

The U.S. Hispanic Flapper

Pelonas and *Flapperismo* in U.S. Spanish-Language Newspapers, 1920–1929

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ABSTRACT: Mexican exile journalist Julio Arce's chronicles "Todo se arregla con money" (1924), "Cosas del Exhibition Day" (1924), and "La estenógrafa" (1925) are analyzed for their farcical portrayal of the 1920s Modern Girl, who symbolized immoral and consumerist modernity for Arce's readers. The article considers the context of previously unstudied journalistic genres from the era's leading U.S. Spanish-language newspapers, which display a range of comic forms that negatively represent the flapper's appearance and lifestyle. Beyond derisive entertainment, humor is aimed at influencing readers' opinions about U.S. Hispanic women's gender and ethnic restrictions. The *pelona* was a popular topic in Spanish-language newspapers, and references to other entertainment industries from that era show that critical responses to *flapperismo* traveled across media, not only in the United States but also throughout the Americas.

KEYWORDS: New Woman, flapper, *pelona*, Julio Arce, U.S. Hispanic newspapers, Roaring Twenties, ethnic humor, gender humor

1925: Mexican exile journalist Julio G. Arce's literary alter ego, Ulica, starts a journal as a way to cope with the Americanized Rosie, the *pelona* (flapper) whom he hires in his office in San Francisco. Rosie "smiles provocatively, looks sideways with a subdued sweetness, and the smell of black Narcissus, her favorite scent, fills the entire office."¹ The satirical chronicle relating the events, "La estenógrafa" ("The Stenographer," 1925), was published in the Spanish-language newspaper *Hispano América* (San Francisco).² Rosie is one of twentieth-century U.S. Hispanic literature's stock characters, the *vendida*, a Hispanic woman who sells out to Anglo-American culture and thus personifies all the ills of assimilation—namely, the denial of one's ethnic identity.

The Jazz Age brought special challenges to U.S. Hispanics. On one hand, the era was a decade of prosperity, consumerism, and explosive growth in entertainment industries, the arts, and transportation, all of which inspired urban Americans to drive to glamorous clubs and the movies.³ Affordable popular entertainment nurtured young women's desires to emulate flappers, the fun-seeking icons of a burgeoning consumer society. Commercial stations broadcast jazz, and Americans listened (and danced) to the music on their home radio sets. The Roaring Twenties were also the age of glamorous film stars. Spanish-language newspapers often reported on famous flappers such as Clara Bow, Colleen More, and Joan Crawford. These actresses popularized the bobbed haircut and short dress that constituted the ubiquitous visual image of modern femininity not only in movies but also in advertising addressed to women.

However, the rise of a consumer-oriented society also brought about deep cultural conflicts. Modern cosmopolitan urban habits of consumption and leisure clashed with those of more rural America, which valued homemaking and traditional morality. Moreover, America suffered from chauvinism and exploitation of immigrants. Anglo intellectuals accused Hispanics of impeding the nation's modernization, while some Americanization programs specifically targeted Hispanic women.⁴

In turn, some Spanish-language journalists examined modern girls through Hispanic antimodernist lenses. Amid the ethnic tensions of the era, U.S. Hispanic *pelonas* became symbols of undignified acculturation and ethnic disloyalty for conservative authors.⁵ Although the Modern Girl was a global phenomenon, *flapperismo* (flapperdom) was perceived as an assimilation force. Common fears were that wives and daughters were venturing out of the house, showing too much skin, working and dancing with Anglo-Americans, and losing both the Spanish language and Hispanic culture. In other words, *flapperismo* conflicted with the expected domesticity and modesty for women.⁶ Journalistic humor represented *pelonas* as a danger to traditional Hispanic femininity.

U.S. Hispanic journalistic genres engaged with the broader social reaction to the New Girl phenomenon. Satire about *la pelona* was everywhere: in the press, on the radio, at cinemas, tent theaters, social events, and workplaces. Such ever-present discussion of *flapperismo* offered a humorous approach to the challenges that modern times imposed on U.S. Hispanic families. The popularity of this satire shows that U.S. Hispanic women were indeed

dancing the Charleston in smoky jazz clubs as any Anglo-American girl would, instead of supporting their husbands and fathers at home as was expected by Hispanic social custom. Mockery of the social phenomenon of the New Girl surely relieved male Hispanic readers, whose participation in attractive sectors of the economy was generally limited at the time. Beyond derisive entertainment, this journalistic humor aimed to influence readers' opinions about women's gender and ethnic restrictions.

The Modern Girl and the Modern Woman

Advances in social rights and new economic opportunities in the 1920s encouraged women to be more financially independent.⁷ However, Alys Weinbaum et al. distinguish the Modern Girl from the Modern Woman, two overlapping concepts of the era. The New Woman was identified with social and political advocacy for women, whereas the Modern Girl was associated with "consumption, romance, and fashion."⁸ In the U.S. Spanish-language press of the era, the terms *chica moderna*, *girl*, *flapper*, and *pelona* are used interchangeably to refer to the Modern Girl and her self-indulgent lifestyle and immodesty. The word *mujer moderna* (Modern Woman) or simply *mujer* (woman) replaces *chica moderna*, *flapper*, *girl*, and *pelona* when the article refers to feminists or defendants of women's rights. For instance, Mexican exile María Luisa Garza (under the pen name Loreley) makes a clear distinction in her chronicle "Las Pelonas" (1922): flappers are "silly girls" who make men suffer.⁹ By contrast, the flapper's own voice rarely surfaced in U.S. Hispanic media. Only a few reprints of the chronicles penned by the popular Mexican flapper Cube Bonifant (Antonia Bonifant López) appeared in *La Prensa* (San Antonio), *El Tucsonense* (Tucson), and *El Herald de México* (Los Angeles). After all, as Miriam Silverberg put it, "the Modern Girl was to be seen, the New Woman was to be heard."¹⁰

Undoubtedly, the flapper was also an attraction for the mainstream popular press. One of the most influential large-circulation literary magazines, the *New Yorker*, playfully characterized the New Girl with her loose dress and frantic dance. According to Judith Yaross Lee, humorous approaches to the flapper celebrated the era's freedom and prosperity.¹¹ Carolyn Kitch also notes that flappers epitomized a modern aesthetic of motion and intensity. Her cropped hair and slender fashion made the flapper "as much a symbol of modernity as the skyscraper."¹² While mainstream English-language media mocked flappers for

their girly challenge to gender and sexual expectations, U.S. Hispanic media confronted women with gender norms that intersected with ethnic borders.

Julio G. Arce

Julio G. Arce (1870–1926), editor of *El diario del pacífico* and *El diario de occidente*, often objected to the Mexican political status quo. Venustiano Carranza's army imprisoned him for his criticism of the Mexican Revolution. After friends freed him, Arce self-exiled to the United States.¹³ Once in San Francisco, he worked for *La Crónica* (1914) and became its publisher in 1919, when the newspaper, renamed *Hispano-América*, became an influential and respected Spanish-language weekly. Together with his son Nestor, Arce published in a variety of journalistic genres that promoted the dissemination of Hispanic culture and vindicated the rights of U.S. Hispanics.¹⁴ In so doing, as Natalie Havlin argues, he and other U.S. Hispanic journalists in San Francisco “contributed to a strategic ethnic consciousness in the hopes of producing and mobilizing a political community.”¹⁵ The broader narrative of Julio G. Arce's career is still to be fully recovered and analyzed, but his journalism is becoming available in digital form through the Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage Project.¹⁶

Under the pseudonym Jorge Ulica, Julio Arce wrote the weekly chronicles *Crónicas Diabólicas* (*Diabological Chronicles*) for several Spanish-language newspapers published in the United States in the 1910s and 1920s.¹⁷ Frequently the lampooned character was a woman. Arce's *Crónicas Diabólicas* have been examined as both an instrument of Mexican nationalism and patriarchal rhetoric.¹⁸ Arce's chronicles analyzed in this article—“Todo se arregla con money” (1924), “Cosas del Exhibition Day” (1924), and “La estenógrafa” (1925)—wittily draw readers' attention to the dangers of the flapper, the icon of the Roaring Twenties. The Modern Girl was an icon of global capitalism but also a fundamental instrument in the rise of modern nationalisms.¹⁹ Arce represents her as a modern engulfing force that disrupts Hispanic tradition.

The Chronicle in U.S. Hispanic Literature

Arce's *Crónicas Diabólicas* are entertaining literary sketches about the U.S. Hispanic experience. The literary chronicle has a long tradition of conveying social norms in the Hispanic world and has been a prominent and

evolving genre with literary aesthetics. In the United States, chronicles have preserved Hispanic culture and Spanish language while explaining the Anglo-American way of life to readers. Although in 1922 sociologist Robert E. Park examined the ethnic press as a tool of assimilation to the United States in *The Immigrant Press and Its Control*, more recently Nicolás Kanellos has contested such transitory perceptions of ethnic cultures. As Kanellos claims, “an attitude of not assimilating or melting has characterized Hispanic transmigrant culture and its use of the printing press.”²⁰ Male U.S. Hispanic authors demanded that Hispanic women protect their cultural heritage despite mingling in Anglo-American life. Mocking *pelonas* helped male authors and their readers to acquire a sense of control at home, at work, and in their social life, control that they felt they lacked as minority men in the United States. Arce’s chronicles testify to the acculturation experienced by his community and the ethnic resistance that intellectuals, including himself, promoted in the Spanish-language press.

Julio G. Arce’s “Todo se arregla con money”

In Arce’s chronicle “Todo se arregla con money” (“Money Solves It All”), Don Arturo de la Hacha cannot resolve his marital disputes and asks Ulica (Arce’s literary alter ego) for help. Because his wife now works in a government office, Don Arturo complains, “ya no hay quien atiende la cocina . . . ni quien se ocupe de zurcirme los calcetines” (no one attends to the kitchen . . . or mends my socks).²¹ Ulica warns Don Arturo that dealing with *pelonas* (flappers) is not an easy task but offers to discuss the matter with señora Hacha. When Ulica explains to her that Don Arturo is feeling neglected, Ms. Hacha is visibly unmoved by the news and continues to browse through several files in her office. She promptly reassures Ulica that there are plenty of businesses that provide the cooking and sewing services her husband requires. Ulica realizes that his argument has not convinced Ms. Hacha and tells her that Don Arturo misses her affection. Ms. Hacha then shows Ulica a chart in which she has faithfully recorded each kiss given to her husband as evidence of her love for him. However, the chart shows a clear descent from the initial wedding bliss, and Ms. Hacha admits that her demanding job leaves her with little time to cuddle with her husband.

This parody of a business negotiation over intimate matters reveals Arce’s interpretation of modern life as a consumable experience. In the 1920s,

more women than ever worked outside the home and gained economic power. Some faced hostility, especially during the later Depression, but U.S. Hispanic women were questioning not only gender but also ethnic expectations.²² Ms. Hacha's audacity is not reducible to her bobbed hair or sleek flapper dress, but rather resides in her economic independence.

Ulica returns to Ms. Hacha's office, this time with Don Arturo, only to hear on their arrival that she is kissing her boss. Distressed, Don Arturo demands an explanation, and Ms. Hacha produces her chart again: all the kisses given to the boss have amounted to a \$10,000 bonus to her salary. Don Arturo, seeing the monetary advantages of being married to a *pelona*, embraces his wife and exclaims, "Eres la mejor de las esposas. . . . ¡Dios te bendiga!" (You are the best wife. . . . God bless you!).²³

Arce's farce exaggerates the consequences of women working outside the home and represents their moneymaking as dishonest. According to the farce, only a deceitful U.S. Hispanic woman would choose to work—and for the U.S. government! What is even worse, her husband permits this because of his greed. Her control over money is as immoral as the flirtatious smoking and dancing of *pelonas*. The Hachas share a similar money-mindedness that Arce associates with sinful Americanization. Consequently, both Ms. Hacha and her husband have to be publicly chastised in Ulica's diabolical chronicle.

Arce's "Cosas del Exhibition Day"

Another of Arce's chronicles distorts the consequences of breaking loose from domesticity. Narrated in the first person, "Cosas del Exhibition Day" ("Small Things of Exhibition Day"), invites readers to share Ulica's seemingly innocent walk to enjoy ice cream on a Saturday afternoon. The flappers in the chronicle indulgently consume the latest fashions, such as expensive manufactured dresses and flashy stockings. According to Arce, Saturday should be called "Exhibition Day" because this is when flappers display scanty and flashy clothes. Therefore, the title readily tells readers that the chronicle is going to characterize *pelonas* as attention-seekers.

The chronicle starts when Ulica is about to catch a tram. Suddenly, "una 'flapper,' de esas de bastón" (one of those stick-looking flappers) bumps against him and an ornamental pin from her fashionable dress (Tut-Ankh-Amen style) rips his trousers.²⁴ Once inside the tram, Ulica experiences

frenetic and farcical action that engages the reader. First, Ulica tries to stitch together his pants with the pin. While he is doing so, a married couple fights in front of him. The husband reprimands his wife for her choice of dress. The wife asks Ulica for his opinion. Ulica studies the dress with lustful eyes, and soon the wife feels uncomfortable under such scrutiny. When Ulica mentions that the dress is indeed suggestive, he gets in trouble. Ulica then jumps out of the tram to escape the commotion. Disoriented, he stumbles against a passing flapper and tears her stockings with the pin that is still attached to his trousers. Each scene of the narrative includes *pelonas* revealing their bodies willingly or as a result of visual or physical assault. Two *pelonas* get their clothes ripped apart while another is given a licentious inspection of her dress. According to the chronicle, flappers will suffer the consequences of sexual advances if they persist in following the exhibitionistic fashion of the day.

Not only in the United States, but also around the world, the flapper's fascination with modern commodities was viewed as a threat to traditional family values.²⁵ Similar to the criticism of flapper fashion in mainstream newspapers, Ulica mocks such style as pretentious. Manufactured fashion relieved women of making the family's clothing, as had been customary. Moreover, whereas previous feminine fashion emphasized the roundness of the breasts, flappers were flattening their chests to fit the modern styles. Therefore, Arce's satire lampoons the dress for its poor quality, sexual indiscretion, masculine aesthetic, and showy pretense. Each quality was unsatisfactory for his Hispanic taste.

Ulica finally arrives home, holding the remnants of the flapper's frayed stockings and wearing ripped trousers. The comic effect condemns modern, immodest, and consumerist habits that make it impossible for an average man to enjoy an innocent walk and ice cream on a Saturday afternoon in a U.S. city like San Francisco. The humorous narrative invokes the detrimental effects of modern exhibitionist culture in the United States, a culture in which women become objects of sexual gaze and violence. More tellingly, the chronicle centers the victimhood on Ulica: *he* is unable to enjoy his Saturday afternoon walk. Arce chooses this narrative perspective to avoid presenting *pelonas* as victims but rather as guilty participants of *flapperismo*, a fashionable detriment to Hispanic culture.

Arce's "La estenógrafa"

The endorsement of domesticity in modern times was crucial in constructing the imagined community of *El México de afuera* (a Mexican colony existing outside Mexico), of which Arce was one of the main intellectuals.²⁶ According to this ideology, U.S. Hispanic women were perceived as key players in the maintenance of Spanish language and Hispanic culture at home.²⁷ For example, in Arce's "Todo se arregla con dinero," Don Arturo Hacha complains to Ulica that he no longer has a home or *a country* (emphasis is mine) because his wife is not cooking and mending socks.²⁸ That is, his wife's domesticity is part of Mr. Hacha's ethnic identity. Ulica's vision of a close-knit U.S. Hispanic community was a strategy of cultural resistance.

In "La estenógrafa," Arce displays a disdainful perspective that ridicules the Americanized *pelona* he hires. In particular, the author attacks her ignorance of Spanish. Ulica hires a new stenographer sent by the Horses, Mules, and Stenographers Agency.²⁹ If the agency's name leaves little room for further characterization, dialogues between Ulica and the flapper continue to illustrate a diabolical world in which Americanized *pelonas* want to rule. Rosie, the Hispanic stenographer, personifies the chaos created by modern girls in an office. Rosie dresses in audacious ways, uses too strong a perfume, and changes into work clothes only after she arrives at the office. The High Morality Society is already concerned about her modern habits that reflect love for luxury instead of the cultivation of modesty, especially after they find Rosie's stockings stuck in a filing cabinet.³⁰

Unlike in "Todo se arregla con money" or "Cosas del Exhibition Day," in "La estenógrafa," the climax of the story is not the *pelona's* independence, consumerism, and immodesty, but rather her use of Spanglish (code-switching between Spanish and English), which symbolizes her assimilation to Anglo America. Arce's bilingual pun mocks her Spanglish when Ulica chooses to call her Miss Pink. Rosa has Americanized her name as Rosie. Since Rosa means both *rose* and *pink* in Spanish, calling her Miss Pink Americanizes the other meaning of her name in a humorous way and evidences her disregard for her culture and language.³¹ Furthermore, Rosie commits a spelling mistake when typing a letter in Spanish to Ulica's friend; as a result, the letter describes Ulica as feeling gay instead of feeling gray. Even more explicit, the original Spanish misspelling alters the word *agotado* (tired) to *ajotado*

(effeminate).³² Arce's wordplay predicts the inevitable effects of *flapperismo* on men—that is, their loss of physical and sexual dominance over women. If the Rosies of America come into the office, men are doomed to lose their heterosexuality and its prerogatives. According to Arce, her Americanized immodesty, mixed language, and modern professional expectations threaten conservative Hispanic manhood.

In Arce's chronicles *pelonas* flirt, use expensive perfumes, and disregard their culture and language. For instance, Ms. Hacha gains a level of economic independence that allows her to ignore her husband, flappers immodestly exhibit their Tut-Ankh-Amen styles on Saturdays, and Rosie makes spelling mistakes in Spanish. According to the satirist, U.S. Hispanic men lose their ethnic identity when women assimilate to modern Anglo America. With ethnic and patriarchal disdain, Arce's engaging farcical chronicles look down on modern culture in the United States while passionately defending the Hispanic tradition.

Spanish-Language Press Context

Arce's chronicles were published in a context of journalistic genres that scrutinized the appearance and behavior of the Modern Girl. Newspapers would sarcastically describe her as weird, frivolous, foolish, money-seeking, immature, and unreliable.³³ Opinion columnists lectured readers about the evils of *flapperismo*. In "La masculinización de la mujer" ("The Masculinization of Women," 1920), one of the leading Mexican journalists of the day, Xavier Sorondo, criticizes the Modern Girl's habit of driving cars and meeting with friends in clubs as a man would.³⁴ Sorondo goes on to predict that soon *pelonas* will be boxing, too. He caustically remarks that he misses the days when women would cook dinner and faint at the sight of a mouse. The essay censures flapperdom because it favors women acting independently, behavior that markedly contrasts with the gender and ethnic expectations placed on U.S. Hispanic women. Instead, Sorondo prescribes traditional domesticity and helplessness for women as a response to *flapperismo*. Readers of Sorondo's articles in *La Época* connected their local experiences in San Antonio with the global phenomenon of flapperdom. Indeed, the Modern Girl phenomenon "was produced at the intersection of the global with the local."³⁵ Although the U.S. Hispanic press sometimes published journalists from the Hispanic world, most of the texts studied here satirized *flapperismo* in the United States from the inside.

Loose, bobbed hair was the icon that symbolized the reversal of traditional gender roles. In fact, *pelona* means shorthaired girl in Spanish. News reports were infused with bitter remarks about *pelonas'* hairstyles. In *La Prensa* (San Antonio), a news article on August 17, 1924, featured Elizabeth Doane, who at age eighty-two had cut her braids. The text asks the reader if Ms. Doane will ever have any regrets, implying that the only reason not to have them would be the short time she has left in this life. The caption reads "¡Aquí la tienen sonriendo y todo!" ("There She Is Smiling and All!").³⁶ Sarcasm and irony permeated opinion columns about flappers' hairstyles. In an unsigned *La Prensa* (San Antonio) opinion article, "¡Esto es para alarmarse!" ("This Is Alarming!," 1924), the fashionable women's hairdo is considered abnormal. After all, short hair is "un privilegio para el hombre" (a privilege for men).³⁷ The essayist argues that men are losing their authority and fears that as a result they will soon start wearing women's clothes.³⁸

Another of Arce's chronicles, "¡Eso tiene pelos!" ("There Is Hair!," 1923), provides examples of the different forms of suffering inflicted on men by the bobbed hairstyle. If a *pelona* sits in front of you in the cinema, you will not see the screen. At the barbershop, men now have to wait because of the long line of *pelonas* waiting to have their hair bobbed, and the chronicle goes on describing the misery of men because of the new hairdo.³⁹ The disparity between the traditional expectations for women's appearance and the modern fad irritated opinion journalists who wrote sarcastic and ironic articles.

Editorials were also dedicated to the flapper's use of cosmetics. Previously only prostitutes or "loose" women had boldly used cosmetics. Mexican exile Teodoro Torres, the editor of *La Prensa* (San Antonio), invoked cosmetics when he argued in "Cartas de nuestra tierra" ("Letters from Our Land," 1926) that *flapperismo* was an unstoppable revolution. While the Mexican Revolution did not fulfill the urgent goal of clearing land to build modern roads, American cosmetics companies were doing the job by depleting the Mexican flora to manufacture make-up.⁴⁰ In Torres's article, the gendered consumer culture of *flapperismo* drains Mexican flora and cosmetically transforms U.S. Hispanic women's bodies.

While such essays, opinion columns, and editorials display sarcasm and irony, contemporaneous cartoons made their negative characterizations of *pelonas* visual and explicit. Cartoonists in the mainstream American press tended to draw flappers with angular bodies in energetic movement.⁴¹

John Held Jr. popularized such depictions on the front pages of *Life*, and his flirtatious flappers epitomized the energy of the decade. Cuban-American Alberto O'Farrill, editor of *Gráfico* (New York City), illustrated eight front pages of the newspaper with cartoons about *pelonas* in 1927.⁴² Compared to mainstream cartoons, O'Farrill's cartoons did not display *pelonas* with such upbeat nature. The more depraved representation of *pelonas* in his cartoons places connotations of prostitution more directly in play.

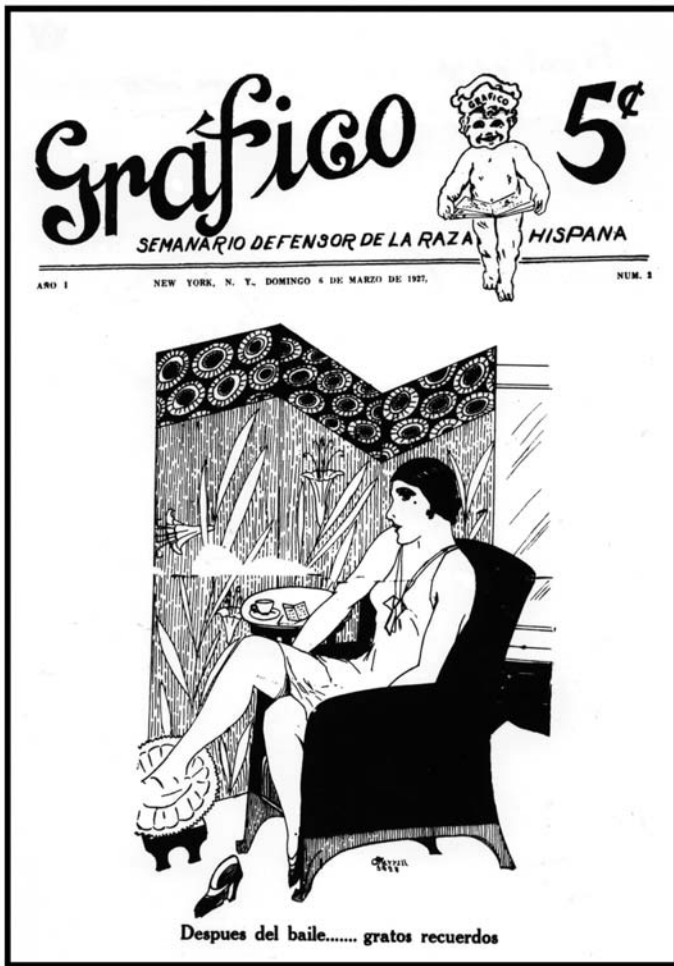


Figure 1 Alberto O'Farrill, "Después del baile . . . gratos recuerdos" ["After The Dance . . . Pleasant Memories"], cartoon, *Gráfico*, March 6, 1927, 1. All figures used with permission of The Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage Project.



LEYENDO EL "GRAFICO".....

Figure 2 Alberto O'Farrill, "Leyendo el Gráfico" ["Reading the Gráfico"], cartoon, *Gráfico*, April 10, 1927, 1.

In figure 1, the cartoon's caption reads "Después del baile . . . gratos recuerdos" ("After The Dance . . . Pleasant Memories," 1927). A *pelona* is sitting on an armchair thinking of the dance (or whatever else may have happened at the dance). She is self-absorbed and rests one of her legs on a stool. One shoe is on the floor and the reader can gaze at her foot; her short dress leaves her transparent stockings in plain view, too.⁴³ The caption, "pleasant memories," is visually recreated in the drawing because it refers both to the *pelona's* self-absorption, remembering good times, as well as to the readers' future "pleasant memories" of the erotic drawing.



Figure 3 Alberto O'Farrill,
 "En pose . . ." ["Posing"], cartoon,
Gráfico, April 24, 1927, 1.



Figure 4 Alberto O'Farrill
 "Enfocando . . ." ["Focusing"], cartoon,
Gráfico, May 8, 1927, 1.

In figure 2, the cartoon's caption, "Leyendo el *Gráfico*" ("Reading the *Gráfico*," 1927), disguises the real intention of the image. In a similar pose, but more close-up than in figure 1, the flapper is indeed reading the *Gráfico* magazine. More enticing for the reader, though, she is wearing see-through clothes that outline her legs.⁴⁴ The caption for figure 3 reads "En pose" ("Posing," 1927), which emphasizes the *pelona's* desire to be looked at by others. A flapper is sitting with her legs crossed, showing the reader a suggestive view of the space between her legs.⁴⁵ Therefore, the caption, "Posing," acquires an erotic meaning that reflects back to the drawing. The caption for figure 4, "Enfocando" ("Focusing," 1927), refers to the drawing of a *pelona* who is looking through binoculars while she is leaning on one leg.⁴⁶ However, the caption's function in the drawing is to further direct the reader's eyes to the flapper's immodest pose that displays her legs to the reader. Both the evocative captions and the flappers' careless attitude in these front-page cartoons invite the reader to peruse their scantily dressed bodies.

In the second set of illustrations, sexual innuendo and criticism are stronger. Figure 5 shows a flapper in bed. The perspective in "Al levantarse" ("Getting Up," 1927) emphasizes the woman's backside. When paired with the drawing, the caption suggests the immoral nature of flappers before they even set foot in the world.⁴⁷ Figure 6, "Buscando el fallo" ("Searching



Al Levantarse.....

Figure 5 Alberto O'Farrill, "Al levantarse . . ." ["Getting Up"], cartoon, *Gráfico*, March 4, 1927, 1.



Buscando el Fallo

Figure 6 Alberto O'Farrill, "Buscando el fallo"
["Searching for The Fault"], cartoon, *Gráfico*, March 27,
1927, 1.



Fumando espero....

Figure 7 Alberto O'Farrill,
"Fumando espero"
["Waiting and Smoking"],
cartoon, *Gráfico*, June 5,
1927, 1.



Lector ¿no te dá el olor?

Figure 8 Alberto O'Farrill, "Lector, ¿No le dá el olor?" ["Reader, Can You Smell It?"], cartoon, *Gráfico*, July 3, 1927, 1.

for the Fault," 1927), shows a *pelona* rolling her night dress above her knees while a man is on the floor holding a lighter and looking up her legs.⁴⁸ The man lies on the floor to better look under the *pelona's* dress to search for "the fault," suggesting that the flapper's overt sexuality is an unnatural flaw that the man needs to inspect with a light, as he would examine a defective piece of equipment. Figure 7, "Fumando espero" ("Waiting and Smoking," 1927), depicts a flapper smoking while seated atop a restaurant table. The caption indirectly equates *pelonas* to prostitutes.⁴⁹ In Spanish, the phrase "a woman who smokes" is used to refer to a prostitute. The fact that the *pelona* is seated on a restaurant table suggests the affordable rate of her services. Figure 8 is captioned "Lector, ¿No le dá [sic] el olor?" ("Reader, Can You Smell It?," 1927) and depicts a flapper holding a bouquet of flowers while sitting on an armchair with her legs splayed.⁵⁰ The *pelona's* immodest pose implies that the caption might not refer to the smell of the flowers. With the captions' wordplay and the accompanying images, the editor portrays overt female sexuality as despicably unnatural and unpleasant. O'Farrill's

drawings were undignified visual front pages that represented *pelonas* as immoral women.

O'Farrill's *pelonas* pose in suggestively see-through clothes. Figures 1 to 8 portray self-absorbed *pelonas* who enjoy leisure time, go to dances, and read magazines, in contrast with housewives who are busily caring for their families. Exaggeration and size matter in cartoons; large panels invite a slower reading and may also slow down time or represent its passage. The size of O'Farrill's front covers for the *Gráfico* provided the reader with the time and space to apprehend the visual symbolic meanings that stereotyped *pelonas*. The double meanings of O'Farrill's captions and illustrations build a compelling front-page narrative about the *pelonas'* narcissism and sex appeal—a narrative directed straight to the reader's subconscious, understood almost instantaneously as dehumanizing *pelonas*.

El Malcriado (Los Angeles) echoed the series of *Gráfico's* front-page illustrations with a sketch of *pelonas* drawn by its editor and director, Daniel



Figure 9 "¡Cómo gozan los barberos!" ["Barbers Are Having a Great Time"], cartoon, *El Malcriado*, April 17, 1927, 1.



Figure 10 “Esta alegoría es harto simbólica” [“This Allegory Is Very Symbolic”], cartoon, *La Prensa*, July 13, 1924, 9.

Venegas. The caption, “¡Cómo gozan los barberos!” (“Barbers Are Having a Great Time!,” 1927), refers to flappers having their hair bobbed. The *pelonas* are seated in sexually suggestive poses to indicate their loose morals, and their diaphanous dresses delight the barber and readers both (figure 9).⁵¹ In a similar vein, *La Prensa* (San Antonio) illustrated page nine of its July 13, 1924, issue with an illustration that characterized *pelonas* as modern pirates because modern girls were “against all laws and authority” (figure 10).⁵²

Implications of carnality in these cartoons visually translate O’Farrill’s negative view of Anglo-American influence, which metaphorically snatches U.S. Hispanic girls’ bodies, molds them into flappers, and makes them a source of public pleasure. The *vendida* (a sellout) becomes another commodity of Anglo-American consumerism. However, the *vendida*’s complicity with flapper fashion only reinforces her otherness in these cartoons. Alys Eve Weinbaum coins the term *racial masquerade* to refer to the exotic, racialized, and “primitive” goods that white American women consumed to perform

feminine modernity and “to engage in consumption so as to exert mastery over racial ascription.”⁵³ In a period marked by segregation and severe immigration restrictions, racial masquerade for ethnic women was, as Weinbaum declares, a “deferred promise.”⁵⁴ For this reason, Arce satirizes the *pelonas*’ exotic dresses, and Nuyoricano Jesús Colón, chronicler for *Gráfico*, calls the *pelona* the “would be flapper,” the performer of a wannabe white modernity.⁵⁵ Paradoxically, *pelonas* were criticized for embracing an already-appropriated otherness.

Humor across Media Industries

Satire of *pelonas* permeated Hispanic popular culture, including music, radio, and songs. Journalistic writing engaged a broad beguilement with the Modern Girl. The Hispanic press, radio, cinema, and popular songs mocked *pelonas* to make sure that U.S. Hispanic girls refrained from listening to the Charleston on the radio and from dancing to it in the jazz clubs of New York, San Antonio, and San Francisco. Numerous advertisements for records and printouts of lyrics reveal the demand for cultural products that scorned pleasure-seeking flappers. Newspapers widely distributed work songs that condemned *pelonas*. For instance, *El Imparcial de Texas* (San Antonio) advertised a new record released by Columbia Records, “Las tres pelonas” (“The Three Flappers”) on July 2, 1918.⁵⁶ “Las tres pelonas” may be a variant of the humorous song popular in Texas in the late 1920s, otherwise titled “Las pelonas” (“The Flappers”), “El vacilón” (“The Joker”), and “Corrido de los pizcadores” (“The Cotton Pickers’ Corrido”), a ballad sung by workers along the border while picking cotton. When Dan Dickey interviewed Eduardo Peña in Laredo in 1979, Peña recalled that he learned the song lyrics from *La Prensa* (San Antonio).⁵⁷ The song expressed scorn for the U.S. Hispanic Modern Girl’s inability to adapt to a hard life of picking cotton.⁵⁸ Local businesses and the Texas and California Valley presses distributed songs about *pelonas* along with Mexican *corridos* and *rancheras*. Readers also listened to them on Mexican radio stations that broadcast to audiences in the United States.⁵⁹

More than the published song lyrics, society reviews provide evidence that songs about flappers were sung in social gatherings, in popular theaters, and *carpas* (tent theaters).⁶⁰ In the social column “Notas de sociedad” published in *Hispano America*, on July 22, 1922, María Arce (Julio

Arce's daughter) is reported to have sung the popular song "La pelona" ("The Flapper"), composed by Manuel J. Urrea, at a social gathering at the Robles del Campo family home.⁶¹ The fact that María Arce was invited to sing a satirical song about flappers for the festive occasion testifies to the prevalent response to *flapperismo*, which was one of admonishment.

Festive mockery of the flapper in labor and social songs turned into bitter attacks as the 1920s advanced. In the flourishing variety shows of the era, public contemplation and consumption of sexualized female bodies were part of the spectacle, and bobbed hair and scarlet lips were part of the era's salacious imaginary. For example, A. Riojas's song, "Ya te fuiste y me dejaste!" ("You Have Already Abandoned Me!"), published June 3, 1928 in *El Heraldo de México* (Los Angeles), parodies the first tango recorded by Carlos Gardel, "Mi noche triste" ("My Sad Night," 1910).⁶² The well-known tango lyrics are about unrequited love, but Riojas's satirical adaptation is about the money spent on a *pelona*. The lover is left with long dirty stockings instead of a longing feeling. The burlesque song turns the fun-seeking flapper of earlier songs into a woman of sexual coldness.

On September 12, 1928, A. Riojas also published the satiric poem "Pero si ya estás pelona ¿con qué me enredas, mamá?" ("If You Are Already a Flapper, What Will You Catch Me With, Mom?").⁶³ The two parts of the title anticipate the shift from playful humor about a man's wife to bitter contempt for her. Riojas scorns the wife for adopting the flapper style and wearing short hair and short dresses. The attack grows into uncensored insults. She is disgusting to him because she looks like "una cualquiera Americana" (an American slut). In the social context of normalized disapproval of *flapperismo*, Riojas is able to publish misogynistic and nationalistic diatribes as popular entertainment.

When the stock market crashed in October of 1929, the luxurious age of the flappers ended as the economic depression started. The U.S. Hispanic press featured the demise of the flapper with relief. An article in *La Prensa* (San Antonio) on November 10, 1929, "Cada día pierde terreno el tipo del marimacho" ("Each Day the Tomboy Is Less Popular"), announces that men are no longer titillated by flappers' frivolous flirting.⁶⁴ According to the author, society has finally realized that the masculinization of women is unnatural. Women are returning to their preordained feminine nature, rewarded with a loving husband and happy homemaking.

Conclusion

The Spanish-language press of the era examined in this study displays a conservative antimodernist reaction to *flapperismo*, mordantly represented as morally outrageous and as a monstrous transgression of traditional Hispanic femininity. While journalists lauded dutiful domesticity as a model of ethnic loyalty, they caricatured the flapper as an unnatural aberration. By mocking the figure of the *pelona*, U.S. Hispanic authors revealed their own anxiety in the 1920s about the social changes enticing U.S. Hispanic women, who were crossing ethnic borders and questioning male prerogatives.

While Julio G. Arce illustrated the evils of the modern age, he preserved his public authority as a chronicler by using a pen name and by crafting lighthearted farces. The misogynistic humor in the chronicles, poetry, and drawings examined here reinforced each other with sarcastic argumentation across news, cultural reviews, and opinion columns. Popular songs and poems became bolder in their attack as the era progressed, and cartoons took advantage of the power of the image to dehumanize the flapper into a few sexual signifiers, becoming effective visual weapons of scorn. Apart from patriarchal ideology, this humor also reveals the ethnic tensions of the era. The fact that assimilation is mocked reveals that Hispanic families were indeed participating in a modern lifestyle or were, at least, being seduced by it. Consequently, U.S. Spanish-language newspapers contributed to the rise of mass media industries that influenced readers; the publications both disseminated and resisted forces that made modern America. Conservative U.S. Hispanic print media reinforced traditional femininity by mocking *flapperismo* while the cinema and the music scene attracted U.S. Hispanic girls to flapperdom.

The social phenomenon of the Modern Girl was a popular topic in the press because of cultural and social transfers in other media outlets and other communities. Flappers were both a local and global topic of interest on the page, at work, and at social events. References to film, music, movies, magazines, advertising, and other entertainment industries from that era show that critical responses to *flapperismo* traveled across media, not only in the United States but also throughout the Americas. Without these contextual references, Hispanic readers might not have so readily engaged with the mockery of this icon of modern culture in their press. However, each U.S. Hispanic satirical representation of *pelonas* resisted the influence

of Anglo-American culture. Gendered consumption constituted an assimilation that U.S. Hispanic authors refuted and from which they were in fact excluded.⁶⁵

NOTES

1. Julio G. Arce, "Crónica diabólica: La estenógrafa (Spanish)," *El Cronista del Valle* (1924–1927), February 24, 1925, 2–3. The Spanish original was published on January 31, 1925 as "La estenógrafa" and collected in Juan Rodríguez, *Crónicas Diabólicas 1916–1926 de "Jorge Ulica"* (San Diego: Maize Press, 1982), 65–68. The English translation is Jorge Ulica [Julio G. Arce], "The Stenographer," trans. Tonya E. Wolford in *Herencia: The Anthology of Hispanic Literature of the United States*, ed. Nicolás Kanellos, M. K. Dworkin, and Alejandra Balestra (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 437.

2. In the genealogy of *vendidas* (sellouts), the *pelona* of the twenties shadows the Mesoamerican *Malinche* and precedes the defiant U.S. *pachuca* of the 1930s. The word *vendida* negatively stereotypes a Hispanic woman who has traded her "ethnic and cultural allegiance for personal gains"; see Nicolás Kanellos, *Hispanic Immigrant Literature, El sueño del retorno* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 8. For more on the genealogy, see Vicki Ruíz, *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), eBook Collection EBSCOhost; and Catherine S. Ramírez, *The Woman in the Zoot Suit: Gender, Nationalism, and the Cultural Politics of Memory* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), Ebook Library.

3. Kelly Boyer Sagert, *Flappers: A Guide to an American Subculture* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood Press, 2010), 3.

4. Clara Lomas, "Resistencia cultural o apropiación ideológica: visión de los años 20 en los cuadros costumbristas de Jorge Ulica," *Revista Chicano-Riqueña*, April 1, 1978, 44–49; 45. See Samuel Bryan, "A Skeptical View of Mexican Immigrants in the United States," *The Survey*, September 1912, repr. in *The Emergence of Modern America (1874–1917)*, ed. Michale Shally-Jensen. (Ipswich, MA: Salem Press, 2014), 208–9, for what Shally-Jensen considers a representative example of public distrust in the growing numbers of unassimilated Hispanic immigrants. See also Claudia Roesch, "Americanization through Homemaking': Mexican American Mothers as a Major Factor in Americanization Programs," in *Inventing the Modern American Family*, ed. Isabel Heinemann (Frankfurt and New York: Campus Verlag, 2012), 59–81.

5. Kanellos, Dworkin, and Balestra, *Herencia*, 130–31.

6. I examine primary sources from these newspapers: *La Época* (San Antonio), *Gráfico* (New York City), *El Heraldo de México* (Los Angeles), *Hispano América* (San Francisco), *El Imparcial de Texas* (San Antonio), *El Malcriado* (Los Angeles), *La Prensa* (San Antonio), and *El Tucsonense* (Tucson). Circulation among them varied. These newspapers ran weekly:

La Época (San Antonio, 1913–1931); *El Imparcial de Texas* (San Antonio, 1908–1924); *El Malcriado* (Los Angeles, 1923–1930); *La Prensa* (San Antonio, 1913–1962). *Hispano América* ran weekly and semiweekly in San Francisco from 1917 to 1934. *Gráfico* ran irregularly in New York City; several 1927 issues have been recovered. *El Tucsonense* was published in Tucson from 1915 to 1957, frequency unknown. See Nicolás Kanellos and Helvetia Martell, *Hispanic Periodicals in the United States, Origins to 1960: A Brief History and Comprehensive Bibliography* (Houston: Arte Publico Press, 2000), 186, 196, 199–200, 204, 216, 240.

7. Kelly Boyer Sagert claims that the Modern Girl was the result of a combination of economic and social factors that led women to the pursuit of hedonism; in particular, the end of World War I and the deadly influenza of 1918 and 1919, the most devastating epidemic to date, were significant. Furthermore, women gained the right to vote in 1920, and the U.S. Department of Labor created the Women's Bureau to protect the rights of women earning wages. Sagert, *Flappers: A Guide*, 4.

8. Alys Eve Weinbaum, Lynn Thomas, Priti Ranomrth, Uta Poiger, Madeline Dong, and Tani Barlow, "The Modern Girl as Heuristic Device: Collaboration, Connective Comparison, Multidirectional Citation," in *The Modern Girl around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization*, ed. Eve Alys Weinbaum et al. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 1–24; 9.

9. Loreley [María Luisa Garza], "Las Pelonas," *Tucsonense*, August 12, 1922, 5.

10. Miriam Silverberg, "After the Grand Tour: The Modern Girl, the New Woman, and the Colonial Maiden," in *The Modern Girl around the World*, ed. Weinbaum et al., 354–61; 358.

11. Lee argues that some cartoons in the magazine were sexist but were published alongside contributions by numerous female writers and artists with a "radical feminist humor" that consciously appealed to the independent and dynamic New Woman of the 1920s. Judith Yaross Lee, *Defining New Yorker Humor* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2000), 156–57. On mainstream media cartooning of flappers, see Carolyn L. Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); and Weinbaum et al., *The Modern Girl around the World*, 2008.

12. Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover*, 129.

13. Martha H. Patterson, *The American New Woman Revisited: A Reader, 1894–1930* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2008), eBook Collection EBSCOhost, 233. Patterson collects another of Arce's *Crónicas diabólicas* about flappers entitled "Éxodo de una flapper" ("Exodus of A Flapper").

14. Natalie Havlin, "Cultures of Migration: Race, Space, and the Politics of Alliance in U.S. Latina/o Print and Visual Culture, 1910–1939" (diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2011), 194–99; 194.

15. Natalie Havlin, "Cultures of Migration," 199.

16. Fortunately, the Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage Project continues to digitize and preserve the rich U.S. Hispanic print culture existent before the 1960s; see <https://artepublicopress.com/recovery-project/>. The project makes digital reprints available in from the Arte Público Hispanic Historical Collections hosted at EBSCO and in the database *Hispanic American Newspapers, 1808-1920*.

17. Juan Rodríguez, "Julio G. Arce: vida y obra," in Jorge Ulica [Julio Arce], *Crónicas Diabólicas 1916–1926 de "Jorge Ulica,"* ed. Juan Rodríguez (San Diego: Maize Press, 1982), 9–21; [16]. Arce's chronicles were published in *Mefistófeles* (San Francisco), *El Defensor de la Raza* (San Francisco), *Hispano América* (San Francisco), and *El Heraldo de México* (Los Angeles). They were reprinted in *Evolución* (Laredo, TX), *La República* (El Paso, TX), and *El Cronista del Valle* (Brownsville, TX), among other U.S. Spanish-language newspapers. Juan Rodríguez compiled thirty-eight chronicles in 1982.

18. Gabriela Baeza Ventura, *La imagen de la mujer en la crónica del "México de afuera,"* Colección in Extensa, Serie Critica (Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, Mexico: Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez, 2006), 45–60; Magdalena Barrera, "Of Chicharrones and Clam Chowder: Gender and Consumption in Jorge Ulica's *Crónicas Diabólicas*," *Bilingual Review* 1 (2008): 49–65; Eleuteria Hernández, "La representación de la mujer en los EEUU en las *Crónicas Diabólicas* de Jorge Ulica," *Mester* 22, no. 2, and 23, no. 1 (Fall 1993–Spring 1994): 31–40; Kanellos, Dworkin, and Balestra, *Herencia*, 130–41; Clara Lomas, "Resistencia cultural," 44–49.

19. See Weinbaum et al., *The Modern Girl around the World*.

20. Robert E. Park, *The Immigrant Press and Its Control* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1922), 3–19; Kanellos, *Hispanic Immigrant Literature*, 36.

21. Jorge Ulica [Julio G. Arce], "Todo se arregla con money," *Hispano América*, September 13, 1924, 2. Translations of titles and captions are mine.

22. According to Sagert, 23.6 percent of women worked outside the home. See Sagert, *Flappers: A Guide*, 20.

23. Ulica, "Todo se arregla con money," 2.

24. Jorge Ulica [Julio G. Arce], "Cosas del Exhibition Day," *Hispano América*, September 27, 1924, 2.

25. Weinbaum, et al., "The Modern Girl as Heuristic Device," 15.

26. For more on other *cronistas*, see Nicolás Kanellos, "Cronistas and Satire in Early Twentieth-Century Hispanic Newspapers," *MELUS*, 23, no.1 (1998), 3–25; 3.

27. Gabriela Baeza Ventura, *La imagen de la mujer*, 44; Kanellos, Dworkin, and Balestra, *Herencia*, 132; Eleuteria Hernández, "La representación de la mujer mexicana en los EE.UU.," 31.

28. Ulica, "Todo se arregla con money," 2.

29. Ulica, "La estenógrafa," 2.

30. Ulica "La estenógrafa," 2.

31. Ulica, "La estenógrafa," 2.

32. Ulica, "La estenógrafa," 3; Ulica, "The Stenographer," in Kanellos, Dworkin, and Balestra, *Herencia*, 437.

33. See, "La hermana de Valentino está en Hollywood pero no trata de ingresar al cine," *La Prensa*, February 6, 1927, 12; "Bello gesto de Ramón Navarro," *El Heraldo de México*, February 25, 1923, 4; "Los numerosos competidores a la mano de la bella Clara Bow," *El Heraldo de México*, June 18, 1927, 10.

34. Xavier Sorondo, "La masculinización de la mujer," *La Época*, April 25, 1920, 3. For more on Sorondo, see Humberto Musacchio, "Xavier Sorondo Rubio," in *Diccionario*

enciclopédico de México ilustrado, 4 vols. (Mexico City: Sector de Orientación Pedagógica, 1989).

35. Weinbaum et al., *The Modern Girl*, 6. See also Joanne Hershfield, *Imagining La Chica Moderna: Women, Nation, and Visual Culture in Mexico, 1917–1936* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

36. “Pelona a los 82 años,” *La Prensa*, August 17, 1924, 14.

37. “¡Esto es para alarmarse!” *La Prensa*, June 3, 1924, 5.

38. Also, the act of bobbing women’s hair was seen as the reason why women lost their husbands’ affections. See, for instance, the opinion column “Tenorio inhumano,” *La Época*, April 22, 1923, 4, and Sara Insua’s short stories “Un marido envidiable,” *El Cronista del Valle*, May 26, 1926, 3, and “Domingales para la raza: Consecuencias de la moda,” *El Heraldo de México*, September 21, 1924, 9.

39. Jorge Ulica [Julio G. Arce], “¡Esto tiene pelos!” *El Heraldo de México*, May 25, 1923, 5.

40. Teodoro Torres, “Cartas de nuestra tierra: al fin tendremos caminos,” *La Prensa*, January 25, 1926, 3.

41. Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover*, 128.

42. The Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage Project has digitized these front-page cartoons and made them available in the *Hispanic American Newspapers 1808–1980* database. The extent of O’Farrill’s work remains an open topic; he may have drawn more cartoons.

43. Alberto O’Farrill, “Después del baile . . . gratos recuerdos,” cartoon, *Gráfico*, March 6, 1927, 1.

44. Alberto O’Farrill, “Leyendo el Gráfico,” cartoon, *Gráfico*, April 10, 1927, 1, with permission of the Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage Project.

45. Alberto O’Farrill, “En pose . . .,” cartoon, *Gráfico*, April 24, 1927, 1.

46. Alberto O’Farrill, “Enfocando,” cartoon, *Gráfico*, May 8, 1927, 1.

47. Alberto O’Farrill, “Al levantarse,” cartoon, *Gráfico*, March 4, 1927, 1.

48. Alberto O’Farrill, “Buscando el fallo,” cartoon, *Gráfico*, March 27, 1927, 1.

49. Alberto O’Farrill, “Fumando espero,” cartoon, *Gráfico*, June 5, 1927, 1.

50. Alberto O’Farrill, “Lector, ¿No le dá el olor?” cartoon, *Gráfico*, July 3, 1927, 1.

51. “¡Cómo gozan los barberos!” cartoon, *El Malcriado*, April 17, 1927, 1.

52. “Esta alegoría es harto simbólica,” cartoon, *La Prensa*, July 13, 1924, 9.

53. Alys Eve Weinbaum, “Racial Masquerade: Consumption and Contestation of American Modernity,” in Weinbaum et al., *The Modern Girl*, 120–46; 131.

54. Weinbaum, “Racial Masquerade,” 137.

55. Jesús Colón, “A la bullalanga latina le gusta el brillo,” in *En otra voz*, ed. Nicolás Kanellos (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2002), 350–52; 351.

56. Columbia Records, advertisement, *El Imparcial de Texas*, July 10, 1918, 7.

57. See Dan Dickey, “Corridos y Canciones de las Pizcas: Ballads and Songs of the 1920s Cotton Harvests,” *Western Folklore*, 65, no. 1/2 (Winter–Spring 2006): 99–106.

58. Maria Herrera-Sobek collects several of these scornful songs in *Northward Bound: The Mexican Immigrant Experience in Ballad and Song* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993). See also Tomás Ybarra-Frausto, "I Can Still Hear the Applause. La farándula chicana: carpas y tandas de variedad," in *Hispanic Theater in the United States*, ed. Nicolás Kanellos (Houston: Arte Público Press, 1984) 45–61.

59. See Sonia Robles, "Shaping México Lindo: Radio, Music, and Gender in Greater Mexico, 1923–1946," PhD diss., Michigan State University, 2012.

60. Tent theaters and circuses presented satiric comedic sketches about *pelonas*. One of the most popular was by Raúl Castells, "El mundo de las pelonas" ("The Flappers' World"), also popular in Mexico. See Peter C. Haney, "Fantasía and Disobedient Daughters: Undistressing Genres and Reinventing Traditions in the Mexican American Carpa," *Journal of American Folklore* 112, no. 445 (1999): 437–49; 445; and Marilyn Scharine, "Tex-Mex Theatre: The Carpa-García 1914–1948," *Journal of the Utah Academy of Sciences, Arts, & Letters* 77 (2000): 10–17; 16.

61. Manuel J. Urrea advertised his music school in several Spanish-language newspapers. "Notas de sociedad," *Hispano América*, July 22, 1922, 4.

62. A. Riojas, "Ya te fuiste y me dejaste!," *El Heraldo de México*, June 3, 1928, 5.

63. A. Riojas, "Pero si ya estás pelona ¿con qué me enredas, mamá?," *El Heraldo de México*, September 12, 1928, 3.

64. "Cada día pierde terreno el tipo del marimacho," *La Prensa*, November 10, 1929, 17.

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