

“Es mi voz:”
A Survey of Early Latina Writers in Latino Literature Anthologies

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The production of anthologies is the result of a complex interplay of factors: the needs of teachers, the critical evaluation of editors and scholars, copyright limitations, and the demands of the marketplace. Determining the scope and contents of an anthology also has its challenges, such as genres, themes, authors, and dates. While this is true in general for anthologies, considerations for Latino literature anthologies are met with unique cultural specificities. Terminology, such as “Latina/o” or “Latinx” is still being meted out, as are parameters of the terminology, like if “Latino” only applies to people of Latin American descent living in the United States or can also include Latin Americans. It is not our intention to resolve these debates herein, however, we *are* interested in the question of gender representation that still persists in U.S. Latino literature anthologies. Our interest stems from the fact that Latina writers prior to 1960 have been largely excluded from Latino literature anthologies despite a growing interest since the 1980s in women authors within the U.S. Latino literary canon as well as the American canon. A survey of Latino literature anthologies is necessary to articulate the omission of early Latina writers’ cultural legacy, even as the anthologies attempt to address them to some extent. We aim to explore the place that Latina authors who wrote before 1960 occupy in Latino literature anthologies published between 1997 and 2010, the date of the last publication to have an all-encompassing treatment. An analysis focusing on the degree of coincidences of the Latina authors included in these collections allows us to examine who, according to the editors, are considered the main early Latina writers. Turning our attention to these publications will shed light on the issue of Latino canon formation and the representation and legitimation of Latina voices within this canon.

In this article, we argue that Latino literature anthologies have contributed to the double marginalization of early Latina writers through their patriarchal erasure from the literary canon. By double marginalization, we refer to their omission from the American canon, which overlooks Latino contributions of both sexes prior to 1960 while predominantly featuring white men as well as their exclusion as women within Latino canon formation. Our thinking aligns with that of Gloria Anzaldúa’s in “Speaking in Tongues” (1981) when she states that the “woman of color is invisible both in the white male mainstream world and in the white women’s feminist world” (165) and moreover, that her own culture tells her that writing is not for her (166). Since feminist frameworks underscore the significance of gender issues in history, politics, and culture (Bahri 200), then it is fair to ask why half the population is being so poorly represented and how that lack of representation is in turn de-emphasizing gendered themes. Our goal is not to intimate that the editors sought an essentialist viewpoint for their anthologies. Quite the contrary, the mere fact that these anthologies include over four hundred years of poetry, prose, and theater that feature Latina/o authors whose heritage looks to regions as varied as the Caribbean, Mexico, Central America, and South America affirms diverse representation. Additionally, we acknowledge that the omission of early women’s voices is not specific to Latino literature anthologies, but rather a consequence of patriarchal influences of earlier periods that led to Latina writers being published and disseminated less than their Latino counterparts. In some cases, copyright permissions play a role as well, limiting use of certain texts. With that being said, our goal is to use quantitative analysis to demonstrate an imbalance in hopes that future anthologies will seek to rectify it. Although contesting a literary canon from a feminist approach is a tried-and-true way of exposing uneven

representation, our analysis stands out as unique due to our use of quantitative data to evince such disparity because it permits a systematic analysis of the few coincidences among these publications. Additionally, we aim to summarize the themes being highlighted within the anthologies to better understand the manner in which early Latina writers are being included. Finally, we suggest additional early Latina writers in an effort to promote their inclusion in future anthologies. After all, if Tony Hillerman can give the moniker “Godfather of Chicano Literature” to Rudolfo Anaya (Anaya), then it is time we create space for the canon’s “Godmothers,” elders, and ancestors.

Anthologies play a central role in literary canon formation since they help increase the visibility of the writers who are deemed worthy—by teachers, critics, and editors—of being included because they supposedly uphold the desired poetics. In “(De)constructing the Canon: The Agon of the Anthologies on the Scene of Modern Italian Poetry” (1992) Lucia Re posits that the selections grouped in an anthology have a “synecdochic function” in that “the texts selected by the anthologist are meant to be representative of something larger than themselves” (587). In other words, “[t]he single text is presented as ‘standing for’ a whole array of other texts, which become indirectly visible through it” (Re 587). The larger whole in this case is the Latino literary tradition and the mitigation of unique historical contexts and perspectives in order to homogenize its formation through recurring motifs and themes. In *Translation, Rewriting, and Literary Fame* (1992), Andre Lefevere contends that:

Canonization appears at its most obvious and also at its most powerful with the spread of higher education. It has found its most impressive—and most profitable—monument to date in the publication of that hybrid crystallization of the close and lucrative cooperation between publishers and institutions of higher education: the introductory anthology [...] which offers a cross-section of canonized texts prefaced by a short exposition of the poetics that ensured their canonization. Works of literature are taken out of their historical context and the whole genealogy of influences and rewritings of which they are a part is silently obliterated. As a result, what has survived this process appears to be timeless, and what is timeless should, obviously, not be questioned (22).

As editors reduce works to fragments in order to fit scope, content, and page length, significant aspects that could be indicative of diverse perspectives or literary experimentation are expunged. Entire publications by authors are deemed unworthy of inclusion; authors’ lives are synthesized to a few sentences. A cross-textual dialogue between authors or within an author’s literary production, is lost. Moreover, the differences in the selection and exclusion of authors and texts in anthologies by editorial gatekeepers is revealing. In the introduction to *The Routledge Companion to Latino/a Literature* (2013), Suzanne Bost and Frances R. Aparicio argue that “[t]he “elasticity” of anthological gestures, whatever the motivation or reasoning behind the acts of selection and omission, eventually produce the literary canon. It is in the spaces in between, in the tensions among these anthologies, that US Latino/a literature evolves as a field of study” (9). In short, anthologies play a crucial role in canon formation and in the evolution of Latino literature. Given that role, it is pertinent to scrutinize the way that anthologies can validate and rebuff authors, heralding some as central to cultural production, and others to the periphery. For the purposes of this article, we are particularly interested in how that gatekeeping role has contributed to the

marginalization of Latina authors prior to 1960. While a tension exists as to which early Latina writers are chosen, one commonality that emerges from all of them is an underrepresentation.¹

Our analysis focuses on U.S. Latino literature anthologies that are all-encompassing compendiums that cover the broad scope of Latino literature. Instead of anthologies which focus only on one genre, and those which are ethnic-specific, or regionally-specific, we limited our corpus to general collections that include works by writers with Latin American heritage from many different countries, with diverse backgrounds, spanning different ethnic traditions, who write in different literary genres.² Many Latino literature anthologies in the market did not serve the purpose of this study since the time span of the texts included is relatively recent, so they do not have entries by Latinas who wrote before 1960.³ As Raphael Dalleo and Elena Machado Sáez posit in their article “The Formation of a Latino/a Canon” (2013), “The contradictory impulses of contextualization (recuperating writers who have been ignored by previous canons) and contemporaneity (discovering emerging new writers) lie behind the constant flux of the Latino/a canon” (395) and, we would add, in the design and evolution of Latino literature anthologies. In his introduction to the anthology *Herencia* (2001), editor Nicolás Kanellos suggests that, due to the lack of availability of texts, many scholars had limited their study of Latino/a literature to works published since the 1960s, which contributed to the impression that this literature is “new and young” (1). The notion of being a new literature, though misguided, was due to various movements happening across the United States in the late 1950s and 1960s among large populations of groups that would fit under the term “Latino.” Generally speaking, the Chicano Movement garnered attention in Texas, the U.S. Southwest, and the West Coast while the Nuyorican movement, spurred by post-WWII migration from Puerto Rico, found its footing in the Northeast. In the Southeast, large numbers of Cubans escaping the Cuban Revolution built new communities as well. Their plights attracted scholarly interest within academic communities already intrigued by the Civil Rights movement. Nevertheless, the strategy of *Herencia* to counter the notion of “newness” influenced all of the anthologies which we surveyed. Each made it an explicit point to demonstrate a rich literary history to resist the erroneous idea that Latino populations in the United States was a new phenomenon.

In the nation’s literary canon, notable early Latina writers are rarely represented prior to 1960. Bridget Kevane’s article “The Hispanic Absence in the North American Literary Canon” (2001) bolsters Kanellos’s call to diversify canonical offerings through Latino representation. Despite a similar argument to our work and acknowledgement of Arte Público’s ongoing project, “Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage,” Kevane’s third-wave feminist call for the incorporation of more Latina writers in the American literary canon does not include a work that predates Nicholasa Mohr’s *El Bronx Remembered* (1975) (98-9, 107-8). Yet the incorporation of early Latina writers is significant because these voices can alter reader’s perceptions about Latinas, and Latino communities as a whole given that they rupture monolithic perspectives and reveal a plurality of themes, tropes, and cultural alliances. In agreement, Lillian Robinson states that “[t]rue equity can be attained... only by opening up the canon to a much larger number of female voices.” (87). An analysis of the five all-encompassing anthologies indicates that equity continues to be a far-reaching goal.

In chronological order of publication, the five anthologies that we analyzed are: *The Latino Reader: An American Literary Tradition from 1542 to the Present* (1997), *Hispanic American Literature: An Anthology* (1998), *Herencia: The Anthology of Hispanic Literature of the United States* (2001), *En Otra Voz: Antología de la literatura hispana de los Estados Unidos* (2002), and

The Norton Anthology of Latino Literature (2010). They all target an English-speaking audience, except for *En Otra Voz*, whose texts are primarily in Spanish. The oldest texts included in these anthologies hark back to the colonial period, and almost all of them begin with excerpts from *La Relación* [The Account] (1542) by Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca. The inclusion of this colonizer is an example of the arbitrary selection at hand. Cabeza de Vaca was born and raised in Spain, thus placing him outside the generally-accepted parameters of *latinidad*. The implication for his inclusion is that there is something thematic or genre-inclusive about his account that makes him a worthy addition to an anthology on U.S. Latina/o literature. In “Shipwrecked in the Seas of Signification” (1993), Juan Bruce-Novoa argues that Cabeza de Vaca’s liminality warrants consideration for *La Relación* as a foundational text of Chicano literature. In turn, this suggests that the conquistador, sent at the behest of Carlos V to colonize Florida, is a prototypical Chicano (4). This influential revisionist reading on Cabeza de Vaca, published in the seminal text *Reconstructing a Chicano/a Literary Heritage* (1993), proved instrumental for anthology editors to embrace it. Its inclusion in *The Latino Reader*, published five years later, speaks to the article’s persuasive argument. Yet its inclusion comes at the cost of other writers, namely early Latina writers, whose work is neglected. Space in the anthologies could be used to equally explore early women writers, even those, like Cabeza de Vaca’s descendant Fabiola Cabeza de Baca Gilbert or Adelina “Nina” Otero-Warren, who trace their heritage to Spain, but witnessed the increasing Americanization of the U.S. Southwest and were forced to negotiate their identities within a White, dominant culture that antagonized Spanish-speaking Roman Catholics. To overlook them is to overlook the role that Latina women played in creating a literary tradition for the sake of “deeper” historical roots. At the same time, incorporating a conquistador with no particular ties to the land subverts notions of *querencia* and belonging that early writers often expounded upon as a major component of their identity. Furthermore, following Re’s definition of the function of an anthology, it is unclear how Cabeza de Vaca is synecdochically representative of other “Latino” writers of his era, but rather a representative of other European colonizers who simply did what they needed to in order to ensure their survival.

An analysis of these anthologies shows that there is little visibility for early Latina writers in these collections. *The Latino Reader: An American Literary Tradition from 1542 to the Present*, published by Houghton Mifflin in 1997 and edited by Harold Augenbraum and Margarite Fernández Olmos, was labeled by its editors as a “historical anthology” (xii), going so far as to declare on their dust jacket that it is “the first anthology to present the full history of this important American literary tradition.” Of the fifty-two entries therein, six belong to Latina writers who wrote before 1960, or 11.5% of the entries. While reviewers Lázaro Lima and Mark Grover expressed differing levels of surprise at the anthology’s inclusion and treatment of Cabeza de Vaca (Lima 99-101 and Grover 64), Augenbraum and Fernández Olmos’s decision to include him demonstrates their interest in expanding the meaning of “Latino” through thematic ponderings, a pattern that later anthology editors emulated.⁴ Similarly, the chronological structure of the compendium supports rethinking the term “Latino.” The three parts of *The Latino Reader*, titled “Encounters,” “Prelude,” and “Latino United States” indicate that the editors build towards a notion of twentieth-century Latina/o identities bound to nation-state. “Encounters” contains excerpted accounts of early exploration and colonization, such as Gaspar Pérez de Villagrà’s epic *Historia de la Nueva México* [The History of New Mexico] (1610). Early Latina authors appear in parts two and three, often espousing self-reliance and rebelliousness while creating counter-narratives to stereotypes of women as being bound to the household, uninvolved in political and socio-economic endeavors.⁵ This is seen in the excerpted inclusion of Leonor Villegas de

Magnon's *La rebelde* [The Rebel] (1920), a memoir of her participation in the Mexican Revolution.⁶

The second anthology analyzed, *Hispanic American Literature: An Anthology*, was published in 1998 by the NTC Publishing Group and edited by Rodolfo Cortina. Three of its fifty-nine entries belong to early Latina writers (only 5%). Interestingly, these early Latina writers do not appear in the other anthologies in question, adding uniqueness to the collection. The second chapter of this collection, titled "Oral Tradition," includes the translated short story "Indigenous Profile" (1945), by María Cadilla De Martínez, about the encounters between Spaniards and Indigenous in Puerto Rico. In the same chapter we find "The Prize of Freedom," (1936) a translation of a short story by Lydia Cabrera, a Cuban writer who moved to the United States in her sixties. The third entry by an early writer in this anthology is Evangelina Cossío y Cisneros's "To Free Cuba," an excerpt from the autobiography *The Story of Evangelina Cisneros* (1898). The emphasis on Caribbean literature reflects Cortina's expertise in the region's cultural production. At the same time, that none of the early Latina selections belong to writers of Mexican heritage is a glaring omission, especially given the long history of Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the present-day United States. This omission reveals the limits of the editorial gatekeeper role. They are driven, or perhaps restricted by their own interests and expertise. Equally as perplexing is the structure of the anthology, which is thematic. The first chapter, "A Sense of Place," includes men writers from the sixteenth through the first half of the twentieth centuries. There are women writers, such as Aurora Lucero-White Lea and Fabiola Cabeza de Baca Gilbert, who delve into this subject who could offer a gendered perspective within that four-hundred-year period. Where early Latina writers specifically carve out space in *Hispanic American Literature* is in the aforementioned chapter on "Oral Tradition," in which Cabrera and Cadilla de Martínez are lumped together with an anonymous telling of "La Llorona," Américo Paredes, and María Herrera-Sobek's compilation of corridos.⁷ Though oral tradition "takes up the work of matrilineal, literary recoverers who recuperate not only the interiority of past women's lives, but also landscapes, languages, alternative narrative structures, nonlinear temporalities, and ignored histories" (Hickner-Johnson), it is exclusionary to relegate two of the three early Latina writers to this theme because it understates their importance in other genres. For instance, Eulalia Pérez and Cleofas Jaramillo would both be worthwhile additions to the chapter titled "The Value of Family," for the way in which they trouble traditional, patriarchal nuclear families. The third selection, Cossío y Cisneros's "To Free Cuba" appears in the chapter, "Constructing the Self."

The third anthology analyzed, *Herencia: The Anthology of Hispanic Literature of the United States*, was published by Oxford in 2001 and edited by Nicolás Kanellos. In a more balanced approach, early Latina writers account for twenty-four of 155 entries, or 15%, the highest percentage among the anthologies studied.⁸ *Herencia* includes many textual contributions of the Recovering the United States Hispanic Literary Heritage Project. Furthermore, it is one of the most diverse anthologies in terms of genres. For example, it includes a testimonial by María de las Angustias de la Guerra de Ord, articles by Brígida Briones and Consuelo Lee Tapia, chronicles originally published in newspapers, such as "La mujer de talento" [The Intelligent Woman] (1920) by María Luisa Garza, poetry by Lola Rodríguez de Tió, Mercedes de Acosta and Julia de Burgos, speeches by Sara Estela Ramírez and Aurora Lucero White Lea, an excerpted novel by María Amparo Ruiz de Burton, stories by Nina Otero Warren, and a one act play by Luisa Capetillo. Approximately half of these texts have been translated from Spanish into English. To that end, the selections in this anthology are also varied in terms of the heritage of the early Latinas whose texts are included in chapters like "Memories of Things Past," "Roots of Resistance," "Defending

Cultural and Civil Rights,” and “Preserving Cultural Traditions.” Under these organizational titles, women are portrayed as culture bearers, preservers, and defenders.

Kanellos’s *En Otra Voz*, published by Arte Público Press in 2002, is the Spanish-language counterpart to *Herencia*. Although many of the texts overlap with those included in *Herencia* and the chapter-by-chapter organization is similar, the collection is not identical. Besides the target audience being bilingual or Spanish-speakers, there are less entries in *En Otra Voz*. Fifteen of its 131 entries are devoted to early Latina writers (11%).⁹ As with *Herencia*, the selections are diverse in terms of genre and heritage and reviews were largely positive. Catharine Wall, paying particular attention to pre-1960s works, commented that together, *Herencia* and *En Otra Voz* “reflect the current status of the research and preservation activities of the Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage Project” (157). Perhaps due to Kanellos’s groundbreaking recovery work, Wall does not interrogate the underrepresentation of early Latina writers.

Finally, we analyzed the selections in *The Norton Anthology of Latino Literature*, published by Norton in 2011, with Ilan Stavans as its general editor. Norton’s previous anthologies (World Literature, American Literature, African American Literature, English Literature, etc.) have been widely regarded as the standard in their respective fields. Leveraging Norton’s prestigious reputation, *The Norton Anthology of Latino Literature* has emerged as the exemplary collection due to its breadth and scope. It offers 2489 pages with 190 entries that range from 1537 to the present. The anthology not only contests the limits of a term like Latino by including Bartolomé de las Casas, but also the limits of what is literature by including jokes, songs, and sayings. Despite its all-encompassing approach, only eleven entries belong to early Latina writers (which amount to only 5.7%). Except for Cabeza de Baca Gilbert, all the other authors included in this collection appear either in *The Latino Reader*, in *Herencia*, or in both anthologies. Wall reviewed the Norton publication as well, and while she praises it for its scope (77), she also notes that certain sections lacked context and sufficient representation (78). More disagreeable was Kirsten Silva Gruesz’s “What Was Latino Literature?” (2012), which declared that the anthology was “at odds with itself, contradictorily espousing a transnational and a United States nation-based perspective without allowing either one enough oxygen to sustain itself” (336) and lacking in well-articulated selection principles (337). *The Norton Anthology* seems to be the most polemical of the anthologies, no doubt owing to its unprecedented breadth. The women writers are grouped into temporal sections that carry questionable, but thematic labels, such as “Annexations: 1811-1898,” “Acculturation: 1899-1945,” and “Upheaval: 1946-1979.” In that vein, the literature presents a clear trajectory highlighted by a nostalgia for life prior to annexation, as in Pérez’s “An Old Woman Remembers” (1877) to New Mexican statehood in Jaramillo’s *Romance of a Little Village Girl* (1955), to the sort of feminist resistance found in works by de Burgos. Feminist inflections are present throughout. While de Burgos’s work is guided by anti-patriarchal sentiment, Jaramillo’s work elucidates her desire to preserve nuevomexicano culture from the encroaching Americanization through gendered performances (394) and the lauding of traditional knowledge (393). Similar to Jaramillo, Pérez’s widowhood pushed her to break down certain barriers as a means to support her family, eventually becoming a mayordoma of a California mission (181). In sum, *Norton’s* organization proves a useful tool to the reader in approaching the selections, but is problematic because the inclusion of the texts is predicated on their need to fit into unwieldy labels.

The earliest women-driven texts that appear in these five anthologies belong to an oral history project led by Hubert Howe Bancroft, whose team collected approximately 150 interviews, including nearly forty interviews of women. As is pointed out in the *Norton Anthology*, “the interviewers’ individual abilities in Spanish and the types of questions the interviewers asked may

have affected the resulting remembrances” (179). In *The Norton Anthology*, *The Latino Reader*, and *En Otra Voz*, Pérez’s testimonial is present whereas María de las Angustias de la Guerra de Ord found a place in *Herencia*. Likewise, *En Otra Voz* features a second testimonial by Apolinaria Lorenzana. Even though the female authorship of these testimonials was mediated by (mostly) male interviewers and translators, itself a problematic nod to hegemonic discourse on language and audience, the inclusion of these texts is a way to compensate for the predominantly male voices of the early periods in these anthologies.¹⁰

An analysis of the coincidences of the early Latina authors included in these anthologies reveals that no early Latina writer appears in all five books surveyed. Only two writers appear in four out of the five collections. Ruiz de Burton and de Burgos are included in *The Latino Reader*, *Herencia*, *En Otra Voz* and *The Norton Anthology*. *The Latino Reader*, *Herencia* and *The Norton Anthology* all include excerpts from Ruiz de Burton’s novel about the decline of the Californio ranching class, *The Squatter and the Don* (1885). This novel, together with her earlier and less-cited novel, *Who Would Have Thought It?* (1872) are the first known English-language novels by a Mexican American and are characterized by their insider-outsider perspective as protagonists navigate Mexican American and Indigenous relationships in *Who Would Have Thought It?* and Mexican American and Anglo relationships in *The Squatter and the Don*. With political corruption and land grabs rampant throughout the latter, Ruiz de Burton’s lasting commentary is that the United States government did not fulfill the promises of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, thereby revealing that Manifest Destiny was a beneficial project for certain groups at the expense of others. The other writer who appears in most anthologies is the Puerto Rican poet de Burgos. Four anthologies include her poem “Farewell in Welfare Island,” which was written during her 1953 hospitalization and foreshadows her death. It is believed to be one of two poems that she wrote in English. With that being said, “A Julia de Burgos” (1938) is the poem from which our title borrows as an urging to acknowledge the need to confront patriarchal systems and rebel against them. Herein de Burgos bifurcates herself: the poetic voice who represents her essence and the antagonistic de Burgos who participates in the hegemonic status quo. When the former reminds the latter that “es mi voz” (2), the enunciation shifts power to the poetic voice to do what her adversary does not: subvert the master narrative.

An analysis of the coincidences among writers who appear in three of the five anthologies does not yield a much longer list. Only three writers appear in three of the five anthologies: Pérez, Lola Rodríguez de Tió, and Villegas de Magnón. Pérez appears in *The Latino Reader*, *En Otra Voz* and *The Norton Anthology*. In the case of Rodríguez de Tió, *Herencia* and *En Otra Voz* include the poem “Oda al 10 de octubre” (1896), which appears both in English and Spanish in *Herencia*, and only in Spanish in *En Otra Voz*. *The Norton Anthology* includes translations into English of her poems “La Borinqueña” (1868) and “Cuba y Puerto Rico” (1893). Excerpts from Villegas de Magnón’s novel *The Rebel* appear in three anthologies. This novelized memoir by the political activist, teacher, and journalist born in Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, was probably not published during the author’s lifetime because of its challenge to traditional gender roles.

The selections by early Latina writers included in these five anthologies are texts about political topics and speak of the activism and feminism of many of these authors. Their inclusion in future anthologies should be ubiquitous. After all, if a future anthology were to include all the women listed in Appendix A, that would insert thirty-four early Latina writers into the conversation. That is ten more than the next most representative publication, *Herencia*. Additional space for early Latina writers prior to 1960 could select from WPA accounts, as Kanellos included one in *Herencia* from Tey Diana Rebolledo and María Teresa Márquez’s *Women’s Tales from the*

New Mexico WPA (2000), Carmen Gertrudis Espinosa (New Mexico), Maggie Sánchez (New Mexico), Josefina Fraga (Texas), Encarnación Piñedo (California), Juana Borrero (Cuba/Florida), Blanca de Moncaleano (Colombia/California), and Pura Belpré (Puerto Rico/New York).

In conclusion, Latina authors who wrote before 1960 occupy a very small space in most of the five Latino literature anthologies which were surveyed. There are very few coincidences of Latina authors included in these collections. Ruiz De Burton and de Burgos are the two writers who are generally recognized through their inclusion, but it is not enough to offset the misconception that for the most part, the emergence of Latina writers has been a recent development. On the contrary, their role in the field’s literary history is present and longstanding. When thinking about the mechanisms of cultural and political representation that factor into anthologies, some lingering questions persist: do publishing houses consider that the inclusion of texts by early Latina writers would make anthologies unnecessarily longer and less marketable, since they believe that these texts are not usually taught in courses? Or is it that the perceived limited availability of texts by early Latina writers and their infrequent inclusion in many anthologies has often restricted research and teaching to newer texts by Latinas? Or is it that, if early texts are taught, it is those written by male writers, because of their perceived higher value? This brief survey of anthologies highlights the need of increasing the visibility and legitimization of early Latina voices.

Appendix A

List of Early Latina Writers (ELW) and Their Works Within Examined Anthologies

Authors (ordered by birth year)	<i>Norton Anthology of Latino Literature</i> (11 ELW/190 entries)	<i>Herencia</i> (24 ELW/155 entries)	<i>En otra voz</i> (15 ELW/131 entries)	<i>The Latino Reader</i> (6 ELW/52 entries)	<i>Hispanic American Literature</i> (3 ELW/59 entries)
EULALIA PÉREZ (ca. 1766–1878)	“An Old Woman Remembers” (1877)		“Una vieja y sus recuerdos” (1877)	“An Old Woman Remembers” (1877)	

APOLINARIA LORENZANA (1793-1884)			“Memorias de doña Apolinaria Lorenzana, ‘La Beata’” (1878)		
MARÍA DE LAS ANGUSTIAS DE LA GUERRA DE ORD (1815-1880)		Selections from <i>Occurrences in Hispanic California</i> (1878)			
MARIA AMPARO RUIZ DE BURTON (1832–1895)	Selections from <i>The Squatter and the Don</i> (1885)	Selections from <i>The Squatter and the Don</i> (1885)	“Cartas a Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo” (1867, 1869)	Selections from <i>The Squatter and the Don</i> (1885)	
EMILIA CASANOVA DE VILLAVERDE (1832-1897)			“Memorial presentado al Congreso de los Estados Unidos” (1872)		
LOLA RODRÍGUEZ DE TIÓ (1843–1924)	“The Song of Borinquen” (1868) “Cuba and Puerto Rico” (1893)	“Ode to October 10” (1896)	“Oda al 10 de octubre” (1896)		

ADINA DE ZAVALA (1861-1955)		“The Courteous and Kindly Child and the ‘Good People’ on the Underground Passageway” (1917)			
LEONOR VILLEGAS DE MAGNÓN (1876–1955)	Selections from <i>The Rebel</i> (1994)	Selections from <i>The Rebel</i> (1994)		Selections from <i>The Rebel</i> (1994)	
EVANGELINA COSSÍO Y CISNEROS (1877- 1970)					“To Free Cuba” (1898)
CLEOFAS M. JARAMILLO (1878–1956)	Selections from <i>Romance of a Little Village Girl</i> (1955)			Selections from <i>Romance of a Little Village Girl</i> (1955)	
LUISA CAPETILLO (1879-1922)		“How Poor Women Prostitute Themselves” (1916)	“Cómo se prostituyen las pobres, La corrupción de los ricos y la de los pobres o cómo se prostituye una rica y una pobre” (1916)		

ADELINA “NINA” OTERO- WARREN (1881–1965)	Selections from <i>Old Spain in Our Southwest</i> (1936)	“The Clown of San Cristobal” (1936)			
SARA ESTELA RAMIREZ (1881- 1910)		“Speech Read by the Author on the Evening that Society of Workers Celebrated the Twenty-Fourth Anniversary of Its Founding” (1909)	“Celebramos el vigésimo cuarto aniversario de la bien conocida cuanto respetable Sociedad de Obreros” (1909)		
MARÍA CADILLA DE MARTÍNEZ (1884-1951)					“Indigenous Profile” (1945)
JOVITA IDAR (1885-1942)		“For Our Race” (1911) “Preservation of Nationalism” (1911) “We Should Work” (1911)	“Debemos trabajar” (1911) “La conservación del nacionalismo” (1911)		

MARÍA LUISA GARZA (1887-1990)		“The Intelligent Woman” (1920)	“La mujer de talento” (1920)		
MERCEDES DE ACOSTA (1893 – 1968)		“Day Laborer” (1922) “Strange City” (1922)			
MARÍA CRISTINA MENA (1893–1965)	“The Emotions of María Concepción” (1914) “The Birth of the God of War” (1914)	“The Emotions of Maria Concepcion” (1914)			
FABIOLA CABEZA DE BACA GILBERT (1894–1991)	Selections from <i>We Fed Them Cactus</i> (1954)				
AURORA LUCERO-WHITE LEA (1894-1963)		“Plea for the Spanish Language” (1910)			
LYDIA CABRERA (1899-1991)					“The Prize of Freedom” (1936)

OLGA BEATRIZ TORRES (1901- unknwon)			“Incomprensible castellano” (1994)		
HERMINIA CHACÓN (1903-unknown)		“Samuel’s Christmas Eve” (1923)			
JOVITA GONZÁLEZ DE MIRELES (1904–1983)	“The Bullet- Swallower” (1935)	“The First Cactus Blossom” (1932)			
CONSUELO LEE TAPIA (1904-1989)		“Women and Puerto Rican Identity” (1944)	“Las mujeres y la identidad puertorriqueña” (1944)		
JOSEFINA NIGGLI (1910– 1983)	Selection from <i>Mexican Village</i> (1945)			Selection from <i>Mexican Village</i> (1945)	

<p>JULIA DE BURGOS (1914–1953)</p>	<p>“To Julia de Burgos” (1938)</p> <p>“Ay, Ay, Ay of the Kinky-Haired Negress” (1938)</p> <p>“Pentachrome” (1938)</p> <p>“Río Grande de Loíza” (1938)</p> <p>“Song to the Hispanic People of America and the World” (1944)</p> <p>“Canto to the Free Federation” (1944)</p> <p>“Farewell in Welfare Island” (1953)</p>	<p>“I Was My Own Route” (1938)</p> <p>Tr: Manuel A. Tellechea, Tr: María Arrillaga</p> <p>“Farewell in Welfare Island” (1953)</p>	<p>“Adiós en Welfare Island” (1953)</p> <p>Poema para mi muerte (1941)</p> <p>“Yo misma fui mi ruta” (1938)</p>	<p>“Returning” (1947)</p> <p>Tr: Dwight García and Margarite Fernández Olmos</p> <p>“Farewell in Welfare Island” (1953)</p>	
<p>ANDREA y TERESA VILLARREAL (1881-1963) (1883-unknown)</p>		<p>“Why Are You Still Here, Mexican Men? Fly to the Battlefield” (1911)</p>	<p>“¿Qué hacéis aquí hombres? Volad, volad al campo de batalla” (1911)</p>		

CARMITA LANDESTOY (1894-1988)		“I Also Accuse! By Way of a Prologue” (1946)	Selection from <i>¡Yo también acuso!</i> (1946)		
EMMA TENAYUCA AND HOMER BROOKS (1916-1995)(1905-unknown)		“The Mexican Question in the South-West” (1939)			
BRÍGIDA BRIONES (unknown)		“A Glimpse of Domestic Life in 1827” (1891)			
NETTY AND JESÚS RODRIGUEZ (unknown)(unknown)		“I’m going to Mexico” (1935)	“Me voy pa’ Mexico” (1935)		
MARCELINA (unknown)		“Midwife” (1941)			
ISABEL GONZÁLEZ (unknown)		“Step-Children of a Nation” (1947)			

Notes

¹ We are cognizant of the difficulty in using a term like “Latina” to discuss time periods when that term may have not been used or had a different meaning than its current one. For the sake of readability, we employ the term interchangeably with temporal predecessors such as “Spanish American,” “Latino American,” and “Hispanic.” For elaboration on this conversation, please see Robert McKee Irwin’s “Almost-Latino Literature” (2016).

² Some examples of anthologies which were not included in this analysis are those that only focus on one literary genre, such as *Short Fiction by Hispanic Writers* (1992), *El Coro: A Chorus of Latino and Latina Poetry* (1997) and *Touching the Fire: Fifteen Poets of Today's Latino Renaissance* (1998). Anthologies that are ethnic-specific or only include women, such as *In Other Words: Literature by Latinas of the United States* (1994) are also beyond the scope of this analysis.

³ Some examples are: *The Prentice Hall Anthology of Latino Literature* (2002), *U.S. Latino Literature Today* (2005), and *Latino Boom: An Anthology of U.S. Latino Literature* (2006), wherein the “Preface” mentions a “focus on recent writings, dating from 1985 to the date of its publication” (xiii). Many Latino literature collections emphasize the “newness” of the texts that are included, and this is explicit in the very titles of the publications, perhaps as a marketing strategy.

⁴ In some cases, editors did this despite an author’s geographic separation from what has become the United States, as in the cases of Bartolomé de las Casas and El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. At the same time, colonial Latin American women writers like Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz or Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda were not included, presumably because their writings did not deal directly with what is now the United States.

⁵ Curiously, there was no contemporary review of this publication that the authors could find.

⁶ Villegas de Magnón’s fictionalized memoir was likely written around 1920 but published in 1994 through the efforts of Villegas de Magnón’s granddaughter in tandem with Arte Público Press.

⁷ Herrera-Sobek, the scholar who collected and translated them, precedes the corridos with a note that encourages readers to “Notice the different viewpoints of the women who are speaking in each corrido” (74).

⁸ It is noteworthy that there are six anonymous entries in this anthology, leaving the possibility for additional women writers.

⁹ Nine entries in this anthology are anonymous.

¹⁰ Pérez, de la Guerra de Ord, and Lorenzana dictated their testimonies to Bancroft’s oral historian, Thomas Savage. Furthermore, Bancroft exacted his authority over the translation of Pérez’s account by supervising Ruth Rodriguez and Vivian Fisher’s work.

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