her focus.⁵⁷

Mexican American Civil Rights Organizations and Women

Civil rights organizational activism by la Raza had begun by 1911. Anthropologist José Limón's 1974 study of the Primer Congreso Mexicanista, a civil rights meeting in Laredo, Texas, discussed women.⁵⁸ At the meeting, uniting la Raza in Texas was discussed, and an elaborate plan for organization written. Congreso members discussed women's education and the necessity of organizing women. The resulting organization was the Gran Liga de Beneficiencia y Protección, whose membership was "*por Mexicanos y México-Texanos de uno o otro sexo*" [for Mexicans and Mexican Texans of either sex]. Limón suggests that the group's gender politics were feminist because of the discussion about education and/or their gender ideology.⁵⁹

The Congreso drew 300 to 400 persons, most of whom were members of the Orden Caballero de Honor y los Talleres and the Logia Masonica Benito Juárez, both men's associations. All Congreso delegates were men; men composed the board of directors, and a man held the position of secretary. A token invitation to Laredo women was extended, but while women's education was included as an agenda topic, it was Professor Simón Domínguez, and not Sra. Domínguez, who spoke despite the fact that both were teachers.

Limón mentioned the formation of the Liga Femenil Mexicanista, lists its officers, and notes the group supported free instruction for poor Mexican children. Newspapers provided no further coverage of the Liga. Apparently, Jovita Idar organized the Liga. Once again, the homosocial principle came into play; despite the planned inclusion of women in the state-wide organization, Jovita Idar organized a women-only group. Historian Marta Cotera called the Liga "feminist" since it was pro-women. They organized "*bajo los auspicios del Congreso Mexicanista*" [under the auspices of the Congreso] and their mission was "*luchar*

ellas tambien POR LA RAZA Y PARA LA RAZA" [they would also fight with la Raza for la Raza]. They supported women's education and their public organizing, but there is little evidence the group was anti-patriarchal.⁶⁰

The Order of the Sons of America (OSA) established eight chapters in Texas from 1921 to 1929, with the most active councils in San Antonio and Corpus Christi. Lenninger Pycior noted that women were members, but my research suggests they were not. Both the 1921 and 1927 constitutions allowed for the formation of ladies auxiliaries but interestingly enough, no men bothered to organize one. In 1927 in Corpus Christi, for example, member Louis Wilmot was charged with organizing women into ladies auxiliaries, but his wife, Ofelia Wilmot, told me that she never joined an auxiliary, nor did Corpus Christi women. Perhaps men could not organize women or perhaps they did not devote themselves to the task. Perhaps women chose not to organize an auxiliary. Ofelia Wilmot and other wives of OSA members as well as widows, and women whose husbands were not OSA members formed the Alpha Club, a philanthropic and beneficent group, instead. The Corpus Christi group lasted from 1928 to 1939. Women, then, had their own agency and formed auxiliaries only when they wanted to.

The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) was founded in February 1929 in Corpus Christi, Texas, when the OSA and several groups merged. LULAC is the oldest national Latino organization today. Lay historian Moisés Sandoval is the author of a LULAC-sponsored history, *Our Legacy: The First Fifty Years*. He noted, "In the beginning, LULAC was a man's organization. The persons who gathered to found the League were all men."⁶¹ LULAC was founded in February 1929, but women attended the social events of the constitutional convention in May. Three months later they attended the first regional convention and a LULAC newspaper mentioned that the association was "a matter of great interest to them." Sandoval devoted a chapter to women, focusing on post-1965 elected leadership. He ignored women in LULAC before 1965 and was unaware of feminist essays in *LULAC News* written by Alice Dickerson Montemayor, who penned a radical critique of machismo in the 1937 essay "Son Muy Hombres."⁶² Other feminist efforts by women have been ignored by male authors.

Mario T. García's *Mexican Americans: Leadership, Identity, and Politics*, a 1989 anthology which chronicled the rise of the Mexican American civil rights

movement through various organizations, devoted several pages to women.⁶³ García's treatment of women is limited to the 1930s and includes several inaccuracies. According to the historian, LULAC incorporated women's auxiliaries in 1932, but my survey of the *LULAC News* (the official newsletter since 1931) revealed reports of only three ladies auxiliaries in the group's history. Moreover, no constitution mentions ladies auxiliaries. García wrote that women were incorporated as full members in 1934, and added, "Although almost all men's and women's councils remained separate by choice, a few contained both men and women." My survey of LULAC documents suggests that men's and women's councils remained separate not only by choice (i.e. the homosocial principle), but by force—that is because of machismo or male exclusion. Moreover, mixed councils were typical only after 1960.

Historian Richard García's *The Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class* addresses the rise of LULAC in San Antonio in the 1930s.⁶⁴ He also addresses voluntarist politics among the Mexican American middle class and the Mexican exile community. He, too, focuses on men. He introduced LULAC intellectuals M.C. Gonzales and Alonso S. Perales but ignored Sra. Gonzales and Marta Perales. He discussed women only in his chapter on the family. Ladies LULAC in San Antonio had the largest number of members in Texas in the 1930s but was ignored.⁶⁵

Benjamin Márquez' *LULAC, The Evolution of a Mexican American Political Organization*, the only book-length survey of the League, included two paragraphs on women. He mentioned Anita Del Rio's presidential campaign in 1986 and noted the significant fact that LULAC's membership by the mid-1980s was over 50 percent female.⁶⁶ But he made no other reference to women and did not seek to explain their historical participation. Attention to women is now particularly salient, since 1994 witnessed the election of the first woman national president, Belen Robles.

Even Marta Cotera has underestimated women's significance in LULAC. In a 1983 essay on Latina politics, she noted that LULAC women had "a more subdued club woman reformist approach channeled through female auxiliary groups."⁶⁷ Another researcher questioned LULAC women's significance, and instead characterized their participation in LULAC as "a social gathering for women to go drink coffee and get together."⁶⁸ The best treatment of Ladies LULAC, although cursory, is historian Arnoldo De León's book on Houston,

in which he chronicles the efforts of Ladies LULAC Council #22's efforts to raise monies for milk, eye glasses, Christmas toys, and baby clothes.⁶⁹

Another national civil rights group, the Congreso de Habla Hispana, founded in 1938, was a pan-Latino organization, embracing Puertorriqueños, Cubans, Spaniards, and other Latinos in California, New Mexico, Colorado, New York, and Montana. Historian Alberto Camarillo noted its leftist, internationalist, Partido Liberal Mexicano-influenced, and unionist tendencies. He stressed that women's equality was part of the Congreso's program, noting that "the leadership roles of women such as [Guatemalan] Luisa Moreno and Josephina Fierro de Bright also set it apart from most other groups."⁷⁰ Congreso women operated in a mixed-gender setting, an unusual situation in the 1930s. In *Mexican Americans*, Mario García devoted a chapter to the Congreso, noting that its platform called for attention to "double discrimination" experienced by women and a call for women's committees. Women constituted 30 percent of the membership, he noted. Women in the Congreso, like those in the PLM, expressed feminist consciousness on the national level. The association fell victim to McCarthyism in the early 1950s.⁷¹

Another important national civil rights organization, the American G.I. Forum, was founded by veterans in 1947 in Corpus Christi, Texas, and was particularly active in legal desegregation efforts in the 1950s. Carl Allsup's *The American G.I. Forum: Origins and Evolution* did not integrate women into its discussion of the Forum's evolution.⁷² He concludes his study by positing multifunctionalism and family involvement (meaning the participation of women and children) as factors lending to the Forum's persistence. However, he lamented, that "to some degree the auxiliary chapter also perpetuated gender separation."⁷³ Allsup commented no further on the auxiliaries and failed to distinguish between those who were auxiliary members and full members, that is, Chicana veterans.

A People Forgotten, A Dream Pursued: The History of the American G.I. Forum, a commissioned study by Henry A.J. Ramos, also addresses the Forum. Ramos discusses women as leaders and men's helpers.⁷⁴ He highlighted contributions by Isabelle Tellez, Dominga Coronado, Molly Galván, Nellie Navarro, and Dr. Clotilde García.

Ramos mentions that women participated in "innovative and independent pursuits" and in "local, state, and national policy processes" but did not develop

these themes.⁷⁵ Women sponsored fundraisers, organized chapters, and acted as lobbyists, he said, without further elaboration. He credited women with sponsoring fundraising drives such as *tamaladas*, tamale-making get-togethers. However, he also described women as male appendages; they were: “mothers, sisters, girlfriends, wives, and daughters of male Forumers.” He concluded that women in the Forum had few “feminist aspirations,” and rather, “rallied to the support of their men.”⁷⁶ Conflict between women and men was left unexplored.

One of the most interesting facts Ramos points to was the women’s institutionalization of an annual women’s conference. He noted, “As early as 1957, GI Forum women groups sponsored and participated in women’s leadership conferences of their own design. These were most revolutionary undertakings in their time, and effective mechanisms no doubt for further building the organizational and leadership capabilities of Spanish-speaking women.”⁷⁷ These conferences suggest both the homosocial principle and feminist consciousness. Ramos and Allsup based their studies on the papers of the Forum’s founder, Dr. Hector García. Other personal collections (including those of women) as well as Forum newsletters could have helped address women’s involvement.⁷⁸

The Asociación Nacional México Americana (ANMA), a progressive pro-labor civil rights organization, was founded in Phoenix and lasted from 1950 to 1954. Liliana Urrutia, then a high school student, has written an essay about ANMA. She did not study women as a group, but mentioned ANMA’s 1950 national secretary Virginia Ruiz, who also served as a delegate to the Independent Progressive Party, which endorsed Henry Wallace. She also noted that ANMA sponsored “queen contests.”⁷⁹ In *Mexican Americans*, Mario García devoted a chapter to ANMA with a page and a half to women. He reported that they constituted a third of the Southern California membership and discussed the initial inclusion of women, and female leaders like Julia Luna Mount of Los Angeles.⁸⁰

Regional differences in women’s participation in civil rights and political organizational life existed. In Texas, women had significant participation in rural and urban areas but it tended to be gender-segregated. In California, women had greater participation in mixed groups. In Arizona, women had even less participation in mixed groups and seem to have been involved in more auxiliary work. The degree of urbanity, the work-force participation of women, and education affected this involvement.

As noted earlier, Mario García discussed LULAC, the Congreso, and ANMA (all national organizations), and mentioned prominent women leaders. He did not notice the lack of a Mexican-origin women's national organization during the pre-1970 years. Nor did he discuss women's associations that supported civil rights. All the authors ignored machismo/sexism/patriarchy in society as a historical problem for Mexican-origin women.

Chicano Movement Organizations and Women

Another important organization, though not a traditional voluntary association, is the Raza Unida Party (RUP), a political party founded in Crystal City, Texas, in 1970, which spread to California, New Mexico, Colorado, Illinois, and Arizona. Ignacio García's *United We Win, The Rise and Fall of La Raza Unida Party* chronicled the rise and decline of the party as it revolved around male leaders and male candidates. García states, "The role of women in the party is not developed as a separate theme from the general history and this in part reduces the Chicana presence in the book."⁸¹ In the same paragraph, he concluded, "Overall, I am convinced that what was included [in the book] was the most essential."⁸²

García interviewed twenty-seven activists, a third of whom were women, but he still focused on male elites like José Angel Gutiérrez, Mario Compean, and Ramsey Muñiz. Luz Gutiérrez, the first party official of the RUP, whose husband was José Angel, is ignored and merely considered "Gutiérrez's right hand."⁸³ And although García interviewed María Elena Martínez, a Texas state RUP chair, he also slighted her significance. Grass-roots women and the network/caucus of women called "Mujeres Por La Raza" in Texas, and Federación de Mujeres de la Raza Unida in California are hardly mentioned.⁸⁴

Women constituted a third of those attending the founding convention. Evey Chapa helped write the platform which asserted the significance of "La Mujer," "La Familia," and women's equality. The caucus was formed to promote female leadership within RUP as well as to elect Chicanas to office. In 1973 they sponsored at least three woman-centered conferences; they voted to withdraw from the European-American dominated Texas Women's Political Caucus.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, RUP men often considered women "groupies," uninterested in political power.

Marguerite V. Marín's *Social Protest in an Urban Barrio, A Study of the Chi-*

cano Movement, 1966 to 1974 addressed five Chicano movement organizations in Los Angeles. They were: the Community Service Organization (CSO),⁸⁶ the Educational Issues Coordinating Committee, the Brown Berets, Movimiento Estudiantil de Aztlán (MEChA), and the East L.A. Community Union (TELACU). Unlike all the other studies noted, almost half of her interviewees were women. Marín gives needed attention to women's participation in the paramilitary Brown Berets (similar to the Black Panthers), which most believe was a male organization. She noted that Beret women established the Barrio Free Clinic, which TELACU later institutionalized.

One of the most interesting aspects of Marín's work is its focus on the issue of internal divisions. She is the only author reviewed here to discuss machismo. She mentions that at meetings women struggled with men over the division of labor and leadership roles. How sexism led to the formation of separatist women's organizations is critical in understanding the post-1970 period.

Another Chicano Movement organization was Centro de Acción Social Autónomo, Hermandad General de Trabajadores (CASA-HGT). Founded in Los Angeles in 1968, it lasted to 1978, and had 2,000 members in 1972. Historian David Gutiérrez's working paper on this pro-labor, pro-immigrant group ignored women in the organization and CASA-HGT ideology on the so-called "woman question." He cited Bert Corona and Soledad "Chole" Alatorre as founders, but proceeded to ignore Alatorre.⁸⁷

The only book-length study of the Chicano Movement is Carlos Muñoz's *Youth, Identity, and Power: The Chicano Movement*. He discusses pre-1965 organizations, the student movement (especially MEChA), Raza Unida, and Chicano Studies (especially the National Association for Chicano Studies). He mentions sexism as a problem for Chicanas in MEChA once, and it is not seriously addressed.⁸⁸

Women's Organizations

Associations composed solely of women have received the least scholarly attention. Middle class women's groups have been slighted as have lesbian associations. This research gap should be attributed to neglect by historians as well as to the small number of Chicana historians. Consequently, there is one book and only a handful of scholarly articles on the history of Mexican-descent women's

associations.⁸⁹

Historian Thomas Kreneck has discussed Club Chapultepec, a women's group affiliated with the Houston, Texas, YWCA in the 1930s. These young, middle-class women sponsored *Diez y Seis* festivities and sold government bonds during World War II. Kreneck's brief study focuses on a letter the club wrote in 1937 in which they complained about a police murder of a Mexican national, racist Texas history, race segregation and discrimination, and low wages.⁹⁰ He provides evidence to counter the notion that Raza women were not concerned with politics.⁹¹

In separate articles, librarian/historian Chris Marín and historian Julie Campbell have studied *La Asociación Hispano-Americana de Madres y Esposas*, a veterans' support group in Arizona formed during World War II.⁹² Lasting from 1940 to 1976, Marín notes it was originally a man's idea to form the league. Members sold over \$1 million in war bonds and stamps and sponsored clothes drives for the Red Cross. The group was obviously motivated by political familism, but apparently it was the broader community, not only their sons and husbands they served.

Julie Campbell explores the activities of *Madres y Esposas* in greater depth than Marín. She noted that a fifth of Mexican-origin women in Tucson joined the group. Campbell pointed to its male directors and female officers. While stressing some of its "male-helpers" aspect, she also revealed that a key leader-Rose Rodríguez-was single.

Sociologist Mary Pardo has written about the Mothers of East Los Angeles (MELA), an organization composed of working-class women over 50 that was founded in 1982. She noted that they were fighting for their families, and that their battles took place where issues of class, race, and community intersected, such as the planned location of a prison and toxic waste dump in their community. She argued that, "working-class women activists seldom opt to separate themselves from men and their families." Yet, the women did in fact organize as "mothers," as women separate from men.

In another modern-day twist, she noted the supportive role of "fathers," who made placards for protests and attended marches organized by the mothers. "In their particular struggle for community quality of life, they are fighting for the family unit and they are not competitive with men," Pardo stated.⁹³ But by virtue of their name, it is clear that members identify as mothers as well as

with la familia. If they are not competitive with men, they nevertheless keep men out of their organization to avoid competition, conflict, and machismo, and they surely conflict with policies probably made by men.

Only one book about a Mexican-descent women's organization has been published. In *One Dream, Many Voices, A History of the Mexican American Women's National Association*, leader Elvira Valenzuela Crocker discusses its formation, presidential administrations, and membership.⁹⁴ In 1991 MANA had members in 36 states and chapters in Texas, Colorado, Michigan, Missouri, Virginia, Washington, and Washington D.C. Founded in 1975, the group deals with national legislation and the general welfare of Chicanas. Valenzuela Crocker included no footnotes or bibliography but did conduct interviews; the chapter "In Their Own Voices" permitted national presidents to discuss their individual histories.

Future Research Directions

Thousands of Mexican-origin women's voluntary associations need scholarly attention. Nineteenth century women's clubs, although rare, need attention as do numerous pre-1965 clubs. Arnolde De León mentioned the women's mutualista, Sociedad Beneficiencia, that was founded in Corpus Christi, Texas, in 1890.⁹⁵ The Cruz Blanca provided relief to the wounded during the Mexican Revolution.⁹⁶ Nelson Pichardo's essay on California voluntary associations revealed the existence of women's clubs in Los Angeles from 1927-1933 and other places in California.⁹⁷ Chicana groups connected to settlement homes and YWCA's need attention.⁹⁸ Likewise, the Sociedad de Guadalupanas, a national Catholic association honoring the Virgen de Guadalupe, and its precursor, Hijas de María, needs attention as do Protestant groups. Hermanas, an association of nuns, has been organized since 1970.⁹⁹ Women in mixed-gender straight associations such as the Woodmen of the World,¹⁰⁰ the American G.I. Forum, Community Service Organization, Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO), and Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA) have yet to be studied.

Cruz Azul Mexicana was one of the most important women's voluntary associations organized across the United States in the 1920s. During that decade the Mexican consulates in the U.S. established associations called Comisiones Honorificos and Cruz Azul, men-only and women-only chapters,

respectively. In Los Angeles, the Cruz Azul helped flood victims, the unemployed, and needy families. During the forced repatriation of individuals to México in the 1930s, it assisted 1,500 unemployed persons. The Cruz Azul helped establish a clinic in San Antonio, and produced plays in Houston.¹⁰¹

Within the mixed-gender experience, attention to internal organizational politics is needed. Research on power struggles between women and men in organizational life must be undertaken. Six areas requiring attention are leadership, division of labor, cultural milieu, sexual oppression, heterosexism, and homophobia. Leadership and the division of labor have historically been two major areas of contention as anthropologist Adelaida del Castillo has pointed out.¹⁰² This may or may not also be the case for Chicana lesbians in lesbian/gay organizations.

Activist/scholar Elizabeth Martínez has provided a more radical critique in naming the problem: the tradition and practice of male posturing. In "Chingón Politics" she quoted scholar/activist Gloria Romero who argued, "Chingón politics is everywhere, in academia or whatever, and we have to deal with it."¹⁰³ Martínez notes that "chingón politics expresses a culture of domination." That culture in organizational life must be explored.

Rarely mentioned is the sexual oppression of women in the mixed-gender heterosexual experience. Focusing on MEChA, then student Marta Argüello called this problem "phallic politics."¹⁰⁴ She noted sexual harassment and the use of sex as a tool to manipulate women in organizational work. Another area of contention is heterosexuals' practices toward lesbians and gays. An essay by Deena González presented at the National Association for Chicano Studies (NACS) reveals Chicana/o heterosexism in an academic setting. She noted the issue of NACS' heterosexual culture, repression, and the silencing of allies.¹⁰⁵ Studies ignore the homophobic and heterosexist nature of Chicano organizational life.

Chicana lesbians and gays have had a public organizational life at least since 1979, when Houston's Gay and Lesbian Hispanos Unidos was founded. They sponsored Gay Pride Week and were involved in local electoral campaigns of European-Americans and Chicanos.¹⁰⁶ The Austin Latino/a Lesbian and Gay Organization (ALLGO) was founded in 1984 as a second Tejano/a association in Texas. They organized Project Informe-SIDA, the second out (openly lesbian/gay) program on AIDS in the nation. In Los Angeles, Gay and Lesbian

Latinos Unidos (GLLU) has existed for over a decade. The Latino Lesbian Gay Organization (LLEGO), the first national Latino and Latina association, was founded in Houston in 1992. Lesbian interaction with gay men must also be assessed.

Chicana lesbians have their own history of women-only groups as well: Ellas in San Antonio and Amigas in Houston are two examples. The first national Latina meeting was held in 1994, although an *encuentro* with Latin American lesbianas has already taken place.¹⁰⁷ No survey of this history has appeared in straight or gay scholarly journals. Serious primary research must involve reviewing lesbian and gay periodicals and oral history. Yolanda Leyva, who is pursuing a Ph.D. in history at the University of Arizona has created the Lesbiana Latina Archives, and Juanita Ramos has founded the Latina Lesbian History project at SUNY at Binghamton.

National, state, regional, and local-level Chicana feminist organizations of the post-1970 era also require attention. Comisión Femenil Mexicana Nacional (founded in 1970), the Mexican American Women's National Association (1974), and the National Network of Hispanic Women (1980) are important middle-class feminist organizations. Local groups to be researched include Chicana Welfare Rights (1968); Mujeres Latinas en Acción (1973) of Chicago; Hispanic Women's Council (1973) in Los Angeles; Las Mujeres (1984) of Albuquerque; Hispanas Unidas (1984) from San Antonio; and various Mexican American Business and Professional Women's clubs.¹⁰⁸ Chicana student organizations such as Mujer at the University of California at Santa Barbara, and Las Chicanas at the University of California at Riverside, both of which have persisted over a decade, also deserve study.

Conclusion

Studies of Chicano voluntary organizations have largely failed to address women and gender. When scholars have discussed women, they have briefly alluded to their contributions and mentioned a few individual leaders. More typically, however, they have subjected Mexican-descent women to patriarchal and heterosexist ideologies.

Mexican-origin women have participated in community organizations in distinct ways. Women's organizational styles illuminate the fact that machismo did not keep women out of politics. Women did not merely participate as fam-

ily members or because of a family ideology. Nor did the women of la Raza simply organize in ladies auxiliaries or organize to “just help their men.” They have expressed a feminist heritage in mixed-gender organizations, women-only, and separatist feminist groups. Lesbians also have their own distinctive organizational heritage, struggling with straight men and women and gay men.

The range of organizational activism among Mexican-origin women is impressive; it has simply been invisible to some. Mujeres have a proud record of struggle and achievement which only well-researched studies free of patriarchal and heterosexist ideologies will discover.

NOTES

- ¹ Kaye Lynn Briegel, “The History of Political Organizations Among Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles Since the Second World War,” Masters Thesis, University of Southern California, 1967; Kaye Lynn Briegel, “The Alianza Hispano-Americana, 1894-1965: A Mexican American Fraternal Insurance Society, Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1974. The article she located was Oliver Douglas Weeks, “The League of United Latin American Citizens: A Texas Mexican Civic Organization,” *Southwestern Political and Social Science Quarterly* 10:3 (December 1929):257-278.
- ² *Chicano Periodical Index* Database, University of Texas at Austin, June 1994. *Chicano Periodical Index* (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1978-1990). See also *Chicano Anthology Index, A Comprehensive Author, Title, and Subject Index to Chicano Anthologies, 1965-1987*, comp. and ed. Francisco García Ayvens (Berkeley: Chicano Studies Library Publication Unit, 1990). The best reference sources on past and present organizations are Cabinet Committee on Opportunity for the Spanish Speaking, *Directory of Spanish Speaking Community Organizations* (Washington: Cabinet Committee on Opportunity for the Spanish Speaking, 1970); Sylvia Gonzales, *Hispanic American Voluntary Organizations* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985) and *Recursos, A Directory of Mexican-American Institutions, Organizations and University Programs Based in the United States of América*, comp. Alice Herrera and Julia Mejia, (México: Bibliografía Benjamin Fernández, 1990). The best annual directory is *Anuario Hispano/Hispanic Yearbook*, ed. Angela E. Zavala (McLean, Virginia: T.I.Y.M. Publishing Company Inc., 1994). See also Patricia M.B. Wade, “Women’s Organizations on the U.S. México Border: A Pathfinder and Research Aid” (n.p.: American Friends Service Committee, U.S. México Border Program), Vertical Files, Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin, hereafter BLAC.
- ³ On the Midwest see Ricardo Parra, Victor Rios, and Armando Gil, “Chicano Organizations in the Mid-West,” *Aztlán* 7 (Summer 1976): 235-253; Juan R. García and Angel Cal, “El Círculo de Obreros Católicos ‘San José,’ 1925 to 1930,” in *Forging a Commu-*

- nity, *the Latino Experience in Northwest Indiana, 1919-1975*, ed. James B. Lane and Edward J. Escobar (Chicago: Cattails Press, 1987): 95-114. García and Cal focused on the men's association El Círculo, a Mexican Revolution exile group in Indiana Harbor but ignored its male character. On California see Nelson A. Pichardo, "The Establishment and Development of Chicano Voluntary Associations in California, 1910-1930," *Aztlan* 19:2 (1992): 93-155. On New Mexico, see Nancie L. González, *The Spanish-Americans of New Mexico, A Heritage of Pride* (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1967); and Maurilio E. Vigil, "Ethnic Organizations Among the Mexican Americans of New Mexico: A Political Perspective," Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1974.
- ⁴ Carlos Muñoz, *Youth, Identity, and Power: The Chicano Movement* (London: Verso Press, 1989); Juan Gómez Quiñones, *Chicano Politics, Reality and Promise, 1940-1990* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990). On Chicana politics, see Marta Cotera, "Brief Analysis of the Political Role of Hispanas in the United States," (November 1983) prepared for the Women of Color Institute, Washington D.C., Benson Latin American Collection, the University of Texas at Austin; Christine Marie Sierra, "Surveying the Latina Political Landscape," *Intercambios Femeniles* 2:3 (Autumn 1984): 1, 24; Marta Cotera, "Hispana Political Tradition," *Intercambios Femeniles* 2:3 (Autumn 1984): 9. This is a special issue on Latina politics. See also Carol Hardy-Fanta, *Latina Politics, Latino Politics, Gender, Culture, and Political Participation in Boston* (Philadelphia: Temple University, 1993); Richard Santillán, "Latinas and American Politics: 1929-1986," Unpublished paper, 1986; and *Chicanas and Politics, A Selected Bibliography* (Las Cruces: ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools, 1979).
- ⁵ *The Chicana Studies Index, Twenty Years of Gender Research, 1971-1991*, comp. and ed. Lillian Castillo-Speed (Berkeley: Chicano Studies Library Publications Unit, University of California at Berkeley, 1992).
- ⁶ Anne Firor Scott, *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Karen J. Blair, *The History of American Women's Voluntary Organizations, 1810-1960, A Guide to Sources* (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1989). See also *Journal of Women's History, Guide to Periodical Literature*, comp. Gayle V. Fischer (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992).
- ⁷ Firor Scott: 5-6.
- ⁸ Gonzales, *Hispanic American Voluntary Organizations*.
- ⁹ Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987): 92.
- ¹⁰ Anne Firor Scott, "Most Invisible of All: Black Women's Voluntary Associations" *Journal of Southern History*, LVI: 1 (Feb 1990): 5-22.
- ¹¹ Estelle Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870-1930," *Feminist Studies* 5:3 (Fall 1979): 512-529.

- ¹² Freedman: 513.
- ¹³ Rodrigo Reyes, "Latino Gays: Coming Out and Coming Home," *Nuestro* 5:3 (April 1981):44. On Chicana lesbian organizational life see Deena J. González, "Malinche as Lesbian: A Reconfiguration of 500 Years of Resistance," *California Sociologist* 14:1-2 (Winter/Summer 1991):91-97; and Carla Trujillo, "Chicana Lesbians: Fear and Loathing in the Chicano Community," *Chicana Critical Issues*, ed. Norma Alarcón, et. al. (Berkeley: Third Women Press, 1993). Brief mention can be found in Neil Miller, *In Search of Gay America: Women and Men in a Time of Change* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1989); and Margaret Cruikshank, *The Gay and Lesbian Liberation Movement* (New York: Routledge, 1992).
- ¹⁴ Caroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth Century America," *Signs* 1:1 (1975): 1-29; Jean Lipman-Blumen, "Toward a Homosocial Theory of Sex Roles: An Explanation of the Sex Segregation of Social Institutions," *Signs* 1:3, Part 2 (Spring 1976): 15-31; Adrienne Rich, "Compulsory Heterosexuality and the Lesbian Experience," *Signs* 5 (1980): 631-66.
- ¹⁵ Theresa Aragon de Valdez, "Organizing as a Political Tool for the Chicana," *Frontiers* 5:2 (Summer 1980):7.
- ¹⁶ Jane Fishburne Collier, "Women in Politics," *Women, Culture, and Society*, ed. Michelle Zambalist Rosaldo and Louis Lamphere, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974): 89, fnt 1.
- ¹⁷ Ralph Guzmán, *The Political Socialization of Mexican American People* (New York: Arno Press, 1976): 232.
- ¹⁸ See "Women Writers Succeed in the Land of *Machismo*," *San Antonio Express News*, July 19, 1993.
- ¹⁹ María González, "Mexican Women," in *Hispanic-American Almanac*, ed. Nicolas Kanellos (Detroit: Gale Research, 1993):359.
- ²⁰ Adaljiza Sosa Riddell, "Chicanas en el Movimiento," *Aztlán* 5:1&2 (Spring 1974): 155-163; Alma García, "The Development of Chicana Feminist Discourse," 1970-1980," in *Unequal Sisters, A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History*, ed. Ellen Carol DuBois and Vicki L. Ruiz (New York: Routledge, 1990):418-431.
- ²¹ Maxine Baca Zinn, "Mexican Heritage Women: A Bibliographic Essay," *Sage Race Relations*, 9:3 (August 1984):1-13; Maxine Baca Zinn, "Mexican-American Women in the Social Sciences," *Signs* 8:21 (1982): 259-272.
- ²² Ralph Guzmán, "The Function of Anglo-American Racism in the Political Development of Chicanos," *California Historical Quarterly* (September 1971): 107, fnt. 20.
- ²³ Guzmán, *The Political Socialization of Mexican American People*. 232.
- ²⁴ Maxine Baca Zinn, "Political Familism: Toward Sex Role Equality in Chicano Families,"

Aztlan 6:1 (Spring 1975): 16.

- ²⁵ Frances Jerome Woods, "Mexican Ethnic Leadership in San Antonio, Texas," Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of América, 1949: 81.
- ²⁶ Jane Fishburne Collier, "Women in Politics," *Woman, Culture, and Society*, ed. Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974): 91. Sosa Riddell noted that at the 1969 Denver Chicano Youth Liberation Conference Chicanas were told "to stand behind their man." Sosa Riddell: 156.
- ²⁷ Fishburne Collier: 89.
- ²⁸ Jerome Woods: 120.
- ²⁹ Tey Diana Rebolledo and Eliana S. Rivero, *Infinite Divisions, An Anthology of Chicana Literature* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993): 15.
- ³⁰ Thomas H. Kreneck, "The Letter from Chapultepec," *Houston Review* III:2 (Summer 1981): 268. Arturo Rosales' essay on Houston in the same volume noted a women's club which sponsored a float in a parade in 1914, and another Catholic women's group which founded a clinic around 1920. See F. Arturo Rosales, "Mexicans in Houston: The Struggle to Survive," *Houston Review* II (Summer 1981): 224-248.
- ³¹ Jerome Woods: 81. She made this conclusion while providing contradictory evidence; she noted, "In one instance the women were intended to be an auxiliary, but they brought the male board of trustees to court and emerged victorious with a charitable enterprise all their own to manage. The management did not fare well for a time, as the men continue to point out."
- ³² Guzmán, *The Political Socialization*: 232.
- ³³ Judy Aulette and Trudy Mills, "Something Old, Something New: Auxiliary Work in the 1983-86 Copper Strike," *Feminist Studies* 14:2 (Summer 1988): 251-268. The article is about the Morenci Miners' Women's auxiliary during the 1983 Phelps Dodge copper miners strike which included Chicanas.
- ³⁴ See Alma García; Ines Hernández Tovar, "Sara Estella Ramirez, The Early Twentieth Century Texas-Mexican Poet," Ph.D. diss., University of Houston, 1984; and Clara Lomas, "Mexican Precursors of Chicana Feminist Writing," *Estudios Chicanos and the Politics of Community* (Colorado Springs: National Association for Chicano Studies, 1989): 149-160.
- ³⁵ Guzmán, *The Political Socialization*: 232.
- ³⁶ Martha P. Cotera, *Diosa y Hembra: The History and Heritage of Chicanas in the United States* (Austin: Information Systems, 1976) and Marta Cotera, "Feminism: the Chicano and Anglo Version," in *Twice a Minority: Mexican American Women*, ed. Margarita Melville (St. Louis: Mosby, 1980): 217-234

- ³⁷ Lenninger Pycior: 76. *The Rebel, Leonor Villegas de Magnón*, ed. Clara Lomas (Houston: Arte Público Press, 1994) is an exception. Due to time considerations, this book is not discussed here.
- ³⁸ See also Ralph Guzmán, "Politics and Policies of the Mexican-American Community," in *California Politics and Policies*, ed. Eugene P. Dvorin and Arthur J. Misner (Palo Alto: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1966): 350-385; Kaye Briegel, "The Development of Mexican-American Organizations," *The Mexican Americans: An Awakening Minority* (Beverly Hills: Glencoe Press, 1970):160-178. Like Servin, Briegel places some blame on Chicanos themselves for our historical subordination.
- ³⁹ Chicana labor activism is outside the scope of this essay. See Vicki I. Ruiz, *Cannery Workers, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930-1950* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987); Patricia Zavella, *Women's Work & Chicano Families: Cannery Workers of the Santa Clara Valley* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987); Margaret Rose, "Traditional and Nontraditional Patterns of Female Activism in the United Farm Workers of America, 1962 to 1980," *Frontiers* XI:1 (1990): 26-32; Irene Ledesma, "Unlikely Strikers: Mexican American Women in Strike Activity in Texas, 1919-1974," Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1992; and "Las Obreras: The Politics of Work and Family," Vicki L. Ruiz, ed. *Aztlán* 20:1 & 2 (Spring & Fall 1991).
- ⁴⁰ González, *The Spanish-Americans of New Mexico, A Heritage of Pride*: 87-90. She includes a chapter on voluntary associations.
- ⁴¹ Charles Ray Chandler, "The Mexican American Protest Movement," Ph.D. diss., Tulane University, 1968: 7
- ⁴² González: 87.
- ⁴³ John Hart Lane Jr., "Voluntary Associations Among Mexican Americans in San Antonio, Texas: Organizational and Leadership Characteristics," Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1968: 54.
- ⁴⁴ James E. Officer, "Sodalities and System Linkage: The Joining Habits of Urban Mexican-Americans," Ph.D. diss., University of Arizona, 1964. His original assumption was that "Mexican women will confine their sodality memberships to the satellite associations of their parish churches." After his investigation he concluded, "Not only were Mexican women fairly active in social affinity sodalities but substantive numbers participated in PTA's; auxiliaries to fraternal occupational and veteran's associations; and in political clubs connected to the Democratic Party."
- ⁴⁵ Mario Barrera, "The Historical Evolution of Chicano Ethnic Goals, A Bibliographic Essay," *SAGE Race Relations Abstract* 10:1 (Fall 1985): 1-48.
- ⁴⁶ Emilio Zamora, *The World of the Mexican Worker* (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1993): 72. See the chapter, "Voluntary Organizations and the Ethic of Mutuality: Ex-

pressions of a Mexicanist Political Culture” where Zamora provides an excellent discussion on *mutualistas*’ philosophical underpinnings.

- ⁴⁷ José Hernández, *Mutual Aid for Survival: The Case of the Mexican American* (Malabar, Fla.: Krieger, 1983). See also José A. Rivera, *Mutual Aid Societies in the Hispanic Southwest: Alternative Sources of Community Empowerment*, Research Report, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Oct. 1984.
- ⁴⁸ Hernández: 137.
- ⁴⁹ See also José A. Rivera, “Self-Help as Mutual Protection: the Development of Hispanic Fraternal Benefit Societies,” *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* 23:3 (1987): 387-396.
- ⁵⁰ Kaye Lynn Briegel, “Alianza Hispano Americana, 1894-1965: A Mexican-American Fraternal Insurance Society,” Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1974. See also Kaye Briegel, “Alianza Hispano Americana and Some Civil Rights Cases in the 1950s,” *An Awakened Minority: the Mexican Americans*, 1st ed., ed. Manuel Servin (Beverly Hills: Glencoe Press, 1970): 174-187.
- ⁵¹ Olivia Arrieta, “The Alianza Hispano Americana in Arizona and New Mexico: The Development and Maintenance of a Multi-functional Ethnic Organization,” *Renato Rosaldo Lecture Series Monograph* 7 1989-90, (Tucson: Mexican American Studies & Research Center, 1991): 55-82.
- ⁵² Arrieta: 71.
- ⁵³ Julie Lenninger Pycior, “La Raza Organizes: Mutual Aid Societies in San Antonio, 1915-1930,” Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1979.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid: 81. See pp.76-81 for the section on women in the mutualistas.
- ⁵⁵ Roberto R. Calderón, “Unión, Paz y Trabajo: Laredo’s Mexican Mutual Aid Societies, 1890s,” Paper presented at the Mexican Americans in Texas History Conference, May 4, 1991, forthcoming in *Mexicans in Texas History*, ed. Emilio Zamora, Cynthia E. Orozco, and Rodolfo Rocha (Austin: University of Texas at Austin).
- ⁵⁶ Juan Gómez Quiñones, *Sembradores, Ricardo Flores Magón y El Partido Liberal Mexicano: A Eulogy and Critique* (Los Angeles: Aztlán Publications, Chicano Studies Center, University of California at Los Angeles, 1973).
- ⁵⁷ Emma M. Pérez, “‘A la Mujer’: A Critique of the Partido Liberal Mexicano’s Gender Ideology,” *Between Borders: Essays on Mexicana/Chicana History*, ed. Adelaida R. del Castillo (Encino, Calif.: Floricanto Press, 1990): 459-482.
- ⁵⁸ José E. Limón, “El Primer Congreso Mexicanista de 1911: A Precursor to Contemporary Chicanismo,” *Aztlán*:1-2 (1974): 85-115.
- ⁵⁹ Cynthia E. Orozco, “The Origins of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement in Texas with an Analysis

of Women's Political Participation in a Gendered Context, 1910-1929," Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1992.

⁶⁰ Cotera: 68-71.

⁶¹ Moises Sandoval, *Our Legacy: The First Fifty Years* (Washington D.C.: LULAC, 1979).

⁶² See Cynthia E. Orozco, "Alice Dickerson Montemayor," *New Handbook of Texas* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1996) and Cynthia E. Orozco, "Alice Dickerson Montemayor: The Feminist Challenge to the League of United Latin American Citizens, Family Ideology, and Mexican American Politics in Texas in the 1930s," *Women of Color in the West*, ed. Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jamieson (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, forthcoming).

⁶³ Mario T. García, *Mexican Americans, Leadership, Ideology, and Identity, 1930-1960* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

⁶⁴ Richard García, *The Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class* (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1990). See my book review, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* XCVI:2 (October 1992): 296-297.

⁶⁵ *LULAC News*, March 1938: 27-28.

⁶⁶ Benjamin Márquez, *LULAC, The Evolution of a Mexican American Political Organization* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993).

⁶⁷ Marta P. Cotera, "Brief Analysis of the Political Role of Hispanas in the United States," Paper presented for the Women of Color Institute, Washington, D.C., November 1983, located at BLAC. For instance, see María Berta Guerra, "The Study of LULAC" in which Ladies LULAC Council 246 in McAllen, Texas, is referred to as a women's council and as an auxiliary. Undergraduate paper, 1979, Río Grande Valley Collection, University of Texas-Pan American, Edinburg.

⁶⁸ Oral History Transcript, José A. Estrada interview with Belen B. Robles, University of Texas at El Paso, Institute of Oral History, April 26-27, 1976, p. 9. Robles was elected LULAC national president in 1994.

⁶⁹ Arnolde De León, *Ethnicity in the Sunbelt: A History of Mexican Americans in Houston* (Houston: Mexican American Studies, 1989). See also Cynthia E. Orozco, "Ladies LULAC," *New Handbook of Texas* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1996) and Lillian Gutiérrez, "LULAC—A Vehicle for Meeting the Political Challenge," *Intercambios Femeniles* 2:3 (Autumn 1984): 9-10.

⁷⁰ Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in California: A History of Mexican Americans in California* (San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser Publishing Co., 1984): 60-64.

⁷¹ Mario T. García, p.165-166.

⁷² Carl Allsup, *The American G.I. Forum: Origins and Evolution* (Austin: Center for Mexi-

can American Studies, University of Texas at Austin, 1982).

⁷³ Allsup: 159.

⁷⁴ Henry A.J. Ramos, *A People Forgotten, A Dream Pursued: The History of the American GI Forum, 1948-72* (n.p.: American GI Forum of the U.S., 1982).

⁷⁵ Ramos: 42.

⁷⁶ Ramos: 45-46.

⁷⁷ Ramos: 41.

⁷⁸ Several important regional associations also appeared in the post-World War II years. The Civic Unity Leagues of Southern California helped elect candidates, and supported desegregation in the 1940s and 1950s. The Community Service Organization (CSO) of Southern California dealt with similar issues. Founded in 1947, by 1962 it had 22 chapters in California and Arizona. Community Service Clubs appeared in the Rocky Mountain region and in Chicago. Women's participation in these groups has not been assessed. On the CSO see María Linda Apodaca, "They Kept the Home Fires Burning: Mexican American Women and Social Change," Ph.D. diss., University of California at Irvine, 1994. Due to time considerations, it is not reviewed here.

⁷⁹ Lilliana Urrutia, "An Offspring of Discontent: The Asociación Nacional México-Americana, 1949-1954," *Aztlán* 15:2 (Spring 1984): 177-184.

⁸⁰ Eugenia Landes, "The Hector Pérez García Papers, Untapped Resources," Paper presented at the Mexicans in Texas History, May 3, 1991, San Antonio, Texas.

⁸¹ Ignacio M. García, *United We Win: The Rise and Fall of La Raza Unida Party* (Tucson: Mexican American Studies & Research Center, University of Arizona, 1989): xiii.

⁸² García: xiii. Chicana critiques of García include Rosie Castro, Presentation delivered at the Tribute to Women, Twentieth Anniversary Chicano Activists Reunion, December 28, 1990, and Marta Cotera, "United We Won: Women in the Chicano Civil Rights Movement," *Chicano Art: Resistance and Affirmation Exhibit Tabloid*, May 28, 1993, San Antonio, Texas.

⁸³ García: 238.

⁸⁴ García: 230.

⁸⁵ Cynthia E. Orozco, "Mujeres Por La Raza," *New Handbook of Texas* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1996).

⁸⁶ Marguerite V. Marín, *Social Protest in an Urban Barrio: A Study of the Chicano Movement, 1966 to 1974*. (Landham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1991). See also Ernesto Chávez, "Creating Aztlán: The Chicano Movement in Los Angeles, 1966-1978," Ph.D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1994. He discusses the Brown Berets, the Chicano Moratorium Committee, La Raza Unida Party, and Centro de Acción Social

Autónomo. Due to time considerations, it is not reviewed here.

- ⁸⁷ David G. Gutiérrez, "CASA in the Chicano Movement: Ideology and Organizational Politics in the Chicano Community, 1968-1978," Working Paper Series, No. 5 (August 1984), Stanford Center for Chicano Research. Gutiérrez interviewed Corona and offered a short biographical sketch; about Alatorre he merely noted, she "had spent many years organizing workers in a number of unions."
- ⁸⁸ Muñoz: 88. See also Ignacio García, "MAYO: Precursors of Change in Texas," (Mexican American Studies & Research Center, University of Arizona) Working Paper Series, No. 8 (January 1987). Founded in 1967 by five men, MAYO had 50 chapters by 1968. García did not address women or gender. The Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund also arose in the era. See Karen O'Connor and Lee Epstein, "A Legal Voice for the Chicano Community: The Activities of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, 1968-1982," *Social Science Quarterly* 65:2 (June 1984): 245-256; Maurilio E. Vigil, "The Ethnic Organization as an Instrument of Political and Social Change: MALDEF, a Case Study," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 18:1 (Spring 1990): 15-31. Founded in 1968, MALDEF is a major player on the national scene which had a Chicana Rights Project in the 1970s. It is not a membership organization.
- ⁸⁹ See my forthcoming entries on the Spanish Speaking Parent Teachers Association, Círculo Cultural, Ladies LULAC, Mujeres Por La Raza, and the Hispanic Women's Network of Texas in the *New Handbook of Texas*.
- ⁹⁰ Thomas H. Kreneck, "The Letter from Chapultepec," III:2 *Houston Review* (Summer 1981): 268-270.
- ⁹¹ Francisco Balderrama, *In Defense of La Raza, the Mexican Consulate and the Mexican Community, 1929 to 1936* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1982): 37-38.
- ⁹² Christine Marín, "La Asociación Hispano-Americana de Madres y Esposas, Tucson's Mexican American Women in World War II," *Renato Rosaldo Lecture Series Monograph* (Summer 1985): 5-18; Julie A. Campbell, "Tucson's Spanish American Mothers and Wives Association," *Journal of Arizona History* 31:2 (Summer 1990): 161-182.
- ⁹³ Mary Pardo, "Mexican American Women Grassroots Community Activists: Mothers of East Los Angeles," *Frontiers* XII:1 (1990): 1-7.
- ⁹⁴ Elvira Valenzuela Crocker, *In One Dream, Many Voices, A History of the Mexican American Women's National Association* (San Antonio: Dagen Bela Graphics, Inc., 1991).
- ⁹⁵ Arnoldo De León, *The Tejano Community, 1836-1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1982): 195.
- ⁹⁶ Lomas: 150.
- ⁹⁷ Pichardo. He provides the names and dates of women's organizations.

- ⁹⁸ On Chicanas and the YWCA in Chicago and Kansas, see Louise Año Nuevo Kerr, "Chicanas in the Great Depression," *Between Borders*: 257-268, and Richard Santillán, "Rosita the Riveter: Midwest Mexican American Women During World War II, 1941-1945," *Perspectives in Mexican American Studies* 2 (1989): 115-147. Año Nuevo Kerr writes on the Mother's Club and Santillán mentioned a group connected to the YWCA in Topeka, Kansas.
- ⁹⁹ Sister María Igelias and Sister María Luz Hernández, "Hermanas," in *Prophets Denied Honor, An Anthology on the Hispano Church of the United States*, ed. Antonio M. Stevens Arroyo, C.P.(Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1980): 141-142. See the entry on Hermanas in Gonzales' *Hispanic American Voluntary Organizations*: 91-92. Their papers are now housed at Our Lady of the Lake in San Antonio.
- ¹⁰⁰ Zamora mentions a female Woodmen of the World chapter in Kingsville, Texas, in 1910. Zamora: 15-16.
- ¹⁰¹ Balderrama:39-40; Ricardo Romo, *East Los Angeles, History of a Barrio* (Austin: University of Texas, 1983): 153-154; and Rosales:88. See also Teresa Palomo Acosta, "Cruz Azul Mexicana," *New Handbook of Texas* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1996).
- ¹⁰² Adelaida R. del Castillo, "Mexican Women in Organization," in Adelaida R. del Castillo and Magdelana Mora, *Mexican Women in the United States* (Los Angeles: Chicano Studies Research Center Publication, UCLA, 1980).
- ¹⁰³ Elizabeth Martínez, "Chingón Politics Die Hard: Reflections on the First Chicano Activists Reunion," *Z Magazine* (April 1990):46-50.
- ¹⁰⁴ Marta Argüello, "Phallic Politics," *La Gente* (March/April 1984):5. *La Gente* is the UCLA Chicano newspaper.
- ¹⁰⁵ Deena J. González, "Malinche as Lesbian: a Reconfiguration of 500 Years of Resistance," *California Sociologist* 14:1-2 (Winter/Summer 1991):91-97.
- ¹⁰⁶ Dennis Medina Papers, BLAC.
- ¹⁰⁷ Yvonne Yarbro-Bejarano, "Primer Encuentro de Lesbianas Feministas Latin-Americanos y Caribeñas," *Third Woman* 4 (1989):143-146.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Intercambios Femeniles, A Publication of the National Network of Hispanic Women* 6:2 (Winter 1994). This issue includes a list of contemporary associations and their addresses, contacts, mission/goals, initiatives, chapters, and membership information.