John Lomax’s Southern States Recording Expedition: Brownsville, Texas, 1939

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In the spring of 1939, Texas folklorist John Avery Lomax began his Southern States Recording Expedition, focusing primarily on rural Texas and Louisiana. One of the main goals of this and other recording forays into the South and Southwest by Lomax during the 1930s was to document the musical landscape of the nation as it rapidly transformed from a mostly rural-agrarian society to an increasingly urban-industrial one. In part, Lomax wanted to preserve examples of regional folk music before they were “lost” to the growing commercialization of American music. However, Lomax also had another important goal in mind, and that was to prove that American folk music was distinct from the folk music found in Europe and elsewhere.

Prior to Lomax’s groundbreaking work, the prevailing academic view toward folk music in North America, as argued by Francis James Child, Cecil Sharp, and others of the late 1800s and early 1900s, was that American folk music was not unique but, instead, was almost entirely derivative of British Isles folk music dating back centuries. Although he certainly understood that American folk music borrowed extensively from the ballads, sea chanteys, and dance music of the British Isles (and, indeed, much of Western Europe), John Lomax was convinced that, by the twentieth century, American folk music had evolved into something more complex and nuanced than simply an extension of earlier European folk music. Lomax recognized that the nation’s increasingly diverse ethnic population had reshaped American culture, including music, in important ways over the previous two centuries.
Although much of Lomax’s work is well known, little attention has been paid to his Spanish-language recordings in the Rio Grande Valley of South Texas, conducted as part of his 1939 Southern States Recording Expedition.
In a variety of ways, the complex musical landscape that Lomax encountered in South Texas was a reflection of the region’s rich culture, its long history of ethnic and racial tensions, its stark socio-economic disparities, and the ongoing efforts by Tejanos (Texans of Mexican descent) to reconcile their bicultural identities as both Americans and ethnic Mexicans.

Folklore Society from 1930 to 1932 and proved to be an asset for John Lomax’s Southern States Recording Expedition into the Rio Grande Valley. From the Great Depression of the 1930s until 1950, Lomax served as the Archivist of American Folk Song, securing funds from the federal government to record and archive music throughout the United States, the Caribbean, and Europe, with the help of his wife, Ruby Terrill Lomax, and his son, Alan Lomax.

For John Lomax, South Texas, and Brownsville in particular, was an ideal “laboratory” for studying the overlapping folk cultures of the United States and Mexico. What Lomax found in this area was a rich and diverse sampling of music, which, at the time, even he could not have fully understood. In a variety of ways, the complex musical landscape that Lomax encountered in South Texas was a reflection of the region’s rich culture, its long history of ethnic and racial tensions, its stark socio-economic disparities, and the ongoing efforts by Tejanos (Texans of Mexican descent) to reconcile their bicultural identities as both Americans and ethnic Mexicans.

Two women who were especially important to Lomax’s Spanish-language folk music recordings in the Brownsville area are Manuela Longoria and Otila Crixell Krausse. Manuela Longoria, who recorded twelve songs (most in Spanish) for Lomax’s Southern States Recording Expedition, was the principal at Black Mexican School, located at Paredes Road and Coffee Port Road near Brownsville. The rural school served nearby Mexican-American children, who were only allowed to speak and write in English while at school, although Longoria did allow students to sing songs in Spanish.

The Longoria family had been in the Brownsville area since the American Civil War. Like most Tejanos, Manuela Longoria had spent her life trying to reconcile an ethnic and cultural “duality,” balancing the desire to preserve and celebrate her ethnic Mexican heritage with the pressure all immigrant and ethnic groups have faced to assimilate into “mainstream” American society. As with virtually every other immigrant and ethnic community, Texas Mexicans practiced selective assimilation, through which they retained certain aspects of their own cultural traditions while also selectively adopting traditions and practices from other groups.

On April 24, 1939, John Lomax recorded Manuela Longoria singing “La Chinaca,” an old Confederate song handed down from her father, Crisostomo Longoria, who had died in 1935. “La Chinaca” provides some insight into the experiences of Mexicans and Mexican Americans during the American Civil War. Crisostomo had been a Confederate soldier stationed along the U.S.–Mexico border. By contrast, Manuela’s grandfather served in the Union Army at the same time. Such divided loyalties between the North and the South, as represented by members of the Longoria family, are a reminder of the often-overlooked impact of the U.S. Civil War on Mexican Americans.

To better understand how the American Civil War (1861-1865) influenced Mexican and Mexican-American society, it is important to consider events that were taking place within Mexico around the same time. In 1861, some 6,000 French troops landed at Veracruz on the Gulf of Mexico in hopes of establishing a new government that would support France’s colonial interests in Latin America. As French soldiers marched toward the capital of Mexico City, they encountered stiff resistance from a hastily-assembled group of about 2,000 troops under the command of General Ignacio Zaragoza near Puebla de Los Angeles. Although poorly equipped and vastly outnumbered, Zaragoza’s forces defeated the French on May 5, 1862 (a day of great ethnic and national pride for Mexicans and Mexican Americans now celebrated as “Cinco de Mayo.”) However, the following year France sent a second expedition of 30,000 troops, which successfully captured Mexico City.
and installed the Emperor Maximillian as ruler of Mexico. For the next five years, Mexicans resisted French occupation and, in 1867, they finally expelled the French and executed Maximillian.

These political struggles in Mexico, lasting from 1861-1867, affected Texas-Mexican society in a variety of ways. Since Ignacio Zaragoza, the victorious commander of Mexican troops at Puebla on May 5, 1862, had been born in Goliad, Texas, he became a hero on both sides of the border and a potent symbol of triumph over adversity for Mexican Americans who found themselves increasingly marginalized at the hands of the rapidly growing Anglo population in the Southwest. At the same time, there were some Tejanos who believed that they might benefit from French occupation of Mexico because it would allow for a potentially lucrative political and commercial alliance involving France, Mexico, and the Confederate States of America. However, as the Confederacy sought to reinforce France's presence in Mexico, the U.S. government worked with Mexican forces in their efforts to defeat the French and prevent France from aiding the Confederate war effort.10

This struggle for control of Mexico and the American Southwest helped create political and ideological rifts among Texas Mexicans. Those who hoped for a French-Mexican-Confederate alliance supported Maximillian's government and sympathized with the American South's efforts to establish its independence from the United States. Some Tejanos, including Crisostomo Longoria, enlisted in the Confederate military, while Manuela's grandfather joined the Union Army.

The few lines of the song “La Chinaca” remembered by Manuela Longoria reflect these divided loyalties present among Tejanos:

“La Chinaca”11

| Por hay viene la chinaca           | There comes the revolution   |
| Toda vestida de griz              | All dressed in gray          |
| Preguntándole a los mochos        | Asking the people of Mexican descent |
| Donde está su Emperatriz          | (Mexican Americans)          |
| Si vien Puebla se perdió          | Where is your empress?       |
| No fue falta de valor             | Yes, fine, Puebla was lost   |
| Fue por falta de elementos        | But it was not for lack of valor |
| Para la Confederación             | It was lack of food (elements) |
|                                  | For the Confederacy          |
Texas Mexicans chose to selectively assimilate by preserving certain aspects of their heritage while also working toward more fully integrating into mainstream society.

At the time, Mexico and the United States did not have any formal agreements regarding fugitive slaves. The U.S. Congress had passed fugitive slave laws as early as 1793, but they were not enforceable in Mexico. Although such local leaders as Santiago Vidaurri, José María Jesús Carbajal, James H. Callahan, and John S. (Rip) Ford repeatedly lobbied both the U.S. and Mexican governments for a fugitive slave act, none was ever enacted that applied in Mexico. However, this lack of laws did not stop former slave owners or bounty hunters from making raids into Mexico to retrieve fugitive slaves. Although this situation finally ended with the 1865 Union defeat of the Confederacy and the official abolition of slavery, the racial, ethnic, political, and economic environment of Texas only grew more complex following the Civil War, as an increasingly diverse influx of English, Irish, Scottish, French, German, Czech, and other immigrants poured into the American Southwest.

Just as it had happened elsewhere throughout the United States, the mass migration of immigrants into Texas during the late 1800s and early 1900s led to organized efforts by public officials and community leaders to “Americanize” these new arrivals. This involved everything from subtler forms of social pressure aimed at convincing immigrants to assimilate all the way to blatantly racist and bigoted legislation designed to marginalize immigrant communities. In South Texas, with a large Spanish-speaking population, “Americanization” often meant pressuring Tejanos to speak English (instead of Spanish), abandon long-held ethnic traditions, and submit to a rather vaguely defined (and highly subjective) process of becoming “100% American.” Like virtually all other immigrant groups and ethnic minorities, Texas Mexicans chose to selectively assimilate by preserving certain aspects of their heritage while also working toward more fully integrating into mainstream society.

As the principal of Blalack School, Manuela Longoria was directly involved in this process of Americanization along the Texas-Mexican border, especially in relation to her (mostly Spanish-speaking) students. In 1915, Brownsville I.S.D. opened its first schools—Brownsville High School,
Manuela Longoria was expected to teach her students to speak, read, and write in English and not allow them to use Spanish in the classroom. However, she refused to enforce a strict “English only” policy at Blalack. In fact, her students recorded several Spanish-language songs for John Lomax (“La Pájara Pinta,” “Las Águilas de San Miguel,” “Los Florones de la Mano,” “Maria Blanca,” and “Señora Santa Anna”), although when Lomax asked the children to write out the Spanish lyrics to these songs, he learned that this was not allowed. Mary Rodríguez and others, including the children, sang “La Indita,” “Señora Santa Anna,” “A La Mar Fueron Mis Ojos,” and “Ya Me Casé Con Usted.” By permitting both the children and their parents to sing traditional Mexican folk songs in Spanish, as well as some tunes in English, Longoria allowed the community to celebrate its ethnic heritage while also making certain that her students pursued their regular English-based curriculum.

Manuela Longoria's willingness to defy the rules and permit the use of both Spanish and English in her classrooms, even if only on a limited basis, had an impact on the larger community beyond just her students. The fact that she allowed her pupils to sing in Spanish helped strengthen ties between the school and many of the mostly poor Spanish-speaking parents. This paid off for Lomax when he invited some of the parents to sing at the Blalack School. Had it not been for Longoria's efforts at relationship-building within the community, it is likely that many of the parents would not have felt comfortable setting foot in the school, much less singing in Spanish for an Anglo stranger.

Atanviro Hernández, a local farmer, recorded “El Corrido de Leandro Rivera” and “Manuel Le Dice a Juanita” in Spanish before his children sang “We Are Children of America” in
Manuela Longoria expanded her bilingual educational efforts into the local community in other ways as well. In 1938 and 1939, she took part in the planning of the children's parade for an annual community event known as “Charro Days.” The first Charro Days celebration took place in Brownsville in February 1938 and lasted four days. Promoters hoped that the pre-Lenten celebration would attract winter tourists to the Rio Grande Valley. According to past president John Patriarca, Charro Days were intended to “celebrate life on the border and the culture and history that we have in common” between Mexico and the United States. The Charro Days event has always been promoted as a twin-cities celebration between Brownsville and nearby Matamoros, Mexico, immediately across the Rio Grande. The 1938 celebration included “fireworks, parades, street dances, boat races, a bullfight and a rodeo—on both sides of the international bridge. Soldiers from Fort Brown [Texas] marched in formation, horse-drawn floats paraded through the streets, and the town’s finest dressed up for the Grand Ball.” Manuela Longoria made sure that the Mexican-American children of Blalack School also participated in the Charro Days celebration.

Longoria helped her students celebrate their Mexican-American identity in other ways as well. For example, during World War II, she fashioned a military service flag honoring past Blalack schoolchildren. The red and white flag included twenty blue stars, one for each of her former students serving in the U.S. Armed Forces.

In a number of ways, Manuela Longoria tried to help her students and the local Texas-Mexican community integrate into mainstream society while still maintaining a strong connection to their own ethnic heritage. She understood that her students needed to learn English in order to more fully assimilate, but she did not believe this required abandoning the linguistic or other cultural traditions of their ancestors. As a result, she devoted much of her time and energy to helping negotiate the assimilation process for her students and other Mexican Americans in the Brownsville area. It is not clear how much, if any, of this was evident to John Lomax, but the recordings he made in connection to the Blalack School provide a glimpse into the bicultural and bilingual experiences of Longoria and those with whom she interacted.

Otila Crixell Krausse is another South Texas native who recorded for Lomax. Her song selection, and her life experiences, offer additional insight into the complex and sometimes volatile ethnic, social, and linguistic dynamics at play throughout the Texas-Mexican border region at the dawn of the twentieth century. She performed “El Corrido de Los Rinches” for Lomax. (Rinches is a derogatory term for Texas
Rangers and other Anglo law officers.) This song describes the tensions that existed between the Texas Rangers and the Brownsville municipal government during the early 1900s. Otila was the daughter of José Crixell, who was killed in 1912 by a former Texas Ranger named Paul McAlister, working at the time as a deputy sheriff. The killing of José Crixell was part of a larger political feud that plagued Cameron County and the city of Brownsville for years and reflected the level of distrust and animosity that had developed between Anglos and Tejanos in the area.

In the early twentieth century, two political parties dominated Cameron County and the Brownsville city government. The Democrats (locally known as the “Blues”) were led by political boss and County Judge Jim B. Wells, who controlled essentially all matters at the county level. By contrast, the Independents, also known as the “Reds” (many of whom were Tejanos), ran Brownsville’s municipal institutions, including the Police Department, which often clashed with county law officers and others associated with the Blue party. Several of Jim B. Wells’s men were former Texas Rangers who went on to serve as county deputies. The Mexican-American community in and around Brownsville already had a long history of negative encounters with the Texas Rangers, so tensions between local Anglos and Texas Mexicans only escalated as the Red and Blue factions competed for power in the area.

In 1910, José Crixell became City Marshall in Brownsville, a prominent position within the municipal government that put him in charge of city police forces. His election helped set in motion a chain of events that are at the center of Otila Crixell Krausse’s “El Corrido de Los Rinches.” The corrido (or ballad) describes a shooting on December 16, 1910, involving county deputies Alfred R. Baker and Harry Wallis and a Brownsville police officer named Ignacio Treviño. The conflict took place in downtown Brownsville at the White Elephant Bar, owned by Vicente “Tito” Crixell, the brother of José Crixell.

Although Alfred Baker and Harry Wallis were working as county deputies, both were former Texas Rangers. Officer Ignacio Treviño had already had a few run-ins with the Texas Rangers, so when Baker, Wallis, and other county officers converged on the White Elephant, Treviño barricaded himself inside. After a lengthy gun battle, in which no one was injured, Treviño negotiated a temporary truce, left town, and sought refuge across the border in Mexico. Soon afterward, “El Corrido de Ignacio Treviño” became a popular ballad among the Texas-Mexican population of South Texas.

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“El Corrido de Ignacio Treviño”

El dieciséis de diciembre
apestó a pólvora un rato,
donde encontraron los rinches
la horma de su zapato.

Cantina de El Elefante
donde el caso sucedió,
en donde Ignacio Treviño
con los rinches se topó.

Cuando las primeros tiros
la cantina quedó sola,
nomás Ignacio Treviño
su canana y su pistola.

Decía Ignacio Treviño
con su pistola en la mano:
No corran, rinches cobardes,
con un solo mexicano
Entrenle, rinches cobardes
que el juego no es con un niño,
soy purito mexicano,
me llamo Ignacio Treviño

On the sixteenth of December,
it stank of gunpowder a while;
that was when the rinches
found the last that would fit their shoe.

At the Elephant Saloon,
that’s where the events took place;
that’s where Ignacio Treviño
locked horns with the rinches.

At the sound of the first shots,
the saloon was deserted
only Ignacio Treviño remained,
with his pistol and cartridge belt.

Then said Ignacio Treviño,
with his pistol in his hand,
“Don’t run, you cowardly rinches,
from a single Mexican.”

“Come on, you cowardly rinches,
you’re not playing games with a child;
I am a true-born Mexican,
my name is Ignacio Treviño.”
Ignacio Treviño’s brother, Jacinto Treviño, also became involved in a conflict with Texas Rangers and county deputies that would inspire an even more well-known ballad, “El Corrido de Jacinto Treviño.” This incident started in 1911, when a local Anglo named James Darwin beat Treviño’s younger brother so severely that he died of his injuries. Treviño tracked down Darwin and killed him before escaping into Mexico. Within a few months, Jacinto Treviño crossed back into Texas to meet with a cousin who, unbeknownst to Treviño, had arranged an ambush involving both Texas Rangers and county officers. Treviño managed to evade the ambush and in the process kill his cousin, a Texas Ranger, and a deputy, before escaping back into Mexico where he lived to an advanced age. Because Jacinto Treviño prevailed against overwhelming odds and managed to elude capture for the remainder of his life, he became a folk hero of sorts to Mexican Americans throughout South Texas. “El Corrido de Jacinto Treviño” soon became another popular musical celebration of one man’s ability to prevail over the dreaded rinches:

“El Corrido de Jacinto Treviño”

Ya con ésta van tres veces que se ha visto lo bonito, la primera fue en Macalen, en Brónsvil y en San Benito. Y en la cantina de Bekar se agarraron a balazos, por dondequiera saltaban botellas hechas pedazos. Esa cantina de Bekar al momento quedó sola, nomas Jacinto Treviño de carabina y pistola. Entrelone, rinches cobarde, que el pleito no es con un niño, querían conocer se padre? ¡Yo soy Jacinto Treviño! Entrelone, rinches cobarde, validos de la ocasión, no van a comer pan blanco con tajadas de jamón Decía el Rinche Mayor, como era un americano: “Ah, que Jacinto tan hombre, no niega el ser mexicano!”

With this it will be three times that remarkable things have happened, the first time in McAllen, then in Brownsville and San Benito. They had a shootout at Baker’s saloon; broken bottles were popping all over the place. Baker’s saloon was immediately deserted; only Jacinto Treviño remained, with his rifle and his pistol. Come on you cowardly rinches, you’re not playing with a child. You wanted to meet your father? I am Jacinto Treviño! Come on you cowardly rinches, you always like to take the advantage; this is not like eating white bread with slices of ham. The chief of the rinches said, even though he was an American, “Ah, what a brave man is Jacinto; you can see he is a Mexican!”
On the night of August 9, 1912, former Texas Ranger Paul McAlister gunned down Brownsville City Marshall José Crixell inside the White Elephant Bar owned by Tito Crixell. This incident was more than a mere skirmish between two men. It reflected a much larger dispute between the “Blue” (mostly Anglo) associates of Judge Jim Wells, who wielded power at the county level, and the “Red” (mostly Tejano) officials, including José Crixell, who were increasingly exerting their influence at the municipal level. Ultimately, Paul McAlister was found not guilty of murder because of testimony that Crixell had drawn his gun first in an attempt to kill McAlister.

So, although the local Tejano population, as represented by José Crixell and others, was gaining greater political strength despite the dominance of Jim Wells and his Blue political party, it came at a great cost to Brownsville’s Texas-Mexican community. Conflicts between Tejanos and rinchos persisted throughout the first half of the twentieth century. As a result, the Texas Rangers and county deputies figure prominently in the corridos recorded by Lomax during his Southern States Recording Expedition, although it is unclear as to whether Lomax understood at the time the ethnic, social, and cultural subtext of these songs.

Another Brownsville area resident, José Suarez, recorded two songs for Lomax that provide additional insight into the racial, ethnic, and political environment of South Texas during the early twentieth century. One of these songs, “El Corrido del Soldado,” tells the story of the so-called Brownsville Raid of 1906, which involved an armed clash between local citizens and African-American troops stationed at nearby Fort Brown.

On July 28, 1906, 170 black soldiers from Companies B, C, and D of the Twenty-Fifth United States Infantry arrived in Brownsville with orders from then Secretary of War William Howard Taft to replace the white soldiers currently garrisoned at Fort Brown. Although many of these black troops had distinguished themselves on battlefields in Cuba, the Philippines, and elsewhere—and counted six Medal of Honor recipients among their ranks—they encountered a hostile reception from most residents of Brownsville. Both Anglo and Tejano townspeople seemed to harbor a mistrust of these African-American servicemen and resented the fact that the federal government had “forced” them upon the community.

Dr. Frederick J. Combe, who served with black troops as a medical officer, stated, “These people will not stand for colored troops; they do not like them . . . these Mexican people do not want them here.” Victoriano Fernández, a Mexican-American police officer, reportedly told some townspeople, “I [would] like to kill a couple of them when they get here . . . The colored fellows will have to behave themselves or [I] will get rid of them and all we have to do
is to kill a couple of them.” There was a handful of African Americans already living in Brownsville, and a few of them warned the arriving soldiers that local Anglos and Mexicans “didn’t want these damn niggers down here.”

The first openly violent confrontation between black troops and locals occurred on August 5, 1906, when an Anglo customs inspector named Fred Tate pistol-whipped Private Frank J. Lipscomb for supposedly bumping into Tate’s wife while passing her on the sidewalk. Around the same time, other black troops began experiencing similar problems. On August 5, Private Clifford I. Adair was crossing the Rio Grande bridge back into Texas after shopping in Matamoros when U.S. customs officials confiscated a pen he had purchased in Mexico because, according to the officers on duty, Adair had not paid the tax on it. Several days later, A.Y. Baker, a local Texas Ranger, pushed Private Oscar W. Reid into the Rio Grande at the same border checkpoint. On August 12, Mrs. Lon Evans, an Anglo resident of Brownsville, reported to local officers that she had been attacked by a black soldier, an accusation which was later dismissed in court.

At midnight on August 13, 1906, the growing tensions between local citizens and the black soldiers stationed at Fort Brown erupted into a brief but violent flurry of gunfire. More than 200 shots were fired within about ten minutes, leaving one person dead and injuring another. Although several reports stated that it was Brownsville residents who initiated the attack, black troops were soon implicated in what became known as the “Brownsville Raid.” Evidence later demonstrated that it was nearly impossible for black troops to have been involved in the raid since they had never left their barracks. However, the War Department removed the soldiers from Fort Brown on August 21, 1906, and, in November of the same year, dishonorably discharged 167 men of Companies B, C, and D of the Twenty-Fifth United States Infantry. When the Nixon Administration finally reversed the dishonorable discharges in 1972, only one of the 167 soldiers was still alive to witness the long overdue exoneration.

The recordings made by John Lomax in Brownsville, Texas, as part of his 1939 Southern States Recording Expedition, provide important insight into the complex racial, ethnic, political, and social dynamics along the U.S.-Mexican border region during the first half of the twentieth century. The songs performed by Manuela Longoria help illustrate the experiences of many Texas Mexicans in relation to education, cultural assimilation, and conflicting loyalties during the American Civil War. Likewise, Lomax’s recordings of Otila Crixell Krause, José Suarez, and others reveal the sometimes violent political history of Cameron County.

For John Lomax, the recordings he made in Brownsville, Texas, were simply “race music sung by racialized bodies.” There is no clear evidence in his subsequent writings or recordings to suggest that Lomax truly understood the complex social, cultural, racial, and political issues reflected in the Spanish-language music that he helped document.
Notes


6 For more on González, see the Jovita González Mireles Papers at the Wittliff Collections, Texas State University, San Marcos (http://www.thewittliffcollections.txstate.edu/research/z-gonzalez_mireles.html).

7 For more on the life and career of John Lomax, see Nolan Porterfield, *Last Cavalier: The Life and Times of John A. Lomax* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996); see also the "John Avery Lomax Family Papers" at the Dolph Briscoe Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin.

8 One of the best sources on Tejano musical culture and efforts by Texas Mexicans to selectively assimilate is Manuel Peña's *Música Tejana: The Cultural Economy of Artistic Transformation* (College Station: Texas & & University Press, 1999).

9 See Peña's *Música Tejana* for an in-depth discussion of how pressure on Tejanos to assimilate came from both inside and outside of the Texas-Mexican community.


15 Thompson, *Vaqueros in Blue and Gray*.


18 The Records Management Department: Brownsville Independent School District, http://www.bisd.us/Records/html/History.html (accessed June 1, 2014); the term "Anglo" can be problematic when used in discussions of immigrant and ethnic communities. Technically, an Anglo is someone whose ancestors came from the English-speaking parts of the British Isles. However, in recent years "Anglo" has become a commonly used term in the Southwest for anyone whose ancestors were white Europeans, even if those ancestors originally spoke German, French, Italian, Irish, or any number of other European languages. For the purposes of this article, the term "Anglo" is used in this more recent, generic way.

19 For more about educational policies toward Mexican-American children in the Southwest, see Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr., *Brown, Not White: School Integration and the Chicano Movement in Houston* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2001), and Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr., *Let All of Them Take heed: Mexican Americans and the Campaign for Educational Equality in Texas, 1910-1918* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2011).


24 Peña’s *Música Tejana* provides additional information on how long-simmering tensions between Texas Rangers and the Texas-Mexican community have been articulated in numerous corridos.

25 Krauss, "El Corrido de Los Rinches."


28 Ibid., 67-68.

29 Ibid., 69-71.


34 Ibid., 26-29, 89-90.

