TEJANOS THROUGH TIME

SELECTIONS FROM THE HANDBOOK OF TEJANO HISTORY

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Texas State Historical Association
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Editors’ Preface

Texas has a special place in history and in the minds of people throughout the world. Texas also has the distinction of having been a province of colonial Spain, a state in the Republic of Mexico, and an independent country before it became a part of the United States. Once the war between Mexico and the United States ended and Texas joined the American Union, its history followed a distinct course of socio-economic incorporation, modernization, and identification with the American South and Southwest. Tejanos, descendants of the indigenous and colonial inhabitants of Texas, have been an integral part of Texas history as this eBook amply demonstrates.

No one would have imagined in 1952, the year that the Handbook of Texas was first published, that the Texas State Historical Association would expand its major reference source on the history of Texas with new entries on Tejanos. Nor would the founders of the Handbook have anticipated the extraordinary and relatively recent growth of Tejano history with notable and award-winning works that contribute to the stature of the field and explain the growing number of entries that grace the pages of the Handbook. We would be remiss if we did not also credit the enlightened and path-breaking spirit among the community-oriented, critically conscious, social justice Mexican American luminaries emerging in the late 1960s. This cause has given impetus and inspiration to what has become an enduring commitment to historical recovery and restoration projects of which the Handbook of Tejano History and this eBook are now a significant part. They meet up with the legacy agenda to extend voice, presence, and power for underrepresented, misrepresented, and disjointed parts of our diverse communities’ histories and stories both within and outside the academy.

The Association recognized Tejano history as an emergent and promising field of study worthy of attention during the development of the six-volume New Handbook of Texas, which lasted from 1982 to 1996. In 1988 TSHA leadership secured funding from the Texas Committee for the Humanities to
hire several staff researchers, including Cynthia Orozco, Teresa Palomo Acosta, María-Cristina García, and others. From 1988 to 1996, these writers worked with a number of advisory editors, including Arnoldo de León, Jesús F. de la Teja, Robert S. Weddle, Donald E. Chipman, and Paul D. Lack, to expand the Handbook’s content on Mexican American history. In doing so, the Handbook expanded its claim of representativeness as it grew into the largest and most accessed encyclopedia on Texas history.

The Tejano Handbook Project, the Association’s more recent and concerted effort to add to the Mexican American presence in the Handbook, began in 2014 when Drs. Emilio Zamora and Andrés Tijerina proposed the idea and secured the necessary financial support from the board of directors of the Tejano Monument, Inc., and the sponsorship of the Association. The Tejano Handbook Project held two workshops—one at the Association’s 2014 annual meeting in San Antonio and another in June 2014 at the Texas General Land Office in Austin—to encourage new submissions, to ensure that the contributions abide by a well-defined process of writing and production, and to meet the highest standards of excellence for an encyclopedia entry. The process involved solicitations for entries, followed by submissions that Zamora and Tijerina, the co-directors of the project, reviewed and subsequently referred to the Handbook’s editorial staff for fact checking, copy editing, and online posting. Mike Campbell, the Association’s Chief Historian, made the final decision on the entries.

By all accounts, the Tejano Handbook Project has been a resounding success. Prominent authors and new researchers, as well as faculty who assigned topics to their undergraduate and graduate students, responded with high-quality entries on historical figures, events, and themes. The overwhelming response made it necessary to extend the project into a second year, to the point that contributors have now exceeded by a hundred percent the original goal of 100 new entries to more than 300.

We can also measure the success of the Tejano Handbook Project by noting the significance of the new entries to both Tejano and Texas history. Emma Tenayuca, a major labor organizer from San Antonio, for instance, reminds us that we cannot speak about Texas history without acknowledging the
important Tejano contributions to intellectual, working class, women’s, and labor rights history. Nor can we deny the extraordinary record of military service and battlefield sacrifice by servicemen like José de la Luz Sáenz in World War I and Frank Tejeda in Vietnam. Moreover, new entries on Spanish Texas, elected officials, community leaders, ethnic conflict, education, and influential organizations reflect the vitality and continued development of Tejano history. The article on the Tejano Monument is especially emblematic of the importance of Tejanos in Texas history. The statuary, located prominently on the south lawn of the Texas Capitol, commemorates their history as a charter community in Texas and serves as a landmark statement on the lasting and indelible influence of embodied memory in the Tejano community. Taken as a whole, the new entries refigure the constitution of the Handbook of Texas and in so doing, extend the value and fair use of Texas history in our times.

The attention given to the Tejano Monument is also appropriate because its board had the foresight to advance historical knowledge by funding the current effort to increase the presence of Tejanos in the Handbook of Texas and other initiatives like the Tejano History Curriculum Project, an Austin enterprise that has broadened the social studies curriculum in our public schools. Two other more recent enterprises also owe their existence to the support and inspiration of the board of the Tejano Monument, Inc. Academia Cuauhtli, a Saturday morning language and cultural education program for fifth grade students in the Austin Independent School District, represents a programmatic extension of the Tejano History Curriculum Project. The board has also prompted the planned publication of a TSHA-sponsored book with selected entries from the Tejano Handbook Project. In all of these cases, we can find comfort in the recurring observation heard at the 2012 unveiling of the Tejano Monument, “We are still here.”

The Association, with the approval of its board of directors, decided to mark the achievement of the Tejano Handbook Project by sharing a representative sample of the new entries generated by the project along with some previously published articles as a tribute to Tejano history, but also as a demonstration of our commitment to its development and use by researchers, teachers, students, and the general public. We are releasing this
second, updated eBook of select entries from the Handbook of Tejano History in concert with the Tejano Heritage Celebration that TSHA is sponsoring to honor the wonderful achievements of the board of the Tejano Monument and to announce plans for an expanded eBook on Tejano history that will be made available to the public in hard copy on-demand.

As co-editors of this revised eBook, Tejanos Through Time: Selections from the Handbook of Tejano History, we especially wish to thank our contributing authors, the staff and board of directors of the TSHA, and the many persons who have labored long and hard to make Tejano history the important field of study and lived experience that it is. It has been an honor and a privilege for us to play a role in the enriching of our collective, narrative past and in continuing to expand the scope of the Texas State Historical Association and the Handbook of Texas.

Emilio Zamora
Co-Editor
Professor, Department of History
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Andrés Tijerina
Co-Editor
Professor, Department of History
Austin Community College
Dear Texas History Community,

The release of this eBook, *Tejanos Through Time: Selections from the Handbook of Tejano History*, provides us with an opportunity to underscore the general purpose of the Texas State Historical Association and its commitment of service to its membership and the general public. We also use the occasion to invite you to become members of the Association, renew your membership, and donate financial support for the work of advancing Texas history.

For more than a century, the Texas State Historical Association (TSHA) has played a leadership role in historical research and education and has helped to identify, collect, preserve, and tell the stories of Texas and the Southwest. TSHA works in collaboration with numerous colleges and universities, especially its host the University of Texas at Austin, to carry on and expand its work. In the coming years these organizations, with their partners and members, will continue to create a collaborative whole that is greater than the sum of its parts. This collaboration will provide passion, talent, and long-term support for the dissemination of scholarly research, educational programs for the K-12 community, and opportunities for public discourse about the complex issues and personalities of our heritage. This collaboration, at its best, will demonstrate that it is possible to find both simple truths and nuanced meanings in the study of the past.

The TSHA’s core programs include the *Texas Almanac*, the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, *Handbook of Texas*, TSHA Press, and education programs that reach out to students and teachers at all levels throughout the state. The central challenge before TSHA is to seize the unprecedented opportunities of the digital age in order to reshape how history will be accessed, understood, preserved, disseminated, and taught in the twenty-first century. In recent years, we have capitalized on these momentous
opportunities to expand the scope and depth of our work in ways never before possible.

In the midst of this rapid change, TSHA will continue to provide a future for our heritage and to ensure that our history and the complex, always evolving, cultures found in the Southwest continue to serve as resources for the people of Texas and beyond. We encourage you to join us today as a member of TSHA, and in doing so, you will be part of a unique group of people dedicated to an inclusive Texas heritage and will help us continue to develop innovative programs that bring history to life.

Since 1897, TSHA has sought to spread the rich and varied history of Texas and the Southwest across not just the country but the world. As we celebrate progress across more than 120 years, we look forward to bringing our region’s past into your life through ever-shifting digital presences, the expansion of publications, and the growth of our immersive educational programs. With your membership, donations, and support, all these things are possible.

With appreciation for the past and hope for the future,

Jesús F. de la Teja
CEO
Texas State Historical Association

Walter L. Buenger
Chief Historian
Texas State Historical Association

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The term *Tejano*, derived from the Spanish adjective *tejano* or (feminine) *tejana* (and written in Spanish with a lower-case *t*), denotes a Texan of Mexican descent, thus a Mexican Texan or a Texas Mexican. The term received greater currency at the end of the twentieth century than previously with subsequent changes in nuance and usage. It encompasses cultural manifestations in language, literature, art, music, and cuisine. As an adjective, *Tex-Mex* is a recently coined term related to, but not synonymous with, *Tejano*. Broader terms used at different times or for different segments of this ethnic group are *Hispanic American, Latin American, Mexican, Mexican American*, and *Chicano*. As early as 1824, Miguel Ramos Arispe, author of the (Mexican) *Constitution of 1824*, referred to the citizens of Texas as *Tejanos* in correspondence with the town council of Bexar. After the *Mexican War of Independence* and the establishment of a federal government, the term *Coahuiltejano* denoted the citizens of the Mexican state of *Coahuila and Texas*. Hispanics in Texas identified themselves simply as *Tejanos* as early as January 1833, when leaders at Goliad used the term.

The term *Méjico-Tejano* appeared in print in 1855, when the San Antonio newspaper *El Bejareño* reported a letter by *José Antonio Navarro* read at the second meeting of the Spanish-speaking members of the Bexar County Democratic party. Throughout the nineteenth century, *Mexican* (*mexicano*) was the term generally used in popular reference for a Mexican national or a Mexican American. As the boundaries of Texas changed to include the Nueces Strip, Laredo, and El Paso, so too did the term *Tejano* come to include the Hispanic and Mexican residents of those areas. Historians have applied the term specifically, perhaps anachronistically, to those Mexican Texans in *Spanish Texas*, to distinguish them from residents of other regions, and in Texas from the end of the Spanish era in 1821 to Texas...
Independence in 1836, in contradistinction to the **Texian** or Anglo-American residents of that time and of the **Republic of Texas**.

Increasingly, *Tejano*, as a term denoting regional identity, referred to Mexican Texans of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and to the Hispanic Texans of the Spanish era. The term occurred with greater frequency in speech and written forms as the political activity of the ethnic group became pronounced, particularly following the Chicano movement of the mid-1960s. *Tejano* is now widely enough used that it is considered a naturalized item in the Texas lexicon.
People of Mexican descent in Texas trace their biological origins to the racial mixture that occurred following the Spanish conquest of Mexico in the 1520s. During the Spanish colonial period, population increases occurred as Spanish males mixed with Indian females, begetting a *mestizo* race. By 1821, when Mexico won its independence from Spain, the mestizo population almost equaled the size of the indigenous stock and that of Iberian-born persons. Mexicans advanced northward from central Mexico in exploratory and settlement operations soon after the conquest, but did not permanently claim the Texas frontierland until after 1710.
In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the French became increasingly active along the Texas Gulf Coast, and in response, the viceroy in Mexico City made preparations for the colonization of the Texas wilderness. The first expedition in 1716 peopled an area that subsequently became the town of Nacogdoches; a second in 1718 settled present-day San Antonio; and a third established La Bahía (Goliad) in 1721. During the 1740s and 1750s, the crown founded further colonies along both banks of the Rio Grande, including what is now Laredo. At this early time, the crown relied primarily on persuasion to get settlers to pick up and relocate in the far-off Texas lands. Those responding hailed from Coahuila and Nuevo León, though intrepid souls from the interior joined the early migrations. In reality, few pioneers wished to live in isolation or amid conditions that included possible Indian attacks. They feared a setting that lacked adequate supplies, sustenance, and medical facilities for the sick, especially infants. Frontier living inhibited population growth so that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Spanish Texas neared its end, the Mexican-descent population numbered only about 5,000.

Between then and the time of the Texas Revolution in 1836, the number of Hispanics fluctuated, but then increased perceptibly, so that the first federal census taken of Texas in 1850 counted more than 14,000 residents of Mexican origin. Subsequently, people migrated from Mexico in search of agricultural work in the state, and in the last half of the century, moved north due to a civil war in the homeland (the War of the Reform, 1855–61) and the military resistance against the French presence (1862–67). But they also looked to Texas as a refuge from the poverty at home, a condition exacerbated by the emergence of President Porfirio Díaz (1876–1911), whose dictatorial rule favored landowners and other privileged elements in society. The Mexican Revolution (1910–1920) increased the movement of people across the Rio Grande. Mass relocation persisted into the 1920s as agricultural expansion in the southwestern United States also acted to entice the desperately poor. The total Mexican-descent population in Texas may have approximated 700,000 by 1930. The Great Depression and repatriation efforts (see MEXICAN AMERICANS AND REPATRIATION) and deportation drives undertaken during the 1930s stymied
population expansion. Growth resumed during the 1940s, however, as labor shortages in the United States induced common people from Mexico to seek escape from nagging poverty in the homeland. Many turned to Texas ranches and farms, but also to urban opportunities, as the state entered the post-World War II industrial boom. Their presence, combined with births among the native-born population, augmented the Spanish-surnamed population to 1,400,000 by 1960. Though economic refugees from Mexico continued to add to the expansion of Tejano communities after the 1960s, the majority of children born since that date have had native-born parents. The 1990 census counted 4,000,000 people of Mexican descent in the state. Fewer than 20 percent of that population were of foreign birth.

In 1836, when Texas acquired independence from Mexico, Tejanos remained concentrated in settlements founded during the eighteenth century, namely Nacogdoches, San Antonio, Goliad, and Laredo. Other communities with a primarily Mexican-descent population in 1836 included Victoria, founded by Martín De León in 1824, and the villages of San Elizario, Ysleta, and Socorro in far west Texas. Spaniards had founded these latter settlements on the west bank of the Rio Grande during the 1680s as they sought to claim New Mexico, but the villages became part of the future West Texas when the Rio Grande changed course in the 1830s. Population dispersals until the mid-nineteenth century occurred mainly within the regions of Central and South Texas. In the former area, Tejanos spread out into the counties east and southeast of San Antonio seeking a livelihood in this primarily Anglo-dominated region. In South Texas, they pushed from the Rio Grande settlements toward Nueces River ranchlands and still composed a majority of the section's population despite the increased number of Anglo arrivals after the Mexican War of 1846–48. In the years after the Civil War, Mexicans moved west of the 100th meridian, migrating simultaneously with Anglo pioneers then displacing Indians from their native habitat and converting hinterlands into cattle and sheep ranches. By 1900, Tejanos were settled in all three sections. They formed a minority in Central Texas and a majority in South Texas; they held a demographic advantage along the border counties of West Texas, but were outnumbered by Anglos in that section's interior.
The rise of commercial agriculture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries summoned laborers for seasonal and farm work, and both recent arrivals from Mexico and native-born Tejanos answered the call by heading into South and Central Texas fields. During this period, they also made for Southeast Texas and North Texas, searching out cotton lands as well as opportunities in large cities such as Houston and Dallas. Between 1910 and 1929, migrant workers began what became a yearly migrant swing that started in the farms of South Texas and headed northward into the developing Northwest Texas and Panhandle cotton lands. They settled in smaller communities along the routes of migration, and by the 1930s the basic contours of modern-day Tejano demography had taken form. With the exception of Northeast Texas, most cities and towns in the state by the pre-World War II era had Tejano populations.

Tejanos relied on a wide spectrum of occupations in the nineteenth century, though most found themselves confined to jobs as day laborers and in other unspecialized tasks. They worked as maids, restaurant helpers, and laundry workers, but the great majority turned to range duties due to the orientation of the economy and their skills as ranch hands and shepherds (pastores). A small percentage found a niche as entrepreneurs or ranchers. After the 1880s, Texas Mexicans turned to new avenues of livelihood, such as building railroads and performing other arduous tasks. During the agricultural revolution of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, many worked grubbing brush and picking cotton, vegetables, and fruits, primarily in the fields of South Texas, but also migrated into the other regions of the state as farmhands. In the urban settlements, an entrepreneurial sector—comprising shopowners, labor agents, barbers, theater owners, restaurateurs, and the like—ministered to Mexican consumers in familiar terms. Even as Texas society experienced increased urban movements following World War I, Tejanos remained preponderantly an agrarian people. In towns, many faced labor segregation and took menial jobs in construction work, city projects, railroad lines, slaughterhouses, cotton compresses, and whatever else availed itself. After World War II, however, increased numbers of Tejanos left agricultural work and found opportunities in the industrializing cities. Most found improvements in wages and working
conditions in unskilled or semiskilled positions, though a growing number penetrated the professional, managerial, sales, clerical, and craft categories. Presently, the great majority of Tejanos hold urban-based occupations that range from high-paying professional positions to minimum-wage, unskilled jobs. An unfortunate minority remains tied to farm work as migrating campesinos (farmworkers).

Since the initial settlements of the early eighteenth century, a sense of community has given Tejanos a particular identity. On the frontier, common experiences and problems forced Texas Mexicans to adjust in ways different from those of their counterparts in the Mexican interior. Tejanos fashioned an ethic of self-reliance, wrestling their living from a ranching culture, improvising ways to survive in the wilderness expanse, and devising specific political responses to local needs despite directives from the royal government. In barrios (urban neighborhoods) and rural settlements in the era following the establishment of American rule, Tejanos combined tenets of Mexican tradition with those of American culture. The result was a Tejano community that practiced a familiar folklore, observed Catholic holy days and Mexican national holidays, spoke the Spanish language, yet sought participation in national life. But Tejanos faced lynching, discrimination, segregation, political disfranchisement, and other injustices. This produced a community at once admiring and distrusting of United States republicanism. The arrival of thousands of Mexican immigrants in the early years of the twentieth century affected group consciousness as now a major portion of the population looked to the motherland for moral guidance and even allegiance. Recent arrivals reinforced a Mexican mentality, as they based familial and community behavior upon the traditions of the motherland. Many took a keener interest in the politics of Mexico than that of the United States. By the 1920s, however, birth in Texas or upbringing in the state produced newer levels of Americanization. Increasingly, community leaders sought the integration of Mexicans into mainstream affairs, placing emphasis on the learning of English, on acquaintance with the American political system, and acceptance of social norms of the United States. In modern times, a bicultural Hispanic community identifies
primarily with United States institutions, while still upholding Mexican customs and acknowledging its debt to the country of its forefathers.

In truth, Tejanos are a diverse group, even divided along social lines. During the colonial era, a small, elite group that included landowners, government officials, and ambitious merchants stood above the poverty-stricken masses. Though the American takeover of Texas in 1836 reversed the fortunes of this elite cohort, Mexican Americans devised imaginative responses in their determination to maintain old lands, buy small parcels of real estate, found new businesses, and develop political ties with Anglo-Americans. This nineteenth-century social fragmentation remained into the early 1900s, as even the immigrants fleeing Porfirio Díaz and the Mexican Revolution derived from different social classes. The lot of the great majority of Tejanos remained one of misery, however. Most Mexican Americans lived with uncertain employment, poor health, and substandard housing. Out of the newer opportunities developing in the 1920s, however, emerged a petit bourgeoisie composed of businessmen, doctors, lawyers, and other professionals; from this element descended the leaders who called on the masses to accept United States culture during the 1920s. According to the 1930 census, about 15 percent of Tejanos occupied middle-class positions.

After World War II, social differentiation became more pronounced as numerous Tejanos successfully achieved middle-class status. By the 1990s, nearly 40 percent of the Tejano labor force held skilled, white-collar, and professional occupations. The majority, however, remained economically marginalized.

Tejanos faced numerous obstacles in their efforts to participate in the politics of the nineteenth century. Anglos considered them unworthy of the franchise and generally discouraged them from voting. Where permitted to cast ballots, Tejanos were closely monitored by Anglo political bosses or their lieutenants to ensure that they voted for specific candidates and platforms. Members of the Tejano landholding class cooperated in this procedure. The status quo for them meant protecting their possessions and their alliances with Anglo rulers (see BOSS RULE). Despite efforts to neutralize Tejanos politically, Texas Mexicans displayed interest in questions of regional and
even national concern. Especially in the counties and towns along the Rio Grande and in San Antonio, they joined reform movements and attempted to mobilize people behind economic issues that bore on the wellbeing of barrio residents. Some held offices as commissioners, collectors, or district clerks. Moreover, they took stands on the divisive issues of the 1850s, the Civil War, Reconstruction, and Gilded Age politics. During the early decades of the twentieth century and continuing until the late 1940s, political incumbency took a downturn. The Democratic party institutionalized the White Primary during this period, the legislature enacted the poll tax, and demographic shifts occurred that diluted the majority advantage held by Tejanos in South and extreme West Texas. The nineteenth-century bosses who had compensated Mexican voters with patronage suffered setbacks from the Progressive challenge and were removed from power during the teens. Some Mexican-American politicians in the ranch counties of South Texas—Webb, Zapata, Starr, and Duval—did manage to retain their positions, however.

In the post-World War II years, Anglo political reformers solicited Mexican-American cooperation in efforts to establish improved business climates in the cities. Due to a more tolerant atmosphere and political resurgence in the barrios, Tejano politicians once more gained access to political posts; in 1956 Henry B. Gonzalez became the first Mexican American to win election to the Texas Senate in modern times. In the mid-1960s a liberal-reformist movement spread across Tejano communities, led by youths disgruntled with barriers in the way of Tejano aspirations and inspired by a farmworkers' march in 1966. Anglo society became the object of militant attacks. Out of this Chicano movement surfaced the Raza Unida party with a plank that addressed discriminatory practices and advocated the need for newer directions in Texas politics. For a variety of reasons, this political chapter in Tejano history ended by the mid-1970s and was succeeded by more moderate politics, led by leaders wanting to forge workable coalitions with liberal Democratic allies. The 1970s and 1980s saw a dramatic rise in the number of Tejano incumbents. Federal legislation and court decisions, a more open-minded Anglo society, and the impact of the Chicano movement brought successes.
Clubs with political leanings existed throughout Texas in the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century, although no large successful organization appeared on the scene until 1929, when activist members of a small but growing Tejano middle class founded the **League of United Latin American Citizens**. Though LULAC was nonpolitical, it sought to interest Texas Mexicans in politics (by sponsoring poll tax drives, for instance) and worked to change oppressive conditions by investigating cases of police brutality, complaining to civic officials and business proprietors about segregation, and working for a sound educational system. Along with the **American G.I. Forum of Texas**, which was founded in 1948, LULAC utilized the judicial process to effect changes favorable to Mexican Americans. During the Chicano movement of the 1960s and 1970s, these two organizations turned to the federal government to get money for needy Mexican-American communities in the state. Both pursued a centrist political position after the Chicano period. In 1968, civil rights lawyers founded the **Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund** to fight for legal solutions of problems afflicting Mexican Americans. By the 1970s, MALDEF had gained distinction by winning judicial victories in the areas of diluted political rights, employment discrimination, poor educational opportunities, and inequitable school finance.

As descendants of Spaniards who brought their religion to Mexico, the majority of Texas Mexicans belong to the Catholic faith. Generally, Texas-Mexican Catholics have observed doctrine and received the sacraments by marrying in the church and having their children baptized and taught religion, though their adherence to Catholic teaching is far from complete. Recent surveys indicate that many Mexican-American Catholics view the church as a place for worship but not an institution readily responsive to personal and community needs. Close to 60 percent believe themselves to be "good Catholics." Protestants have proselytized among Texas Mexicans with general success. Many barrios in the larger towns featured Protestant places of worship by the 1870s, and newer enclaves in the twentieth century had several "Mexican" Protestant churches. Protestant work among Mexican Americans has been constant in the twentieth century; Evangelicals, Pentecostals, and Jehovah's Witnesses have made special efforts to convert
Mexican-American Catholics. Approximately 20 percent of Mexican Americans in the United States belong to Protestant commünions.

Anglo-American society in the nineteenth century did not concern itself over the education of Texas-Mexican children, since farmers and ranchers had little need for a literate working class. Where public schooling might exist, however, Tejano families urged their children to attend. Those who could afford it, on the other hand, enrolled their youngsters in private religious academies and even in colleges. Select communities established local institutions with a curriculum designed to preserve the values and heritage of Mexico. Not until the 1920s did government take a serious interest in upgrading education for Tejanitos, but even then, society provided inferior facilities for them. Texas-Mexican children ordinarily attended "Mexican schools" and were discouraged from furthering their education past the sixth grade. Attendance in these schools, however, did have the effect of socializing and Americanizing an increased number of young folks whose parents were either foreign-born or unacculturated. Though Texas Mexicans had protested educational inequalities since the second decade of the century, it was not until the 1930s that they undertook systematic drives against them—namely as members of LULAC, but also through local organizations such as the Liga Pro-Defensa Escolar (School Improvement League) in San Antonio. Before World War II, however, the educational record for Tejanos proved dismal, as poverty and administrative indifference discouraged many from regular attendance. The children of migrant parents, for example, received their only exposure to education when the family returned to its hometown during the winter months. After the war, the G.I. Forum joined in the struggle to improve the education of the Mexican community with the motto "Education is Our Freedom."

With LULAC, the forum campaigned to encourage parents and students to make education a priority. Both organizations also worked through the legal system and successfully persuaded the courts to desegregate some districts. During the 1950s, indeed, Tejanos witnessed slight improvement in their educational status, though this may have been partly due to the rural-to-urban transition of the time. City life meant better access to schools, better enforcement of truancy laws, and less migration if heads of families found
more stable employment. The gap between Mexican-American and Anglo achievement remained wide, however, and after the 1960s, MALDEF leveled a legal assault on issues such as racial segregation and the inequitable system of dispersing public funds to school districts. Concerned parents and legislators also strove for a better-educated community by supporting such programs as Head Start and bilingual education. In more recent times, however, Mexican-American students still had the highest dropout rate of all ethnic groups. In part, this explained the fact that Mexican-American students average only ten years in school.

Within the social space of segregated neighborhoods or isolated rural settlements, Tejanos carried on cultural traditions that blended the customs of the motherland with those of the United States. They organized, for instance, an array of patriotic, recreational, or civic clubs designed to address bicultural tastes. Newspapers, either in Spanish or English, informed communities of events in both Mexico and the United States. Tejanos also developed a literary tradition. Some left small autobiographical sketches while others wrote lay histories about Tejano life. Creative writers penned narratives, short stories and poems that they submitted to community newspapers or other outlets; some were in Spanish, especially those of the nineteenth century, but works were also issued in bilingual or English form. Civic leaders compiled records of injustices or other community concerns, and academicians wrote scholarly articles or books. Among the latter may be listed Jovita González de Mireles, Carlos E. Castañeda, and George I. Sánchez, who published after the 1930s. Painters, sculptors, and musicians have made some contribution to Tejano traditional arts, though not much is known of such contributions before the 1920s. During the 1930s, Octavio Medellín begin a career as a sculptor of works with pre-Columbian motifs. After World War II, Porfirio Salinas, Jr., gained popularity as a landscape artist, and during the 1960s some of his paintings hung in Lyndon B. Johnson's White House. More recent is José Cisneros, known for his pen-and-ink illustrations of Spanish Borderlands historical figures. The workers of Amado M. Peña, a painter from Laredo, and the sculptor Luis Jiménez of El Paso reveal a border influence but go beyond ethnicity.
Numerous musicians have established legendary careers in Spanish; several Tejanos have topped the American rock-and-roll charts, and some have earned Grammys. Folklore, much of it based on the folk beliefs of the poor in Mexico, flourished in Mexican communities in Texas. While reflecting many themes, it especially served to express feelings about abrasive confrontations between Tejanos and Anglos. Corridos of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, for example, criticized white society for injustices inflicted on barrio dwellers or extolled heroic figures who resisted white oppression.

In the nineteenth century, the dominant language in the barrios and rural settlements was that of Mexico, though some Tejanos also attained facility in English and thus became bilingual. Various linguistic codes characterize oral communications in present-day enclaves, however, due to continued immigration from Mexico, racial separation, and exposure to American mass culture. Some Texas Mexicans speak formal Spanish only, just as there are those who communicate strictly in formal English. More common are those Spanish speakers using English loan words as they borrow from the lexicon of mainstream society. Another form of expression, referred to as "code-switching," involves the systematic mixing of the English and Spanish languages. Another mode of communication is caló, a "hip" code composed of innovative terminology used primarily by boys in their own groups (see PACHUCOS).

Friction has characterized relations between mainstream society and Tejanos since 1836. Mechanisms designed to maintain white supremacy, such as violence, political restrictions, prohibition from jury service, segregation, and inferior schooling caused suspicion and distrust within the Mexican community. Repatriation of Mexican citizens during the depression of the 1930s and Operation Wetback in 1954 inflicted great anguish on some of the communities touched by the drives, as Tejanos perceived them to be racially motivated. In more recent times, conflict between the two societies has persisted over such issues as immigration, the right to speak Spanish in schools, and the use of public money to support the Tejano poor. Even as Anglo-American society attempted to relegate Tejanos to second-class citizenship, Mexican Americans have sought to find their place in America. Middle-class businessmen have pursued integration into the
economic mainstream, and the politically minded have worked for the involvement of Tejanos in the body politic. Such were the objectives of organizations as LULAC, the G.I. Forum, and MALDEF. Though recent immigrants wrestle with two allegiances, their children have ordinarily accepted the offerings of American life. Indeed, Texas Mexicans have proven their allegiance toward the state on numerous occasions, especially during the country's several wars. Seldom have drives toward separatism gained support across the spectrum of the community. Probably the most prominent movement emphasizing anti-Anglo sentiments was the Chicano movement, but even its rhetoric appealed only to certain sectors of the community. In the Lone Star State, Mexican Americans stand out as one of the few groups having loyalties to the state while simultaneously retaining a binary cultural past.

See also MEXICAN AMERICANS, BILINGUAL EDUCATION, CATHOLIC CHURCH, CHICANO ART NETWORKS, CHICANO LITERARY RENAISSANCE, CHICANO MURAL MOVEMENT, CIVIL-RIGHTS MOVEMENT, ELECTION LAWS, FOLKLORE AND FOLKLIFE and articles beginning with FOLK, LITERATURE, MEXICAN-AMERICAN FOLK ARTS AND CRAFTS, MEXICAN-AMERICAN LAND GRANT ADJUDICATION, MEXICAN AMERICANS AND EDUCATION, MEXICAN AMERICANS AND RELIGION, MEXICAN TEXAS, MÚSICA NORTEÑA, SEGREGATION, TEJANO POLITICS, TEXAS-MEXICAN CONJUNTO, TEXAS-MEXICAN FICTION, TEXAS-MEXICAN VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE, and TEX-MEX FOODS.
The Spanish mission was a frontier institution that sought to incorporate indigenous people into the Spanish colonial empire, its Catholic religion, and certain aspects of its Hispanic culture through the formal establishment or recognition of sedentary Indian communities entrusted to the tutelage of missionaries under the protection and control of the Spanish state. This joint institution of indigenous communities and the Spanish church and state was developed in response to the often very detrimental results of leaving the Hispanic control of relations with Indians on the expanding frontier to overly enterprising civilians and soldiers. This had resulted too often in the abuse and even enslavement of the Indians and a heightening of antagonism. To the degree that the mission effort succeeded, it furthered the Spanish goals of political, economic, and religious expansion in America in competition with other European-origin nations. Spanish colonial authorities enjoyed the patronato real (royal patronage) over ecclesiastical affairs, granted to the Spanish crown by the pope. As patrons the state authorities made the final determination as to where and when missions would be founded or closed, what administrative policies would be observed, who could be missionaries, how many missionaries could be assigned to each mission, and how many soldiers if any would be stationed at a mission. In turn, the state paid for the missionaries' overseas travel, the founding costs of a mission, and the missionaries' annual salary. The state also usually provided military protection and enforcement.

Franciscans from several of their provinces and missionary colleges in New Spain established all the missions in Texas. The ideal of the missionaries themselves, supported by royal decrees, was to establish autonomous Christian towns with communal property, labor, worship, political life, and social relations all supervised by the missionaries and insulated from the possible negative influences of other Indian groups and Spaniards themselves. Daily life was to follow a highly organized routine of prayer,
work, training, meals, and relaxation, punctuated by frequent religious holidays and celebrations. In this closely supervised setting the Indians were expected to mature in Christianity and Spanish political and economic practices until they would no longer require special mission status. Then their communities could be incorporated as such into ordinary colonial society, albeit with all its racial and class distinctions. This transition from official mission status to ordinary Spanish society, when it occurred in an official manner, was called "secularization." In this official transaction, the mission's communal properties were privatized, the direction of civil life became a purely secular affair, and the direction of church life was transferred from the missionary religious orders to the Catholic diocesan church. Although colonial law specified no precise time for this transition to take effect, increasing pressure for the secularization of most missions developed in the last decades of the eighteenth century.

Colonial authorities and Franciscan missionaries attempted to introduce the mission system into widely scattered areas of Texas between 1682 and 1793, with greatly varying results. In all, twenty-six missions were maintained for different lengths of time within the future boundaries of the state. To this number should be added San Miguel de los Adaes (the easternmost colonial Texas outpost, which was later incorporated into Louisiana) and those missionary centers established in Mexico whose influence extended into Texas. Although most of these missions fell short of their goal, several had relative success, and all played a key role in establishing the European and mixed-race foundations of Texas. In general the missionaries sought to eradicate among missionized natives all appearances of indigenous religion and culture judged to be incompatible with or inferior to Christian beliefs and practices. However, some of the more experienced friars learned to tolerate if not encourage certain group practices originally associated with native religion, such as the matachines dances or even mitotes (native celebrations with dancing and possibly peyote), when they judged them to be relatively free of elements inadmissible in Christianity. Although the missionary strategy was to maintain as strict a vigilance as possible over the life of the missionized natives, most Indian groups in Texas were seminomadic and did not intend to adopt a year-round fixed sedentary
existence, even if they voluntarily entered a mission for a time. This was especially evident when the customary seasons for food—gathering, hunting, fishing, trading, or skirmishing arrived. Furthermore, few Indians could have welcomed the strong regimentation of mission life, almost along monastic lines, favored by the missionaries. The effort to develop permanent indigenous mission communities was also severely hampered by the impact of periodic European-transmitted epidemics on Indian groups, which usually had slow rates of natural increase. Many mission communities were only maintained by constant new recruitment, with missionaries ranging farther and farther afield as local populations declined (see HEALTH AND MEDICINE).

In such circumstances, the Franciscans needed a few soldiers to maintain the mission system of continued residence and strict discipline, especially among newer recruits. Soldiers were either stationed at the mission or sent out to help bring back individuals or entire groups that left. The Spanish colonization of Texas did not involve outright military conquest as a general rule, nor were people forced into entering missions. But once they entered, coercion was used when judged appropriate. Sometimes officials refused to provide such military help. In later decades Spanish civilians were at times hired as work supervisors, especially when military guards were no longer made available. On the other hand, at more solidly established mission communities such as San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, Indians themselves served as mission guards. At San José and elsewhere were Indians who preferred the benefits of permanent settlement in a mission community. A related factor in the occasional abandonment of missions by their Indian residents was the inability of the Spaniards at times to guarantee protection from raids by Apaches and subsequently Comanches in the later 1700s. The military protection represented by the soldiers was one of the principal attractions of the missions to many Indians. This protection was essential to any foundation in such a vast territory as Texas, which was inhabited by several powerful and often belligerent tribes. And yet throughout most of the century the colonial government sought to economize by reducing its military presence in Texas. It was argued, and not without reason, that greatly increased Hispanic settlement would be a more
effective and economical way of asserting control over the territory. But increased settlement was never effectively promoted except along the lower Rio Grande and in the El Paso area. Nowhere in Texas were the small and scattered settlements and missions free from attack. In the stronger mission towns Indian groups served very effectively as Spanish allies in the defense of their mutual home territory.
The Franciscan mission ideal of an insulated and highly controlled indigenous town was also challenged by the necessary interchange that occurred with Hispanics at adjacent military posts or civil settlements and ranches. In the frontier society and economy, limited resources—of land, labor, produce, artisans, armed defenders—were either shared or disputed among these various parties, and the indigenous people were very much a part of the total social reality. In times of common adversity or external threat, all worked together for the common good. At other times disputes over resources or rights would flare up. However, the challenges of constructing a viable community on a dangerous frontier would usually encourage gradual accommodation. The Franciscans themselves were often responsible, especially in the earlier decades, not only for the supervision of the mission community but also for the spiritual care of the local Spanish. Furthermore, the Spanish would often attend religious services at a nearby mission even if they had a separate church and perhaps even a separate pastor for themselves. In the initial founding decades the missions often held the economic advantage on the local scene, where they sometimes held extensive grants of choice land and a controlled labor supply, plus good administrators. If the mission prospered materially, its surplus helped supply the military establishments. In later decades, while the civilian population increased through birth, immigration, and the retirement of local soldier-settlers into civilian life, the Indian mission population was often decreasing. In some places the civilians found their community expansion hemmed in by the mission lands, at the same time that they were being recruited to help keep the mission economies productive. These latter circumstances increased local Hispanic pressure for secularization of the mission properties.

The Franciscans came closest to establishing their ideal system among the hundreds of Indian groups generally known as Coahuiltecan, who lived in the semiarid southern plains of what is now Texas. These small non-allied groups of semi-nomads, some of which were not in fact Coahuiltecan, had a subsistence economy of hunting and gathering and were weaker militarily than both the Spanish and the encroaching warlike Indians. The missions promised them military protection and a regular, more ample food supply.
In some cases the mission also provided protection from exploitation by Spanish soldiers and civilians. On the other hand, because of their seminomadic inclinations, their slow rate of natural increase, epidemics, inadequate military protection, and alternatives offered by neighboring Spaniards, mission towns were maintained only by continual recruitment to counteract steady population decline.

From 1718 through 1731 five missions which drew their members from mostly weaker groups were established near the head of the San Antonio River. The first was San Antonio de Valero, which dated from the origins of the settlement. It was followed by San José y San Miguel de Aguayo, Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción, San Juan Capistrano, and San Francisco de la Espada. In varying degrees, these foundations developed as true missionary-directed indigenous towns, whose material success was evident in their churches, dwellings, granaries, workshops, irrigated fields, ranches and livestock, and a regulated social and religious life. The San Antonio settlement comprised the missions, San Antonio de Béxar Presidio, and the town of San Fernando de Béxar. The area was developed enough that the missions had protection and resources to develop their own stability within a gradually coalescing community. However, the immediate proximity of the town and presidio obliged the Franciscans to engage in a losing battle to maintain strict control over the missionized Indians' relations with their neighbors. By the later 1700s the permanent Indian residents of the San Antonio missions were speaking Spanish, living as devoted Catholics, and even intermarrying with the local Hispanics. Other Indians, both local and from elsewhere, had become part of the town itself.

Two smaller Hispanic settlement complexes in the areas of present-day South and Southwest Texas also recruited among generally weaker Indian groups. The first of these began along what is now the Mexican side of the middle Rio Grande in 1700–02, when the missions of San Juan Bautista and San Bernardo were founded, together with a military post. The second, which became colloquially known as La Bahía, had a frustrating beginning near the Gulf Coast in 1722, when the mission of Nuestra Señora del Espíritu Santo de Zúñiga and an accompanying fort were founded. The La Bahía effort continued to struggle economically during its first decade.
(1726–36) at a new location on the lower Guadalupe River. Until adequate agriculture was finally established, the shortage of food obliged the missionaries to allow the Indians to absent themselves for their customary foraging for the greater part of the year. The La Bahía complex was finally located permanently on the lower San Antonio River in 1749. A few years later **Nuestra Señora del Rosario Mission** was founded across the river, primarily for Karankawas. Although the Indian towns at San Juan Bautista and La Bahía had mission structures, economies, and regimes similar to those at San Antonio, they achieved less stability and assimilation. With the exception of Rosario Mission, they had several decades of material prosperity and actually endured, although in a greatly weakened condition, past the **Mexican War of Independence**, which ended in 1821. But they were always confronted with episodes of temporary or permanent abandonment by some or all of the Indians for whom they were established. These two mission efforts were described in the 1790s as never having succeeded in attracting the Indians to true Christian conversion and loyalty to the Spanish state. As in other similar cases, the Indians were often described as unwilling to work and given to drunkenness and stealing. These Spanish assessments clearly indicated resistance to assimilation on the part of these groups.

Two other mid-century attempts to expand Spanish presence into Central and Southeast Texas through similar mission-fort establishments were also directed mostly to the less powerful Indian groups. But the effort at the **San Xavier Missions**—**San Francisco Xavier de Horcasitas**, **San Ildefonso**, and **Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria**—lasted only from 1746 to 1755. This mission attempt fell victim to a multitude of obstacles: hostile Indians, the opposition of the governor, inadequate military protection and even serious misconduct on the part of the military, the seminomadic inclinations of the groups gathered there, and finally adverse weather. The few remaining missionized Indians and the friars moved temporarily to the San Marcos River for a year, and then to the Guadalupe River in 1756–58 (see **SAN FRANCISCO XAVIER MISSION ON THE GUADALUPE RIVER**), after which this effort was finally abandoned.

The **Nuestra Señora de la Luz Mission**, founded near the mouth of the Trinity River in 1756, was beset by unhealthful coastal conditions, official
indecision, inadequate support in the early years, and, most decisively, shifting colonial frontier strategies that led to the mission's demise after only fifteen years. Though never apparently resulting in a missionary-controlled village, Our Lady of Light seemed to have friendly relations with the local Orcoquiza Indians and perhaps even brought about several conversions among them. When military strategy dictated that the Spanish abandon the area, the Franciscans did so very reluctantly, while the natives pleaded for them to stay.

Most of the Indians along the lower Rio Grande were also weak, and some were already accustomed to doing seasonal migrant labor for the Spanish in nearby Nuevo León and Coahuila. But in this case colonial advisors in Mexico City successfully argued that new territory could be more effectively and economically occupied by promoting Spanish settlements with attached missions, rather than the former strategy of missions protected by forts. Accordingly, a major colonizing project that began there in 1749 put primary emphasis on towns, with only secondary attention to the mission efforts. Franciscans were recruited as missionaries and officially installed as such, and they were simultaneously appointed pastors to the settlements. It quickly became apparent to them that the Spanish civilians and officials as well as the Indians generally favored a loose attachment (agregación) of the natives to the Hispanic towns, which allowed for more flexible economic and social relations on both sides. This arrangement ran directly counter to the Franciscan ideal of the missionary-controlled, sedentary, and insulated indigenous community (congregación). Nevertheless, in some places, and most notably in Camargo (with jurisdiction extending into Texas), the Franciscans learned to adapt their mission approach to this situation. As a result several local Indian groups such as the Carrizos and Garzas became Christian and assimilated in varying degrees to Hispanic society.

The native groups of the southern Gulf Coast of Texas, known collectively as Karankawas, were somewhat stronger in their economy and defense than their immediate neighbors, and from the beginning they accepted only temporary or seasonal mission life. The original La Bahía Mission in 1722 in the Karankawas' own territory had foundered on this reality. And Rosario Mission, established for the Karankawas in 1754 at the final site of La Bahía,
although materially sound, faced the same challenge. This and a strong nativist indigenous leader led to Rosario's temporary abandonment in 1781. When the mission was reactivated in late 1789, the Franciscan missionary effort was encountering weakened state support. Acknowledging this fact and by now quite familiar with the Karankawas' independent ways, the experienced friars accepted from the beginning a much looser social organization adapted to the Karankawas' seminomadic customs. These provided the two important things the mission could no longer guarantee: adequate food and defense through mobility in the face of hostile raids. In 1793 Nuestra Señora del Refugio, the last mission founded in Texas, was established for the Karankawas. Refugio Mission employed the same flexible approach. In 1805 Rosario was closed, although not officially secularized, when the few remaining Karankawas associated with it were transferred to Refugio Mission as their base. This alternative missionary approach was credited with converting certain of the Karankawas to at least some Christian ways.

In other areas of what is now Texas the Franciscans were forced to accept even greater adaptations to their preferred mission system. Such was the case in the first mission villages to be established within the boundaries of future Texas, those far to the west in the El Paso district. In 1682 the Indian mission towns of Corpus Christi de la Isleta, Nuestra Señora de la Limpia Concepción de Socorro, and San Antonio de Senecú (this last site is now within Mexico, not Texas) were founded by Tigua, Piro, Tompiro, and Tanoan people who had accompanied the Spanish in flight from the Pueblo Revolt in northern New Mexico. These Indians brought with them a highly developed cultural organization. Just as in their former towns to the north, the local Indian authorities, with the approval of Spanish officials, retained control over the economic and political life of their communities. In spite of the missionaries' protests, the friars were only granted spiritual jurisdiction. For a few decades there was also a mission effort among the Suma people gathered at Santa María de las Caldas in the El Paso district. Although this community was officially entrusted to secular pastors from 1730 to 1749, the Franciscans claimed that they actually had to do all the work since the pastors stayed in the distant town of El Paso itself.
Living side by side with their Spanish neighbors in these new settlements, the Indian mission communities were open villages (like several other missions in what is now Texas), not the walled fortresses often portrayed as the sole mission model. By the nineteenth century the social interchange in these increasingly mixed Indian and Spanish towns resulted in complete Christianization and a great deal of cultural assimilation. Only the Tiguas of Ysleta retained a distinct ethnic identity, but even they were primarily Spanish-speaking and acculturated in many ways.

There were also several Indian groups at La Junta de los Ríos, the junction of the Rio Grande and the Río Conchos near the site of present Presidio in far West Texas. In the later 1600s members of these groups began engaging on their own terms in a continuing system of migrant labor and military alliance with Spaniards residing in the Conchos River district of Mexico to the south. Through these contacts many La Juntans gained a great deal of familiarity with Christianity. In 1683 some of them invited Franciscans to live among them. Among the chapels they built were those on the future Texas side of the Rio Grande in the villages of San Cristóbal and of the Tapalcolmes. Unaccompanied by military or Hispanic settlers, the missionaries had to flee several times in the next few years due to regional revolts. When missions were reestablished in 1715, again without military guards or settlers, the friars found the people well-behaved but independent. Periodic attacks of Apaches and other tribes again forced the Franciscans and some natives to flee at times. The missionaries finally began to ask for a garrison and Spanish settlers, but to no avail. As a practical response some friars apparently adopted the practice of staying at La Junta only part of the year and spending the rest in the new town of Chihuahua. Through this unique missionary approach, adapted to a proud semimigrant population and lasting three-quarters of a century, many La Juntans apparently accepted an Indian-controlled process of Christianization. Several nearby tribes pressured by Apache hostilities eventually joined the La Junta settlements and also entered into this process. The La Juntans were insistent that they did not want a Spanish fort or settlement established in their midst. The friars wanted a garrison, but at a respectable distance from the settlements. In late 1759, however, Presidio del Norte was built in the very
heart of the settlements. The Spanish post that developed there with its own assigned chaplain quickly replaced the separate mission effort as many Indians abandoned the district. The garrison was briefly moved elsewhere but then reestablished again. Any indigenous La Juntans who remained in the district soon disappeared as distinct ethnic groups, absorbed into the Hispanic society.

Still other Indian groups in Texas were large and powerful, with well-developed trade systems or wide-ranging activities that gave them alternative access through French Louisiana and later the United States to those European goods, including firearms, that they most desired. As the number of permanent Spanish military forces in the area was reduced during most of the crucial eighteenth century, the Spanish adopted the French Indian policy, which called for developing alliances with the stronger Indian groups through trade or pacts against common enemies. Mission efforts in such circumstances, most notably among the agriculturally self-sufficient Caddos in East Texas, never succeeded in establishing permanent resident Indian congregations under missionary control or in garnering many converts. An initial attempt along the Neches River in 1690–93 at the missions of San Francisco de los Tejas and Santísimo Nombre de María failed miserably. In 1716–17 a mission again named San Francisco was reestablished in the same area, and five new missions were founded stretching eastward: Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de los Hainais (later Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de Acuña), San José de los Nazonis, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe in Nacogdoches, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de los Ais, and San Miguel de Linares de los Adaes (in what is now Louisiana). But these centers never consisted of much more than a modest chapel, a missionary residence, and a few dwellings built hopefully for Indians. Relations based upon trade and military alliance offered these Indian groups all they wanted with much more freedom than the mission approach. The missionaries had to resign themselves to visiting villages and welcoming the Indians who visited the mission. Even then, the obligatory use of water in baptism carried negative connotations in Caddo understanding and further blocked conversion efforts.
In 1730–31, in reaction to the withdrawal of the local protective garrison, the supplies and official status of the three "interior" East Texas missions (those farther from the Louisiana border) were transferred to the more promising San Antonio area to help found additional missions there. After Louisiana passed from French to Spanish rule in 1763, thus eliminating the need for border defense in East Texas, the three remaining missions there were closed in 1773, along with all other Spanish foundations, in order to reduce crown expenses. When Nacogdoches was reoccupied as a Spanish civil settlement in 1779, an official mission was not reestablished there. The Franciscans assigned as pastors were primarily occupied with the settlers, although they engaged in some work with interested Indians. Although most East Texas Indians did not embrace Catholicism, a few were clearly assimilated into Spanish Catholic society, both before and after 1773. The entire East Texas missionary effort was thus carried out quite differently from the "self-contained town" model preferred by the missionaries and so often erroneously described as the sole Spanish missionary approach.

By the 1750s the Lipan Apaches, which consisted of several strong, mounted bands, were beginning to lose ground in Central Texas to their enemies, the Comanches and their allies, who were ranging down from the north. Under this pressure the Apaches began to be friendly to the Spanish in Central Texas; they sought military cooperation and even encouraged Spanish outposts in their territory. The short-lived missions consequently attempted by eager Franciscans deep in contested Indian territory—Santa Cruz de San Sabá, in the vicinity of present-day Menard, and Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria del Cañón and San Lorenzo de la Santa Cruz in the upper Nueces River basin—became the target of attacks, including the disastrous annihilation of San Sabá Mission. The Apache responses to these missions demonstrated to Spanish eyes not only the Apaches' purely military motivations and lack of real interest in conversion, but also their unreliability as allies. Colonial policy therefore shifted toward systematic war against the Apaches, who in turn continued to harass Spanish settlements sporadically. Later, during the tumultuous revolutionary decade of 1811–21, Lipans and Comanches engaged in a virtual war of attrition against Spanish settlements.
By the late 1770s several factors caused the mission system to fall out of favor as an important element of Spanish frontier strategy. The weaker Indian groups who had been more ready mission recruits declined steadily in numbers due to high infant-mortality rates, European-introduced epidemics, continued hostile pressure from other Indians, demoralization, and assimilation into either other Indian groups or Spanish society. The relative success of the San Antonio missions themselves was only maintained in the later 1700s by distant recruitment among embattled groups near the Gulf Coast or in the lower Rio Grande country.

Furthermore, governmental frontier policy shifted more emphatically away from maintaining missions, which were now seen not only as economic liabilities but also as against the rising spirit of liberalism. This spirit championed individual human rights and a capitalist economy advocating private rather than communal property. The growth of civilian ranching and agricultural enterprises and the governmental search for more revenue through taxes on range cattle also adversely affected the mission economies along the San Antonio River (see RANCHING IN SPANISH TEXAS). There was also increasing pressure from the growing civilian population to take over mission lands, particularly those with obviously declining Indian presence. Greater numbers of civilians were already working or even living within mission properties at the invitation of the missionaries, and they entailed increased labor costs. Conversely, in several cases there was already significant assimilation of mission dwellers into the local Spanish society. In the 1790s those missions that had clearly achieved their purpose of assimilating Indians into Spanish society and religion were either partially secularized (the San Antonio missions) or consolidated administratively (the San Antonio and El Paso missions). In the first few years of the new Republic of Mexico—between 1824 and 1830—all the missions still operating in Texas were officially secularized, with the sole exception of those in the El Paso district, which were turned over to diocesan pastors only in 1852.

In retrospect, although the Franciscans almost always sought initially to implement their ideal mission system, in actual practice they were forced by various Indian groups as well as by Spanish government authorities to adapt that system to local realities in most of Texas. The resultant alternative
mission systems allowed much more interplay and flexibility in relations between the Indians and the Spanish. In several cases these approaches led to significant Christianization and assimilation of the Indians. In regard to the primary missionary objective of the Franciscans themselves, it is clear that the vast majority of the native population of Texas and even of those Indians who at one time or another resided at missions never became fundamentally Christian. On the other hand, in several places true Indian or mestizo Christian communities did develop. This was the case in the El Paso and San Antonio areas, as well as at Camargo on the lower Rio Grande. A good number of other Indians who became Christians, either through missionization or through association with Spanish communities, were assimilated individually or as families into Hispanic society. Other mission efforts such as those in East Texas, at San Juan Bautista, and at La Bahía, while apparently failing to gain a significant number of true conversions, did achieve the state's political goal of building a stable, economically successful Spanish presence in the contested borderlands. In these places Indians learned Spanish and came to tolerate if not welcome the Spaniards' presence.

See also **CATHOLIC CHURCH**, **INDIANS**, **MEXICAN TEXAS**, **SPANISH TEXAS**.
Soldier–interpreter and explorer Francisco Xavier Chaves played a prominent role in bringing about peace agreements with the Comanches and Norteños in the latter half of the 1780s and served as envoy and intermediary between the Spanish and Mexican governments and various Indian groups in the decades that followed. Chaves was born in the Atrisco Valley near Albuquerque, New Mexico, to Ignacio Chaves and Gregoria Maese in about 1760. Captured by Comanches before the age of ten, he was sold to Taovayas in the 1770s after his adoptive mother died. Chaves spent the remainder of his formative years living among the Taovayas along the banks of the Red River near present-day Montague County.

In 1784, while participating in a raid by a large party of young warriors in the San Antonio area, he abandoned the Taovayas and presented himself to Governor Domingo Cabello y Robles. His fluency in the Comanche and Wichita languages made him immediately valuable to the governor, who was attempting to forge peace with the Comanches. Chaves assisted Pedro Vial in a mission to the eastern Comanches in 1785 that succeeded in pledges of peace, and he helped translate between Cabello and three Comanche chiefs assigned to negotiate the critically important Spanish-Comanche Treaty of 1785 (see INDIAN RELATIONS). He continued serving as a hired intermediary with Native American groups until 1788, when a billet opened in the presidio company of Béxar and he was able to enlist.

Chaves performed most of his military service, which lasted from 1788 until 1829, at San Antonio, with the exception of a six-year assignment to Presidio de San Juan Bautista del Río Grande between 1794 and 1800. In 1814 he was officially transferred to Presidio Nuestra Señora de Loreto de la Bahía, but soon was detached to San Antonio, where he continued serving until retirement. Although illiterate at the time of his enlistment, he must have acquired sufficient education to make him eligible for promotion to second lieutenant in 1828 retroactive to 1822, the year he accompanied a
Tonkawa delegation to Saltillo to meet with Gaspar López, commandant general of the Eastern Internal Provinces. He retired as a first lieutenant the following year. The absence of evidence to the contrary, Chaves appears to have remained loyal to the Crown during the revolutionary episodes that engulfed Texas between 1811 and 1813 (see CASAS REVOLT and GUTIÉRREZ-MAGEE EXPEDITION).

Chaves married first Juana Padrón, by whom he had at least six children, including Ignacio, who served as a local public official in San Antonio during the Mexican period. Juana Padron died in 1817, and Chaves married Micaela Fragoso, by whom he fathered five children. Francisco Xavier Chaves died in his home in San Antonio in 1832.
María Josefa Granados (or Granado) was born in the villa of San Antonio de Béxar on October 8, 1759. She was the daughter of Juan de Acuña Rodríguez Granado and María Isabel de Castro Hernández. Her paternal grandparents, Juan Rodríguez Granado and María Robaina de Bethéncourt, traveled from the Canary Islands to Mexico to eventually settle in San Antonio. Juan Granado, however, died in Vera Cruz before his son Juan de Acuña was born (in Cuautitlán, Mexico) several months later. A few years later in San Antonio, María Robaina married Martín Lorenzo de Armas. Juan de Acuña’s daughter María Josefa grew up with her opulent grandparents, and grandmother María Robaina claimed her heritage as a descendant of the first conquerors and rulers of the Canary Islands and was apparently held in high regard in the society of the villa of San Fernando de Béxar. Their home was exquisite and filled with furnishings and heirlooms the family brought with them.

On April 17, 1776, seventeen-year-old María Josefa married thirty-three-year-old, Fernando Veramendi in San Antonio. They had five children: José María Fernando (b. 1777), Juan Martín (b. 1778), María Josefa Vicenta (b. 1780), Fernando Ramón Nepomuceno (b. 1782), and María Josefa de los Dolores (b. 1784). Some genealogy sources also claim that they adopted a daughter. Their home, like that of her grandparents, was quite elegant. The row-style whitewashed stone home, with a tiled entryway, a parlor, and a paved chamber, located on Soledad Street became known as the Veramendi Palace. Their home furnishings included a juniper table, a wooden bench, and wooden chairs, as well as “stained glass lampshades with gilded finials,” a “riding sword embellished with silver,” and a “large vase of gilded, cut crystal.” The family also owned a wagon, three nursing cows, and two horses.

The Veramendi-Granados marriage was a social and economic powerhouse. The combination of Don Fernando’s eye for business and Doña María Josefa’s family name aided in the success of their business, a fabrics and
mercantile goods shop on Las Flores Street. In their shop, they carried an assortment of goods: Pontivy and Brittany cloths from France, Rouen linen, printed cloth with red flowers from Barcelona, calico, blanket cloth from China and Puebla, crimson coarse wool, ribbon from Granada, green and blue silks, corn-silk thread, lariat rope, needles, white paper, paliacate kerchiefs from China, pins and fringes, strings of pearls, Christian readers, silver and gold spangle, scissors, lace from Flanders and Lorraine, chickpeas, sugar, rice, chocolate, and gold earrings.

In May 1783 Don Fernando took a trip to Mexico City and en route, on May 31, 1783, was killed by Mescalero Apaches. “He, in the company of others, [was killed] at the place known as El Charco del Pescado, in the province of Coahuila.” Doña María Josefa was left with a thriving business, four children under the age of ten, and an unborn daughter to care for. “I affirm that when I married my aforenamed wife, Doña María Josefa Granado[s],” stated Don Fernando in his will on April 28, 1783, “I had more or less two thousand six hundred [pesos] of capital and that my wife did not contribute any [capital] to the marriage.” Don Fernando possessed a sizable estate for that time and declared in his will, “…it is ascertained that my entire estate amounts to seven thousand seven hundred pesos.” He directed that his wife receive half of the marital partnership profits of the estate in the sum of 2,550 pesos.

Once widowed, Doña María Josefa married Juan Martín de Amondaraín, and together they raised all five children. By the mid-1780s she owned “San Fernando de Béxar’s largest general store, which carried an array of merchandise.” Their marriage was unfortunately short-lived. She died probably in 1786, as probate records of her estate date January 9, 1787. Her second husband, Juan Martín, was listed on the 1790 census as a widower. On this census, he listed a five-year-old daughter, María Gertrudis, as his own and claimed the other children as orphans. At the time of the census, a total of fourteen people lived in the household, including the Veramendi boys—fourteen-year-old José, eleven-year-old Juan, and nine-year-old Fernando. María Josefa Vicenta would have been ten years old and was not listed on the San Antonio census; her whereabouts are unknown. Also living at the home were José Granados, the twenty-seven-year-old brother of Doña María Josefa; María Anttonia, a seventeen-year-old servant; María
Guadalupe Rodríguez, a widow with her two children, José Xavier Vriegas and Raphael, lobos (of black and Amerindian ancestry); a seventeen-year-old María Navarro; an eight-year-old Indian girl named María Carmen de Ramos; a twenty-two-year-old loba (black and Amerindian ancestry) Juana Hernández; and Juan José Gonzalez, a twenty-four-year-old coyote (mestizo and Amerindian ancestry).

María Josefa’s sons would grow up to become important figures in the political arena of San Antonio and Coahuila. As a businesswoman and a descendant of a Canary Islander family, María Josefa lived a short but lavish life.
THE COMANDANCIA has stood on the west side of Plaza de Armas (at 105 Military Plaza) in the center of San Antonio, Texas, since the 1730s. At times the structure has been called the “Casa del Capitan,” indicating it was the residence of the captain of the San Antonio de Béxar Presidio, and in its more recent history, the “Spanish Governor’s Palace.” During the Comandancia’s first 200 years, seven generations of two prominent Tejano families owned the house. Today, it is owned by the city of San Antonio and is the only example of Spanish Colonial residential architecture remaining in Texas.

José de Urrutia, the presidio captain in the early 1730s, most likely began the Comandancia when he built a one-room office with adobe brick on his own property located on the west side of the presidio between San Pedro Creek and Plaza de Armas. The military in New Spain offered commanders like Urrutia substantial financial rewards through the management of the
garrison supply post, but elaborate quarters were not part of the compensation.

In 1740 Urrutia’s son, Toribio de Urrutia, took over his father’s military post and soon owned the office as well, and by the end of nine years he had added to the south side of the office three rooms of rubble stone construction, which was an irregular stone aggregate with a lime mortar and finished with white plaster. With a total size greater than 1,800 square feet, the house had only a handful of rivals in the villa for proportion, extravagance, or craftsmanship. Its rooms were connected by doorways with solid walnut lintels and had fourteen-foot ceilings that helped alleviate the summer heat. The hard-packed earthen floor set below the grade of the plaza provided additional cooling. Most importantly, the three-foot-thick walls had sufficient thermal mass to serve as a barrier to moderate interior temperatures in summer and winter. An archetypical Spanish Colonial design component embellished the exterior walls where canales cut through the walls and extended out from the roof to disperse rainwater.

The most celebrated feature of Urrutia’s Comandancia was an element of artistic adornment. For the keystone above the main entryway, craftsmen carved the inscription, “año 1749 se acabó” (“completed in 1749”) and the royal coat-of-arms of the Hapsburg Dynasty. That detail honored Spain’s King Ferdinand VI, who was a Bourbon but preferred the heraldry of his grandfather, a Hapsburg. The residence served as military headquarters, company store, and, much like the Veramendi or Garza homes on Calle Soledad, the setting for celebrations of high society. When the Marqués de Rubí inspection reached Béxar in August 1767, Joseph Ramón de Urrutia y de las Casas, the expedition’s cartographer, mapped the villa and presidio and included an image of the Comandancia with the inscription “Casa del Capitan.”

When the presidio captaincy changed hands in 1763, the Comandancia stayed in the family. The prosperous grandson of the home’s builder and nephew of Toribio de Urrutia was Luis Antonio Menchaca, a wealthy landowner who owned more livestock than anyone else at Béxar. Over the following thirty years he or his son, José Menchaca, the subsequent presidio
commander, expanded the residence by at least 50 percent, and by 1804 Béxar records listed an inventory of six rooms. That included the sala (parlor), the recamara (bedroom), two zaguans, (halls), the cocina (kitchen), and a room that served as the office and company store. Unlike early American kitchens of the United States, the cocina was attached to the northernmost rooms. With the new space, the house took on the classic Spanish design of a horseshoe-shaped ring of single-depth rooms surrounding the interior courtyard. By that time, the house was some fifty-five years old, and it had passed through four generations of ownership in the Urrutia-Menchaca family. But that year, 1804, José Menchaca sold the Comandancia to Juan Ignacio Perez, the new captain of San Antonio de Béxar. Perez served as interim governor of Texas for nine months from July 1816 to March 1817, and a century later that temporary executive post lent the residence the only legitimate credentials for the name “Spanish Governor’s Palace.” In 1819 a downpour sent heavy waters down the San Antonio River, and the plaza in front of the Comandancia flooded with water five feet deep. The flood washed through the structure. During the next century the building was flooded as many as four more times.

Juan Ignacio Perez died in 1823, and his son Ignacio Perez inherited the residence, but he made a different plan in his will. In 1852 the estate divided the property room by room in a practice common in Béxar, so that the house transferred to his widow and his three daughters in separate pieces. Each heir received one or more rooms by way of deed. The Perez widow acquired a parlor on the south end of the house; daughter Maria Josefa acquired a parlor; daughter Trinidad received the hall, the chapel, and kitchen; and Concepcion inherited the salon also on the south end.

The neighborhood of the Comandancia took on an increasingly commercial role. Hardware stores and exchanges ringed the open space of the plaza, and the town had a schoolhouse there. In 1850 the new city hall and its jail went up within fifty feet of the house. Each day merchants sold agricultural goods on the plaza, and at night the town’s Chili Queens served meals to passersby. The old building housed various businesses, including a saloon, a boarding house, a pawn shop, and a used clothing store. Soon it stood like a decaying eyesore with its days of colonial glory long past.
The division of the property did not stand, and by the end of the century, another generation had title to the Comandancia when the daughter of Maria Josefa Perez Linn, Concepcion Linn Walsh and her husband Frank T. Walsh, acquired full ownership of the house.

The old royal mark on the doorway attracted the attention of the early Texas preservationist Adina De Zavala to the plight of the Comandancia. With the preservation movement in vogue nationwide, De Zavala wrote a twelve-paragraph article for the San Antonio Express and praised the structure’s link to the city’s Spanish Colonial origins and gave the house a new name—the “Spanish Governor's Palace.” The new name stuck, but it took thirteen years to convince the city council to work up the budgetary will to allocate $55,000 to purchase the property from the Walshes. In May 1928 a bond issue passed for the purchase of the building, and in 1929 when the transaction changed ownership to the city of San Antonio, it was only the second time title had changed hands outside of inheritance.

With the public advocacy of Adina De Zavala and her organization, the Texas Historical and Landmarks Association, the city began reconstruction of the residence as directed by San Antonio architect Harvey P. Smith. This endeavor was one of the city’s earliest preservation projects. The Spanish Governor’s Palace opened as San Antonio’s first city-owned museum on July 7, 1930. Ironically, daily operation of the museum was given to a new group (and rival to De Zavala’s organization), the San Antonio Conservation Society. The Spanish Governor’s Palace was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1976 and at the time was administered by the Department of Parks and Recreation of San Antonio. By 2016 the
landmark, a popular tourist attraction, was managed by the city of San Antonio’s Center City Development and Operations Department.
Compañías Volantes
By Ethan Rice

Compañías volantes or “flying companies” were highly mobile Spanish light cavalry units that patrolled the frontier regions of New Spain’s northern provinces in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. In contrast with traditional heavy cavalry units and stationary presidial garrisons, these cavalry squadrons were designed to provide a rapid response to hostile raiders and conduct extended offensive patrols, or cortadas, to maintain territorial integrity and guard against potential threats.

The use of compañías volantes originated in 1713 when Spanish Viceroy Duque de Linares commanded settlers in the frontera to create mounted militia units to combat frequent incursions by Indian groups. Their basic organization was more or less constant throughout the eighteenth century and was eventually formalized after the New Regulations for Presidios were issued in 1772. Each unit was composed of approximately seventy local volunteers who were trained by professional officers of the Spanish Royal Army. Regulations tasked them with making regular patrols throughout the despoblado (the sparsely populated frontier region), and each rider was responsible for equipping himself with a carbine, two pistols, a saddle, blanket, spurs, hat, and multiple horses.

Tlaxcalan (Tlascalan) settlers in Coahuila played a significant part in the development of compañías volantes. The most important of the Tlaxcalan squadrons was the Compañía Volante of San Carlos de Parras (see SECOND FLYING COMPANY OF SAN CARLOS DE PARRAS), which introduced the caballada principle. The caballada was the herd of spare horses brought along by the squadrons on their campaigns. This remuda allowed for the tireless pursuit of enemies on long-term patrols.

The obvious utility of the compañía volante made it popular with settlers and a fixture in defense of the frontier regions. In addition to defending against Indian aggression, the compañías guarded against illegal immi-
igation and intrusion from the United States. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, some *compañías volantes*, such as the squadrons at Béxar and Laredo, were tasked with actively pursuing local fugitives, and by the 1820s civilian authorities regularly requested their aid in apprehending criminals who had vanished into the *despoblado*.

The *compañía volante* remained virtually unchanged until the **Mexican era**. In 1826 new regulations governing *presidios* shifted responsibility for local defense from the national government to state and municipal governments. Local citizens recruited by individual states and municipalities replaced the *compañías volantes* as the method of defense against Indian attacks and other intrusions. These citizen militias were distinct and set apart from the regular military. By 1830 localized militia units had supplanted the national military’s cavalry squadrons in matters of local defense.

The significance of the flying squadron and its effect on military and law enforcement organization and tactical methods in Texas and elsewhere had a lasting influence that continued after the **Texas Revolution** and throughout the nineteenth century. Although Texas president **Sam**
Houston at first favored a large central army, he later embraced the concept of cavalry patrols to defend sparsely-populated frontier regions. In correspondence with frontier outposts, he continually urged citizens to form small, roving cavalry units for reconnaissance and defense. The Texas Rangers and the U.S. Army also drew inspiration from the compañías volantes. Like the compañías, the Texas Rangers were neither entirely military nor civilian. They adopted the same patrol routes of earlier cortadas, embraced the concept of the caballada to facilitate extended pursuits, and were required to possess a similar array of armaments and supplies. Tejanos also continued to serve alongside Anglos in many early ranger units. Additionally, the concept of mobile cavalry squadrons impacted the U.S. Army during the Mexican War, where officers such as Ulysses S. Grant, Jefferson Davis, Franklin Pierce, Robert E. Lee, William T. Sherman, and George B. Meade were impressed by the effectiveness of these units and later implemented some of their tactics and techniques during the Civil War.
Generally, the term *enganchado* refers to a person enlisted, recruited, or hired on by a recruiter, or *enganchador*. During the Civil War, *enganchados* referred to *Tejano* and Mexicano Union agents on the Texas-Mexico border. Constitutional loyalist *John L. Haynes* and former district judge *Edmund J. Davis*, were the prime movers behind the recruitment of the *enganchados*. In 1862 Davis and Haynes went to Washington and met with President Abraham Lincoln, who authorized their idea. In a letter written to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton on August 4, 1862, Lincoln suggested that Stanton meet with the “Texas gentlemen” and affirmed, “They think if we could send 2500 or 3000 arms, in a vessel, to the vicinity of the Rio Grande, that they can find the men there who will re-inaugurate the National Authority on the Rio Grande first, and probably on the Nuesces [sic] also.” Assisted by *Leonard Pierce, Jr.*, another Unionist and the American consul in Matamoros, they instigated border raids on Confederate forces along the Texas-Mexico border (see also *RIO GRANDE CAMPAIGN*).

According to the noted Texas folklorist *Américo Paredes*, *Juan Nepomuceno Cortina* was perhaps the most famous *enganchado*. Haynes was one of the few Anglos that Cortina actually trusted, because of Haynes’s outspoken and objective stance amid the Cortina Wars. Although *corridos*
emphasize Cortina’s militaristic prowess as a guerilla fighter, his efforts to fight for the Tejanos’ “dignity and social justice” was politically motivated.

The most significant *enganchados* who assisted in recruiting fighters were Antonio Abad Días and Eugenio Guzman, both of whom became officers in the Union Army. These Tejanos relentlessly rode in search of recruits along the Rio Grande and across the river in Tamaulipas. Días and Guzman entered villages and offered bounties that drew many of the impecunious recruits. In Matamoros, Pierce was instrumental in providing accommodation, supplies, and encouragement for the *enganchados*.

In December 1862 Octaviano Zapata, stock farmer, bandit, and Tejano Unionist, commanded more than a hundred *enganchados*. Referred to as the “First Regiment of Union Troops” on the border and carrying the Stars and Stripes, they crossed the Rio Grande. “Que Viva la Union” was Zapata’s battle cry. Zapata asserted that he had received a colonel’s commission. The men were promised bounty and land—up to 100 pesos in gold and 50 to 150 acres of land. While posing a threat to Confederate supply lines on the border, Zapata’s raiders also marauded the area. Near Mier, Zapata was killed by Confederate Tejanos led by Col. Santos Benavides.

In late 1863 a large number of *enganchado* recruits enlisted in Haynes’s newly-created Second Texas Cavalry. At age forty-two, Haynes led the 600-man mostly Latino guerilla regiment called “The Mustangs” across South Texas and then in Louisiana. Many of the recruits were former Cortinistas, and many were destitute and illiterate. Of the estimated 2,000 men who enlisted in the Texas Union Army, more than 40 percent were Tejano or Mexicano.

Cecilio Balerio (also spelled Valerio) and his son Juan were two notorious Unionist guerillas who wreaked havoc in the Nueces Strip. On March 13, 1864, Rebels under the command of Capt. Matthew Nolan captured Juan Valerio and then led a surprise attack against his father’s band of 126 *enganchados* at Los Patricios, fifty miles southwest of Banquete. In the fifteen-minute conflict, three Confederates and five of Valerio’s fighters were killed. Nolan recalled how the Tejano Unionists “fought most gallantly, and
could only be repulsed after a desperate fight at [the] cost of much blood and property.” A note was discovered at the encampment which specified that Colonel Haynes was on the move to reinforce the guerillas.

Although outnumbered on the border, the enganchados’ guerilla warfare tactics made a dent in the Confederacy’s cotton trade. The overall impact of their border raids served to plague and remind the Confederacy that resistance did exist on the Texas-Mexico border. Although some enganchados fought for money and plunder, others fought for social justice, pride, or revenge against Anglo-Texans who they believed used the American court system to swindle them out of their lands.
Marcelino Serna, the most decorated Texan of World War I and the first Mexican American soldier to receive the Distinguished Service Cross, was born at the Hacienda Robinson mining camp outside Chihuahua City, Mexico, on April 26, 1896. About 1915 Serna immigrated to El Paso, Texas, where he found employment on a maintenance crew for the Atcheson, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway System, as well as the Union Pacific. In 1917, while working as a seasonal farm laborer in Colorado, Serna was detained by federal officials seeking to verify his draft status. Despite his Mexican citizenship, Serna volunteered to enlist in the United States Army. He received three weeks of training at Camp Funston, Kansas, before being deployed to Europe as a private with Company B, 355th Infantry, 89th Infantry Division. While in Europe, Serna, who spoke little English, was offered a discharge after officials discovered that he was not a U.S. citizen. However, he declined the offer.

During the war, Serna fought in the Lucey Sector, the Saint-Mihiel offensive, the Euvezin Sector, and the Meuse-Argonne offensive. On September 12, 1918, during the battle of Saint-Mihiel, Private Serna’s unit came under heavy machine gun fire. Following the deaths of twelve members of his unit, he volunteered to scout ahead. Serna advanced alone until he was close enough to the machine gun emplacement to toss four grenades inside. The blast killed six, and Serna captured the remaining eight German soldiers. Two weeks later, during the Meuse-Argonne offensive, Serna again volunteered to scout ahead—alone—after spotting a German sniper in the distance. He followed the sniper to a German trench. Armed with an Enfield rifle, pistol, and grenades, Serna laid down fire and tossed grenades while
continually changing positions around the trench. The enemy came to believe that they were under attack by a much larger force and surrendered. Serna single-handedly killed twenty-six enemy soldiers and took another twenty-four German soldiers prisoner. When reinforcements arrived, Serna defended his prisoners from American soldiers, who wished to execute them on the spot, and argued that such executions went against the rules of war.

On November 7, 1918, four days before the armistice agreement, Serna was hit by sniper fire in both legs and was sent to an army hospital in France.

For his service, Serna was awarded the second highest American combat medal, the Distinguished Service Cross, by the commander-in-chief of the American Expeditionary Forces, Gen. John J. Pershing. Serna also received two French Croix de Guerre with palms. The first was given to him personally by French Marshal Ferdinand Foch, supreme commander of the Allied forces in Europe. The second Croix de Guerre, along with a French Médaille Militaire and an Italian Croce al Merito di Guerra, was awarded in a ceremony at Fort Bliss attended by Governor William P. Hobby. In addition, Serna received, a French Commemorative Medal, a French St. Mihiel Medal, a French Verdun Medal, a Victory Medal with five stars, a Victory Medal with three campaign bars, and two Purple Hearts, making him one of the most highly decorated soldiers in Texas history.

Serna was discharged from the U. S. Army in May 1919 and returned to El Paso, Texas, where he worked briefly at the Payton Packing Company before landing a job in the quartermaster’s department at Fort Bliss. In 1922 he married Simona Jiménez, and in 1924 he became a U.S. citizen. Afterwards, he worked as a city truck driver, a civil service employee at Fort Bliss, and a plumber at William Beaumont Army Medical Center, where he retired in 1961. Serna and his wife had six children: Gilberto, Gloria, Carolina, Julliette, Ester, and Margarita; only Gloria and Margarita survived to adulthood. Serna was a charter member of his local Veterans of Foreign Wars Post No. 2753, and he remained active in the organization for many years, often appearing in Veteran’s Day parades. He was also a devout parishioner of Saint Ignatius Catholic Church. Serna died in El Paso, Texas,
on February 29, 1992, of age-related causes and was buried at Fort Bliss National Cemetery with full military honors.

Due to Serna’s impressive combat record, many have questioned why he never received the Congressional Medal of Honor. Serna himself later recalled that his superior officers refused to recommend him for the honor because he was too low in rank and because his English skills were not proficient enough to warrant a promotion. Others have claimed that the oversight was due to racial prejudice. In the decades since Serna’s military service, numerous Texans have pushed for further recognition. Perhaps the first was historian, civic leader, and fellow WWI veteran Cleofas Calleros, who discovered in the 1930s that Serna was never actually given a Purple Heart or an Allied Victory Medal and petitioned the government to have them properly awarded. In the late 1980s Serna’s local VFW post began to contact various representatives to see if they might petition the United States Congress on his behalf. Since 1993 several Texas politicians, including U.S. Congressman Ronald D. Coleman, State Representative Juan Manuel Escobar, and State Representative Joe Pickett, have asked Congress to posthumously award Serna with the Congressional Medal of Honor. Similar bills have been filed at the state level to award Serna the Texas Legislative Medal of Honor. As of 2016 these attempts have been unsuccessful.
Victor Hugo Espinoza, Korean War veteran and Medal of Honor recipient, son of Amado Espinoza and Altagracia Chavez, was born in El Paso, Texas, on July 25, 1928. After the death of his mother in 1938, Espinoza moved to Los Angeles, California, where he graduated from Lincoln High School and became a municipal employee. He also spent time living with his godmother in El Paso. Espinoza joined the United States Army in November 1950 and was deployed to Korea with the rank of corporal. He served with Company A, First Battalion, Twenty-third Infantry Regiment, Second Infantry Division, as part of the larger United Nations peace-keeping force.

On August 1, 1952, Corporal Espinoza and his unit were tasked with capturing an enemy hill nicknamed “Old Baldy” near Chorwon, Korea, when they came under heavy fire. After his squad leader was wounded, Espinoza made a one-man assault across open ground. Armed with only a rifle and grenades, he destroyed a machine gun nest, a mortar emplacement, and two enemy bunkers. His ammunition exhausted, Espinoza continued his assault using grenades left behind by the fleeing Chinese troops to clear several enemy trenches. He then discovered a covert enemy tunnel and destroyed it with TNT. In total, Espinoza was credited with killing fourteen enemy soldiers, wounding another eleven, and clearing the way for the rest of his unit to secure the remaining enemy strongpoints on “Old Baldy.” For his
Espinoza received a National Defense Service Medal, a Korean Service Medal with one bronze star, a Combat Infantryman Badge, a UN Service Medal, and the Republic of Korea War Service Medal. He also received the second highest American combat medal, the Distinguished Service Cross, at a parade held on Noel Field at Fort Bliss in April 1953.

Espinoza reached the rank of master sergeant before leaving the military in September 1952. He returned to El Paso, Texas, where he found employment at a car dealership and was briefly married to Helen G. García of El Paso. Espinoza later relocated to San Gabriel, Texas, and married Nancy Alm. The couple had one son, Tyronne. Espinoza ultimately returned to El Paso, where he lived until his death on April 17, 1986. Espinoza was buried at Fort Bliss National Cemetery with full military honors.

In 2002 the United States Congress called on the Department of Defense to review the service records of certain Jewish and Hispanic soldiers who may have been denied the Medal of Honor due to racial prejudice. As a result, on May 18, 2014, Victor Espinoza was posthumously given the Congressional Medal of Honor by President Barack Obama at a ceremony held in the East Room of the White House. Several of Espinoza’s family members, including his son Tyronne, were present to accept the award on his behalf.
On the evening of June 19, 1911, Antonio Gómez, a fourteen-year-old Mexican American boy, was lynched by a group of white vigilantes following the murder of Charles Zieschang in Thorndale, Milam County, Texas. Zieschang, a local garage owner, was standing outside a saloon with several other men, including Constable Robert L. McCoy, when Gómez walked by whittling a shingle with a small knife. After the saloon owner, William Stephens, chided Gómez for littering the sidewalk with wood shavings, Zieschang snatched the shingle from Gómez’s hand and cursed him repeatedly. Gómez reacted angrily and lunged at Zieschang and stabbed him in the chest. Zieschang died from blood loss within about twenty minutes.

Gómez attempted to flee but was immediately apprehended by Constable McCoy and taken to the town jail. Meanwhile, a large crowd gathered on Main Street to investigate the commotion. At the news of Zieschang’s death, they became agitated, and a group of approximately forty men began to assemble outside the jail. Realizing the danger, McCoy took Gómez from his cell and tied a small trace chain around his neck. A resident of the town, Wilford Wilson, asked if McCoy needed help, and the two men left, with McCoy ordering the gathered citizens not to follow them.

What happened next in the events that led up to the lynching and the lynching itself remain in dispute. Testimonies given by witnesses at a court of inquiry were inconsistent, with the number of people involved in the
Ethnic Conflict

lynching varying from four to sixteen and with the identities of the people present in dispute. Instead of a transcript, the court summarized the consistent facts throughout each witness’s testimony. At later trials, the testimony of witnesses did not always match the summary provided at the court of inquiry.

Constable McCoy, with Wilson’s assistance, planned to hide Gómez from the mob in a nearby cotton gin while Wilson left to find a vehicle to transport Gómez to the safety of the county jail in Cameron, Texas, about twenty-three miles away. The three later rendezvoused at the residence of G.W. Penny, but Wilson was unable to obtain a vehicle. McCoy then left to find a car himself.

According to Wilson, shortly after McCoy left, a group of four to six men appeared outside the gates of the Penny residence and demanded that Gómez be handed over to them. When they refused to leave, Wilson took Gómez and escaped into an alley behind the house. As Wilson and Gómez ran down the alley, they encountered another group of men, one on horseback and three more on foot. The man on horseback grabbed the chain still around Gómez’s neck and rode off, dragging the boy behind him. Wilson ran into town to find assistance but encountered the men again. The group had a ladder by a telephone pole, and Gómez had been beaten and suspended from the ladder. Three other men, Reverend J. L. Watson, E. A. Johnson, and Buck Bonds, also came across the scene but did not interfere. Wilson left to inform Justice of the Peace Woodsbury Norris of what was happening and identified Z. T. Gore, Jr., Garrett Noack, Harry Wuensche, and Ezra Stephens (the son of saloon owner William Stephens) as members of the lynching party. Constable McCoy, J. P. Norris, and two other men arrived shortly afterwards to remove Gómez’s dead body from the ladder. Less than three hours had passed since Zieschang’s murder.

The Associated Press reported the story of Gómez’s lynching which ran on newspaper headlines nationwide the next day, often with conflicting, inaccurate, or exaggerated information about the crime. The June 23 edition of the local newspaper, the Thorndale Thorn, covered both Zieschang’s death and the lynching of Gómez. The San Antonio Express published an article that ran the next day that inaccurately stated Gómez was eighteen and was
lynched by a mob of 100 people. La Crónica, the Spanish-language newspaper in Laredo, published an article that condemned the lynching death of Gómez as an act of cowardice. The writer was critical of the German community in Texas and stated that people in Mexico were boycotting stores owned by Germans. The Giddings Deutsches Volksblatt reported the death of Zieschang in German and stated that his killer was brought to justice swiftly, referring to Gómez’s death as a hanging. The New York Times also published a story about the reaction of the Mexican government, which condemned the lynching and demanded those who lynched Gómez be punished.

On June 21, Texas Governor Oscar B. Colquitt, at the urging of San Antonio city councilman Francisco A. Chapa, ordered a court of inquiry in Cameron to move the case along as quickly as possible. The court of inquiry was held on June 22 and 23 under Justice of the Peace Ed English, who ordered the arrest of four men: Z. T. Gore, Jr., Ezra Stephens, Garrett Noack, and Harry Wuensche. A grand jury indicted the four men for murder on October 24. The men were each tried individually; the charges against Wuensche were dropped, and the three others were acquitted.

The practice of lynching was all too common in Texas in the decades following the Civil War and Reconstruction. It claimed victims of all races, but predominately affected racial and ethnic minorities. The lynching of Mexican Americans, particularly in South Texas, increased precipitously in the first decades of the twentieth century, due in large part to a reaction in the Anglo community against the increased immigration and instability caused by the Mexican Revolution. While historians have uncovered hundreds of documented cases of mob violence against Mexican Americans, few had as much impact as the lynching of Antonio Gómez. Perhaps only one other lynching of the period—that of Antonio Rodríguez—stirred up as much emotion in the Mexican American community. While the Rodríguez lynching was infamous for its sheer brutality, the Gómez lynching was equally appalling because of the age of the young victim.
In the wake of Gómez’s death, the Agrupación Protectora Mexicana was organized in San Antonio in June 1911 to provide legal protections for ethnic Mexicans under threat of illegal violence. Local chapters of this organization soon began forming across the state. Additionally, Clemente and Nicasio Idar, editors of La Crónica, called on Mexican American leaders throughout Texas to attend El Primer Congreso Mexicanista in Laredo from September 14 to 22, 1911. This meeting united mutual aid societies, journalists, labor organizers, and community leaders across the state to form an organization known as the Gran Liga Mexicanista de Beneficencia y Protección (Great Mexican League for Benefit and Protection). It also inspired Jovita Idar to organize the Liga Femenil Mexicanista. These organizations were among the first to unite early Mexican civil rights activists across the state and, although they were short-lived, would inspire the eventual formation of organizations such as the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), and the American G.I. Forum.
The Peñascal Raid occurred on May 9, 1874, in what was then Cameron County (present-day Kenedy County) in South Texas, when ten or eleven outlaws robbed and killed five people at a remote store in the community of Peñascal near Baffin Bay. The raid was an example of the protracted conflict in South Texas among Anglo Texans, Tejanos, and Mexicans. These groups had been engaged in cattle rustling, raiding, and land disputes throughout the region and exacerbated the already unstable environment in Reconstruction-era Texas. Much of the violence was committed by outlaw vaqueros and former Civil War soldiers, whether Union or Confederate, who took advantage of the instability to engage in illegal activities. Contemporary newspapers warned readers of increasing danger in the area. Exactly one year before the incident at Peñascal, the Galveston Daily News, on May 9, 1873, reported, “...the road between Corpus Christi and the Rio Grande is too dangerous to travel.”

During the evening of the raid, six people were at the Morton Store, located in Peñascal, approximately sixty miles south of Corpus Christi. Among them was the store owner, John Morton, Michael Morton (John’s brother), Patrick Coakley (also spelled Coakly), Herman Tilgner, and Francisco Zamora (Morton’s cook) and his wife. Francisco Zamora exited the store and walked to a well to retrieve water. As he was at the well, the raid occurred.

The events of that day were reconstructed from Zamora’s eyewitness account. Ten or eleven men approached the store and started shooting. Zamora saw Tilgner running out of the store and vomiting blood. The raiders continued shooting him until he fell. Zamora reported that Michael Morton was shot in the head four times. Patrick Coakley was tied down by the men and shot three times. Store owner John Morton was shot in the arms, forced to carry supplies out of the store to the raiders, and then shot six more times until he was dead. Zamora’s wife was also killed, but there is no account of how she died.
Early news about the massacre spread quickly. The first reports in the Galveston Daily News mistakenly stated the eyewitness, Zamora, was killed during the incident. As the news spread, a posse was assembled and sent towards Peñascal in an attempt to track down the raiders. The group had little trouble determining the direction in which the outlaws fled the area, because the raiders left a trail of merchandise that was easy to follow. The posse determined that the raiders traveled in the direction of Corpus Christi but, after searching the surrounding area, were unable to locate them. Later, former Texas Ranger John “Red” Dunn, formed his own group and took up the search. This new posse located two of the raiders, Hypolita Tapia and Andres Davila, near Meansville in San Patricio County. Dunn placed the two raiders under guard in Meansville. When Dunn brought Tapia out to interview him, the raider refused to divulge any information. The former ranger forced a confession out of Tapia by suspending him by a rope around his neck until, fearing for his life, he told Dunn everything that happened at Peñascal.

Tapia told Dunn that a Corpus Christi police officer, Tomas Basquez, had heard there was a large shipment of goods and money going to the Morton store by boat. He then enlisted Tapia to raise ten men to raid the store and steal the goods and money. Tapia gathered Davila, another man named Joe (an Anglo), and eight others to raid the store. When the raiders came close to the Morton store, they saw a boat in Baffin Bay and assumed the goods and money had already been delivered. The delivery had not yet been made, and the raiders only came away with twelve or thirteen dollars. After receiving Tapia’s confession, Dunn delivered the two raiders to Nueces County Sheriff John McClane.

In the May 29, 1874, issue of the Austin Daily Democratic Statesman, a report from May 18 stated that in Corpus Christi:

Five of the Mexicans engaged in the Penescal [sic] murder have been secured and were positively identified in the examining court as belonging to the party. It is reported on reliable authority that two of the fiends, one a white man, were captured yesterday and hung. The five who are here in jail are in [imminent] danger of the same fate, and
it is more than likely that they will be taken from their prison by our incensed citizens and strung up to the nearest telegraph pole.

When Tapia and Davila went to trial, they changed their stories and insisted that, though they were with the other raiders, they did not take part in the shootings. Both were found guilty and sentenced to hang. On August 7, 1874, Tapia and Davila were hanged from a scaffold built on the front of the balcony of the Nueces County courthouse. A third suspect was removed from the San Diego jail by a lynch mob and hanged. The police officer, Basquez, was never charged.

Throughout the following decade, the murders and robbery at Peñascal became a remarkable example of the instability and dangerous conditions in South Texas. The *Weekly Democratic Statesman* in Austin wrote, “...the Peñascal murders were the bloodiest deeds known to the annals of crime.” The following year the postmaster of Neucestown, when describing the events of a raid there by Mexican outlaws (see NUECESTOWN RAID OF 1875), wrote they “...have the enjoyment of a general massacre, a la Peniscal [sic].”
El Paso Race Riot of 1916

By Miguel A. Levario

On December 30, 1915, the city of El Paso honored Carrancista Gen. Álvaro Obregón with a banquet attended by various political and military dignitaries, including El Paso mayor Tom Lea, Mexican Consul Andrés G. García, and United States Army Gen. John J. Pershing. This event promoted the beginning of an era of peace in Mexico by calling attention to the removal of revolutionary leader Francisco “Pancho” Villa as a threat to American mining interests in Chihuahua. Carrancista troops secured Chihuahua City and the region. General Obregó assured Mexican American businessman and politician Félix Martínez that U.S. capital and American citizens would be protected and safe in Mexico.

While Obregón pronounced Mexico safe for investment and travel, “Pancho” Villa gave a warning to the Cusihuiriáchic Mining Company and its general manager C. R. Watson that they would no longer be protected, and they should flee the country. Watson quickly assembled his employees and boarded a train for safe passage to El Paso. At the insistence of Obregón and in direct defiance of Villa’s threat, Watson and his men made arrangement to return to the Cusi mines in Chihuahua several weeks later. They contacted customs collector Zach T. Cobb as well as Andrés G. García for passports and salvo conductos.

On January 12, 1916, at approximately two o’clock in the afternoon, a group of 100 soldiers commanded by Villista Col. Pablo López attacked a “stalled” passenger train that was transporting the Cusi mining men. An eyewitness
reported that the band shouted, “Viva Villa!” and “Death to the Gringos.” Upon hearing shouts from the Villista band, five Americans jumped from the train, but the rebels quickly captured them and summarily executed the hapless miners.

The soldiers marched to the “American coach” and ordered that “all Gringos step out” of the car, line up, and remove their clothing. López then commanded two troopers to kill the Americans; the soldiers walked down the line and shot each of the men. Americans that tried to escape fell prey to other rebels who mortally shot them in their tracks.

The train carrying the remains of the eighteen Americans murdered at Santa Ysabel, Chihuahua, arrived in Juárez on the morning of January 13, 1916, and then crossed the river to the Santa Fe railway freight depot in El Paso, where citizens unloaded the corpses. An armed escort accompanied the bodies to various undertaking establishments. While the local police and military guard took precautions against any unrest, some enraged Americans marched in the streets and wanted retribution for the atrocities committed in Santa Ysabel.

Approximately thirty men of various backgrounds, including well-known local businessmen, held a meeting in El Paso and proposed to assemble a volunteer “foreign legion” of 1,000 men for service in Mexico under the protection of the Carranza government. The men felt confident that this volunteer unit could be outfitted and funded by a majority of those present at the meeting as well as by mining interests in Mexico. Meanwhile, crowds filled the streets of El Paso.

Tensions escalated throughout the afternoon when American soldiers from **Fort Bliss** took to the streets and attacked two Mexican men near the “Chihuahuita” district, a predominantly Mexican neighborhood located in the downtown area. Scuffles between Mexicans and other U. S. soldiers occurred later that evening, and many police wagons returned to their respective stations with “civilians” who had participated in the disturbances and with Mexicans who had been attacked. Soldiers and Anglo civilians in saloons took their drunken escapades to the streets and assaulted Mexicans.
Victims also included women, children, and the elderly. Hundreds of Americans, intending to exact revenge on local Mexicans, massed in the downtown streets that outlined “Chihuahuita,” and the confrontation erupted into a riot, with Anglos and U. S. soldiers on one side and Mexicans on the other. The crowd swelled to almost 1,500 men. After the initial reports of fighting came in, police worked for two to three hours to quell the disturbances.

Upon hearing news of the turmoil, groups from “El Segundo Barrio” came with bats, sticks, pipes and any other weapons they could muster to defend themselves. According to some eyewitness accounts, residents (including soldiers) of Ciudad Juárez joined their Mexican brethren from El Paso. At the peak of the rioting, Fort Bliss commander Gen. John J. Pershing ordered the Sixteenth Infantry to occupy the downtown streets because the local police force could not adequately restore order. Lines of troops marched through the streets and set up sentry posts in the middle of the plaza and on street corners. American soldiers searched for weapons and for Villa sympathizers in Chihuahuita until well after midnight. The troopers enforced curfews for all residents except those who possessed permits signed by the provost marshal. Despite the military occupation, soldiers and Mexicans continued to fight in the streets.

After the riot, the El Paso Police Department and General Pershing dispatched their respective units to “clean up” the Mexican quarter in the effort to avoid more violence. Approximately fifty soldiers and as many police officers rounded up suspected Villa associates during their “clean up” of the Chihuahuita neighborhood.

As the authorities subsequently fanned out over the downtown area, Pershing declared martial law and established a containment policy called “Dead Lines” on Mexican neighborhoods and the international port of entry at the Santa Fe Bridge. Pershing concluded that Mexicans needed to be separated from Anglos in order to stop any additional rioting. Pershing’s directive restricted Mexicans from leaving the “Chihuahuita” district and Americans from entering it. His closure of the international bridge extended the “Dead Line” to a separation of the United States from Mexico. This order
denied Americans access to Ciudad Juárez and prohibited Mexicans from crossing into El Paso. The “Dead Line” was periodically enforced for almost a year and profoundly impacted downtown El Paso’s Mexican-owned businesses that suffered drastic decreases in patronage in the year following the riot.

The El Paso Race Riot of 1916 intensified racial divisions between Anglos and Mexicans in the city and negatively affected race relations in the border region for many years.
The Porvenir Massacre was one of a series of clashes between Mexican-descent men and the Texas Rangers set off by the Mexican Revolution and accompanying events. The massacre was one of the most serious acts of ranger misconduct cited in the Texas Ranger investigation of 1919, organized by state legislator José T. Canales. In November 1917 ranger captain J. M. Fox noted that a few cattle and horses had been stolen and that he suspected "Mexican bandits" from the Carrancistas and Villistas near Presidio County. On December 25, 1917, Mexicans perpetrated the Brite Ranch Raid, in which several Mexicans and Anglos were killed, horses were stolen, and the ranch store was robbed. Several weeks later, on about January 28, Company B of the rangers—which included eight men under Fox; Troop G, Eighth U.S. Cavalry, from Camp Evetts, under Capt. Henry H. Anderson; and local ranchers Buck Pool, John Pool, Tom Snider, and Raymond Fitzgerald—arrived at the ranch of Manuel Morales in Porvenir. Reports conflict as to the actual date of their arrival. When the party left Porvenir, fifteen men of Mexican origin had been killed, all of whom evidently resided in Texas. Family members and friends fled across the Rio Grande and buried the dead at Pilares in Mexico.

Exactly what occurred is unclear. Although most of the Anglo participants as well as historian Walter Prescott Webb found "Mexicans" responsible for what happened, Henry Warren, Captain Anderson, and Porvenir residents of Mexican descent provided a different account of the incident. Not until February 18 did Fox explain to the adjutant general what had occurred. He claimed that the Mexicans were marched to the edge of town and that comrades of the Mexicans fired at the rangers, who then returned fire. He said the Mexicans had been found with pocket knives, soap, and shoes belonging to the Brite Ranch. He also claimed that one dead man had "sent word" some nine months earlier that a raid would be made on "Texas Gringos" and that looting and burning would also occur. Anderson, however,
called some official versions of the story "white-washed" and claimed that he, his sergeant, the twelve men he sent out with the rangers, and the widows and family members could testify to the truth.

According to Webb, agreement was unanimous among the rangers and ranchers on the "culpability of the Mexicans." Webb noted that in a preliminary visit by rangers and federal agents to Pilares and Porvenir, "Mexicans" were found wearing Hamilton Brown shoes from the Brite Ranch. In corroboration of Fox's version, Col. George T. Langhorne and the rangers said the ranger party was fired upon from the brush while gathering evidence, allegedly by the "Mexicans," and that the Anglos fired back. Raymond Fitzgerald told Webb that some Porvenir residents were "thieves, informers, spies, and murderers." Webb based his assessment of the incident on the testimony of Anglos, however, ignoring the affidavits by Mexican-descent women in Canales's investigation. Henry Warren, whose father-in-law, Tiburcio Jáquez, was killed in the incident, wrote a different version of the event in an undated manuscript written after June 1918. He sought to explain what he called a "massacre" and the "wholesale destruction of these Mexicans." He blamed the rangers. According to him, the investigating party searched the homes for arms that might have been used in the Brite Ranch Raid and found one pistol that belonged to an Anglo male. Subsequently, after the army troops departed, rangers arrested and killed fifteen men. Several elderly Mexican men were spared, as were all women and children. John J. Bailey, an Anglo living in the village on the ranch, was also spared. Warren claimed he saw the bodies on January 29. He made a list of the deceased, including their names, ages, spouses, and children, and noted that the rangers' actions had orphaned forty-two children. Warren sought to explain the incident by suggesting that rancher Tom Snider had stolen and sold horses belonging to Porvenir residents, told the rangers that the "Mexican bandits" who conducted the Brite Ranch raid were in Porvenir, and thus had planned the killings so his own crime would not be reported.

The role of the United States Cavalry is unclear. Press reports stated that the army had nothing to do with the affair and that "a number of Mexicans sought and received protection from the military." Captain Anderson's official report stated that he sent twelve men with the rangers. But they
waited below the ranch, Anderson said, "not knowing that the Rangers and ranchmen were going to murder the men." However, recent archaeological investigations conducted at the massacre site between 2002 and 2015 have uncovered a significant number of bullet fragments and cartridge casings from standard-issue U.S. Army ammunition and have cast doubt on whether or not the military was directly involved in the shootings. Apparently, the cavalry's role and requests by officials of the Mexican government led to a federal investigation. The father of Felipa Mendez Castañeda, whose husband was killed, owned a newspaper in Pilares, Chihuahua; he asked the Mexican government for assistance, and Mexican ambassador Ygnacio Bonilla asked for an investigation. Of nine Porvenir widows who filed affidavits, five claimed that the civilians had masks on their faces. Felipa Mendez Castañeda noted that three days before the massacre, three masked Anglos had come to her house. Anderson stated that three days before the massacre, the rangers went to a house, found arms, and arrested three "Mexicans" who were thereafter released. Librada Montoya Jáquez and Juana Bonilla Flores said they saw soldiers outside their doors. The grand jury of Presidio took no action for the killings. On June 4, 1918, Governor William P. Hobby disbanded Company B of the Texas Rangers and dismissed five rangers for their actions. Eulalia Gonzales Sánchez gave Warren power of attorney and sought to recover damages for the murder of her husband. In 1919 Canales highlighted the Porvenir Massacre in the investigation of the rangers. About 140 Porvenir residents abandoned their homes and fled to Mexico, and the community ceased to exist for several years.
The League of United Latin American Citizens, originally called the United Latin American Citizens, is the oldest and largest continually active Latino political association in the United States and was the first nationwide Mexican-American civil-rights organization. LULAC was founded on February 17, 1929, at Salón Obreros y Obreras in Corpus Christi, Texas. Its founding grew out of the rise of the Texas-Mexican middle class and resistance to racial discrimination. The strength of the organization has historically been in Texas. LULAC has been a multi-issue organization. It was organized in response to political disfranchisement, racial segregation, and racial discrimination. It responded to bossism, the lack of political representation, the lack of a sizable independent Mexican-American vote, jury exclusion of Mexican-Americans, and white primaries in such places as Dimmit County. It also dealt with the segregation of public schools, housing, and public accommodations. It attempted to solve the problems of poverty among Mexican Americans and sought to build a substantial Mexican-American middle class. It has persisted, despite occasional acts of intimidation from law authorities. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, for example, for a time had LULAC under surveillance, beginning in the 1940s.

In 1921 John C. Solis, Francisco (Frank) Leyton, and six others met in Helotes, Texas, to discuss the plight of la raza. These discussions led to the formation of the Order of Sons of America, which had seven chapters in Texas by 1929; the Order of Knights of America in San Antonio was a splinter group. The first attempt to merge these groups into a statewide organization occurred at the Harlingen Convention in 1927. The result was not the unification of the various groups but the founding of yet another organization, the Latin American Citizens League. In 1929 LULAC was founded by the merging of four organizations: the Corpus Christi council of
the Sons of America, the Alice council of the Sons of America, the Knights of America, and the Latin American Citizens League in the Rio Grande valley and Laredo. Twenty-five delegates attended the organizing meeting for the new group, including representatives from Brownsville, McAllen, Encino, and La Grulla. Santiago Tafolla, Sr., who had been president of the San Antonio Order of Sons of America and of the statewide network since 1921, refused to send delegates, and this chapter did not merge into the organization founded in February 1929. Members of the new organization selected as their motto, "All for one and one for all." The name United Latin American Citizens was changed to League of United Latin American Citizens at the constitutional convention held in May 1929. The first president of LULAC was Bernardo (Ben) F. Garza. Manuel C. Gonzales was vice president, Andrés de Luna was secretary, and Louis Wilmot was treasurer. The major architects of the LULAC constitution were José Tomás Canales, Eduardo Idar, and Alonso S. Perales. Though the 1929 constitution proclaimed English the official language of the league, the organization nevertheless promoted bilingualism. LULAC selected a shield as its emblem, symbolizing defense against and protection from racism. In 1931 the league obtained its charter.

Members of LULAC at the organization's constitutional convention in May 1929.
In 1929 membership was open to "persons" of Mexican origin, though LULAC men did not encourage women to join. Members were typically skilled laborers and small-business owners, though a handful of lawyers played a crucial role. In South Texas, "small capitalists," merchants, and business owners participated. The 1949 constitution opened membership to Caucasians, and in 1986 any person living in the United States was permitted membership, a change intended to include Mexican immigrants. Mexicans were always honorary members, but, in the case of Felix Tijerina and Raoul Cortez, national presidents. In 1991, LULAC membership typically included government and lower-level corporate employees. Chapters have also been organized by college students. Women played an important role in LULAC as both members and nonmembers. They attended the 1929 constitutional convention as interested wives and family members, and by 1991 they constituted half of the LULAC membership. In 1932 women organized several ladies' auxiliaries in Texas. In 1933 LULAC extended membership to women in Ladies LULAC councils, which were gender-segregated chapters. Integrated chapters developed in the 1950s and by 1970 were typical. In the 1960s a "Married Couple council" in Corpus Christi existed. A feminist council existed in Houston in the 1970s, and in the 1980s El Paso women organized Las Comadres, a women's council. Women have also helped LULAC without being members, assisting as wives, family members, individual friends of LULAC, and members of women's clubs and organizations. Notable women in LULAC have included Alice Dickerson Montemayor, Esther Nieto Machuca, and Adela Sloss Vento. Amada Valdez of El Paso was active in Ladies Council 9 for decades, beginning in the 1930s.

Texas LULAC has no permanent state headquarters because of the lack of a solid financial base and the annual changes in leadership. In 1991 LULAC had a state director, district directors, and autonomous local councils. Outstanding national presidents of LULAC from Texas have included George I. Sánchez of New Mexico (who lived in Texas), John J. Herrera, Felix Tijerina, Manuel C. Gonzales, Judge Alfred Hernández, Roberto Ornelas, Ruben Bonilla, and Tony Bonilla. With the exception of Dolores Guerrero in 1969 and Rosa Rosales in 1991, all Texas statewide presidents
have been men; women have commonly served as district directors and local council presidents. The most persistent and important men's LULAC councils in Texas have included Corpus Christi 1, San Antonio 2, El Paso 8, Laredo 12, and Houston 60. Among the most important Ladies LULAC councils in the state have been those in El Paso, Houston, San Antonio, and Laredo. Chapters in rural communities have generally been less enduring because of the frequent lack of a Mexican-American middle class in these areas—and sometimes because of intimidation from local authorities. Until the 1960s, in fact, some Anglo authorities and members of the Texas Rangers sought to prevent LULAC from organizing in rural communities.

LULAC has played a role in the formation of several important related organizations. It gave rise to La Liga Pro-Defensa Escolar (the School Improvement League) in San Antonio, and formed a veterans' committee to address the rights of G.I.'s before LULAC member Hector P. García organized the American G.I. Forum. LULAC members instituted the Little School of the 400, the model for the federal educational program Head Start. In 1964 LULAC helped start the SER-Jobs for Progress, Incorporated, the largest employment agency for Latinos in the United States. Later, LULAC members helped secure a grant from the Ford Foundation that started the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund. LULAC was heavily involved in school desegregation efforts. In 1931 its members were among those behind Del Rio ISD v. Salvatierra, and in 1948 LULAC was involved in the case of Delgado v. Bastrop ISD, which ended segregation in the public schools. LULAC and the American G.I. Forum filed fifteen desegregation cases in Texas during the 1950s. LULAC has also focused attention on education in other ways. It awarded its first scholarship in 1932, and by 1974 it had established the LULAC National Educational Service Centers and a national scholarship fund. In 1990 LULAC members were involved in a case to redistribute state funds to colleges in South Texas.

Direct political involvement by LULAC members has included the organization of poll tax drives at the local level from the 1930s until the mid-1960s, when the League advocated abolishing these taxes (see ELECTION LAWS). League members supported Mexican-American candidates such as
Raymond Telles, who campaigned to be mayor of El Paso in 1957, and Henry B. Gonzalez, in his campaign for election to the United States House of Representatives in the 1950s. LULAC fought for appointment of Mexican Americans to important federal and state positions, including the first Mexican-American federal judge in Texas, Reynaldo Garza, and the first Mexican-American United States ambassador, Raymond Telles. League members were also active in Viva Kennedy-Viva Johnson Clubs and in the Political Association of Spanish-Speaking Organizations. In 1991 a case in which LULAC members were involved, LULAC v. Mattox, determined that judges would be elected, not appointed, in a number of Texas counties. LULAC involvement in debates about immigration included 1930 testimony by LULAC members at the federal level on the issue of Mexican immigration. During the Bracero Program LULAC played a major role in the banning of braceros from Texas because of their exploitation. In 1954 LULAC supported Operation Wetback, the United States government drive to deport undocumented workers. In the 1980s LULAC members were at the forefront of supporting immigrant rights in the Immigration and Reform Act of 1987.

LULAC was involved in issues of discrimination and equal rights in a variety of other ways, as well. In the 1930s the league investigated charges of discrimination by the WPA and supported the Alazan-Apache Courts in San Antonio, the first public housing in the United States. In the late 1930s LULAC fought to change the classification of Mexican Americans as "Mexicans" in the coming (1940) United States census. In the 1940s LULAC member Edmundo E. Mireles promoted the teaching of the Spanish language in Texas schools, and LULAC worked with the Federal Employment Practices Commission to open up jobs for Mexican Americans in the defense industry. In the 1950s LULAC opposed the McCarran Immigration Act and helped desegregate the Texas State Penitentiary at Huntsville. LULAC members were also involved in Hernández v. State of Texas, which gave Mexican Americans the right to serve on juries. LULAC supported the Texas farmworkers’ march in 1966 and endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment in 1974. Around 1978 LULAC took up the José Campos Torres police-brutality case.
The League of United Latin American Citizens has obtained the support of *la raza* and the Anglo community because of its civic nature. In particular, LULAC women have focused on civic concerns, paying attention to children, the poor, and the elderly and instituting programs—such as protective services for the elderly and the distribution of eyeglasses to children—to help these populations. In 1937, Ladies LULAC established the Junior LULAC, chapters for youth. LULAC ideology has historically encompassed liberalism, individualism, and support of free-market capitalism; anticommunism and United States patriotism have also been central. In 1974 the LULAC Foundation was established and LULAC began receiving corporate contributions. LULAC participated in a boycott against Coors Brewing Company in the 1970s but by the early 1990s was accepting donations from Coors. The success and longevity of LULAC can also be attributed to effective communication. From 1931 through the 1970s it published the *LULAC News*, and before 1940 it sponsored the publications *Lulac Notes, El Defensor, Alma Latina*, and *El Paladin*, all in Texas.
The Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund has represented Mexican Americans in civil-rights lawsuits since it was incorporated in Texas in 1967.

The pivotal moment in its founding occurred in a Jourdanton, Texas, courtroom in June 1966. Attorney Pete Tijerina, representing a Mexican American female client in a lawsuit against an Anglo, faced an initial jury pool with no Mexican Americans. A second jury pool on August 1, 1966, yielded only two Spanish-surnamed jurors, one who was deceased and another who did not speak English. Tijerina won his case; however, he obtained only a portion of the money he believed was fair for his client, who had suffered an amputated leg in a car accident caused by the Anglo defendant. Tijerina believed the jury selection process determined the low monetary outcome of the case. After this experience, he set out with fellow Mexican-American attorneys and Jack Greenberg of the Legal Defense and Educational Fund of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to organize a legal entity through which Mexican Americans would challenge discrimination in the courts, education, employment, and immigration.

Tijerina both cofounded and served as the fund's first executive director, and Mario Obledo, a former state director of the League of United Latin American Citizens, was its first general counsel. Its first national office was in San Antonio. A board of directors was established to oversee the organization. In 1968 Tijerina, with the assistance of the Legal Defense and Educational Fund of the NAACP, obtained a $2,250,000 five-year grant from the Ford Foundation to implement "litigation and general education activities." MALDEF's areas of interest included litigation in education, employment, and police-brutality cases. The fund also conducted research
and published documents on the legal rights of Mexican Americans and disseminated a newsletter, MALDEF. The Ford grant provided scholarship money to educate more Mexican-American lawyers. At first non-Hispanic lawyers made up a sizable portion of MALDEF staff and cooperating attorneys.

In its first three years, MALDEF floundered in its attempts to file constitutionally significant lawsuits and was inundated with routine legal-aid cases that could be resolved outside the courts. In addition to its difficulty in gaining traction, some of its San Antonio staff were deemed "militant," a perception that caused the Ford Foundation to recommend moving the headquarters out of the state and replacing Tijerina as executive director. MALDEF chose San Francisco, California, as its new headquarters and selected Mario Obledo as executive director and general counsel. The national office was subsequently moved to Los Angeles, California, and continued to maintain a regional branch in San Antonio. Later, it added regional branches in Atlanta, Chicago, and Washington, D.C.

Under Obledo's direction, MALDEF began to work on employment discrimination cases with the NAACP legal office. He improved the national standing of the organization by involving it in Supreme Court cases through friend-of-the-court briefs, sometimes filed in conjunction with other organizations. In 1973, when the case of *Demetrio Rodríguez et al. v. San Antonio Independent School District* was tried before the United States Supreme Court, civil-rights proponents suffered a major defeat when the court ruled against equal financing of education. Though not a MALDEF case, the decision had significant bearing on MALDEF's legal
strategies. That same year MALDEF achieved its first successful litigation before the Supreme Court in the case of *White, et al. v. Regester, et al.*, which resulted in the implementation of single-member districts and served as a precedent for Texas county, city council, and school board districts. This litigation was instrumental in eventually bringing Texas into compliance with the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which required the federal approval of state electoral practices. In 1989 MALDEF won a historic victory in *Edgewood ISD v. State of Texas*, in which the Texas Supreme Court unanimously found that the state's system of public finance of education was unconstitutional and ordered the legislature to alter it.

Obledo resigned in 1973 and was replaced by Vilma Martínez. Drawing on her experience in acquiring the initial Ford Foundation support for MALDEF, she brought to the fund a more sophisticated fund-raising plan. In addition, under her direction, MALDEF set up an education-litigation project that filed lawsuits on behalf of the children of undocumented workers refused admission to public schools. In 1982, after several years of effort, MALDEF argued *Plyler v. Doe* before the Supreme Court and won. The court held that the children were protected under the due-process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and were entitled to a public education. In 1980 the organization established a leadership-development program, which trained 1,300 individuals by 1992; more than 50 percent of the program's graduates garnered appointments to local, state, and national public-policy boards. In Texas a goal was established of getting an additional 500 Mexican Americans into the program in the 1990s.

In addition to its strong emphasis on educational issues and leadership development, MALDEF concentrated on women's equity and voting rights. In 1974 it set up a Chicana Rights Project (CRP) to challenge sex discrimination against Mexican-American women. The project's national office was in San Antonio, and it maintained a regional branch in San Francisco. The CRP lost its foundation support in the early 1980s, and MALDEF discontinued it. In the 1970s MALDEF joined the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project to battle voting inequities. The eighty-eight lawsuits filed by this project between 1974 and 1984 increased voter registration among Mexican Americans. MALDEF also successfully
lobbied to ensure that the 1975 extension of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 include Spanish-surnamed citizens in the Southwest.

Subsequently, MALDEF turned its attention to the state's public higher-education system in *LULAC et al. v. Richards et al.*, a 1987 class-action lawsuit that charged the state with discrimination against Mexican Americans in South Texas because of its inadequate funding of colleges in the area. The jury in the 1991 Brownsville trial did not find the state guilty of discrimination, but did note that the legislature had failed to establish a "first-class" system of colleges and universities in South Texas. Eventually, the case led to the South Texas Initiative, passed by the Texas legislature in 1993. Included in this measure, beginning on September 1, 1993, were steps to improve University of Texas System schools in Brownsville, Edinburg, San Antonio, and El Paso, and newly-acquired Texas A&M University System branches in Corpus Christi, Laredo, and Kingsville. A group known as the Border Region Higher Education Council helped to pass the legislation and monitored the program's progress.

Throughout the 2000s, MALDEF undertook new challenges regarding immigrants’ rights and hate crimes in Arizona, Pennsylvania, and Texas. In 2005 *Vicente v. Barnett* opposed a practice in effect since the late 1990s by U.S. vigilantes to “hunt and detain” immigrants crossing into the United States along the Arizona-U.S. border. MALDEF won the case in 2009. In *Reyes v. City of Farmers Branch*, (Farmers Branch, Texas), MALDEF challenged Ordinance 2952 by the city that required all apartment residents to possess a “residential occupancy lease” and non-citizen adults to provide information on their “lawful presence” in the United States. Working with the ACLU Immigrants Rights Project and the ACLU of Texas, MALDEF was able to enjoin the ordinance, thereby assuring that the case moved forward. Other litigation has involved racial profiling and hate crimes.

In *Melendres v. Sheriff Joseph Arpaio* of Maricopa County, Arizona, the organization opposed the detaining of Latinos solely to question their “immigration status.” The lawsuit survived a court challenge and was ordered to move forward in 2009. Following the killing of Luis Ramírez in Shenandoah, Pennsylvania, MALDEF successfully sought that charges be
brought against his assailants. Two of the defendants were convicted of the “fatal beating” of Ramírez, and sentenced to nine years in prison. The Ramírez case was tried during a period when the FBI reported a 40 percent increase in hate crimes against Latinos.

MALDEF has continued to work in other areas on behalf of its constituents. It supported the Troubled Assets Relief Program to assist homeowners facing foreclosure, and the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, a law that sought job training and educational opportunities.

Throughout its long history of pursuing justice, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund has added programs and projects, as needed, to represent its constituents.
José de la Luz Sáenz, teacher, civil rights activist, a co-founder of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), and author of the only extant war diary published by a World War I doughboy of Mexican origin, was born on May 17, 1888, in the South Texas rural community of Realitos. His widowed grandmother brought the family to Texas from the border community of Mier, Tamaulipas, in the 1870s. Sáenz’s father, Rosalío, did ranch work and shepherding in the Hebbronville area while his mother, Cristina Hernández, cared for their six children and tended to other responsibilities in the home until her passing on June 28, 1896. The eldest daughter, Marcelina, took care of the family until Rosalío married Petra Ramos in 1900. Soon thereafter, Rosalío and Petra moved to the nearby town of Alice to provide the children better schooling opportunities.

Sáenz attended separate Mexican community schools that taught Spanish and Mexican culture and history. He also attended public high school and graduated from Alice High School in 1905. Soon after graduation, he joined his father at a railroad work site known as Oso, where the workers’ families asked him to teach their children during the day and the adults in the evenings. This was the beginning of a teaching career of approximately forty-five years. Sáenz subsequently attended a business school in San Antonio.
and, while teaching in segregated Mexican schools in the area, also participated in teacher workshops in the city which enabled him to obtain a teaching certificate. He taught in numerous places, beginning in the area around San Antonio and ending in the Rio Grande City and McAllen region. During his career he also served as principal of schools in La Joya, Benavides, Oilton, and McAllen. According to family lore, Sáenz rarely stayed long in one place because he often antagonized local school authorities and other influential persons with his open critiques against the segregation of Mexican children. He joined the Mexican Protective Association during the 1910s and served as its president in Moore, Texas. Sáenz married María C. Múzquiz in 1915. When she died within a year, Sáenz married María Petra Esparza, a descendant of Gregorio Esparza of Texas Revolution fame. Esparza had also been left a widow when her husband, Sáenz’s brother, had died. They had nine children.

Although Sáenz may have been able to obtain a deferment from military service because of his teaching occupation and his young family, he volunteered in the United States Army and served with the 360th Infantry Regiment of the Ninetieth Division in the American Expeditionary Forces of World War I fame. He joined the military in February 1918 while teaching at an all-Mexican school in Dittlinger, a company town for the Dittlinger Lime Company located near New Braunfels. Sáenz served as a private in the Intelligence Section, which allowed him the opportunity to use his translation skills in English, Spanish, and French to handle the many documents that flowed through headquarters. His headquarters assignment also gave him the opportunity to identify and contact the numerous Mexican soldiers serving in the two divisions that originated in Texas, the Ninetieth and Thirty-sixth. Though Sáenz demonstrated very competent administrative skills, he was twice denied entry into officer training school with no explanation and remained a private throughout his military service.

Sáenz recorded his war front observations in a diary that he published in 1933 as Los Mexico-Americanos en La Gran Guerra y Su Contingente en Pro de la Democracia, la Humanidad y La Justicia: Mi Diario Particular. The diary is composed of daily entries between February 1918 and June 1919 that correspond to the author’s enlistment, service in France, and discharge
in San Antonio. Not unlike other wartime accounts, Sáenz’s diary chronicles the arduous experiences of the Mexican soldiers, both Mexican Nationals and U.S.-born Mexicans. Although Sáenz is especially interested in recording the experiences, thoughts, fears, and desires of the Mexican soldiers, he mostly intends to account for their “ultimate sacrifice” so that future generations would be better able to call for equal rights at home.

While recounting observations and conversations with fellow Mexican soldiers to underscore their selfless military contributions, Saénz also analogizes the war in Europe with the Mexican fight for equal rights at home by pointing to their shared principles of American justice and democracy. He further justifies the home front cause for equal rights by claiming that Mexican civil rights leaders represented the egalitarian principles embodied in the U. S. Constitution, while the segregationists in Texas and abroad threatened its very foundation. Largely because of Saenz’s influence, LULAC gave special attention to the contributions of the Mexican soldier alongside a broadly defined civil rights program of action. Saénz was one of the most prominent veterans in the LULAC-led cause, which began with its founding in 1929.

After his discharge in 1919, Sáenz led an effort to build a monument in San Antonio to commemorate the contributions of Mexican American service-men. He secured some donations, official support, and even a design for the structure. The plans were scrapped, however, when the fund for the monument was diverted to support the famous LULAC-backed desegregation fight against the Del Rio Independent School District which became known as the Salvatierra case of 1930. This first legal challenge by Mexican Americans against school segregation in the United States thus stands as a symbolic tribute to contributions of the Mexican American veterans of World War I.

Saénz played an important role in the formation of LULAC after his discharge from military duty. In 1924 he worked with community leaders such as Alonso Perales from San Antonio and José Tomás Canales from Brownsville to promote the idea of a statewide civil rights organization that could effectively address discrimination and inequality. He joined Perales in
a speaking tour in the Rio Grande Valley with this in mind. Sáenz served as
the secretary of the subsequent failed convention held in Harlingen in 1927.
Two years later, he delivered one of the key addresses during the successful
Corpus Christi convention that united various organizations under the
LULAC banner. According to family members, Sáenz wrote the first LULAC
constitution and served on the organization’s board of trustees between 1930
and 1932. Sáenz was also elected president of the McAllen chapter in the
1930s and throughout his lifetime promoted and expanded the views of
LULAC with numerous articles in English and Spanish-language news-
papers.

Sáenz penned numerous newspaper articles, especially for *La Prensa* (San
Antonio), *El Latino-Americano* (Alice), *La Verdad* (Corpus Christi) and *La
Voz* (Corpus Christi), the McAllen *Evening Monitor*, and *Texas Outlook*
(Austin). According to family members, Sáenz was always on his typewriter
commenting on the difficulties that Mexicans faced in highly segregated
Texas settings.

Sáenz served as a shelter warden during World War II. He also organized
chapters of the *Spanish-Speaking Parent Teacher Association*
throughout South Texas. Around 1948, after retiring from teaching, he
completed his B.A. studies at Sul Ross State Teachers College (now Sul Ross
State University). Sáenz was also a member of the *American G. I. Forum*,
the *Veterans of Foreign Wars*, the *American Legion*, the *Texas
Council on Human Relations*, and the *American Council of Spanish
Speaking People*. In 1947 an elementary school in Alice, Texas, was named
after Sáenz in recognition of his work as a teacher as well as a writer, orator,
LULAC founder, and civil rights activist. Sáenz died in Corpus Christi on
April 12, 1953. He is buried in the National Cemetery at *Fort Sam Houston*
in San Antonio.
Adela Sloss Vento, writer, feminist, and civil rights activist, was born in Karnes City, Texas, on September 27, 1901, to Anselma Garza and David Henry Sloss. She graduated from Pharr-San Juan High School in 1927 and soon began working as a secretary for the mayor of the city of San Juan. She was involved in dismantling the red-light district located on the south side of town where the majority of the Mexicans lived. She also worked with the Good Government League to end ongoing corruption in the mayor’s office (see HIDALGO COUNTY REBELLION).

Shortly after the Harlingen Convention of 1927, Sloss contacted Mexican American attorney and civil rights activist Alonso S. Perales to express support for his efforts to unite various Mexican American civic and political organizations under a single banner. Through Perales, she also made contact with civil rights leaders José de la Luz Sáenz and J. T. Canales. Together, they collaborated to document instances of discrimination against Mexican Americans. Sloss began submitting political essays to various Spanish-language periodicals that spoke out against discrimination and championed the work of Perales, Sáenz, and others. As early as 1928, she was publicly lauded by La Prensa columnist Rudolfo Uranga for her “vigorous and well-documented defense of the Mexican people.”

With the founding of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) in 1929, Adela Sloss openly declared herself a part of its cause. Despite the fact that LULAC initially prohibited women to join, she
participated in many of the organization’s activities, including the fund-raising campaign for LULAC’s first legal desegregation fight, the *Del Rio ISD v. Salvatierra* case of the early 1930s. When LULAC finally allowed women to join as full-fledged members in 1933, Sloss cofounded (in Alice, Texas) a **Ladies LULAC** council which was comprised of herself, eight other single women, and fourteen married women. She quickly became a state LULAC leader and continued to submit articles to both English and **Spanish-language newspapers** across the state, including the *Valley Morning Star*, the Brownsville *Herald*, *La Prensa* in San Antonio, and *La Verdad* in Corpus Christi. These articles covered a variety of issues that specifically affected the ethnic Mexican community, including widespread poverty, the abuses suffered by migrant workers, the pervasive racism encountered by Mexican Americans, and the lack of attention these issues received from both the U. S. and Mexican governments. Although she never overtly claimed to be a feminist, much of her writing demonstrated otherwise. In 1934 she wrote an essay for *LULAC News* in which she objected to the perpetuation of the stereotype of the subservient Mexican woman.

In 1935 Adela Sloss married Pedro C. Vento, who fully supported her involvement in the Mexican American civil rights movement. During **World War II**, the couple lived in Corpus Christi, where Pedro Vento worked at the *Corpus Christi Naval Air Station*. Afterwards, they settled in Edinburg, Texas, where Pedro worked as a guard in the Hidalgo County jail and Adela served as the jail matron. They had two children, Irma Dora Vento and Arnoldo Carlos Vento.

Adela Sloss Vento continued her work as an activist, editorialist, public speaker, and political organizer throughout the 1940s. In the early 1950s she joined with Perales, Sáenz, and University of Texas professor **Carlos E. Castañeda** to organize the Texas Good Relations Association. She retired from her position as Hidalgo County jail matron in 1955, but continued to participate in grassroots-level politics and publish essays, editorials, and opinion pieces well into the 1970s. She also spent much of her time meticulously documenting and archiving the activities of LULAC and several of the organization’s founding members, including Alonso S. Perales. This effort culminated with the publication of her most notable and recognized
work, *Alonso S. Perales: His Struggle for the Rights of Mexican Americans* (1977). This book, which has since become an important resource for Mexican American civil rights scholars, was written and edited with the help of her son, Arnoldo Carlos Vento, a professor of Spanish American and Mexican American literature at the University of Texas at Austin.

Adela Sloss Vento’s lifetime of dedication to LULAC was recognized in 1968, when she received a Pioneer Award at the Fifth Annual Statewide LULAC Founder’s Pioneers and Awards Banquet in San Antonio. Since then, she has been studied extensively by Chicana scholars and placed alongside *María L. de Hernández, Alice Dickerson Montemayor*, and others as representative of a generation of Mexican American women involved in civil rights activity at the local level. Adela Sloss Vento died in Edinburg, Texas, on April 4, 1998.
Clotilde Pérez García, physician, activist, author, educator, and sister of noted civil rights activist Hector P. García, was born in Ciudad Victoria, Tamaulipas, Mexico, on January 9, 1917. She was the fourth of seven children born to José García, a college professor, and Faustina Pérez García, a school-teacher. In 1917 the family fled to the United States to escape the violence and instability of the Mexican Revolution. They eventually settled with other extended family members in Mercedes, Texas, in 1918 and opened a dry goods store.

From an early age García’s parents stressed the importance of education and a professional career path. Each night, after attending Mercedes public schools, she and her siblings received advanced instruction in a wide variety of subjects from their father. This would ultimately pay off. Six of the seven García children went on to receive advanced medical degrees. After graduating from Mercedes High School in 1934, García attended Edinburg Junior College (now part of the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley) and received her associate’s degree in 1936. She then attended the University of
Texas at Austin, where she studied pre-med, zoology, and chemistry, and graduated with a bachelor’s degree in 1938.

García intended to enroll in medical school after graduation but delayed her plans because of the Great Depression. Instead, she returned home to provide financial support for her family. From the late 1930s through the 1940s García taught at several schools in the South Texas communities of Tienditas, Benavides, Hebbronville, and Mercedes. In 1940 she became a naturalized citizen. Around the same time she met Hipólito Canales of Hebbronville. They married in 1943 but divorced shortly afterwards. The couple had one child, José Antonio Canales, who later became one of the first Tejanos appointed to the U.S. Attorney’s Office.

Advised by her father and older brothers, García returned to the University of Texas at Austin, where she studied Latin American literature under George I. Sánchez and earned a master’s in education in 1950. She then enrolled at the University of Texas Medical Branch (UTMB) at Galveston, the school previously attended by her older brothers José Antonio García and Hector Pérez García. She was one of only seven women—and the only Mexican American woman—to graduate from UTMB in 1954. García completed her internship at Corpus Christi Memorial Hospital in 1955 and opened a private practice in Corpus Christi; she was one of the first Mexican American women to practice medicine in the state.

García quickly earned a reputation as a devoted medical practitioner and community advocate. One of her primary goals was to provide adequate medical care for Corpus Christi’s poorest citizens, most of whom were Mexican Americans. Aside from treating the sick, she took an active interest in their lives and educated them about preventive medicine, hygiene, nutrition, and infant care. Over the course of her forty-year medical career, she delivered nearly 10,000 babies, and she was known to regularly attend the funerals of deceased patients. This special level of dedication helped to cement her status as a physician and community leader.

Beyond her duties as a physician, García remained active in the education community. Most notably, she served on the Del Mar College board of
regents from 1960 to 1982. Prior to that, she was a member of the Del Mar College Vocational Nursing Advisory Committee and the Nueces County Hale-Aiken Committee, which made recommendations to the state for public school improvements. Additionally, in 1968 García founded the Carmelite Day Nursery Parents and Friends Club, a local education and fund-raising program for children of the working poor. She was also a staunch advocate for public school desegregation, bilingual education, and federally-funded school breakfast programs.

García also played an important role in the civil rights movement and often worked closely with her brother, Hector, who founded the American G.I. Forum in 1948. As a leader in the American G.I. Forum Women’s Auxiliary, Clotilde García participated in the Valley Farm Workers Minimum Wage March of 1966 (see STARR COUNTY STRIKE) and was state director of the G.I. Forum’s education committee. She also served as national health director for the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) in 1966.

A lifelong Democrat, García helped organize local chapters of the Viva Kennedy and Viva Johnson campaigns of 1960 and 1964 and supported the War on Poverty programs of the 1960s as a board member of SER-Jobs for Progress and the Nueces County Community Action Agency, a nonprofit organization that facilitated the implementation of federal antipoverty programs at the county level. She later served on the Texas Constitutional Revision Commission of 1973, the Task Force to Evaluate Medicaid in Texas (1977), the Texas State Democratic Executive Committee, and the U.S. Senate Special Subcommittee on Aging.
In the mid-1970s García began to promote local history and Hispanic genealogy. In 1975 she published in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* a translated account of the 1812 Siege of Camargo, which was later expanded into a brief monograph. This was followed by eight additional volumes on important local historical figures, including José Nicolás Ballí, Blas María de la Garza Falcón, and Enrique Villarreal. García was also active in the Nueces County Historical Society, the Nueces County Historical Commission, the American Revolutionary Bicentennial Commission, and the Nueces County Sesquicentennial Commission.

In 1987 she co-founded the Spanish American Genealogical Association (SAGA) and served as the organization’s first president. SAGA worked to promote the research, collection, and development of genealogical data on the earliest Spanish and Mexican settlers of South Texas. The organization accomplished this by compiling and publishing previously unavailable genealogical records, donating microfilm and other research materials to the Corpus Christi Public Library, and hosting genealogical conferences. As a member of the Corpus Christi Quincentenary Commission, Dr. García also spearheaded the effort to commission sculptor Roberto García, Jr.’s 1992 statue of Christopher Columbus at the city’s port.

In recognition of her efforts to promote South Texas’s Hispanic past, García was awarded the Royal American Order of Isabella the Catholic by King Juan Carlos I of Spain in 1990 and was later appointed to the Texas Historical Commission by Governor Ann Richards. Other recognitions include the 1969 Community Leader of America Award from the Education Board Commission of Latin America and the 1972 Outstanding Citizen’s Award from the American G.I. Forum. Additionally, Del Mar College named their newly-constructed health sciences building in her honor in 1983, and in 1984 she was one of the first twelve women inducted into the Texas Women’s Hall of Fame.

Clotilde García retired from medicine and reduced her public involvement after suffering a stroke in 1994. She died in Corpus Christi on May 23, 2003, and was buried at Seaside Memorial Park. In 2005 her personal papers, including a substantial collection of valuable research materials, were
donated to the Special Collections and Archives Department at Texas A&M-Corpus Christi. In 2006 the Tejano Genealogy Society of Austin created the Clotilde P. García Book Prize to promote the scholarly research of Tejano history, and in 2008 the city of Corpus Christi named the Dr. Clotilde P. García Public Library in her honor.
Emma Beatrice Tenayuca, Mexican American labor organizer, civil rights activist, and educator, oldest daughter of Sam Tenayuca and Benita Hernandez Zepeda, was born in San Antonio, Texas, on December 21, 1916. Tenayuca was a central figure in the radical labor movement in Texas during the 1930s and a leading member of the Workers Alliance of America and Communist Party of Texas. She is perhaps best remembered for her role in organizing the largest strike in San Antonio history, the Pecan-Shellers’ Strike of 1938. Her efforts on behalf of the working poor of San Antonio later earned her the nickname “La Pasionaria” (“The Passionate One”).

Tenayuca was raised in a large, blue-collar, devoutly Catholic family on San Antonio’s racially-mixed south side. The family had Spanish and Native American roots in Mexico and Texas that, according to oral tradition, could be traced back to the eighteenth century settlement at Los Adaes. Due to financial difficulties, she was sent to live with her maternal grandparents in San Antonio’s impoverished, mostly Mexican American west side barrio. This turned out to be a significant development in young Tenayuca’s life. Her grandfather, Francisco Zepeda, a carpenter and avid follower of Mexican politics on both sides of the border, instilled in her a strong interest in the hardships that fellow Mexicans faced in San Antonio and in the organized political activity that addressed those conditions. She was especially drawn to the soap box speakers who gathered at the local Plaza del Zacate (now Milam Park) on Sundays. They included veteran socialist agitators who
spoke about their first-hand experiences during the Mexican Revolution of 1910 and the anarcho-syndicalist ideas associated with the Magonista movement (see Flores Magón, Ricardo).

Tenayuca attended Brackenridge High School where she excelled in her studies, especially on the school’s debate team, and was a star player in both baseball and basketball. She joined a ladies’ auxiliary of the League of United Latin American Citizens, but left the organization in 1933 because it denied admission to foreign-born Mexicans and did not yet allow women to participate as full members. Tenayuca also participated in an after-school reading club, where she read enthusiastically about the works of Thomas Paine, Charles A. Beard, Karl Marx, and the Industrial Workers of the World, an international radical labor union. Her first foray into labor activism came in 1933, when she was inspired to join a group of women striking against the H.W. Finck Cigar Company of San Antonio. Her subsequent arrest and the mistreatment of workers she witnessed at the hands of local law enforcement strengthened her resolve to work in the labor movement. The complacency she perceived on the part of the Catholic Church during the strike also deeply affected her faith.

After graduating from high school in 1934, Tenayuca found employment as an elevator operator at the Gunter Hotel in San Antonio and began organizing workers alongside Mrs. W. H. Ernst, the radical leader of the Finck cigar strike. From 1934 to 1935 Tenayuca played a prominent role in the formation of two locals for the International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union (ILGWU). However, she often found herself at odds with ILGWU leadership, especially with local union representative Rebecca Taylor, who she felt did not understand the needs of the Mexican American community. As a result, Tenayuca began working with the Unemployed Council, which later merged with other leftist organizations to form the Workers Alliance of America.

Between 1935 and 1937 Tenayuca gained increasing notoriety as the leader of several highly visible marches, demonstrations, and sit-ins. These actions were coordinated to protest a number of issues that acutely affected the ethnic Mexican community, including the unequal distribution of Work.
Projects Administration (WPA) jobs, the discriminatory removal of Mexican American families from WPA relief roles, and the abuse of ethnic Mexican workers by local law enforcement officials. This included illegal deportations of U. S. citizens by the United States Border Patrol (see MEXICAN AMERICANS AND REPatriATION). Additionally, Tenayuca called for new minimum wage guidelines and petitioned WPA officials in Washington, D.C., to investigate the discriminatory practices of the Texas Relief Commission and other local agencies. She also traveled to Mexico City in 1936 to study briefly at the Workers’ University of Mexico. Upon her return to San Antonio, she joined with W. H. Ernst to organize the Confederation of Mexican and Mexican American Workers, a local offshoot of the Confederación de Trabajadores de México (CTM).

By the spring of 1937 Tenayuca was the general secretary of at least ten Workers Alliance chapters representing thousands of unemployed and underemployed workers in San Antonio. Soon thereafter, she attended the Workers Alliance national convention in Milwaukee and was elected to the national executive board. During this time Tenayuca also became openly affiliated with the Communist Party. She believed the party offered the best avenue for San Antonio’s under-represented Mexican American workers, who were underemployed, underpaid, excluded from membership in most traditional unions, and received inadequate relief from government agencies.

Tenayuca married Homer Brooks, the chairman of the Communist Party of Texas, in October 1937. Eighteen months later, The Communist published the couple’s historic essay, “The Mexican Question in the Southwest,” the party’s official declaration on the Mexican community as a segment of the working class and national minority. Already a well-known leader in San Antonio, Tenayuca later replaced Brooks as chair of the Communist Party of
Texas in 1939 and was also the Communist nominee for the United States Congress in 1938 and 1940. The pecan-shellers’ strike that began spontaneously in January 1938, however, catapulted Tenayuca to even greater heights of local, regional, and national renown.

While organizing for the Workers Alliance, Tenayuca made contact with San Antonio’s pecan shelling workers. The work force of approximately 12,000, the majority of whom were Mexican women, faced some of the harshest exploitation in the city, including sweatshop-like working conditions and extremely low wages (often less than three dollars a week). On January 31, 1938, the women walked off en masse after the Southern Pecan Shelling Company announced that it was going to cut wages by roughly twenty percent. When the strikers gathered at a local park they chanted “Emma, Emma,” and elected Tenayuca their official leader. The strike quickly grew to more than 10,000 workers, and the organization applied for a charter from the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA), a national union affiliated with the left-leaning Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The strike, one of the largest in the country,
lasted for three months. Strikers were subjected to mass arrests and tear gas, and Tenayuca’s Communist Party membership was criticized by the national press.

Afraid that her political ties would damage public opinion, CIO and UCAPAWA leaders decided to remove Tenayuca as strike leader. However, she remained on as the popularly-elected “unofficial” leader and continued to organize pickets, distribute flyers, and coordinate soup kitchens. Eventually, the Texas Industrial Commission agreed to investigate the strikers’ grievances, and producers agreed to pay the minimum wage established by the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. However, company owners responded by mechanizing their factory, effectively eliminating 10,000 shelling jobs over the next two years.

The negative press surrounding Tenayuca continued after the strike and reached its peak in August 1939 when San Antonio mayor and former New Deal Congressman Maury Maverick granted Tenayuca permission to hold a large Communist Party meeting at the San Antonio Municipal Auditorium. On the night of the rally, a crowd of 5,000 gathered outside the auditorium to protest. When angry protesters stormed the building, Tenayuca and others were escorted to safety by police via an underground tunnel. The violent reaction, including death threats, eventually forced Tenayuca to leave San Antonio. She first went to Houston, where she worked various office jobs under the alias “Beatrice Giraud,” and attended night classes at the University of Houston. During World War II, Tenayuca attempted to join the Women’s Auxiliary Air Corps but was rejected, most likely because of her Communist ties. She remained active in the party at the local level but became gradually disillusioned, especially after the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact of 1939. Tenayuca ultimately separated from her husband, and she formally left the Communist Party about 1946. Around that time, she moved to California, where she obtained a teaching degree from San Francisco State College and gave birth to a son named Francisco Tenayuca Adams in 1952.

Tenayuca returned to San Antonio in the late 1960s and earned a master’s degree in education from Our Lady of the Lake University. She then taught
bilingual education in the Harlandale Independent School District until her retirement in 1982. Beginning in the 1970s, Tenayuca’s life became a topic of intense study within the Chicano Movement, and her achievements as a pioneering female civil rights leader were recognized by scholarly organizations like the National Association for Chicano and Chicana Studies and Mujeres Activas en Letras y Cambio Social (“Women Active in Letters and Social Change”). The once controversial figure was later embraced by the city of San Antonio as a local heroine, and she was inducted into the San Antonio Women’s Hall of Fame in 1991. Her life was also celebrated in public murals, portraits, documentaries, corridos, biographical plays, and a children’s book. Tenayuca died on July 23, 1999, after developing Alzheimer’s disease, and was buried at Mission Burial Park in San Antonio.
Maria Elena “Lena” Guerrero, Texas state legislator and railroad commissioner, daughter of Adela Salazar and Alvaro Guerrero, was born in Mission, Texas, on November 27, 1957. She was the youngest woman ever elected to the Texas House of Representatives, where she served from 1985 to 1991. Guerrero was also the first woman or minority to serve on the Texas Railroad Commission and the first Latina to hold a statewide office in Texas.

Guerrero grew up in the Rio Grande Valley and was the fifth of nine children. Her parents, who were very active in the Catholic Church as well as voter registration drives and poll tax fundraisers, introduced her to politics at a young age. After losing her father at the age of eleven, she assumed a share of the financial responsibility for the family and worked as a seasonal agricultural laborer, often traveling to the Texas Panhandle during the summers. Guerrero later credited her experiences in the cornfields of Dimmitt, Texas, for motivating her to attend college and pursue a professional career.

Guerrero graduated from Mission High School in 1976 and enrolled at the University of Texas at Austin to study broadcast journalism. At UT, she became heavily involved with the University Democrats and worked on political campaigns for Carole Keeton, Ann Richards, Ron Mullen, John Hill, and Mary Jane Bode. In 1979 Guerrero became the first woman and first Hispanic elected president of the Texas Young Democrats. During this period, she worked with State Representative Mary Jane Bode to draft legislation to include a governor-appointed student representative on the
University of Texas System Board of Regents. The measure was unsuccessful, but a similar law eventually passed in 2005.

After leaving the university in 1980, Guerrero became executive director of the Texas Women’s Political Caucus (TWPC). She then served briefly as the director of education and training for the National Hispanic Institute. In 1982 Guerrero, along with Gonzalo Barrientos, Jr., and Richard Hamner, co-founded Bravo Communications, a campaign consulting firm. That same year, she became the first Mexican American chairwoman of the TWPC and represented the National Young Democrats as a member of the Democratic National Committee. Additionally, she worked on Bob Armstrong’s 1982 gubernatorial run and managed Ron Mullen’s successful 1983 mayoral campaign. In 1980 Guerrero met Lionel Berain “Leo” Aguirre at a meeting of the Mexican American Democrats. They married in 1983 and had one son, Leo G. Aguirre, in 1988.

In 1984 after Guerrero’s business partner Gonzalo Barrientos, Jr., vacated his seat in the Texas House of Representatives in order to seek election to the state senate, Guerrero decided to run as his successor. Facing five male candidates in the Democratic primary, she purportedly paid the filing fee in Susan B. Anthony dollars. After defeating Austin attorney Brad Weiwel in the primary runoff, she ran unopposed in the general election and, at twenty-six years old, Guerrero became the youngest woman and only the second Latina to be elected to the state legislature, where she served three consecutive terms representing Texas House District 51 in East Austin. During her time in the Texas legislature, she served as vice-chair for the Rules and Resolutions Committee, the State Affairs Committee, and the Sunset Advisory Commission. Guerrero was also a member of the Government Organization and Human Services Committees and drafted, sponsored, and supported numerous pieces of legislation. She gained a reputation for her aggressive style, her ability to broker compromise, and her advocacy of liberal causes, including initiatives to prevent teen pregnancy, child abuse, domestic violence, groundwater pollution, and discrimination against AIDS patients. She also supported women’s rights and the rights of agricultural workers.
Outside of the legislature, Guerrero participated in a number of civic and political organizations, including Ballet Austin, the United Farm Workers Union, Planned Parenthood, the World Wildlife Fund, and the National Hispanic Leadership Institute. She also co-founded the Hispanic Women’s Network of Texas and was named an honorary chairperson of the Austin American Cancer Society Crusade. In recognition of her work, Guerrero received the 1982 Woman of the Year Award in Public Affairs from the Mexican American Business and Professional Women’s Association, the 1987 Leadership Award in Government from the National Network of Hispanic Women, and the 1989 Representative of the Year Award from the Texas Recreation and Parks Society. Additionally, Hispanic Business magazine named her one of the 100 most influential Hispanics of 1988, and Texas Monthly named Guerrero one of the best Texas legislators of 1989. She also received praise from national publications such as Newsweek and USA Today and was invited to speak at the 1992 Democratic National Convention.

In January 1991 Governor Ann Richards appointed Guerrero to fill the recently-vacated chair of the Texas Railroad Commission, a nationally influential state agency that regulates Texas’s powerful oil, gas, mining, and transportation industries. The appointment made Guerrero the first female and first Hispanic commissioner in the history of the agency. It was also Richards’s first appointment as governor. Additionally, Guerrero was named chair of the Texas High Speed Rail Authority, a state agency formed to oversee proposals for the creation of a state-wide bullet train system. As chair of the Railroad Commission, Guerrero supported tax incentives and production limits that benefited small, independent energy producers and was an early advocate for alternative fuel sources. Because of this, national news outlets characterized her as a reformer who angered major oil and gas companies.

In 1992 Guerrero made a bid for reelection to the Railroad Commission. She gained the Democratic nomination but faced Republican candidate Barry Williamson in a contentious general election. In September 1992 the Dallas Morning News reported that Guerrero never graduated from the University of Texas at Austin and may have falsified her résumé in order to
run for office. Guerrero eventually released her academic records and admitted that she left the university one semester short of earning her degree. At the height of her career and amid national media attention, she resigned from the Railroad Commission and apologized. Guerrero continued with her campaign but ultimately lost the election to Williamson. She never held public office again.

After her resignation, Guerrero re-enrolled at the University of Texas at Austin and completed her bachelor of journalism degree in 1993. She subsequently returned to the State Capitol as a lobbyist representing clients such as AT&T, Blue Cross, and the Tigua Indian Tribe. She also remained active in the community and joined former Texas lottery commissioner Nora Linares, State Representative Christine Hernandez, and others to found the Latina Foundation in 1997. This nonprofit organization provided mentors and guidance to young Hispanic women interested in public service careers. Guerrero was diagnosed with an inoperable brain tumor in 2000 and given just six months to live. She continued working until 2005 and died on April 24, 2008, in Austin, Texas. She was buried at the Texas State Cemetery in Austin, and Governor Rick Perry ordered that flags be flown at half-staff to honor her memory.
Leonel Jabier Castillo, activist, community leader, first Mexican American elected to citywide office in Houston, Texas, and first Hispanic commissioner of the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, was born on June 9, 1939, in Victoria, Texas. He was the son of Seferino and Anita Castillo. About 1941 his family moved to Galveston where his father worked in the shipyards and became the president of the local dock workers’ union. Leonel Castillo, his brother Seferino Jr., and sisters Anita and Mary grew up hearing about organizing and labor politics from their father. Their mother worked as a nurse’s aide.

Castillo attended Kirwin High School in Galveston, where he was an honors student and All-State football player. While in high school he acquired the nickname “Lone,” short for Leonel. He graduated in 1957 and attended St. Mary’s University in San Antonio, where he majored in English. At St. Mary’s, Castillo was student government president, associate editor of the college newspaper, and the leader of the Young Democrats and the Young Students for Civil Liberty. The latter group picketed the Majestic Theatre in downtown San Antonio over its refusal to accept African American patronage. Castillo paid for his education with a partial scholarship from the Galveston chapter of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and an academic scholarship from St. Mary’s. He was also a member of the ROTC, which helped him with his expenses by providing clothes and shoes. While in college Castillo was influenced by Mahatma
Ghandi, Martin Luther King, and Zen Buddhism. He graduated cum laude in 1961.

After college Castillo joined the Peace Corps and was sent to the Philippines, where he taught English and math in Murcia, a small rural town on the island of Negros. He remained in the Philippines for four years and eventually was promoted to supervisory positions. While there he met and married Evelyn Chapman, the daughter of an American-born father and a native Filipina. Their daughter Avalyn was born in the Philippines.

In 1965 Castillo and his family moved to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where he studied community organizing in the Graduate School of Social Work at the University of Pittsburgh. His field placements were with African American organizations such as Citizens Against Slum Housing (CASH) and the United Negro Protest Committee (UNPC), where he learned about civil rights, tactics, and negotiation, and participated in numerous demonstrations. While at Pittsburgh he and his wife had a son, Efrem.

Upon completing his master’s degree in 1967, Castillo and his family moved to Houston. Within days of his arrival, his sister Mary took him to a meeting of the Political Association of Spanish Speaking Organizations (PASSO). Castillo eventually became the executive secretary of the organization. PASSO was part of broader political coalition that included African Americans, labor, and liberal Democrats that screened and endorsed candidates for office. From these experiences Castillo realized that he had the potential to run for public office. He also worked at Ripley House as a caseworker and later became the director of SER-Jobs for Progress, Inc., followed by a directorship of the Catholic Council on Community Relations.

The issue that brought Leonel Castillo to the attention of the broader Houston public occurred in 1970. The Houston Independent School District had been given a mandate by a federal judge to integrate its schools. Instead of integrating the white students with the Mexican and African American students, the district only integrated the Mexican and African American schools under the guise that Mexican Americans were technically classified as white, thereby leaving the majority Anglo schools out of the plan. The
community balked at the arrangement, and it came together under the auspices of the Mexican American Education Council (MAEC). Castillo became the group’s main spokesman and negotiator, and under his leadership the Mexican American community boycotted the public schools. MAEC also set up huelga or “strike” schools for the students to attend while the issue played out in the courts.

In 1971 Castillo resigned from MAEC to seek public office. Observers assumed that he would run for the school board or city council. However, on the last day to file he surprised everyone when he filed to run for Houston city controller. The incumbent, Roy Oaks, had never had an opponent in his twenty-six years as controller and at the time was suffering from the effects of a stroke. Castillo won and thus became the first Mexican American in Houston to win a citywide election. He was elected to the office twice more. In his first term, Castillo modernized the office by installing computers, updating accounting practices, and establishing Houston’s first internal audit division to monitor city departments. Castillo also discovered that high value properties in residential and industrial areas were not being taxed at the appropriate rates and began efforts to correct the situation. He also used his authority whenever possible to increase the number of minorities and women hired by city departments, and he was credited with making the city controller’s office and its functions more transparent.

In 1974 Castillo ran for chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee and organized his campaign in two weeks. During the convention he was subjected to racial slurs and taunts when he rose to speak. Yet, despite his late entry into the election and the racial animosity he encountered, Castillo garnered forty-two percent of the vote.

In 1977 Castillo resigned as city controller to become commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) at the behest of President Jimmy Carter. He was the first Hispanic to hold this post. The move did not prove to be beneficial to his political career, because it alienated many of his Mexican American, liberal, pro-labor, and environmentalist constituents. Further, the agency was in administrative disarray, and Castillo was subjected to conflicting pressures from conservatives who wanted to restrict
immigration and from others who sought more lenient treatment. Nevertheless Castillo implemented the pro-human rights policies of the Carter administration, especially when it came to allowing Vietnamese and Cuban refugees into the U.S. He also hired more minorities, pushed for more humane treatment of detained immigrants, and installed the first soccer fields and television sets in detention centers. To see if these directives were properly carried out, he sometimes disguised himself as an immigrant and visited INS offices to see how he would be treated. Castillo was also the first person to use the term ‘undocumented’ to refer to immigrants who had migrated to the U.S. without authorization.

In 1979 Castillo resigned as commissioner and returned to Houston to run for mayor against Jim McConn, the incumbent. He finished third in a field of nine candidates. In 1981 Castillo again ran for city controller, but he failed to unseat the incumbent, Lance Lalor. In 1989 Castillo made one last attempt for city office and ran for an at-large position on the city council. Although he led the field of six candidates, Castillo failed to win more than fifty percent of the vote and lost the run-off election to future congresswoman Sheila Jackson Lee. From 1992 to 2006 Castillo served as a liaison between the mayor’s office and the educational institutions in Houston and was an advisor to Houston mayors Bob Lanier, Lee Brown, and Bill White. He was also a field instructor for the National Association of Social Workers and taught courses in social work at the University of Houston and Texas Southern University.

Throughout his career Castillo co-founded a number of civic and educational organizations that continue to serve the city of Houston. Among them are the Houston Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, the Chicano Family Center, and Houston International University, of which he was president. He also served as a board member for numerous other organizations, including the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project, United Way, the Council on Foreign Affairs, and the Texas Medical Center. Leonel received many honors and awards. Among them are an honorary doctor of law degree from St. Mary’s in 1971 and an honorary doctorate in the humanities from Springfield College in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1981.
Two facilities in Houston also bear his name, the Leonel J. Castillo Community Center and the Leonel Castillo Academic Center, which houses the East Early College High School.

Leonel J. Castillo died in Houston on November 4, 2013, at the age of seventy-four.
Frank Mariano Tejeda, Jr., congressman, was born in San Antonio, Texas, on October 2, 1945. He was the son of Frank Tejeda and Lillie (Cisneros) Tejeda. Growing up in the slums of the South Side of San Antonio, young Frank experienced the difficulties of being poor. Still, he served as an altar boy at St. Leo the Great Catholic Church and attended St. Leo the Great Catholic School, played Little League athletics, participated in the Boy Scouts, and worked with his parents to earn money. As a teenager, Tejeda appeared difficult and often found himself in trouble with authorities. An indifferent student, he skipped classes, fought with school authorities, and associated himself with a tough gang. At the age of seventeen in 1963, Tejeda quit Harlandale High School and joined the United States Marine Corps.

Frank Tejeda served on active duty in the Marine Corps from 1963 to 1967, and the experience changed his life. While serving in Vietnam in 1965 and 1966, Tejeda excelled in combat and demonstrated leadership abilities. In one incident that occurred on January 17, 1966, Sergeant Tejeda was recognized for his efforts near Da Nang when his troops managed to take an enemy position. For his performance in this action, Tejeda was awarded the Bronze Star. He also received a Purple Heart for a wound he suffered in combat a month before his tour of duty ended in 1966. In 1996 Secretary of the Navy John Dalton ordered the Navy Secretary Awards Board to review Tejeda’s record in Vietnam. The board concluded that Tejeda’s effort at the risk of his own life to save a fallen Marine in a rice paddy under fire merited
awarding the Silver Star. Backed by President Bill Clinton, the Silver Star was posthumously awarded to Tejeda’s family in 1997. Before his enlistment ended in 1967, Tejeda also earned a high school equivalency diploma. After leaving active duty, he continued his military career and later attained the rank of major in the Marine Reserves. In 1972 he attended Marine Corps Officer Candidate School at Camp Quantico, Virginia, where he established records in academic and athletic activities and received the Commandant’s Trophy for achieving a superior academic average. For the rest of his life, Tejeda credited the Marine Corps for providing him discipline and a purpose.

After receiving his discharge in 1967, Tejeda returned to Texas. He enrolled in St. Mary’s University in San Antonio and received his B.A. degree in 1970. From Texas, Tejeda went to California where he earned a law degree from the University of California at Berkeley in 1974. After launching his political career, he earned a master’s in public administration degree from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University in 1980 and a master of law from Yale University in 1989.

Having an interest in politics going back to Lyndon Johnson’s anti-poverty programs of the Great Society in the 1960s, Tejeda sought a career in public office. Running as a Democrat in San Antonio, Tejeda was elected to a seat in the Texas House of Representatives in 1976. Later described as a “conservative, pro-business Democrat with a ‘streak of social activism’,” Tejeda, with his quiet but strong manner, would be known for garnering bipartisan support throughout his political career. Serving five sessions in the House from 1977 to 1987, he emerged as a vocal opponent of pari-mutuel wagering on horse racing and the establishment of a state lottery. In Austin, he found success in sponsoring a crime victim’s bill of rights and bills creating the Texas Veteran Housing Assistance program and the Texas Research Park. In 1986 Tejeda used his position as chairman of the House Judicial Affairs Committee to launch a series of hearings on the questionable behavior of some justices of the Texas Supreme Court.

Elected to the Texas Senate in 1986, he served there from 1987 through 1992. In the early 1990s the Texas legislature redrew the state’s congressional districts. In the aftermath of their efforts, a new Twenty-eighth District was
created that took most of its votes from Hispanic sections in South San Antonio and Bexar County. Senator Tejeda fought to determine the boundaries and constituents of the new district. In September 1991 he announced he would run as a candidate in the new district. Facing no opposition in the primary and the Republicans’ refusal to field a candidate, the popular Tejeda easily defeated Libertarian David Slatter in the general election in November 1992.

As a member of the new Congress in 1993, Frank Tejeda was assigned to the House Armed Services and the Veterans Affairs committees. In Washington, he devoted much of his efforts to veterans’ issues and the hardships that came with cuts in defense spending that affected the military bases in the San Antonio area. Tejeda joined Republicans against efforts to close Brooks and Kelly Air Force bases in Texas. He also endorsed the North American Free Trade Agreement but supported government aid to displaced workers.

During his second term in Congress, Tejeda learned he had cancer. On October 3, 1995, he underwent brain surgery in an effort to have the tumor removed. Although most of the tumor was removed, doctors failed to remove all of it. In 1996 Tejeda was reelected, but his health continued to decline. In December he quit granting interviews after his speech impairment grew worse and doctors determined the tumor’s growth. Unable to return to Washington for the beginning of his third term, Frank Tejeda died at the age of fifty-one in San Antonio on January 30, 1997. Former San Antonio mayor Henry Cisneros praised Tejeda as a “warrior for our country and....He was a warrior for his neighborhood, a warrior for San Antonio and a warrior in Congress....”

At the time of his death, Congressman Tejeda was survived by his three children, Marisa, Sonya, and Frank Tejeda III; and his mother; three brothers, Juan, Richard, and Ernest; and sister Mary Alice Lara. His marriage to Celia Tejeda had ended in divorce. His funeral Mass at St. Leo the Great Catholic Church on San Antonio’s Southwest Side was attended by 2,500 mourners. The Vietnam War hero was buried with full military honors, including a Texas National Guard “missing man” formation flyover, at Fort Sam Houston National Cemetery in San Antonio. The Marine Corps
Reserve Association established the Frank M. Tejeda Leadership Award to be presented to congressional members who demonstrate strong commitment to national defense, leadership, and service to country. The Frank M. Tejeda VA Outpatient Clinic, the Frank Tejeda Academy, the Frank Tejeda Post Office Building, and the Frank Tejeda Park, all in San Antonio, as well as the Frank M. Tejeda Texas State Veterans Home in Floresville were named in honor of the former Marine hero and Texas congressman.
Laredo Election Riot (1886)

By Thomas Woods

The Laredo Election Riot of 1886 was an incident in which two political clubs, the Botas and the Guaraches, were involved in what historian C. L. Sonnichsen assessed as “one of the biggest gun battles in the entire history of the American West” following a particularly contested municipal election. Various eyewitnesses estimated that at the height of the riot, more than 250 people were involved. Although the exact number of dead and wounded is not known, based on historic sources and reports, possibly thirty people died and forty-five or more were injured. Due to the widespread nature and contradictory accounts of the riot, only a few men were later indicted.

By 1886 Laredo was the site of intense political partisanship between the established Democrats under political boss Raymond Martin and a reform party formed in opposition to the establishment in 1884. Followers of the former were termed Botas (“Boots”), while the followers of the latter were known as Guaraches (“Sandals”), reflecting in very general terms the social standing of its members. The Guaraches lost handily in the first election in which the local parties ran against each other.

The campaign for the municipal elections of 1886 was tense and included multiple armed marches by both parties—the Guarache party even utilized an old cannon during these events. One death occurred the week prior to the election, which allowed the Bota sheriff Dario Sanchez to deputize between 50 and 150 Botas to keep the peace. The Guarache-leaning city marshal, Stephen Boyard, appointed a large number of Guarache policemen in response. The day of the election, April 6, was largely peaceful. However, multiple voters were arrested, largely for the crimes of voting illegally or drunkenness. Overall, the election was extremely close, but the Botas won the majority of the races.

In the aftermath of the election, tensions ran extremely high in Laredo, as the Guaraches fired off their cannon at quick intervals for most of the
morning, and the Botas attempted to revive a practice from the previous election cycle in which they held a symbolic funeral and buried—in effigy—a guarache-style sandal. This led to a standoff when a large group of Guaraches attempted to prevent the “funeral march” from occurring. Attempts by the sheriff and local leaders of both parties to defuse the situation failed, as the Botas were not convinced to call off the march and the Guaraches refused to disband. After he recognized that the Bota march was inevitable, Sheriff Sanchez agreed to provide protection. Late in the afternoon on April 7, 1886, the Bota procession began.

Approximately 300 or more Botas marched down Iturbide Street, with half as many Guaraches following close behind, while a group of Guaraches with the cannon took control of a parallel street to prevent easy return into town. The procession headed east on Iturbide Street, turned on Flores Avenue, and then went south to Zaragoza Street on to San Augustin Plaza. Several Bota riflemen took position on nearby roofs, from which they acted with great efficiency once the fighting started. It is unclear who fired first, but within minutes of that first shot members of both parties opened fire on their opponents. The initial fighting lasted several minutes, and it was during this time that the majority of individuals were involved. Following a brief pause in the initial riot, additional exchanges occurred intermittently for up to an hour. Eventually, the fighting was stopped entirely when two companies of infantry from nearby Fort McIntosh arrived into town and placed Laredo under martial law to prevent further bloodshed and to prevent outlaws and bandits from the surrounding area from taking advantage of the chaos. Two days later, Texas militia and Texas Rangers arrived to keep order; the militia left a short time after arriving, but the Rangers did not leave for several months.

The extreme partisan politics of Laredo were not resolved for some time, and at least one revenge killing is recorded as a result of the fighting. In 1894, eight years after the disturbance, however, the Independent Club was founded. This new organization attracted former Botas and Guaraches and went on to dominate border politics until 1978.
The first case in which Texas courts reviewed the actions of local school districts regarding the education of children of Mexican descent was tried in Del Rio in 1930. Like many other communities in the state, Del Rio had for the first six decades of the twentieth century a tripartite segregation of students in its public school system. Article VII, Section 7, of the Constitution of 1876 provided for separate schools for white and black students. From 1902 to 1940, especially after 1920, Texas school districts opened segregated schools for Hispanic children. By 1942–43 these schools were operated in 122 districts in fifty-nine counties throughout the state. On January 7, 1930, the Del Rio School Board ordered an election to be held on February 1 to vote on a proposed expansion of school facilities, including elementary schools, one of which, a brick and tile building of two rooms, was already designated the "Mexican" or "West End" school. Five rooms were to be added. Jesús Salvatierra and several other parents hired lawyer John L. Dodson on March 21 to file a suit charging that students of Mexican descent were being deprived of the benefits afforded "other white races" in the previous year. In April El Popular, the Spanish-language newspaper of the League of United Latin American Citizens, published an essay by Vito Aguirre condemning segregationists, whom he called "enemies of Mexican children," and criticizing the Mexican consulate's complacency on the issue. Also that month, lawyer and LULAC member M. C. Gonzales consulted with Dodson and joined the case free of charge. By May Salvatierra had a support group, La Comité de Defensa, later known as Comité Pro-Defensa Escolar. On May 15 District Judge Joseph Jones heard the case, ruled in Salvatierra's favor, and granted an injunction.

On June 10 the Court of Appeals of San Antonio heard the case. By June lawyers Alonso S. Perales and J. T. Canales were also assisting Salvatierra; Dodson, Gonzales, and Canales served as the appeal attorneys. The case, under the title Del Rio ISD v. Salvatierra, appeared before the Texas
Court of Civil Appeals in San Antonio on October 29, and the injunction was voided. On December 24 a rehearing was denied.

LULAC provided the organizational and financial base for the movement against segregated schools, and Salvatierra's case spurred the growth of LULAC. According to George I. Sánchez in 1964, the Salvatierra ruling legalized the segregation of children of Mexican descent in schools through the third grade. During the case the first chapters of LULAC were organized in West Texas at San Angelo, Ozona, Sonora, and Marfa. The case also highlighted the need for regular communication. In late 1930 LULAC sponsored bulletins in the columns of Spanish-language newspapers; El Ciudadano, El Popular, and El Paladin came to serve as LULAC's official organs; in 1931 the weekly LULAC NOTES was issued; and in August 1931 LULAC News, the official monthly magazine, began publication. Spanish-language newspapers such as the Del Rio El Popular, Las Noticias, and La Semana followed the developments, and La Prensa of San Antonio reached many other Tejano communities. LULAC passed a resolution at its 1930 annual convention to assist the Del Rio chapter in its work on the case. In January 1931 Salvatierra asked LULAC chapters for contributions, and by April nine chapters had responded. In May LULAC elected Gonzales its president general, and in June he invited chapters to donate at least $5 each toward taking the case to the Supreme Court. Gonzales called a special convention in Kingsville on August 30, and by that date $493 had been raised. The convention's purpose was to convert the organization's monument fund for World War I veterans to the School Defense Fund, and at that convention each council was required to raise $45 for Salvatierra. In spite of the Great Depression, LULAC managed to raise more than $1,000. Councils in Corpus Christi, Brownsville, McAllen, Mission, La Grulla, Encino, Robstown, Edinburg, Falfurrias, San Diego, Del Rio, Eagle Pass, Rio Grande City, Roma, Hebbronville, Kingsville, Sarita, San Angelo, Ozona, and Sonora collected funds. San Antonio, the largest chapter, raised $230; even the small council of Sarita raised its $45 quota. Sociedades mutualistas, Catholic groups, women's clubs, labor organizations, and Spanish-speaking PTAs sponsored dances, baseball games, meetings, interviews, and benefits to raise money for the cause. Important individual
and collective fund-raising was conducted by Paul C. Jones and Mr. and Mrs. Antonio Castañon in San Antonio, Adela Sloss and Zacarias Gonzalez in San Juan, and Mrs. Jose Stillman, Mrs. Ben Garza, Mrs. Louis Wilmot, and Ernesto Meza in Corpus Christi. On October 26 the Supreme Court refused to hear the Salvatierra case and another case in which Mexicans in Menard County were prevented from jury duty for lack of jurisdiction. LULAC called a special convention in San Antonio on November 29 to discuss strategy for bringing about school desegregation. The Del Rio Comité Pro-Defensa Escolar continued to exist at least until October 1932. In 1948 in Delgado v. Bastrop Independent School District, the United States District Court, Western District of Texas, ruled that maintaining separate schools for Mexican descent children violated the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution. Nevertheless, failure to enforce this ruling resulted in continued legal challenges through the 1950s and 1960s; arguments first presented in the Salvatierra case were heard as late as 1971 in Cisneros v. Corpus Christi ISD.
Las Escuelas del Centenario were constructed in 1921 in Dolores Hidalgo, Guanajuato, Mexico, to commemorate the 100th anniversary of Mexico’s independence from Spain. The project brought immediate benefits to the children of Dolores Hidalgo, long considered Mexico’s historic “cradle of liberty,” and drew national attention to Mexicans from Texas who were mostly responsible for raising the necessary construction funds. This was accomplished through a public donation campaign, a popular form of financing public projects in the early twentieth century to meet community needs in Texas and Mexico.

The two schools—one for boys and another for girls—were built in the classical style common to U.S. schools of the early 1900s and named after two famous revolutionary figures—Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla and Doña Josefa Ortiz de Domínguez. The schools were located two blocks from the legendary church where Hidalgo issued the famous Grito de Dolores (“cry of Dolores”), the call to arms that launched the Mexican War of Independence.

The Hidalgo school had seven fully-equipped classrooms that accommodated 364 boys in the first through sixth grades, as well as office space and a 200-seat auditorium that doubled as a dining hall and community meeting space. The Domínguez school offered thirteen equally furnished classrooms for 448 girls in all elementary grades and an office for the administration. The grounds also contained basketball and volleyball courts, a swing set, as well as educational and ornamental gardens. Together, the schools represented the highest capacity primary school complex in Mexico.

Ignacio E. Lozano, editor of the Spanish language daily La Prensa in San Antonio, initiated the transnational fundraising campaign on June 12, 1921,
during the inauguration of a branch of the **Comisión Honorífica Mexicana**, a community organization from Seguín, Texas, formally associated with the Mexican Consul in San Antonio. Lozano’s newspaper led the solicitation effort with numerous articles that asked the Mexican readership to contribute to the worthy cause, as well as with frequent published reports that listed the hundreds of contributors (both individuals and organizations) from throughout Texas and northern Mexico.

The campaign officially ended in February 1922 and raised at least $36,000, most of which was secured by small individual donations of less than twenty-five cents and local fund-raising efforts like public dances, door-to-door solicitations, and contributions by organizations that, on occasion, donated as much as $500. Most of the construction materials and furniture were purchased in Texas and brought in by rail to Dolores Hidalgo. As a sign of his support for the project, Mexican President Álvaro Obregón agreed to waive customs duties and pay for all transportation costs. The ground-breaking ceremony at Dolores Hidalgo occurred on September 16, 1921, to coincide with the anniversary of the **Grito de Dolores**. Additional inauguration festivities were held between September 24 and 29, 1921, with the laying of the cornerstone on September 27, 1921, to commemorate the end of the Mexican War of Independence. Mexican political figures like José Vasconcelos, then the secretary of education in the administration of President Álvaro Obregón, along with other federal, state, and local officials (including Lozano, **Alicia Elizondo de Lozano**, and delegations representing the Mexican community in Texas) presided over the historic events. Construction was completed by November 1922, and Lozano returned to celebrate the opening of the schools in January 1923.

The campaign to build Las Escuelas del Centenario represented a significant moment in post-revolutionary Mexico. It gave voice to the “politics of longing” that was especially strong among the recent Mexican immigrants to the United States who were displaced by the chaos of the **Mexican Revolution** but remained emotionally and politically tied to circumstances in Mexico. The fund-raising efforts also represented the transnational reach of the Mexican community from the United States at a time when Mexico was beginning to reconstruct their war-ravaged country. The extraterritorial
gaze to the South, “the beautiful patriotic gesture,” according to Lozano, also reminded Mexico that displaced Mexican Nationals, or “el México de Afuera” (“Mexico Abroad”), and U.S.-born Mexicans were still part of the larger Mexican family.
Arcadia Hernández López, pioneering bilingual educator, daughter of Francisco R. Hernández and Arcadia Garza Hernández, was born in Sabinas Hidalgo, Nuevo León, Mexico, on December 21, 1909. The Hernández family emigrated from Mexico to escape the violence of the Mexican Revolution and arrived in San Antonio, Texas, about 1913. López attended Navarro Academy, Lanier Junior High School, and Main Avenue High School (now Fox Technical High School) in San Antonio and later enrolled at Our Lady of the Lake University, where she earned her bachelor’s degree in education and mathematics in 1934. Afterwards, she earned a master’s in education from the University of Texas at Austin in 1938 and a doctorate from Nova University (now Nova Southeastern University) in Florida in 1976. In 1942 she married Johnny Deleon López. The couple had no children and divorced in 1968.

As a native Spanish speaker, López first became passionate about bilingual education while attending San Antonio’s public elementary schools. Due to her lack of English-language skills and the “sink or swim” English-only approach used by educators at that time, she was repeatedly held back and was even classified as “mentally retarded” by school administrators. She later described the experience as “being lost in a jungle, where I did not understand the teachers, and the teachers did not understand me.”

After receiving her master’s degree, López returned to San Antonio where she worked for the San Antonio Independent School District (SAISD) for
forty-six years; thirty-three as an elementary school teacher at Navarro Academy and Barkley Elementary and thirteen as a supervisor and bilingual programs coordinator. In 1964 López volunteered for an experimental bilingual education program that allowed teachers to briefly utilize Spanish during their normal lessons. After the performance of Spanish-speaking children in her class vastly improved, she was asked to oversee bilingual programs for the entire school district. In this capacity, she developed innovative new lesson plans, curriculum models, and multimedia learning systems for use in bilingual classrooms. After her retirement from SAISD in 1980, López became director of the bilingual training program at Our Lady of the Lake University. She held that position until 1984. She also worked as a consultant for numerous school districts and education agencies, authored textbooks for major publishers such as Harcourt, and petitioned the federal government to adopt nationwide bilingual education guidelines.

During her career, López earned numerous awards and accolades for her work in education. These included the 1980 Woman of the Year Award from Ladies LULAC, the 1993 Ford Salute to Education, the San Antonio Light’s 1990 Woman of the Year, the Headliner Award from the San Antonio Chapter of Women in Communications, and a lifetime achievement award from the San Antonio Association of Bilingual Educators. She was inducted into the San Antonio Women’s Hall of Fame in 1989. In retirement, López spent much of her time volunteering at St. Paul Catholic Church in San Antonio. She was a leading member in the Texas Association for Bilingual Education and also served on the board of directors of the San Antonio Learning Center and Jefferson Outreach, a nonprofit dedicated to improving the lives of senior citizens. In 1992 López published an autobiography entitled Barrio Teacher that covered the many difficult periods of her life such as fleeing revolution in México, the confusion of being an English language learner, and living through the economic crisis of the Great Depression.

López died at her home on January 16, 2007, and was buried at Holy Cross Cemetery in San Antonio. In her will, she donated $700,000 to the Department of Bilingual-Bicultural Studies at the University of Texas at San Antonio to establish the Dr. Arcadia López Endowed Scholarship that aids
undergraduate and post-baccalaureate students pursuing certification degrees in bilingual education.
Texas DREAM Act [HB 1403]

By Chloe Sikes and Angela Valenzuela

House Bill 1403, widely known as the Texas DREAM Act, provides in-state tuition for Texans without legal status. House Bill (HB) 1403, passed by the Texas Legislature in 2001, provides Texans, regardless of legal immigration status, eligibility to be classified as state residents for the purpose of being charged in-state tuition rates at public Texas colleges and universities. Without this eligibility, institutions of higher learning would charge the higher out-of-state or international tuition rates. Texas was the first state in the nation to pass this type of legislation, and approximately twenty states followed with similar bills.

The Seventy-seventh Texas Legislature passed HB 1403 with bipartisan support. Representative Rick Noriega (D–Houston) authored the measure, in collaboration with Domingo García (D–Dallas), Fred Hill (R–Richardson), Elvira Reyna (R–Mesquite), and Ismael Flores (D–Palmview). Leticia Van de Putte (D–San Antonio) sponsored the bill. An additional nineteen co-authors signed the bill. Sixty-three House Republicans voted in favor of it. With an amendment from the Senate, HB 1403 passed with 130 yeas, 2 nays, and 2 abstentions. Governor Rick Perry signed the bill into law on June 16, 2001, and the legislation became effective immediately for persons seeking college enrollment in the fall of 2001.

HB 1403 stipulates that Texas students without legal status must meet certain criteria to be eligible for in-state tuition rates. While in high school, they must be a dependent of a parent or guardian living in Texas; graduate from a Texas high school or obtain a GED certificate; reside in Texas for at least three years prior to graduating from high school; register with a Texas public college or university beginning in the fall of 2001; and file an application to seek permanent residency in the United States.

In the years since the passage of HB 1403, legislators have tried to repeal the law. The growing influence of conservative legislators, including the recent
election of a like-minded governor and lieutenant governor, presented formidable challenges to the law in 2015. Lieutenant Governor Dan Patrick campaigned against the law, and Governor Greg Abbott said that he would not veto a repeal of the law if passed by the legislature. Groups such as Texans for Immigration Reduction and Enforcement and Tea Party adherents mobilized support for repeal legislation such as the proposed Senate Bill (SB) 1819. On the other hand, the Texas Association of Business, religious groups, labor unions, and university groups that included students without legal status, and other allies united in support of HB 1403. Democratic legislators, particularly those associated with the Mexican American Legislative Caucus, also voiced support for the original legislation.

Conservative members of the Eighty-fourth Texas Legislature introduced SB 1819 that stated that Texas residents “unauthorized to be present in the United States” could not be “considered a resident of this state for the purposes of receiving in-state tuition….” While the bill advanced from committee hearings, it failed to meet the deadline to be heard by the Senate for a vote. Public pressure and political maneuvering managed to defeat the repeal efforts, however, the strong opposition to HB 1403 indicated that the idea of providing in-state tuition to Texans without legal status would remain contentious in the state.
Gloria Evangelina Anzaldúa, a widely-acclaimed Chicana writer and theorist on mestiza consciousness and the borderlands, daughter of Amalia García and Urbano Anzaldúa, was born on September 26, 1942, in Raymondville, Texas. After graduating from Edinburg High School in 1962, Anzaldúa attended Texas Woman’s University for one year but had to leave due to financial difficulties. She returned home and enrolled at Pan American University (now part of the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley) and graduated with a bachelor’s degree in English in 1968. Afterwards, she taught in the Pharr-San Juan-Alamo Independent School District while attending summer school at the University of Texas at Austin. She received a master’s degree in English from UT in 1972 and began working towards a Ph.D. in comparative literature. While at UT, she was first exposed to Chicano and feminist activism, and in 1977 she decided to move to California and devote herself to writing.

Anzaldúa’s upbringing in the discriminatory settings of the Rio Grande Valley informed her later research and writing about the region, particularly in her book *Borderlands = La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1987). *Borderlands* is a semi-autobiographical work that incorporates Anzaldúa’s family history into the larger history of the U.S.-Mexico border, which she describes as “una herida abierta [an open wound] where the Third World grates against the first and bleeds.” Anzaldúa interweaves her family stories against the backdrop of key events from Spanish colonization to the Mexican War to the development of mass agribusiness that displaced small Chicano and Chicana landowners such as her grandmother.
In *Borderlands*, Anzaldúa theorized her experience as someone existing at the intersection of Chicano and Anglo cultures, a person of the borderlands. She described the borderlands as both the geographic U.S.-Mexico border and the psychic challenges of navigating the tensions between multiple identities. In the chapter entitled “How to Tame a Wild Tongue,” Anzaldúa recalled her experience in South Texas public schools, where teachers punished her and others for speaking Spanish. In contextualizing her own experience within the broader suppression of Spanish in the Texas educational system at the time, Anzaldúa described being denied her language as a form of “linguistic terrorism.” Throughout *Borderlands*, Anzaldúa drew connections between her experiences being bilingual in Texas and her experiences as a woman, lesbian, and feminist. Anzaldúa suggested a self-reflective process by which Chicanas can contend with marginalization in the borderlands by scrutinizing the ways Anglo and Chicano cultures have oppressed them and by developing “a new mestiza consciousness.” She further proposed that, for Chicanas, surviving the liminal space of the borderlands between cultures could become a transformative experience.

In collaboration with Cherríe Moraga, Anzaldúa coedited the highly acclaimed *This Bridge Called My Back: Writers by Radical Women of Color* (1981), winner of the Before Columbus American Book Award. Anzaldúa also edited *Making Face, Making Soul/Haciendo Caras: Creative and Critical Perspectives by Feminists of Color* (1990) and several other books. She authored children’s books, including *Friends from the Other Side = Amigos del otro lado* (1993) and *Prietita and the Ghost Woman = Prietita y la Llorona* (1995), a variation of the Mexican folk legend of *La Llorona* (“The Weeping Woman”).

Anzaldúa died in Santa Cruz, California, on May 14, 2004, due to complications from diabetes and was buried at Valle de la Paz Cemetery in Hidalgo County, Texas. At the time, she was a doctoral candidate at the University of California, Santa Cruz, which posthumously awarded her a Ph.D. in literature. Anzaldúa has long been recognized for her significant contributions in several academic fields, including American Studies, ethnic studies, feminist theory, literary studies, queer studies, women’s studies, and social justice movements and has received numerous awards, including the
National Endowment for the Arts Fiction Award, the Lambda Lesbian Small Press Book Award, the Lesbian Rights Award, and the American Studies Association Lifetime Achievement Award. Scholars gather to discuss Anzaldúa’s work and legacy every eighteen months at a conference hosted by the Society for the Study of Gloria Anzaldúa, an organization founded in 2007. Her papers are archived at the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection at the University of Texas at Austin.
Luis Alfonso Jiménez, Jr., Tejano sculptor and artist, was born in El Paso, Texas, to Luis Alfonso Jiménez, Sr., and Alicia (Franco) Jiménez, on July 30, 1940. His father (at nine years of age) and paternal grandmother had entered the United States illegally in 1924 by wading across the Rio Grande. Jiménez’s ten-foot tall sculpture Border Crossing depicts a family crossing the Rio Grande, and he dedicated the piece to his grandmother and father, who later became a naturalized citizen. Luis had a younger brother and a sister.

Luis Jiménez, Sr., initially worked as a carpenter and then became an assistant to a man who made signs for movie theaters. He eventually became a sign designer and became a foreman for the business owned by a Mr. Bauman. Luis, Sr., later purchased the business from Bauman and changed its name to Jiménez Signs. The enterprise became the biggest sign company between Dallas and Phoenix. Many businesses’ signs in El Paso were made by Jiménez Signs, including signs for Bronco Drive-In, Polar Bear Cold Storage Company, and the Sunbeam Bread Bakery.

Beginning at six years of age, Luis Jiménez, Jr., worked with his father and learned about the business of manufacturing commercial business signs. In an art contest in elementary school, entries by the boy won both the first and the third prizes. As a young child, he spent a summer in Mexico City, where he visited art museums and was exposed to the art and culture of Mexico. At
the age of fourteen, Luis, Jr., was shot in his left eye with a BB gun, and eventually he lost all sight in that eye. At the age of sixteen, he made two 10-foot-tall roosters for a chain of drive-in restaurants. As a teenager, he bought his first car but later wrecked it. A couple of years later, he bought another used car that had a smashed front end. He repaired it himself, using fiberglass, and that gave him some experience with the material that he would later use for many of his sculptures.

At the encouraging of his father, Jiménez studied architecture in college—something that the father considered to be much more practical than art. During his senior year at the University of Texas in Austin, when he met Vicky Balcou, an art major, Jiménez changed his major to art, and his father subsequently stopped speaking to him for several years. Much later, Luis, Jr., said, “My dad was really a frustrated artist who became a sign painter.” Jiménez graduated from the University of Texas in 1964. Shortly thereafter he went to Mexico City to do graduate study in art at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de Mexico.

Jiménez married Vicky Balcou in 1965. They lived in El Paso, and he taught art to students on the nearby Ysleta Indian Reservation. Around this time, he accompanied a friend on a driving trip to Canada. In Idaho, the friend fell asleep at the wheel of the van, and the vehicle left the road and rolled several times. Jiménez was thrown through the windshield and suffered two crushed vertebrae. The doctors predicted that he would never walk again and that he would never be able to father a child. They were wrong on both counts.

After Luis and Vicky’s daughter, Elisa Victoria Jiménez, was born, the family moved to Austin, where he found a job as a janitor. During that period, he also painted a few murals in Austin, including one for the University of Texas’s School of Engineering and one at a local Pizza Hut.

Jiménez moved to New York City in 1966 and planned for his wife and daughter to later join him, but the couple divorced instead. In New York, he went to the state employment office. Because he could speak Spanish, he was sent to the Lower East Side, where he was employed to recruit children for the Head Start program. He also became an apprentice to artist Seymour
Lipton. Jiménez later said: “What I learned most from Seymour Lipton was how to be an artist, the way he functioned in society. I came out of a situation where I didn’t even know how to become an artist.”

Jiménez repeatedly showed slides of his artwork to New York gallery staff but without success. Finally he employed an unusual tactic which led directly to his first big break in New York. He visited the Castelli Gallery but found it empty. Then he took three of his sculptures and placed them in the gallery without permission. When the gallery director, Juan Karp, saw the sculptures, he was very impressed. Karp referred Jiménez to the John Graham Gallery, and in 1969 that gallery scheduled a one-man show of his work. His parents flew to New York to celebrate the opening of the show with him. The gallery also presented another one-man show of his work the following year. Jiménez was able to quit his job and devote his time to working on Progress, a series of fiberglass sculptures about the winning of the West, but with a twist that suggested that much of the conventional wisdom about how the West was won was simply mythical. His sculpture Vaquero pays homage to the fact that Mexican vaqueros were the forerunners of American cowboys.

Jiménez built his reputation as a sculptor in New York and on the East Coast, but before long he found New York and his spacious studio too small for the size of his sculptures. At one point, he bought a house in Maine.

He came to believe that museums and galleries were not the proper context for his massive sculptures and that the proper setting for them was outdoors in public display. He desired larger audiences for his work than just the people who visited museums and galleries. To make his works of art available to a vast audience, Jiménez made the sculptures much larger than life-size and arranged to have them exhibited in public places; he also used lithography to reproduce his drawings and paintings so that they would be accessible and available to a large number of people. El Paso gallery owner Adair Margo said of Jiménez, “He wanted his pieces to be where people enjoyed them and loved them.”
In 1971 Jiménez visited one of the collectors of his art, Donald Anderson, an oilman in Roswell, New Mexico. Anderson persistently offered to underwrite Jiménez’s move to Roswell and his maintenance there, where he could make huge pieces of sculpture. Luis just wanted the chance to make the pieces, and he told Anderson that he (Anderson) could keep them. Jiménez returned to New York, loaded up his pick-up truck, and moved to Roswell. He lived there for six years and produced his Progress series of sculptures.

In 1974 Jiménez had a one-man art exhibition at the Contemporary Arts Museum in Houston, a first for him in an art museum. Later, in Hondo, New Mexico, he found an old abandoned two-story adobe schoolhouse that had a stone foundation; it had been built by the Works Progress Administration (see WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION) during the Great Depression. He soon bought it and made it his studio and home. He was not averse to controversy; in fact, he felt that controversy about art was a good and positive thing. “The purpose of public art is to create a dialogue,” he said. Some viewers of Jiménez’s artworks experienced epiphany, and others reacted with outrage; Luis considered both responses to be equally valid.

In 1984 Jiménez went to a New Jersey bronze foundry to have some castings made. There he met sculptor Susan Brockman, who was working at the foundry. Susan had been making plaster casts of friends to use in her sculptures, so eventually she asked Luis to let her make a plaster cast of him. She later recalled: “I ended up casting him in the bathtub, and he stuck to the bottom. We ended up sitting there for eight hours and kind of bonded.” They married on August 24, 1985, in Susan’s mother’s garden in Illinois. The couple moved to El Paso but made weekly trips to Jiménez’s studio in Hondo, New Mexico. They eventually moved into the old schoolhouse. They had three children: Luis Adan Jiménez, Juan Orion Jiménez, and Sarah Alicia Xochil Jiménez.

On June 13, 2006, Jiménez and two employees in his Hondo, New Mexico, studio were moving one of the three pieces of his thirty-two-foot tall sculpture Blue Mustang (which had been commissioned for the Denver International Airport) with a hoist when it slipped and fell, pinning Luis
against a steel support. The large piece of the sculpture severed an artery in his leg, and he bled to death. He was transported to the Lincoln County Medical Center in Ruidoso, where he was pronounced dead. Tragically and ironically, Jiménez was killed by one of his own works of art. His widow said, “He was a man who couldn’t quit working and it was the work that eventually took his life.” New Mexico’s governor ordered that flags around the state be flown at half-mast on June 15 and June 16 in honor of Luis Jiménez.

Jiménez’s artwork has been described as violent, dominant, raw, and passionate. He often utilized high-gloss, urethane-coated fiberglass and airplane paint to produce his huge sculptures. His use of fiberglass as early as the 1960s helped to make that material an acceptable art medium.

An article in the April 1993 issue of *Texas Monthly* stated that Jiménez was “far and away the leading Hispanic sculptor in the country [the U. S.].” A later feature in the same magazine described him as “one of the busiest and most popular sculptors in America.” Stuart Ashman, the secretary of the New Mexico Department of Cultural Affairs, said that Jiménez was “the most important Chicano artist in the United States.”

Jiménez summarized his approach to his art for a biographical entry in Marquis *Who Was Who in America*: “I am a traditional artist in the sense that I give form to my culture’s icons. I work with folk sources; the popular culture and mythology, and a popular material; fiberglass, shiny finishes, metal flake, and at times with neon and illuminated. In the past the important icons were religious, now they are secular.”
Rudolfo Anaya, writer and professor emeritus of history at the University of New Mexico, said: “The kind of medium he [Jiménez] used shocked the art world at first. It was called outlandish and garish, but it spoke not only to Hispanics but to the world. In the coming years there will be a school of Luis Jimenez art.”

Jiménez was the recipient of the following awards: Steuben Glass Award (1972); Hassam Fund Award, American Academy of Arts and Letters (1977); American Academy in Rome Award (1979); Awards in Visual Arts (1985); Greenburger Foundation Award (1987); named a Fellow, National Endowment for the Arts (1987 and 1988); Showhegan Sculpture Award (1989); La Napoule Art Foundation Award (1990); National Endowment for the Arts residency fellow (1990); Governor’s Award, State of New Mexico (1993); named Goodwill Ambassador, City of Houston (1993 and 1998); Award of Distinction from the National Council of Art Administrators (1995); Texas Artist of the Year, Houston Art League (1998); Distinguished Alumnus, University of Texas; and grantee, Fund for American Culture (1991). His Southwest Pieta sculpture was designated a U. S. National Treasure in 1999.

Luis Jiménez’s sculpture Man on Fire became part of the collection of the Smithsonian Institution in 1979. Also, a casting of his sculpture Vaquero stands outside an entrance to the Smithsonian. His sculpture Sodbuster is located outdoors in Fargo, North Dakota. A large number of sculptures in various places around the nation bear witness to his talent. Jiménez’s hand-colored lithograph Self-Portrait # 6 is a work that testifies to Luis’s skill in art forms other than sculpture.

On the day that Jiménez died, El Paso art gallery owner Adair Margo said: “I think Luis shared this border region with the world. Those images will continue to live on. You look at the images he left us, you realize he was a voice that mattered, that gave form to this region and
communicated it with people. He was a man of just incredible talent, but he also had great generosity of spirit.”
The son of Sam Zaragosa and Margarita Coronado, Sam Z. Coronado, Jr., artist, educator, and cultural activist, was born on July 12, 1946, in the small farm town of Ennis, Texas. His maternal grandparents were cotton pickers who taught him the value of a strong work ethic. He attended Crozier Tech High School in Dallas and voluntarily enlisted in the United States Army; he served from 1964 to 1967. As part of the Cold War effort, he served in Germany with an artillery company that included a nuclear weapons arsenal. After his stint in the army he attended El Centro College in Dallas and studied drafting and design. He secured his first drawing job as a technical illustrator for Texas Instruments in 1969 and earned an Associate of Applied Science degree from El Centro in 1970. Coronado eventually went to the University of Texas at Austin and attended college on the G.I. Bill. Along with his colleagues Vicki Plata, Rey Gaytan, and Sylvia Orozco, he cofounded the Chicano Art Students Association. In 1975 he graduated from the University of Texas at Austin with a B.F.A. in painting and printmaking. Throughout his career, Coronado also worked in other occupations, either as a technical illustrator or as an educator, to financially support his artistic endeavors.

Coronado is best known for his artistic contributions in the field of Chicana/o and U.S. Latino art. He began in oils and acrylics. His paintings are intimate portraits of the Mexican American experience. However, his
most memorable and influential work was in the field of graphic arts. He was a painter turned printmaker following two residencies with Self Help Graphics in East Los Angeles in 1991. Drawing on Mexican Social Realism, American Pop Art, and the iconographic traditions of Chicano art, he produced groundbreaking series such as *Guerrillera, World War II*, and *Hearts* that spoke on the politics of identity, autobiography, and Tejano history. Coronado also illustrated for books and magazines, and he created company logos. His lifework has been the subject of numerous exhibitions and publications across the United States, Europe, Africa, and Latin America, including retrospectives at the Guadalupe Cultural Arts Center, San Antonio (1987); Mexic-Arte Museum, Austin (2011); and the Latino Cultural Center, Dallas (2012).

He mastered the art of serigraphy (also known as screen printing and silkscreening) with draughtsmanship and humor, and became one of its most ardent promoters by founding Coronado Studio, a collaborative print workshop dedicated to the production of fine art serigraphy, in the early 1990s. The workshop became a training ground for a number of accomplished master printers including Pepe Coronado, Brian Johnson, Paul Fucik, and Brian Rice. However, his greatest intervention for the field came in 1993 with the founding of Serie Project, a nonprofit printmaking residency program that awards competitive fellowships to artists wishing to explore the technique with the assistance of a master printer. Serie Project has hosted more than 300 artist residencies and has introduced a new generation of artists to a graphic tradition of historical importance to the Chicano art movement (1965–1985). The roster of resident artists includes Malaquías Montoya, Ester Hernández, César Martínez, Celia Alvarez Muñoz, Juan Sánchez, Diógenes Ballester, and Scherezade Garcia.

Coronado’s cultural activism fostered community-building and exhibition opportunities for underrepresented artists. As someone who experienced first-hand the discriminatory practices against Mexican American artists in the Southwest, he was committed to promoting cultural democracy in the arts. Coronado was part of a generation of artists who came of age during the 1960s and believed that establishing alternative and culturally-specific institutions was the first step toward equality. In 1980 he founded *Arcoiris*,
a statewide network for Mexican American artists based in Houston that promoted exhibition opportunities. *Arcoíris* was a precursor to organizations such as the National Association of Latino Arts and Culture. Upon returning to Austin, Coronado collaborated with Sylvia Orozco and Pio Pulido in the founding of Mexic-Arte Museum in 1984. That same year, the Texas legislature designated the museum as the official Mexican and Mexican American art museum of Texas. Concurrently, Coronado opened an exhibition space named Cibola Studio that hosted monthly art openings. The last twenty years of his life were dedicated to promoting Serie Project and its artists. Such a venture took him to remote locations with exhibitions as far away as Argentina and Slovakia. Coronado believed that advancing U.S. Latino graphic arts required a national effort. He was a founding member of Consejo Gráfico, a consortium of Latino graphic workshops with sixteen member organizations across the country. He was preparing to host their tenth anniversary meeting just before his untimely death.

In addition to his successful career as a technical illustrator for Texas Instruments, Coronado also made a living as an educator. His first art classes were delivered at the Association for the Advancement of Mexican Americans in Houston shortly after his graduation from the University of Texas. In the mid-1980s he began lecturing for Austin Community College, where he eventually became a professor in the Visual Communications Department. He taught there through 2011 and dedicated his teaching career to the study of graphic design, color theory, and drawing. He also lectured on Hispanic art at art schools, universities, and museums across the United States and mentored many students who went on to become successful graphic artists and designers.

Coronado received a number of prominent awards including an induction in the Austin Arts Hall of Fame, a Community Leadership Circle Award from the University of Texas at Austin, and a Lifetime Achievement Award from the Austin Visual Arts Association. Posthumously, the Emma S. Barrientos Mexican American Cultural Center in Austin renamed its main gallery in his honor, and the Center for Mexican American Studies at the University of Texas renamed their annual poster art scholarship contest for him.
The artist died at the age of sixty-seven on November 11, 2013, following a stroke during a trip to Fort Wayne, Indiana, where he delivered a lecture at the Fort Wayne Museum of Art. The museum had recently purchased a complete set of twenty-years of prints from his residency program and was hosting the exhibition *Graphicanos: Contemporary Latino Prints from the Serie Project*. Coronado was survived by his wife Jill Ramirez and a daughter.
Luis Omar Salinas, poet and teacher, was born on June 24, 1937, in Robstown, Texas. He was the son of Rosendo Valadez Salinas and Olivia (Trevino) Salinas, both second generation Mexicanos-Tejanos.

Growing up in both Texas and Mexico, and later California, Luis Omar Salinas’s experiences from childhood come through in his poetry. In 1939 his father, a merchant, moved the family to Monterrey, Mexico, to open a store “that sold watches, rings, lanterns, kitchen utensils—novelties that would be of intrigue to a town that was increasing in population and growing dark with industry.” One of Salinas’s earliest memories was buying churros with his mother from a local factory in Monterrey; his poem “Mexico Age Four” offers a vivid glimpse of this memory. In 1941 Salinas’s mother died from tuberculosis. Rosendo Salinas returned with the children to Robstown after Olivia’s burial. He gave up Luis to his brother and sister-in-law, Alfredo and Oralia Salinas. Luis’s sister went to live with another aunt. The loss of his mother deeply struck Salinas. His poetry reflects the influence his mother’s death had upon him; “Olivia” is one such poem.

Luis Salinas took an early interest in school, which became a kind of surrogate for his mother. The racism in Nueces County, however, pushed his adoptive parents to move to California in 1946. They lived first in Daly City near San Francisco and then moved to the Fresno area. Salinas delivered a paper route for the Fresno Bee and also participated in the Boy Scouts and learned to play the trumpet. He continued to do well in school and impressed
teachers with his command of the English language. He attended Longfellow Junior High in Calwa, California, near Fresno, before the family eventually settled in Bakersfield in 1954. Salinas graduated from Bakersfield High School. In the fall of 1956 he attended Bakersfield City College, where he earned an associate in arts degree in history. He also served in the U.S. Marine Reserves during his college years.

In 1958 Salinas moved to Los Angeles to attend California State College at Los Angeles and to rejoin his father, Rosendo. Although Luis had formerly studied history, he found himself drawn to drama. The strain of working forty hours a week, school, and a failed romance eventually took its toll on Salinas. He was hospitalized at Camarillo Hospital, where he was initially diagnosed as a schizophrenic. His stay lasted eleven months during which time he made an attempt to take his own life. He was released to his adoptive parents in December 1960. Salinas suffered several breakdowns throughout the 1960s and struggled with mental illness that was later determined to be manic depression.

Eventually, he returned to California State at Los Angeles in 1964. He attended sporadically until he eventually began studying poetry in 1965. In 1966 he enrolled at Fresno State College (now California State University Fresno) where he studied fiction writing from Tom Gatton. After the following summer, when he worked in his family’s clothing store, he attended a very significant course in his creative development—a poetry writing class with Philip Levine. This proved to be a defining moment for Salinas and his career, and he became one of the key figures in the Fresno school of poetry. By 1970 Salinas had published his first book of poetry, *Crazy Gypsy*—a name he often used to refer to himself. That year he was also hired to teach creative writing and Chicano literature in the Ethnic Studies Department at Fresno State. Despite having little political ideology, Salinas found himself in revolutionary crossfire when the Ethnic Studies Department was eliminated from the university in September 1970. His ties to the La Raza movement within his department caused some tensions within the university, but his critically-acclaimed *Crazy Gypsy* secured his prominence as a pioneer in the field of Chicano poetry. In 1973 he coedited *From the Barrio*, an anthology of Chicano writings.
Salinas supported his writing by doing various jobs for the latter part of his life until he returned to Fresno State to teach poetry. He published a second poetry book, *Afternoon of the Unreal* in 1980. Other volumes include *Darkness Under the Trees/Walking behind the Spanish* (1982), *The Sadness of Days* (1987), *Sometimes Mysteriously* (1997), and *Elegy for Desire* (2005) which was his last work. He won several awards for his writing, including *Columbia Magazine’s* Stanley Kunitz Award, 1980; the Earl Lyon Award, Fresno State University, 1981; General Electric Foundation Award, 1984; and the Flume Press Chapbook Award, 1991.

Known as one of the “founding fathers of Chicano poetry in America,” Salinas and his poetry have been the subject of study in both American and international universities. His friend and colleague Gary Soto described Salinas as “a pioneering poet in the Mexican-American literary scene.” Salinas died at seventy years in Sanger, California, on May 25, 2008. He never married or had children.
The Chicano mural movement began in the 1960s in Mexican-American barrios throughout the Southwest. Artists began using the walls of city buildings, housing projects, schools, and churches to depict Mexican-American culture. Chicano muralism has been linked to pre-Columbian peoples of the Americas, who recorded their rituals and history on the walls of their pyramids, and Mexican revolutionary-era painters José Clemente Orozco, Diego Rivera, and David Alfaros Siqueiros, collectively known as los tres grandes, who painted murals in the United States. Two other Latino predecessors were Antonio Garcia and Xavier Gonzalez, who painted murals in the 1930s under the auspices of the Work Projects Administration art projects. In 1933 at San Diego (Texas) High School, Garcia produced March on Washington, which has since been moved to the Duval County Museum. It embodies the idea that President Herbert Hoover failed to rebuild the nation's finances after the stock-market crash of 1929 and that President Franklin Delano Roosevelt triumphed in putting Americans back to work. Garcia also painted frescoes for Our Lady of Loreto Chapel at Presidio La Bahía in Goliad, Texas, Sacred Heart Catholic Church in Corpus Christi, and the Immaculate Conception Chapel at the Corpus Christi Minor Seminary (now Saint John Paul II High School). Gonzalez, who went on to international acclaim as a sculptor, painted a mural for the San Antonio Municipal Auditorium in 1933. It was later removed because of public outcry over the "upraised fist and a palm with a bleeding wound" depicted in it.

During the Mexican-American artistic and literary renaissance that occurred throughout the Southwest in the 1960s and 1970s mural production became part of the effort of Hispanics to reinvigorate their cultural heritage, which was manifested in the rise of the Raza Unida Party, the United Farm Workers Union, and the Mexican American Youth Organization, all of which tried to affirm cultural identity and challenge racism. The mural movement depicted such cultural motifs and heroes as Quetzalcoatl from the
pre-Columbian era, Francisco (Pancho) Villa from the revolutionary period, and Cleto L. Rodríguez from Tejano history. Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (Our Lady of Guadalupe) is the only representation of a woman. Around the state, most of the artists, some formally trained and others self-taught, worked in collaboration with community volunteers, often teenagers who were recruited for specific projects, to fashion the murals.

In El Paso more than 100 murals have been painted since the mid-1960s. Manuel Acosta painted Iwo Jima, perhaps the earliest of the city’s known Chicano murals, at the Veterans of Foreign Wars office in 1966. Carlos Rosas, Felipe Adame, and Gaspar Enríquez usually worked in conjunction with student painters. Mago Orona Gándara, one of the few known female muralists working in El Paso, has painted at least two as a solo artist, Señor Sol and Time and Sand. Two other women, Irene Martínez and Monika Acevedo, participated in the team that completed Myths of Maturity at the University of Texas at El Paso library in 1991. The murals, located throughout the city's various corridors, often depict themes common to Chicano muralism, such as mestizo heritage or social problems, but they also tell unique stories about the "merging of ideas, cultures, and dreams" along the United States-Mexico border. An attempt to preserve the murals, as well as to restore older ones or paint new ones, was sponsored in the early 1990s by the city's artists and the Junior League, which also published a brochure entitled Los Murales, Guide and Maps to the Murals of El Paso.

San Antonio also has a strong Chicano mural tradition, with the majority of murals concentrated in the city's predominantly Mexican-American West Side neighborhood. The Cassiano public housing project, for instance, has been the site of numerous murals, many of them painted under the direction of the Community Cultural Arts Organization, which was organized in 1979. CCAO chief artist Anastacio "Tacho" Torres has recruited teams of student artists to complete works that depict an array of subjects: labor leader César Chávez, lowriders, the San Antonio missions, Tejano military and political heroes, and others. More than 130 murals had been completed in the city by the early 1990s. Some have been privately commissioned for a variety of locales such as the convention center, Mario's Mexican Restaurant, and Our
Lady of the Lake University. As in El Paso, efforts to record the existence of these works have occurred. In the early 1980s, for example, historian Ricardo Romo developed a slide show on them called "Painted Walls of the Barrio" for the University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures.

In Houston, Leo Tanguma painted Rebirth of our Nationality on the wall of the Continental Can Company. Because of the politically charged content of Tanguma's mural art, several of his works have been erased. In Austin muralist Raúl Valdez has led volunteer teams in painting murals at several public sites on the city's predominantly Mexican-American east side, including the Pan American Recreation Center. Some of his work, like Tanguma's, has been lost in recent years. Los Elementos, for instance, which was painted on the exterior of the Juárez-Lincoln University building in 1977, was destroyed in 1983; city officials could not save it when the building was sold to a new owner. Sylvia Orozco, codirector of Mexic-Arte, has also painted murals, among them one for the Chicano Culture Room in the student union building of the University of Texas at Austin. Murals have also been reported in Crystal City, Dallas, Lubbock, Levelland, Lockhart, and other cities. Whether in small or large towns, artists in the Chicano mural movement have offered an opportunity to the barrios' "untrained" painters. Art historians Shifra Goldman and Tomás Ybarra-Frausto call the murals a significant contribution to public art.
Tony “Ham” Guerrero, Grammy-nominated trumpeter and songwriter, was born on February 20, 1944, to Rudy Guerrero and María H. Martínez. Guerrero was raised in San Angelo, Texas, by his grandparents who encouraged him to pick up the trumpet at age eight. His talent for music led him to the Berklee College of Music in Boston, Massachusetts. In 1964 Guerrero moved to Oakland, California, where he played with a jazz band, the Ed Kelly Quartet. At the request of a friend, Guerrero formed the Tony Martínez Orchestra as the house band at the Newark Pavilion and opened for different popular orquestas and conjuntos from Texas. While playing at the Pavillion, Guerrero’s band opened at sold-out shows for acts such as El Conjunto Bernal, Los Gorrones del Topo Chico, Tony de la Rosa, Ruben Vela, Rudy and the Reno Bops, Sunny and the Sunliners, and Little Joe and the Latinaires.

While playing in Oakland, Guerrero met the frontman of Little Joe and the Latinaires, Joe Hernández. Hernández recruited Guerrero into the band in 1967 for his trumpet playing and knowledge of music theory. Upon his return to Texas, Guerrero arranged horn parts for the Latinaires’ ten-piece orquesta based out of Temple, Texas. In 1968 the revamped band recorded Arriba, their first album with Guerrero, and played shows in dance halls across Texas. The band decided to change their style to reflect the Chicano and counter-culture movements growing in popularity during that time. The band first changed their name to Little Joe y La Familia as a sign of pride in their Spanish-speaking roots. With the name change they also switched from sporting tuxedos to bell-bottom jeans and shaggy hair. Saxophone player Jimmy Flores gave Guerrero his nickname of “Big Ham,” which was shortened to “Ham.”

To give the band’s horn section a deeper sound that reflected both American and Mexican influences, Guerrero convinced trombonist and arranger Joe Gallardo to join the band. Working with Gallardo, Guerrero helped craft a
new sound for La Familia that merged American swing, jazz, and rock with Mexican ranchero music in their successful 1972 album Para la gente. Included in the album is the song “las nubes” (Clouds) that became a Chicano movement anthem. Despite the success of the album, internal conflicts within the band led to the firing of Guerrero and other members by Hernández.

The expelled members formed a new band called Tortilla Factory that played the same style of music Guerrero helped develop for La Familia. The new band released its debut album La Malagueña in 1973 and a self-titled album in 1974 as they relocated to Oakland, California. Despite commercial success from albums and live shows, shifting trends in the late 1980s led to Tortilla Factory breaking up. Guerrero and his family opened up a night club in Austin called Club Islas, that they operated for four years. In 2000 Guerrero restarted Tortilla Factory and eventually brought his children Laura and Alfredo into the group along with the band’s former frontman and lead singer Bobby Butler. After reuniting, the band was nominated for a Grammy in 2009 for their album All That Jazz and in 2010 for their album Cookin’.

On January 10, 2011, Guerrero suffered a heart attack and slipped into a coma. He died in Austin at North Austin Medical Center on January 29, 2011. Guerrero, a Catholic, was survived by Norma (his wife of forty-six years), sons Alfredo, Sergio, Sean, and Anthony, and daughter Laura. His memorial service was held at St. Louis Catholic Church in Austin. Guerrero’s innovative songwriting and trumpet playing can be heard on forty albums and in the repertoire of Tejano bands such as Little Joe y La Familia and Tortilla Factory. His life work remains an important contribution to the music and culture of Texas. He was inducted into the Tejano R.O.O.T.S. Hall of Fame and West Texas Music Hall of Fame.
Leonardo García Astol, also known as Lalo or Lalito, was a popular stage actor, radio announcer, and television personality in Texas. He was born to Leonardo F. García and Socorro Astol at Matamoros, Coahuila, Mexico, on December 2, 1906.

The son of parents who had made their careers in the theater, Lalo Astol made his stage debut at two months of age. His mother, Socorro Astol, was a leading Mexican actress who performed in the major theaters of Mexico City and the provinces throughout the early twentieth century. The daughter of a family of actors, she was a member of a professional dramatic acting company which included her mother, Consuelo López de Solano, also an accomplished actress in Mexico. His father served as prompter in Mexico City theaters at a time when prompting was a vital part of the theater company organization. Leonardo later formed his own company in the United States and organized a successful and long-lasting dramatic acting company in Texas under his leadership as actor-manager. The union of Socorro and García also produced another son, Francisco (Paco), who also enjoyed a long acting career on the Mexican stage.

Lalo Astol received his early education at the Colegio Salesiano, a religious school in Mexico City. His parents would leave him and Paco at the school while they toured. When Astol’s parents divorced, he lived with various families until he was fifteen years old at which time he came to the United States to join his father.

Lalo Astol began his acting career in his father’s company, the Compañía Leonardo F. García. At this time, the actor decided to retain his mother’s surname as was typical in Mexican family names. His career quickly led to roles with other larger companies that toured the American southwest, including the theater enterprise of Manuel Cotera. Lalo Astol also appeared in the Spanish-language theaters of San Antonio and developed an expertise
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In comic roles during a time when dramatic companies provided roles for actors in specific lines of business, either comic or serious (see Mexican-American Theater).

Lalo Astol became a pioneer in Spanish-language radio in San Antonio. In 1946 he was the first program director as well as announcer and traffic manager for KCOR-AM. Owned by Raoul Cortez, KCOR was the first all-Spanish-language radio station owned and operated by a Hispanic. Astol wrote and adapted many scripts for radio programming and drew from his earlier stage and vaudeville experience. He introduced various actors to radio and was responsible for introducing the Spanish-speaking audiences to the repertory of modern drama which he preferred. He created well-known comic character types for the theater, radio, and later television that Texas audiences soon came to associate with his long life in programming.

Lalo Astol recording at KCOR-AM studio.

In January 1955 Astol directed and produced the first broadcast of KCOR-TV, of which he was also a founder. KCOR-TV (later known as KWEX, Channel 41) has been credited as being the first Spanish-language TV station in the United States. He also worked for KUKA-AM radio in San Antonio. On June 30, 1981, San Antonio leaders gave Lalo Astol a city-wide tribute at the Teatro Alameda for his contribution to Spanish radio.

Lalo Astol listed no political affiliation. He had two children from his first marriage to Otila Cuellar. In July 1935 he married María de Jesus (Susie) Mijares, a former member of the Fernandi Circus of Monterrey. Her entire
family was involved in the Mexican circus, and one brother later worked with Ringling Brothers. Besides her training in athletics, balance acts, and dance with the circus, Susie soon became Astol’s partner in comic roles for the stage, radio, and television. Susie and Lalo Astol had three daughters.

Astol retired at the age of eighty and continued to reside with his wife in San Antonio. He died on April 13, 1994, and was buried in San Fernando Cemetery No. 2 in San Antonio.
Maria Belen Ortega

By Teresa Palomo Acosta

Known as the “Nightingale of the Americas,” soprano María Belen Ortega was born on December 21, 1914, in Cerritos, San Luis Potosí, Mexico, to Epitacio and Mercedes Ortega. She arrived with her parents in the United States during the Mexican Revolution.

Ortega’s musical abilities were apparent in her childhood, and she received her first scholarship in piano when she was nine years old. She came to the attention of Feodore Gontzoff, the Russian baritone, with whom she studied voice; later, she also studied with soprano Maria Kurenko, also Russian, who performed with the Metropolitan Opera in New York City. As a high school senior, Ortega received the T. G. Terry Scholarship in music, which allowed her to study at Southern Methodist University (SMU) in Dallas. In addition to her work in voice there, she undertook instrumental studies in piano and classical guitar. Ortega graduated with a bachelor’s degree in music from SMU in 1960. She also pursued “folkloric studies” at the Universidad Nacional de Mexico and at the Music Conservatory in Mexico City. After completing college, Ortega embarked on a thirty-year career as an interpreter of the folk songs of Spain, Mexico, and South America.

Ortega became known for her faithful and inspiring renditions of the masters of Spanish-language folkloric music. Among the composers whose work she sang were Manuel Ponce, Alberto Ginastera, and Juan León Mariscal. In her stage appearances, she honored her cultural roots by donning the costumes of the countries whose music she performed. Ortega typically enhanced each
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piece she presented with “delightful short anecdotes, comments and legends.”

During her three-decades-long career, the soprano appeared at Radio City in New York, the Trocadero in Hollywood, the Samovar in Montreal, and El Patio in Mexico. Ortega, who became known for her outstanding encores, was praised by music critics who attended her concerts. Claudia Cassidy of the Chicago Tribune noted that Ortega’s “voice...has the indefinable quality of personality.” The Associated Newspapers in New York rhapsodied that Ortega “sings with a liquid voice, resonant and of rare enchantment.” In addition to her work on the musical stage, Ortega appeared on radio and television and worked with Alfredo Antonini at CBS and with Joseph Stopak at NBC. During her concert tour of Spain, she also recorded for RCA Victor.

In addition to her career as a musical performer, Ortega worked as a music educator. After she obtained a master’s degree in music education from Texas Woman’s University in 1971, she taught for Mexico City College, St. Mark’s School in Dallas, and Dallas public schools. In later years, she gave private voice lessons. In 1989 Ortega endowed a $50,000 scholarship at SMU’s Meadows School of the Arts to ensure that Hispanic students pursued music as a career. The scholarship, awarded to a first-year student, was the first voice scholarship at the school established by a living individual.

Ortega also served as the arts columnist for El Sol de Texas, a Spanish-language newspaper. She was active in Amigos de Mexico, the Spirit of Dallas, and the Dallas Opera Guild. For her outstanding community service, she was recognized as one of a select group of Mexican-American women “trailblazers” in 1993 by Dallas City Council member Chris Luna. In a presentation ceremony at Pike Park in the Little Mexico neighborhood in Dallas, Luna honored Ortega as one of the “women that allowed me to be where I am today—the ones that were active in the community, the ones that fought, the ones that did not take no for an answer and persevered.”

María Belen Ortega ultimately moved to the Lewisville Estates in Lewisville, Texas. She died there on August 17, 2005, at the age of ninety. She was buried
at Hillcrest Memorial Park in Dallas. Her endowed scholarship at SMU has continued to support voice students.
La Villita Dance Hall, which became known as the “Grand Ole Opry” of Tejano and conjunto music, was located on the edge of the city of Alice, Texas, and was originally nothing more than a big outdoor patio. However, it was soon transformed into a dance hall, designed by an architect from Monterrey, Mexico. La Villita was a large hall, at 15,000 square feet, and could hold 650 people seated and another 350 standing. The venue was established by Armando Marroquín and his wife Carmen. Armando also founded the pioneering Tejano company Ideal Records, whose earliest releases were made on a small recording machine at their kitchen table. Carmen and her sister Laura Hernández Cantú became well-known Tejana singers—the duet of Carmen y Laura. In the 1940s and 1950s Armando Marroquín recorded and made artists like Narciso Martínez (known as the “father” of conjunto music) and Beto Villa (the “father of orquestas Tejanas) well known due to the distribution of their recordings.

Armando and Carmen discovered the need for a large dance hall to showcase Tejano performers as an alternative to school gymnasiums. La Villita opened in 1952 with an admission cost of $1.20 for men and 65 cents for women. The opening featured orquesta leader Beto Villa. In the following years, all the major vocalists, conjuntos, and orquestas of early Tejano music performed at La Villita, which became the first major center for Tejano music and one of the earliest large dance halls in the Coastal Bend. Names of artists and their groups who played there included Narciso Martínez, Isidro López,
Balde Gonzáles, Tony de la Rosa, Paulino Bernal, Juan Colorado, La Mafía, Emilio Navaira, Roberto Pulido, Ruben Naranjo, Eligio Escobar, and many others. Mexican stars such as Antonio Aguilar and Vicente Fernández performed there as well. La Villita was the site of weddings, quinceañeras, birthdays, and anniversaries for thousands of residents in the Alice area. Carmen selected pink to be the color of everything in La Villita, from the exterior to the cashbox.

Alice resident and longtime patron Juan Manrique recalled memories of his time there in the late 1960s. “In the old days, the girls would stand along the wall on one side and the guys on the other side. We would make signs with our hands like ‘You and me? Take a twirl?’” Armando Marroquín died in 1990, and his wife Carmen continued to operate the dance hall by herself and earned the reputation as one of the most talented and hard-working women in the Tejano industry. Due to age and failing health, however, she eventually decided to close the historic venue. The hall was packed on the night of June 26, 2004, to hear the last two groups at La Villita perform—legendary Los Dos Gilbertos and a young group, Ricky Naranjo y Los Gamblers.

After its official closing, the hall continued to host the annual induction ceremony and dance of the Tejano R.O.O.T.S. Hall of Fame for several years. Carmen Marroquín passed away in 2010. In 2013 La Villita reopened as a Christian music venue under the management of Jason and Rachel Ramirez.
Ramiro Cortés, Jr., Mexican-American classical music composer and educator, was born to Ramiro Cortés, Sr., and Elvira (Acosta) Cortés in Dallas, Texas, on November 25, 1933. He became perhaps the first Mexican-American composer of classical music to earn an international reputation.

His father sang, played guitar, and wrote poetry and worked as the business manager for Spanish-American bandleader Xavier Cugat. In 1936, when Ramiro Jr. was just three years old, his father left the family, and his parents later divorced. His mother found it necessary to work to support her family and to put Ramiro and his younger brother, Arturo, in the care of two separate families for a while.

Cortés attended Travis Elementary School in Dallas, and his talent for music was discovered by his choral teacher who also located a piano instructor who agreed to teach the youngster. He began piano lessons at eight years of age, and by the age of eleven, he had begun to compose music. At the age of twelve, Cortés competed with other young orators from all over the world at the Optimist Club’s international contests in Florida. In 1946 Elvira Cortés remarried, and the family moved to Denver, Colorado, where Ramiro continued to study the piano. An anonymous benefactor envisioned that the young music student could have a very successful career as a tenor and paid for voice lessons for him. In 1947 Ramiro Cortés met Nancee Heimbecher in junior high school in Denver; years later the two would marry. Nancee recalled, “When I was in junior high, my choral teacher invited him [Ramiro]
to our class, where he performed the works of Chopin on the piano. He was just 14 at the time, and his rendition of the music was just magical.”

Cortés attended Denver’s South High School and composed the music for a show that his high school class produced. During his high school years, he also composed a number of piano pieces as well as solo and choral pieces. He became a student of master lutenist Joseph Iadone in 1950 and studied music theory; Iadone had been a student of Paul Hindemith. For two years Cortés studied twentieth century music, harmony, and counterpoint with Iadone.

Cortés was awarded a full-tuition scholarship to the University of Denver in 1951. While studying music composition and other courses at the university, Cortés was able to continue his studies with Iadone. Cortés entered some of his compositions in a competition of the National Federation of Music Clubs, and they awarded him the Charles Ives scholarship, which allowed him to attend the Indian Hill Music School in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, in the summer of 1952 and study with Henry Cowell. Cortés then entered the Yale School of Music, where he studied with Richard Donovan. In 1953 Cortés was awarded the John Day Jackson Prize for a composition for a string quartet entitled Introduction and Fugue. That year he also received the Student Composer Award by Broadcast Music, Inc. (BMI) for his piece “Flamenquerias.” Later in 1953 he attended the University of Southern California and also began studying with Halsey Stevens and Ingolf Dahl. In 1954 Cortés received national recognition when he won the George Gershwin Memorial Award for his composition “Sinfonia Sacra”; he was heralded as the youngest composer ever to win this honor. Cortés graduated from the University of Southern California in 1955 and received a bachelor of music degree. That year he also won the Steinway Centennial Award for his Piano Sonata. His composition “Yerma, a Symphonic Portrait” won the Los Angeles Philharmonic Prize.

Cortés attended graduate school at the University of Southern California in 1956 and resumed his studies with Dahl and Stevens. Later that year, Cortés was awarded a Fulbright grant that enabled him to go to Rome and study music composition with Goffredo Petrassi. Later in 1956 he won first prize in
the Young Composers competition; the prize was awarded by the National Federation of Music Clubs. The following year, his Fulbright grant was renewed for another year, so he was able to stay in Rome and study there for a second year with Petrassi. During the summer of 1958 Cortés worked at the Huntington Hartford Foundation on three sacred compositions commissioned by the Concordia Society of Princeton. He also won first place in the Student Composers competition awarded by BMI. That fall he studied music composition with Roger Sessions at Princeton University. During that semester, Cortés received a commission from the Pittsburgh Bicentennial Association to compose music for a film about the history of Pittsburgh. In addition, he wrote a song cycle based on Herman Melville poems, for which he was given the George Bolek Memorial Award by the National Federation of Music Clubs. Ramiro studied again at the Huntington Hartford Foundation during the summer of 1959. He was also awarded a John Hay Whitney Foundation fellowship.

On February 6, 1960, Cortés married his former schoolmate Nancee Heimbecher (whose professional surname was Charles) in New York. That year he wrote Symphony in Three Movements for small orchestra and won a silver medal for it in the Queen Elizabeth of Belgium International Competition.

Cortés was awarded the Rodgers and Hammerstein scholarship in 1961 to attend the Julliard School of Music, where he studied with Vittorio Giannini. While there, he won the Benjamin Prize and the Alexandre Gretchaninoff Memorial Prize. He completed his master’s degree in 1962 and also won an award from the National Institute of Arts and Letters. He was given the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCA) Standard Music Awards for an unprecedented thirteen years.

Meanwhile, Ramiro’s wife, Nancee, a ballet dancer and choreographer, was chosen by Robert Joffrey to take over his ballet company when he left for Denmark. She later commented, “At the time I was so mad at him. He basically threw the company in my hands, and I was totally unprepared.” But Joffrey had a high regard for her skills as a choreographer, and she rose to the occasion. Her success there led to other choreographing and dance
coordinating jobs at Radio City Music Hall, the Connecticut Dance Academy, and many others.

Ramiro and Nancee lived in Wilton, Connecticut, at that time and commuted together to New York City. The couple owned a single automobile. In the early 1960s, System Development Corporation (SDC), an early computer software company, decided to explore the possibility of a connection between music composition skills and computer programming skills. They approached Cortés about perhaps employing him for their research project. Before making him an offer, they invited him to take a battery of aptitude tests in New Jersey. That day Nancee commuted alone to New York in the family car, and Ramiro took a bus to the New Jersey location. She recalled that Ramiro returned home that evening and announced to her that he was contemplating buying a Mercedes. He had done so well on the tests that he was offered a job that same day, and the salary was very attractive. The couple moved to California in 1963. Ramiro worked at SDC as a computer programmer for four years, and Nancee worked in Los Angeles, where she worked closely with composer Igor Stravinsky and violinist Jascha Heifetz.

In 1966 Ramiro Cortés became a visiting lecturer at the University of California at Los Angeles. In 1967 he accepted a faculty position at the University of Southern California; in 1970 he was promoted to associate professor and given tenure.

Cortés had an artistic temperament, even characterized by some as bipolar. Author Victoria Etnier Villamil in A Singer’s Guide to the American Art Song: 1870–1980 characterized the marriage of Ramiro and Nancee: “...their stormy relationship mirrored Cortés’s own troubled personality.” In 1971 they separated and subsequently divorced in December of that year.

In the 1972 school year, Ramiro Cortés was composer-in-residence at the University of Utah. The following year, he became chairman of the music theory and composition department there. During the 1978–79 school year, he took a sabbatical and spent it in Los Angeles. On June 23, 1979, Ramiro and Nancee remarried. He returned to the University of Utah to his faculty position, and Nancee was hired to teach in the dance department there.
Ramiro studied extensively the works of Igor Stravinsky and became an international authority on Stravinsky’s works. In 1982 he presented fifty-five lectures on Stravinsky’s music that were broadcast over Utah radio station KUER.

Ramiro Cortés died unexpectedly of heart failure in Salt Lake City, Utah, on July 2, 1984; he was just fifty-one years of age. His body was cremated, and his ashes were buried at Saint Mark’s Cathedral Columbarium in Salt Lake City.

Cortés was a Democrat. Nancee Cortés once characterized Ramiro as “generous, thoughtful, sweet, funny, brilliant, disciplined, caring, [and] conscientious.” She also said that he was “an exacting and inspiring teacher, a great cook, an enthusiastic gardener and was considered a genius by many of his colleagues.”

Cortés’s compositions have been performed by many major orchestras, including the New York Philharmonic, the Denver Symphony, the Los Angeles Philharmonic, and the Utah Symphony. Many of his works have been recorded and published.
Charrería, the national sport of Mexico and a forerunner of the North American rodeo, originated among the Spanish conquistadors in the sixteenth century. Charros, or Mexican horsemen, adapted the equestrian contests of the Spaniards to produce a uniquely Mexican sport. By the nineteenth century these contests were essential elements of celebrations on large haciendas, especially those festivities celebrating the herraderos (brandings) and rodeos (round-ups). People came from miles around to take part in the celebrations and to watch charros exhibit their skills and compete against each other in daring competitions of horsemanship. Charro contests were also included at major fiestas and celebrations in Mexico, and single charro events, such as the coleadero, the forerunner of bulldogging or steer wrestling, were often used as holiday contests. It was at these fiestas and celebrations that Anglo-Texans first encountered and participated in the sport. Charrería was well known in Texas from the days of the republic, and by the 1860s such contests were included at Texas fairs. Charrería was also influenced by the corridas, or bullfights, in the plazas de toros, where the coleaderos and jineteos de toros (bull riding) were first popularized. Charro sports were included in the corridas through the nineteenth century, and this helps to explain the presence of bull riding, which is not a ranching chore, in both rodeo and charrería.

When the large haciendas in Mexico were divided as a result of the Mexican Revolution, charros feared the demise of the tradition, and so they called a congreso in Mexico City on July 4, 1921, and founded the Asociación Nacional de Charros. In 1933 the Federación Nacional de Charros was founded in Mexico City to govern the different charro associations that emerged, and in the late twentieth century this organization oversaw the charro associations in both Mexico and the United States. In order to compete in a charreada, or rodeo, all associations must be licensed by the federation, and competitors must be certified as charros. There are presently
over 100 charro associations in the United States. Texas charro associations exist in Houston, San Antonio, Austin, and El Paso.

The differences between rodeo and charrería have developed since the 1920s; before then, athletes from Mexico, the United States, and Canada competed in all three countries with no problems regarding rules or eligibility. One outstanding difference between the contemporary rodeo and charrería is that rodeo is an individual sport, while charrería is a team sport. The charreadas are performed in a lienzo, or arena, which has two principal areas: one is sixty meters long and twelve meters wide, and the second is a circular area with a diameter of forty meters. Unlike the rodeo competitor, the charro does not compete for prize money but rather for the honor of the sport.

The charreada is highly ritualized, and the events follow a traditional sequence. The competition usually begins with a military march, or the "Marcha Zacatecas," played by a mariachi band. A procession follows, with representatives of the different charro associations riding horseback around the lienzo carrying flags and banners; they are followed by the president of the state charro association, the members of the competing teams, and perhaps a "charro queen." Once the opening ceremony is completed, the cala de caballo, the first of nine separate competitions, begins. During this event, the equivalent of dressage in traditional equestrian competition, judges evaluate the rider's control of the horse. The charro gallops from the end of the lienzo to the middle of the arena, where he must rein in his horse within a marked area twenty meters wide by six meters long. He must also lead the horse in right and left turns and in backward movements.

The second event is the piales en lienzo, during which three charros attempt to rope the hind legs of a horse, steer, or bull. The third event is the coleadero, sometimes called colear or el coleo. There are at least eight different methods of accomplishing this feat, but the classic move requires the charro to ride up, grab the bull by the tail, pass the tail under the charro's right leg, and make a sharp right angle turn, thereby flipping the bull on its back.
The fourth competition is the jineteo de toros, or bull-riding, during which the charro must ride the bull until it stops bucking. During la terna, which is the equivalent of team roping in a North American rodeo, riders must rope a calf as quickly as possible, one from the neck and the other from the hind legs. The jineteo de yeguas is bronco-riding. The seventh and eighth events are the piales and the manganas, where the charro, either on foot or on horseback, must rope the hind legs and the forelegs of a running mare and pull it off balance. The final event is considered the most difficult, the paso de la muerte or "death pass," where the charro rides his tame horse bareback and attempts to jump onto a wild horse and ride it until it stops bucking.

A charro may compete in only three events in the state or national competitions; only one individual from each association may compete in all events, and he is known as the charro completo. Competitors are judged for style as well as execution. Charrería is predominantly a male sport; women perform in only one event, the escaramuza (skirmish). An escaramuza team consists of eight women who perform precision patterns while riding sidesaddle, often to musical accompaniment. This event is traditionally held after the coleadero and before the jineteo.

See also RODEOS.
Everardo Carlos “E. C.” Lerma, distinguished Mexican American high school coach, educator, and school administrator, son of Mauro Lerma and Carlota (Gonzales) Lerma, was born in Kleberg County, Texas, on June 2, 1915. Lerma’s parents, who were migrant workers from Mier, Tamaulipas, Mexico, lived in Bishop, Texas, at the time of his birth, but later relocated to Kingsville in 1918. E.C., as he was best known, lost both of his parents before the age of ten and was raised by his older siblings in a house near the E. M. King High School football field. Lerma, who attended segregated, Mexican-only public schools as a child, became enamored with football in his youth and dreamed of becoming one of the first Mexican American football players to play on the King High School field.

In 1930 Lerma was allowed to enroll at E. M. King High School, where he was the only Hispanic student. He made the school’s football team but was not initially welcomed by his teammates. Lerma, feeling alienated, quit the team at one point during his freshman year only to return later. During his sophomore year his high level of play as both an offensive and defensive end earned him the respect and friendship of his teammates. In Lerma’s senior year he was the only player from Kingsville named to the all-district team, and he subsequently received a scholarship offer from Texas Christian University (TCU). At the time, TCU was a football powerhouse that would go on to win the inaugural Cotton Bowl in 1937 and the national championship in 1938. However, Lerma declined the scholarship and chose instead to play for the Texas College of Arts and Industries in Kingsville (now Texas A&M University–Kingsville) so that he could stay home and support his family.

In 1934 Lerma began college, where he was likely the first Mexican American to ever play football for Texas A&I. As a member of the freshman squad, he again had to prove himself worthy of playing on the varsity football team and was subjected to frequent hazing by the varsity team members, who
questioned why he was given a scholarship. Throughout his college football career Lerma endured verbal abuse on the field from teammates during practice and from opposition players, as well as heckling from the fans during games. However, his ability on the field eventually won over his teammates, who began to protect him from the abuse of players and fans alike. Lerma lettered at Texas A&I from 1935 through 1937, and his team won multiple Alamo Conference championships. He graduated with a bachelor’s degree in history and education in 1938, and would later return to Texas A&I to earn a master’s degree in education.

In 1938 Lerma began his forty-two-year career in education as an assistant coach for Benavides High School in Duval County, Texas. In 1940 he received a controversial promotion to head coach, which made him just the second Mexican American, after William Carson “Nemo” Herrera, to be named head coach of a Texas high school sports program. Like Herrera, Lerma’s coaching style was strict and paternalistic. It also brought the Benavides football team an undefeated regular season and a district championship in 1942. This unexpected success convinced the school board to build a modern football stadium for the team and to retain Lerma as head coach. Lerma remained at Benavides until 1955 and won seven district football titles and four bi-district titles, as well as two regional titles in 1943 and 1949. At that time, there were no state-level championships for Class A and Class B high school football programs in Texas, so this was the highest level of play available to Benavides High School. Lerma’s success was not just limited to the football team. He also coached the baseball and track teams to individual district titles and led the basketball team to one regional title as well.

After 1955 Lerma left Benavides to coach at Rio Grande City High School—another majority-Mexican American community whose underfunded and understaffed football program had only managed eighteen wins in the previous fourteen seasons. Although he did not experience the same level of success at Rio Grande City as he did in Benavides, Lerma turned a struggling football program into a perennial playoff contender. Coincidentally, after his departure from Benavides High School in 1955, the Benavides football team failed to return to the Texas state football playoffs until 1984. At Rio Grande City Lerma also continued to coach multiple sports and was a director of
several state and regional track tournaments, as well as a leading member of the Texas High School Coaches Association.

In 1966 Lerma left coaching to become a school administrator. From 1966 to 1969 he served as the coordinator of physical education as well as the director of migrant education, adult basic education, and the summer Head Start program for the McAllen Independent School District. Following that, Lerma was an elementary school principal in the McAllen, Edinburg, and Dallas independent school districts. He then served as principal of Robstown High School from 1974 to 1975 and as superintendent of the Benavides Independent School District after 1975. Lerma retired in 1980 and he lived the remainder of his life in McAllen, Texas.

In the years since Lerma’s retirement, historians and social commentators have characterized his athletic and coaching career as indicative of a turning point in the history of Texas sports. At the beginning of Lerma’s career, prevailing social attitudes held that Mexican Americans were intellectually and physically inferior to Anglo student athletes. As a result, Mexican Americans were largely excluded from participation in high school and collegiate sports—especially football. This same social bias prevented Mexican Americans from attaining head coaching positions. Moreover, coaches throughout the state considered head coaching positions in the majority Mexican American communities of South Texas and the Nueces Strip as undesirable, given the perceived lack of available talent. Lerma, however, proved that Mexican Americans were capable of high-level athletic competition. In turn, he opened doors that were previously closed to Mexican American athletes. In fact, within three years of his graduating from King High School as the only Mexican American player on the football team, there were four Mexican Americans on the varsity squad. Additionally, the number of Mexican American head coaches in Texas grew substantially after 1955, along with the number of collegiate football players—several of them coached by Lerma while in high school.

Outside of his career as a coach and school administrator, Lerma was actively involved in a number of community and scholastic organizations. He was a fourth-degree member of the Knights of Columbus and a founding
organizer of the Knights of Columbus council in Benavides as well as an organizer of several Columbian Squires circles in Benavides, Corpus Christi, and Alice, Texas. Lerma was also a member of the El Cid Caravan No. 106 of the International Order of the Alhambra, a Catholic organization in Rio Grande City. Additionally, he was a one-time president of the Benavides Rotary Club, a delegate to the Rotary International Convention in Mexico City in 1952, and was an active member of the Parent-Teacher Association, the National Education Association, the Texas Association of Elementary and Secondary School Principals, and the American Association of School Administrators.

In recognition of his achievements as a coach and educator, Lerma was inducted into the Texas High School Coaches Association Hall of Honor in 1968. He was again just the second Hispanic, after William Carson “Nemo” Herrera, to receive this award. In addition, he was inducted into the Sports Trail Century Club in 1957, the International Platform Association in 1972, the Latin American International Hall of Fame in 1973, the Texas A&M—Kingsville Athletic Hall of Fame in 1977, the Rio Grande Valley Sports Hall of Fame in 1989, and the Coastal Bend Coaches Association Hall of Fame in 1998. Finally, in 1991, the Benavides ISD football stadium was renamed in his honor.

E. C. Lerma married Lydia Olga Campbell in 1941. His wife shared a similar experience with discrimination while in high school, as she was the first Mexican American member of the Corpus Christi drill team. The couple had three children: Patricia, Everardo Carlos Jr., and John. E.C. Jr., who was born with severe mental and physical disabilities in 1945, died of pneumonia at the Austin State School in 1953. John Lerma, who was coached by his father as a quarterback at Rio Grande City High School, earned a scholarship to play for Baylor University in the 1960s. He later followed in his father’s footsteps and became a well-known and successful Texas high school coach.

Everardo Carlos Lerma died from cancer-related complications on April 11, 1998, in McAllen, Texas, and was buried at Valley Memorial Gardens Cemetery.
Los Tecolotes de los Dos Laredos (The Owls of the Two Laredos) of the Mexican League was the first binational professional baseball team. Although the sister cities of Laredo and Nuevo Laredo have been separated by the Rio Grande and nationality since 1848, they have always had a shared identity, culture, and heritage. In 1985 they also had a shared baseball team.

The Tecos, as they are known by their fans, have a history dating back to 1932 in Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas, Mexico. Gen. Luis Horcasitas, president of La Junta Federal de Mejoras Materiales (Federal Board for Material Improvements) in Nuevo Laredo, with stockholders Gen. Leopoldo Dorantes and Pablo Peña, commissioned Erasmo Flores to establish a baseball team named after the business. The organization became known as La Junta (“the Board”) and employed talent from both sides of the Rio Grande to field teams. The city of Laredo also fielded a respectable team at the time, which led to an intercity baseball rivalry. When teams from other cities came to play, the two Laredo teams would pool talent and alternate cities in which the games were played. Some players from Laredo that stood out were pitchers Ismael “Oso” Montalvo, Fernando “Big” Dovalina, and his brother “Lefty.”

In 1935 La Junta graduated to the semi-professional ranks and began barnstorming with a set of paid playing dates in various cities. La Junta toured the United States and compiled a record of 62–18–3. Interestingly, one loss and one tie came at the hands of the legendary pitcher Satchel Paige when they played the team from Bismarck, North Dakota.

La Junta became a formally professional team when they joined the Mexican League in 1940. This coincided with that league’s initiation of a decade of modernization and rivalry with Major League Baseball (MLB) under the leadership of millionaire Jorge Pasquel. He sought committed owners, centralized organization of the teams, created a more structured schedule,
and recruited players from north of the border. Pasquel quickly signed American Negro League stars and paid them well. In La Junta’s inaugural season, pitcher Edward “Pullman” Porter, a veteran of the Negro League, set a record of 232 strikeouts that stood for twelve years. For Negro Leaguers such as Satchel Paige, Ray Dandridge, and Willie Wells, playing in the Mexican League offered opportunities for higher earnings and unrestricted social mobility. The rivalry between the two leagues peaked in 1946, when Pasquel’s battles with MLB Commissioner Happy Chandler became known as the “baseball war” of 1946.

For La Junta, however, the 1940s proved to be a struggle. The team dropped out of the league following their first season and reemerged as Los Tecolotes (The Owls) three years later, in 1944. They took the name because Nuevo Laredo was the first city to host night games. Again they dropped out of the league after the 1946 season only to return in 1949. This time, however, they had to compete for fans with a new team, the Laredo Apaches of the Rio Grande Valley League.

The competition with the Apaches lasted two years as the Rio Grande Valley League folded after the 1951 season. Overall, however, the 1950s proved to be a good decade for the Tecos. Owner Dr. Héctor Gonzales spent whatever it took to produce a championship caliber team, and from 1953 to 1958 the Tecos were league champions. The following year, although the Tecos finished in second place, poor attendance forced the sale of the team to the Pericos de Puebla of the Liga Invernal Veracruzana, which operated the team until the 1970s. During this time the team was located in several Mexican cities, including Puebla and Mérida.

In 1976 former Teco player Tomás Herrera sought to bring the team back to Nuevo Laredo. He worked with owner Ariel Magaña Carillo and general manager (and future vice president) Cuauhtémoc “Chito” Rodríguez to make this a reality. Over the next six years the franchise enjoyed minimal success as Rodriguez patiently put together a contender. The successful Nuevo Laredo trucking magnate Victor Lazano then purchased the Tecos in 1981.
Under Lazano’s ownership, on opening day in 1985 the Tecolotes took the field representing Los Dos Laredos, making them the first and only binational professional baseball team. Lazano, a native Nuevo Laredoian and educated in Laredo, did not act alone, however. He put together a front office team that was a manifestation of binationalism. First, he kept “Chito” Rodríguez, a Mexican citizen who served in the United States Air Force and who lived and worked in Laredo. Rodríguez boosted exposure and the popularity of the team on the north side of the river by putting together the home run-hitting combination of Alejandro Ortiz, Andrés Mora, and Carlos Soto, known as “Los Tres Mosqueteros.” Rodríguez also had a knack for importing the right players from foreign leagues, many of whom were American professionals.

The final pieces to the puzzle were politically savvy people on the Laredo side of the border. Larry Dovalina, director of the Laredo Civic Center, came from a longtime baseball family; his uncles, Fernando and Lefty, were regional stars, and his father Lázaro played for the 1949 Laredo Apaches. More importantly, dating back to 1846, Dovalina’s family had been influential in politics on both sides of the river. Another key supporter of the team was Assistant City Manager Carlos Villarreal, a politically-influential fan of the Tecos. Although technically not part of the team’s leadership, Dovalina and Villarreal secured the backing of Laredo’s mayor, Aldo Tatangelo, city funds to upgrade West Martin Field, and a twenty-year agreement to pay the Tecos to play one-third of their home games in Laredo.

For nine years Los Tecolotes de los Dos Laredos were the pinnacle of the Mexican League and made the playoffs in each of those years and won the Mexican League Championship in 1989. They were the only Mexican League team with a working relationship with an MLB franchise, the Atlanta Braves. This relationship helped Rodríguez scout and bring in top American talent and offered players the possibility to be called up to a Major League organization where they could improve their skills with the world’s top baseball organizations. Lastly, it also allowed for scouts and coaches from the Braves to work with the team on a consulting basis, where training and practicing ideas could be exchanged.
In 1988 the American press finally took notice of the binational phenomenon when the New York Times published an article about the Mexican League All-Star Game being played in the United States (in Laredo) for the first (and only) time. The Dallas Morning News pointed out the major economic reason behind the agreement—the Mexican government’s devaluation of the peso in 1982, which had a devastating economic impact on both cities.

After losing in the league finals in 1993, the team saw its binational agreement begin to disintegrate. Cultural and nationalistic antagonisms, which were hidden from the public over the course of a decade, began to take their toll on the franchise. Whereas playing in the Mexican League was seen by Mexican players as an achievement in their career, for many of the American imports it was seen as the end of the road. Americans usually enjoyed higher salaries and better travel accommodations, which created what amounted to a privileged class within the team. These and other factors fueled resentment among many Mexican players toward their American teammates and broke down team chemistry.

Similar antagonisms decayed the relationship within the Teco front office. Top management from the Mexican side did not feel the need to win fan loyalty. They sold off their best players to make up for financial shortfalls. Frustrated with the practice, those on the Laredo side announced that they would not renew the agreement after the 1994 season. Their attitude was that the team needed to be run as a form of family entertainment in order to create fan loyalty, like most successful American minor league teams.

In 1995 the Tecolotes lost their binational identity, only to have the agreement renewed from 1996 to 2003. During that span the Tecos posted disappointing results. Except for a playoff run in 2002, they finished with losing records every year. In 2004 they were moved to Tijuana and took the name the Potros de Tijuana, and the idea of binational baseball was put to rest.
William Carson “Nemo” Herrera, distinguished Mexican American educator and high school athletics coach, son of Rodolfo and Carolina Herrera, was born in Brownsville, Texas, on February 19, 1900. His father Rodolfo was a member of the Mexican landowning class that immigrated to Texas after losing their property during the unrest of the Mexican Revolution. His mother Carolina claimed to be a descendant of José Francisco Ruíz, a signer of the Texas Declaration of Independence. The family later relocated from Brownsville to San Antonio, Texas, about 1907. Their relatively privileged social status allowed Nemo, as he was best known, to grow up as part of the Mexican American middle class that was fairly assimilated, and, as a result, he avoided many of the racial, economic, and political issues that plagued much of the Mexican American community.

Herrera attended public schools in San Antonio and began playing organized sports at age twelve as a shortstop on the Newsboys, a team sponsored by the San Antonio Express. At age thirteen, Herrera became the batboy for the San Antonio Bronchos [sic] of the Texas League. During his time as batboy the team bestowed upon him his lifetime nickname, “Nemo,” after the protagonist of the popular comic strip Little Nemo in Slumberland. In part, it was also an Anglicization of his family nickname “Memo,” a diminutive version of Guillermo (the Spanish equivalent for William). While he attended Brackenridge High School in San Antonio, Herrera excelled as a second baseman on the baseball team and a forward on the basketball team. He also played football in the fall.
In 1918 Herrera was recruited by legendary Texas high school and college coach Peter Willis Cawthon to play at Southwestern University in Georgetown, Texas. Herrera lettered in basketball and baseball in all four years that he attended Southwestern, and he was the leading scorer and captain on the basketball team in his third year. Additionally, he was a two-time member of the All-State college basketball team and a one-time member of the All-State college baseball team. Herrera also lettered in football during his freshman year but decided to quit the sport after sustaining a serious leg injury. Outside of sports, he was a member of Phi Delta Theta fraternity and a private in the Student Army Training Corps. Although he did not graduate from Southwestern, likely due to financial difficulty, Herrera eventually earned a degree from the University of San Antonio (now part of Trinity University).

Beginning in 1919, Herrera played for a number of different semi-professional and minor league baseball teams in Texas, Louisiana, and Missouri, as a way to earn money for school while on summer break. During this time he played alongside future World Series champion coach Eddie Dyer and future Hall of Famer Ted Lyons and enjoyed brief stints as an infielder for the Galveston Sand Crabs of the Texas League and the St. Joseph Saints of the Western League. In 1923 Herrera obtained his first high school coaching experience at Beaumont High School, where he served as an assistant coach under former Georgetown, Texas, mayor and future Texas A&M coach Lilburn “Lil” Dimmitt. While at Beaumont, Herrera focused his attention on the basketball team and helped them to win a district title in 1924. He also played for a semi-professional basketball team sponsored by the Gulf Oil Company in Port Arthur.

A year later Herrera took a job with the Gulf Oil Company subsidiary in Tampico, Mexico, where he continued to play baseball for various semi-professional and company-sponsored teams from 1924 to 1927. While in Mexico, Herrera also coached a baseball team sponsored by Luz y Fuerza, a state-owned Mexican electric company. In July 1927 he was injured during a baseball game in Tampico and sent to the local American hospital for treatment. While there he met Mary Leona Hatch, a nurse from San Antonio, Texas. They married in Tampico on August 20, 1927, and returned to San
Antonio shortly thereafter, where Herrera took a job with the Public Service Company of San Antonio. The couple eventually had two children, Charles and William.

In August 1928 Herrera was hired to coach all sports at Sidney Lanier Junior High School in San Antonio’s poor, mostly Mexican and Mexican American West Side barrio. In his first year, he led each of the school’s three basketball teams to a district championship. The following year, when the school was transformed into a junior-senior high school, Herrera was denied the senior head coaching position. However, he was later promoted to head coach of all senior sports in 1933. This likely made him the first Mexican American head coach of a major high school sports program in Texas. Although there were years when he did not coach football at Lanier, he always coached basketball and baseball. Additionally, he supplemented his income by working as a college basketball referee and, in the summer, as an umpire in the American minor leagues and the Mexican National League.

During his tenure at Lanier, Herrera developed a reputation for his strict and paternalistic coaching style. He was known to use corporal punishment regularly and often spent his weekends tracking down truant students. On the basketball court, he compensated for Lanier’s perennial lack of size by speeding up the tempo of the game; he emphasized aggressive defensive play and instituted an early form of the largely unknown full-court press. The strategy worked—between 1938 and 1945 Lanier won five district titles and reached the final four of the Class A state basketball playoff four times, winning the state title in 1943 and 1945. This consistent success attracted the attention of Texas A&M University, whose head basketball coach Marty Karow took a leave of absence to serve in the military during World War II. Herrera was offered a job as Karow’s wartime replacement in 1944, but he declined, citing the temporary nature of the position.

In August 1945 Herrera left San Antonio to become the head coach at El Paso Bowie High School. Similar to Lanier High School, Bowie was located in a highly segregated, under-served, and predominantly Mexican American neighborhood known as El Segundo Barrio. As coach of the varsity basketball team, Herrera led Bowie to four district titles and one appearance in the final
four of the state basketball playoff in 1948. Additionally, he organized Bowie’s first baseball team in 1946 and led them to two consecutive city titles in their first two seasons. In 1949 Bowie’s team qualified for the first-ever state high school baseball championship tournament, where they were the only all-Hispanic team to compete. Unable to find accommodations in Austin, the team slept on army cots under the bleachers of Texas Memorial Stadium for the duration of the tournament. Despite this, they went on to win the Class AA state title, and seven Bowie players were named to the All-State team. With that victory, Herrera joined William Jewell Wallace and George “Red” Forehand as the only Texas high school coaches to win a state championship in more than one sport.

Herrera remained at Bowie High School until 1960 and won three more district baseball titles in 1950, 1958, and 1959. He retired from coaching varsity basketball in 1955 but continued to coach both baseball and football. From 1960 to 1962 Herrera took a job as varsity baseball coach at Edgewood High School in San Antonio. Afterwards, he returned to El Paso to coach at the newly-built Coronado High School. Once again, he organized the school’s first-ever baseball program and led the team to a Class AAAAA district title in 1967. Outside of high school athletics, Herrera organized several commercially-sponsored summer baseball leagues in El Segundo Barrio and served as director of a county-wide youth baseball league funded by Project BRAVO in El Paso. He also coached El Paso’s under-fifteen baseball team to the 1958 Babe Ruth League World Series in Toronto.

Herrera left public education upon reaching the mandatory retirement age in 1970. He returned to San Antonio and began a new career at the age of seventy as the director of civilian recreation at Kelly Air Force Base, where he worked from 1970 to 1981. Herrera died in San Antonio on April 5, 1984, and was interred at San Jose Burial Park.

Over the course of his forty-three-year coaching career, William Carson “Nemo” Herrera was the recipient of numerous awards and honors. Perhaps most impressively, he was the first Hispanic inducted into the Texas High School Coaches Association Hall of Honor in 1967. Herrera was also inducted into the Southwestern University Athletic Hall of Fame (1995), the
El Paso Athletic Hall of Fame (1969), the El Paso Baseball Hall of Fame (1988), the Texas High School Basketball Hall of Fame (1999), the San Antonio ISD Athletics Hall of Fame (2016), and the San Antonio Sports Hall of Fame (1997). Additionally, the gymnasium at Lanier High School, the baseball stadium at Bowie High School, the youth center at Kelly Air Force Base, and an elementary school in El Paso—as well as scholarship funds in both San Antonio and El Paso—were named in Herrera’s honor.
The Tejano Monument is one of the largest monuments on the grounds of the Texas state Capitol and features a twenty-foot granite base with ten statues and five bronze-relief plaques. It was proposed by the Tejano Monument, Inc., a private fundraising committee of Mexican American leaders. On May 17, 2001, the Seventy-seventh Texas Legislature adopted House Concurrent Resolution (HCR) 38 authorizing the committee to erect the monument, created by Laredo sculptor Armando Hinojosa, on the Texas Capitol grounds to pay tribute to the contributions of Tejanos—the founding Spanish and Mexican settlers—to the state of Texas. The board members of the Tejano Monument, Inc., raised approximately $2 million to fund and erect the monument on March 29, 2012, in an elaborate unveiling ceremony which featured speeches by Governor Rick Perry and other officials, a parade, and a history symposium. The dedication ceremony garnered statewide media attention and was recorded on videos and web pages on the Internet.
The term **Tejano**, pronounced *te-ha-no*, means “Texan” in Spanish and is significant because it refers to the native Spanish and Mexican settlers who founded Texas initially as a province of New Spain and later as a state of the Republic of Mexico (see [SPANISH TEXAS](#) and [MEXICAN TEXAS](#)). Although it refers specifically to the original *Tejanos*, the term lends itself also to Hispanics of various national origins who can relate to a common heritage as modern Texans, even though they may come from diverse national origins.

The Tejano Monument is comprised of ten separate bronze statues on a sculptured granite base or pedestal that slopes downward from approximately ten feet above ground level at the rear to only three feet above ground level along the front edge of the monument. The granite stone was cut from a single monolith, weighing approximately 250 tons, mined from the same quarry north of Austin that provided the pink granite that was used for the Capitol building itself. The granite pedestal was hand-sculpted to simulate the natural terrain of the South Texas brush country where *Tejano* ranching originated. The landscaping around the Tejano Monument consists of a variety of **cacti** and other plants native to South Texas. The bronze statues stand along the top ridge of the stone base and represent a series portraying the chronological development of *Tejano* settlement. A Spanish explorer is at the highest point of the base at the right rear. A mounted *Tejano vaquero* (or cowboy) on a **mustang** dominates the top center of the monument and leads two **longhorn cattle**—a longhorn cow and a bull—down the slope. At the left lower level of the stone base is a family group of statues depicting a mother and father **ranchero** holding an infant in their arms between them. Statues of a young boy and girl, tending to a sheep and a goat, respectively, are located at the front of the family group on the lowest level of the granite base. All of the statues are life-sized and sculpted to reflect historically accurate features and
artifacts of the early to mid-nineteenth century. The longhorn cattle and the mustang are shown with the specific conformation of the original stock peculiar to South Texas. The saddle, the brand, spurs, and other accoutrements of the Tejano statues are meticulously sculptured to depict artifacts of Tejano ranch life. In addition to the ten statues, the Tejano Monument incorporates five bronze-relief plaques mounted along the front edge of the monument base. The plaques were intended not only as interpretive aids but also to serve as an unobtrusive barrier to unauthorized intrusion onto the monument. The plaques are 22 inches wide and 33 inches high. Each contains approximately 400 words of text in deep relief cast bronze and relates to a major historical period in Tejano history. The titles and historical periods are “Spanish Tejanos (1519–1810),” “Tejanos Under the Mexican Flag (1810–1836),” “Tejanos in the Republic of Texas (1836–1848),” “Tejanos and Texas in the U. S. (1848–1920),” and “Mexican Americans in 20th Century America.” The historical text for the plaques was written by prominent scholars with extensive credentials in their respective fields of Texas history. Several legislative bills were passed in order to authorize, design, fund, and erect the Tejano Monument. The first bill was submitted in 2001 during the Seventy-seventh Texas Legislature by State Representative Ismael “Kino” Flores sponsoring a House resolution (HCR 38) to establish a monument commemorating the early Spanish and Mexican pioneers of Texas—the Tejano Monument. The measure was sponsored in the Texas Senate by Mario Gallegos and signed by Governor Rick Perry on June 15, 2001. In 2006 the Seventy-ninth Texas Legislature during its third called session approved HCR 12 by Representative Flores allowing for the use of public funds for the
monument. This resolution satisfied the contingency found in the 2005 appropriation (and subsequent appropriations) of state funds for the monument and was signed by Governor Perry on May 15, 2006; the Eightieth Texas Legislature approved $1.087 million the next year. Representatives Flores and Ryan Guillen spearheaded the effort to secure the appropriation, while the members of the board of the Tejano Monument, Inc., and its supporters raised more than $800,000 in private funds.

After the funds were raised and approval was given to erect the monument, a dispute arose over the decision of the State Preservation Board to place the Tejano Monument at the rear of the state Capitol between two state buildings. When the members of the Tejano Monument, Inc., were told that a state law prohibited placing the monument on the “historic” south lawn in front of the Capitol, they resolved to change the law. In 2009, after more legislative hearings and lobbying, the Eighty-first Texas Legislature passed HB 4114 by Trey Martinez-Fischer. The bill authorized the placement of the Tejano Monument on the “historic south grounds of the Capitol” (the front side of the Capitol building). The bill was sponsored by Judith Zaffirini in the Senate and was signed by Governor Perry on May 29, 2009.

A large gathering of supporters, state officials, media, and descendants of the founding Tejano families of Texas witnessed the Tejano Monument dedication ceremony, which was preceded by a parade down Congress Avenue. Governor Rick Perry and other state officials and public speakers delivered addresses at the ceremony, and key participants were allowed to pull the cords to individually unveil each of the statues. The event received extensive media coverage, and many media articles have referred to the Tejano Monument as a milestone in the history of Tejanos.
The VOCES Oral History Project is a multi-faceted national program founded at the University of Texas at Austin in 1999 as the U.S. Latino & Latina WWII Oral History Project. Until 2009 the project interviewed Latinos and Latinas of the World War II generation throughout the country in an effort to document their lives, thus addressing a gap in the literature about the period. After receiving a major federal grant from the Institute for Museum and Library Services in 2009, the project expanded to the Korean and Vietnam War. Its goal remained unchanged: to create a better awareness of U.S. Latino/a participation in the development of their communities, their state, and their nation. In 2010 the program took the new name of VOCES Oral History Project. The project is ongoing and is exploring new topics.

VOCES has strived to find the untold stories and to tease out the themes that have emerged in interviews. The project produced the Narratives newspaper “dedicated to the interviews” through summer 2004. Since that time, published books have included A Legacy Greater Than Words: Stories of U. S. Latinos & Latinas of the WWII Generation (2006). Chapters in the project’s four edited volumes include: Latino WWII servicemen and post-traumatic stress disorder, their use of radio, non-citizens serving in the U.S. military, their religious beliefs, the racial complications of Afro-Latinos, and the enumeration of Latinos in the military service in World War II. Authors have generally included oral history interviews in their respective chapters.

From its start, the project focused on research, teaching, and service. It held its first major conference in May 2000 and featured both academic presentations and panels with WWII-era men and women. Since then, it has hosted several symposia and conferences. University of Texas students conduct many of the interviews, and many of the students are enrolled in a class called Oral History as Journalism, as well as in history classes.
Interviews are videotaped and interview subjects’ photographs are scanned for use in exhibits and other visual representations.

VOCES is housed in the University of Texas School of Journalism, allowing for one of its signature finding aids—each interview is turned into a news story written by students and edited by veteran journalists. Stories are reviewed by interview subjects before being posted on the VOCES website.

The project uses existing interviews in five-minute documentaries, in photo/audio slide shows, and in podcasts, as resources are available. It has developed educational materials for fifth through eighth graders; the materials are aligned with state educational standards. The program also encourages volunteers to conduct their own interviews and provides training videos and necessary forms to prospective interviewers.

In 2007 VOCES was thrust into the national spotlight when it stood up to PBS and filmmaker Ken Burns over a 14.5-hour documentary on World War II. In early 2007 VOCES was able to verify that the documentary, more than six years in the making, had no Latinos. The documentary, *The War*, was scheduled to air on September 16, 2007, but was eventually rescheduled to a later date. VOCES spearheaded national efforts to protest the omission and to demand inclusion. The coalition of protestors took the name Defend the Honor and met with officials of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, the Public Broadcasting Service, and with national and local leaders and community members. The Latino protests were covered extensively in the news media. The exclusion of Latinos in the documentary cut across generational, political, and ethnic lines, as World War II affected all Americans. Burns resisted changes for several months but finally agreed to add three interviews—interviews with...
two Mexican American and one Native American veterans. Those interviews were added to three of the seven episodes but did not air in all markets.

As of 2015, VOCES Oral History Project was expanding to different interview collections, including those focusing on political empowerment and civic engagement.
San Antonio Missions National Historical Park was established on November 10, 1978, by the joint efforts of the Catholic Archdiocese of San Antonio, the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department, the San Antonio Conservation Society, and the United States Department of the Interior. The park includes the sites of San José y San Miguel de Aguayo Mission, which was restored in the 1930s, and three sister missions, Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción, San Juan Capistrano, and San Francisco de la Espada. An additional property exists in Floresville, Texas—Mission Espada’s off-site livestock operation Rancho de las Cabras. The park began operation on April 1, 1983, under the direction of José A. Cisneros, who was appointed superintendent in September 1979.

Initial restoration work began on San José Mission in 1933. Congressman F. Maury Maverick and Archbishop Arthur J. Drossaerts had agreed to work for the formation of a mission park. The church, Bexar County, and the San Antonio Conservation Society hired architect Harvey P. Smith to coordinate the restoration of San José. Local authorities agreed to furnish materials, and federal relief agencies provided labor. By 1935, in preparation for the Texas Centennial, the United States Department of the Interior and the Texas Centennial Commission agreed to work to preserve San José and other historic sites. The agreement of 1941 among the National Park Service, the Texas State Parks Board, and the San Antonio Conservation Society formalized the joint efforts of local, state, and national agencies to preserve the mission as a historic site. This document assured the Catholic Church of the right to retain title to the mission church, empowered the parks board to preserve, manage, and interpret its mission properties, and enabled the Department of the Interior to designate San José Mission as a national historic site.
Once San José was established as a state park and declared a national historic site, local interest turned to joining all four missions along the San Antonio River into a single national park. Through the efforts of the local congressional delegation, headed by Representative Abraham Kazen, a bill authorizing a park was introduced and passed in 1978. In the Senate, Lloyd Bentsen introduced the bill, which was cosponsored by John G. Tower. The park was authorized to acquire the four missions and adjacent lands, a total of 475 acres, through purchase, donation, exchange, and cooperative agreements. In a subsequent cooperative agreement signed on February 20, 1983, the National Park System agreed to provide for the preservation, restoration, and interpretation of missions Concepción, San José, San Juan Capistrano, and Espada. Concerns over the issue of separation of church and state were resolved in a legal opinion by the Department of Justice on December 2, 1982, allowing the National Park Service management of the missions, while the archdiocese continued use of the missions as active parish churches. Additional agreements with the city and the San Antonio River Authority gave the National Park Service authority to use its lands along the river for historical-park purposes; recreational use remained under the auspices of the city Parks and Recreation Department and the river
authority. In 1995 the National Park Service acquired Rancho de las Cabras in Floresville from the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department.

In 1982 the park had also acquired a donated scenic easement over San Juan Acequia, and by the early 1990s various public and private groups, including the National Park Service and the San Antonio River Authority, worked to raise funds to restore the historic water flow in the irrigation canal. During San Antonio’s missions era, Indian residents had excavated an extensive network of ditches, called **acequias**, off of the river to provide water to irrigate the farmlands of each mission. While urban development in San Antonio compromised most of the mission acequias, two of the original ditches remained flowing and in use—the Espada Acequia and the San Juan Acequia, both currently managed by the National Park Service.

The San Juan Acequia has remained intact since construction began in 1731; however, water flow was halted in 1958 when the U. S. Army Corps of
Engineers channelized the San Antonio River, effectively cutting off its headwaters. While the San Juan Dam remains visible in its original location within the San Antonio River, its utility was terminated during the 1958 river channelization. However, after a decades-long restoration initiative, water returned to the 6.7-mile San Juan Acequia in 2011. Since then, the National Park Service has begun to develop a Spanish colonial-style demonstration farm at Mission San Juan to illustrate and teach the Spanish-style agriculture that took place almost 300 years ago.

The Mission Reach project was initiated in 2008 by the San Antonio River Authority, the city of San Antonio, and several other partners to connect downtown San Antonio to all four missions within the National Park Service boundary by way of a 15-mile hike-and-bike trail. The eight-mile section of the “Mission Reach” trail was completed in 2013 and includes landscaping, walkways, and recreational features along the San Antonio River. Visitation to San Antonio Missions National Historical Park grew from 521,705 in 2013 to 1,395,337 in 2014 with this increased accessibility. Portions of this trail are maintained by the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park. The entire park contains almost 950 acres, including 137 acres proposed as park boundary expansion and enacted by the United States Congress in 2013.

Since 1983 Los Compadres, a non-profit friends group, has helped raise funds for the continued preservation of the missions. By 2015 Los Compadres had donated more than $2 million to fund projects such as the restoration of the San José Grist Mill, the development of the demonstration farm at Mission San Juan, and many interpretive and educational resources. Los Compadres is dedicated to promoting pride in San Antonio’s rich cultural heritage and enhancing the historical value of the San Antonio Missions National Historical Park.

On July 5, 2015, the Alamo and the missions of San Antonio Missions National Historical Park were designated a World Heritage Site by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)—the first such designation in Texas and one of twenty-three in the United States. The first San Antonio World Heritage Festival, commemorating the one-year anniversary of World Heritage Site
Tejanos and Public Memory

designation (as well as honoring the centennial of the establishment of the National Park Service), was held at the park in September 2016.

In addition to the four mission compounds, the National Park Service operates a visitor’s center and museum at Mission San José and smaller visitor’s contact stations and museums at each mission site. The Western National Parks Association also operates a bookstore inside the visitor’s center at Mission San José. Park rangers are available daily for scheduled tours and to provide visitors with informational and educational resources.

![Marker commemorating the UNESCO World Heritage Site designation on July 5, 2015.](image)
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