

José T. Canales, Conflict and Compromise, Tejano Identity in Politics

**Lira Ramirez
Senior Division
Historical Paper
Paper Length: 2,357 words**

“Now Mr. Canales you are by blood a Mexican are you not”
“I am not a Mexican, I am an American citizen”
“By blood?”
“Well, Mexican you may call it, that’s true, a Texas Mexican”¹

From 1910 to 1920 historians estimate anywhere from hundreds to several thousand ethnic Mexicans perished in Texas as a result of growing racial tensions and social insecurity². Innumerable Mexicans fleeing to the U. S. to escape the Mexican Revolution died from the murders. While Tejanos, American citizens who lived as landowners long before the Texas-Mexico boundary crossed over them, found themselves targets of discrimination and brutality once again. Juan N. Cortina was famously known for acting against the violence towards Tejanos. Known as a “Mexican Folk Hero” in the south, Cortina raided Anglo-American settlements to press for the acknowledgment of Tejano rights. Years later, his grand-nephew, José Tomás Canales, a Texas politician and businessman, continued to look for change. Canales, however, was unlike his ancestor, he refused to accept violence and intransigence as the solution. Through his work patrolling the border in the repercussions of the anti-uprising movement, the investigation into the Texas Rangers, and his achievements in Latino civil rights, he played a crucial role in the evolution of civil rights movements for Tejanos. Although the constant disparagement of his Mexican descent seemed occasionally to make Canales doubt his reputation

¹ Texas Congress, Ranger Investigating Committee, Proceedings of the Joint Committee of The Senate and The House in The Investigation of The Texas State Ranger Force, Vol. 2. 36th cong. 1st sess., January 31st, 1919, 1010, Accessed 4 February 2018, <https://www.tsl.texas.gov/sites/default/files/public/tslac/treasures/images/law/1919rangerVolume2.pdf>.

² “Refusing to Forget.” <https://www.refusingtoforget.org/the-history>. Accessed 24 Oct. 2017.

and identity as a “Mexican” or “Tejano,” Canales proved himself wrong. Through the challenges in Canales’ life, his story shows the power of compromise.

Canales’ childhood experiences and the chance at higher education became the cornerstone of his life’s work. José Tomás Canales was born March 7, 1877, on a farm in Nueces County. His mother was descendant of Jose Salvador de la Garza, recipient of the immense land grant “Espiritu Santo,” that covered most of what is now Cameron County.³ The wealth passed down to his family enabled José to attend school as a young child in Texas and, as he grew older he continued his education throughout the U. S. and in Mexico, where he spent time with his grandparents⁴. Entering adulthood, Canales traveled out of state once again earning a degree in law at the University of Michigan. With his newfound knowledge, he practiced law in Corpus Christi and Laredo before finally setting in Brownsville where he worked in the county assessor's office. His tremendous education and experiences greatly aided him to become involved in Texas government.

Canales’ stronger growing positions on major political issues drove him to seek election. Campaigning as a Democrat, he won. From 1905 to 1910 he represented several South Texas counties in the Texas House⁵. Towards the end of his term, the democratic party was under scrutiny for several charges regarding abuse of government funds. Despite his alliance with the party, Canales was not a typical democrat, straying from conventional views. The party used the

³ Bill, A. (2013, March 27). J. T. Canales and the 1919 Ranger Investigation. *South Texas History*, 1(4).

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ "ANDERS, EVAN. "CANALES, JOSE TOMAS." Handbooks of Texas Online. June 12, 2010. Accessed January 11, 2018. <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fcaag>.

differences to their advantage, placing the blame on men like Canales, described as “independent-minded.”⁶ Because of the commotion and growing distance between him and party leaders, Canales declined to seek re-election. In his time away from the Texas House, Canales became aware of an enormous threat to the Tejano community. The believed impending danger from the Mexican revolution caused the deployment of thousands of Special Rangers. Background checks and complete examination of these men’s records became harder and were sometimes pushed out of the way. Many members of the force began acting separately from the original goal of the Rangers, murdering innumerable Tejanos and Mexican immigrants.

Countless Tejanos saw their neighbors murdered by Anglo- Texans, leading many Tejanos who refused to live in fear any longer, to join an emerging uprising. However, Scholars question whether their efforts truly helped or caused a larger circle of fear and violence between both parties. Canales found himself in an unfavorable situation through his stance disapproving both the rebellion and the repression.⁷ He wanted to help end the violence being done to his people, but believed raiding Anglo-American settlements was not the answer. Feeling betrayed, Tejanos accused him of showing no support. Many non-Hispanic groups would not let Canales in, writing him off as biased because of his descent. At a lack of any existing group to support, Canales organized his own group, “a regular patrol of like-minded Tejanos who assisted in the army’s efforts to turn back all raids” to the Rio Grande.⁸ Riding back and forth beside the river

⁶ Anders, Evan. *Boss rule in South Texas: the Progressive Era*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1987, 227.

⁷ Johnson, Benjamin Heber. *Revolution in Texas: how a forgotten rebellion and its bloody suppression turned Mexicans into Americans*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005, 125.

⁸ *Ibid.*

he strove to protect either side from the violence. His law partner at the time remarked Canales “... did it at the risk of his own life, and perhaps risked capture and torture”⁹. Historians later reflected the army’s involvement was the key to ending the brutalities. Despite his success outside of politics, Canales wanted to stop the Ranger’s barbaric acts for good. He chose to seek re-election to the Texas house in 1917. Unfortunately, because of his past quarrels with democratic leaders, he was forced to make drastic compromises in his policies to re-earn his place in the party, He served in smaller local offices preceding his return to the legislature.

Many people tried to discourage Canales’ strong challenge to the Rangers, some not suggestions, but threats to his life. In an attempt to halt the murderings, Canales spoke to Texas Governor of the time, Governor Ferguson, who tried to appeal to Canales as an “American citizen”, pleading with him to keep the Rangers as support for a possible war with Germany”¹⁰ Canales agreed, remaining hopeful that the governor would take action. The Texas Legislature impeached Ferguson that same year, replacing him with Governor Hobby. At first, Canales appeared grateful for the change in leadership, praising Hobby for his work, but it was not enough. Hundreds of Hispanics continued to die. Canales decided to confront the Rangers

⁹ Texas Congress, Ranger Investigating Committee, Proceedings of the Joint Committee of The Senate and The House in The Investigation of The Texas State Ranger Force, Vol. 1, 36th cong. 1st sess., January 31st, 1919, 548-549, Accessed 4 February 2018, <https://www.tsl.texas.gov/sites/default/files/public/tslac/treasures/images/law/1919rangerVolume1.pdf>.

¹⁰ Texas Congress, Ranger Investigating Committee, Proceedings of the Joint Committee of The Senate and The House in The Investigation of The Texas State Ranger Force, Vol. 2, 36th cong. 1st sess., January 31st, 1919, 869, Accessed 4 February 2018 <https://www.tsl.texas.gov/sites/default/files/public/tslac/treasures/images/law/1919rangerVolume2.pdf>.

personally, perhaps to avoid a legislative battle. He asked the Inspector Ranger W. M. Hanson to remove the men responsible for the killings. Hanson agreed, professing he would do anything to help. Despite his claims of stopping the Rangers, Hanson continued working to cover up their crimes. Following Canales' request to Hanson, Frank Hamer, a Texas Ranger famous for his valor, threatened Canales. During the later legislative investigation into the force Canales testified against the Hamer: "repeat what you told me.....Didn't you just tell me that if I didn't quit making complaints against the Rangers to the Governor and the Adjutant General, that I was going to get hurt?"¹¹ Canales would later write that the investigation "nearly cost my life."¹² as he received innumerable other threats. Canales' failed negotiations forced him to submit House Bill No. 5

In submitting nineteen charges against the Rangers, Canales ordered a reorganization and legislative investigation into the Ranger force in January 1919.¹³ He called for a decrease in the officials' numbers and more controversially an increase in local control. A section of his bill specified how all Rangers must bring prisoners directly to their local sheriff's office. Any complaints lodged by a sheriff would result in the immediate dismissal of a Ranger.¹⁴ Canales

¹¹ Texas Congress, Ranger Investigating Committee, Proceedings of the Joint Committee of The Senate and The House in The Investigation of The Texas State Ranger Force, Vol. 2, 36th cong. 1st sess., January 31st, 1919, 886, Accessed 4 February 2018 <https://www.tsl.texas.gov/sites/default/files/public/tslac/treasures/images/law/1919rangerVolume2.pdf>.

¹² J. T. to Gerald Mann, May 15, 1941, South Texas Archives, Texas A&M University-Kingsville, J. T. Canales Papers, Box 430-3.

¹³ Ribb, Richard. "La Rinchada Revolution, Revenge and the Rangers, 1910-1920." Edited by Arnaldo De Leon. In *War Along the Border*, 56-90. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2012, 86.

¹⁴ Anders, Evan. *Boss rule in South Texas: the Progressive Era*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1987, 267-268.

demands seemed extreme to a great number of Texas politicians and civilians, who condemned Canales for trying to rid Texas of an idealized force used for protecting people and stopping major criminals. Canales fought his hardest in the legislature to rouse support for his cause, using eloquent speeches, metaphors, and analogies to get his point across. He determined to end violence against Latino immigrants and Tejanos throughout Texas. In defense of his bill, he addressed the House. "I am not an enemy to the Ranger force: neither do I want to see the force destroyed: I merely want the force purified: I want efficiency not destruction"¹⁵ His dramatic speeches brought the bill major publicity as countless local papers rushed to cover the legislative drama. Some papers provided much-appreciated support while others seemed to be looking for reasons to condemn him. However, whether good or bad, Canales' efforts spread the word, bringing much-needed public interest to his cause, and received strong resistance from the legislature.

The misconduct of the of the rangers was too atrocious to defend blatantly¹⁶, so most of his rivals' counters aimed to attack Canales personally, viewed as biased or even inferior, his ethnicity generated an incredible hostility The Ranger Consul delivered blows to Canales' reliability, hinting Canales' Mexican descent may cause to him "unconsciously" have "unworthy" motives¹⁷. With the amount of effort and time put into the investigation and the amount of publicity he was receiving, Canales' reputation and career were on the line. During

¹⁵ Ainsworth, J. S. "CONSIDERATION OF CANALES BILL HALTED SUDDENLY; ITS AUTHOR MOVED RE-COMMITAL." *The Statesman (1916-1921)*, Jan 28, 1919.

¹⁶ Johnson, Benjamin Heber. *Revolution in Texas: how a forgotten rebellion and its bloody suppression turned Mexicans into Americans*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005, 173.

¹⁷ Ibid.

the course of the investigation, Canales' fellow legislators constantly accompanied him to guarantee his own safety, as he lived in fear of assassination. His opponents attempted to prod the younger house member to blunder his usually composed demeanor. On one occasion baited with the names of personally infuriating Rangers, they caused him to finally cry "He's Crazy!"¹⁸ in anger. In the end, Canales' persistence and revealing testimony brought to the light the horrors of the Texas Rangers in the Texas Legislature and newspapers throughout the state, but was it enough to bring the change needed?

With the legislative hearings over, the Ranger investigating committee released their final statements. The committee's reports declared the Rangers had done nothing wrong, of Inspector Ranger Hanson they stated he was "efficient, prompt, and fair in his actions at all times".¹⁹ José T. Canales had never been a member of the committee, its chair was Representative Bledsoe, a major political rival of Canales. Upon the committee's reports, the Rangers showered praise on Bledsoe, praising him for his work. The Texas Legislature passed house bill No. 5, in essence, a dampened version of Canales' original bill. The Austin American Statesman was not alone in announcing, "Mr. Canales signally failed in his efforts to reorganize the Ranger force"²⁰. The Canales Hearings, as they would become known, was the first discussion into the darker side of

¹⁸ Ainsworth, J. S. "CONSIDERATION OF CANALES BILL HALTED SUDDENLY; ITS AUTHOR MOVED RE-COMMITAL." *The Statesman (1916-1921)*, Jan 28, 1919. <https://www.austinlibrary.com:8443/login?url=https://www.austinlibrary.com:2129/docview/1617025236?accountid=7451>.

¹⁹ Texas Congress. Ranger Investigating Committee. Report of Ranger Investigating Committee. 36th Cong., Regular sess. Cong. Rept.

²⁰ Fernandez, J. A. 1919. "LEGISLATURE WILL REORGANIZE THE STATE RANGERS; ADJOURNMENT DATE IS STILL DOUBTFUL." *The Statesman (1916-1921)*, Mar 08, 2. <https://www.austinlibrary.com:8443/login?url=https://www.austinlibrary.com:2129/docview/1617034608?accountid=7451>.

the Texas Rangers ever to occur in the legislature, unfortunately, forgotten until recently. “The House of Representatives withheld to print the investigation’s transcripts due to their revealing nature into the Texas Ranger Force.”²¹ The transcripts were finally released to the public in the 1970s. Canales brought the Rangers to public attention in his hearings, however, due to the backlash and threats against him he declined to seek re-election to the Texas House. He would be the last Mexican-American Legislator until 1956.

Although Canales’ battle in legislative politics was over he continued his old tactics working to unite Mexican-American civil rights activists throughout Texas. The Harlingen convention was one of the largest gatherings of Mexican-American rights advocates in the early 20th century. During the event Canales spoke for the prohibition of Mexicans (non-American citizens) from the group, causing 90% of the people attending to walk out in protest.²² Despite his actions, Canales was not completely “anti-Mexican.” From Canales’ start in a wealthy landowning Tejano family, he had become somewhat well known, however, just because he had been a representative in the Texas House didn’t mean he was “well respected” by all Texans. His time in the Legislature had in fact shown Canales just how far he seemed to be from leading Caucasian men who called him a “greaser from Brownsville”²³. Because of the attitude towards Mexicans, it is possible Canales wanted to distance himself from the newer immigrants and gain

²¹ "The History - Refusing to Forget." <https://www.refusingtoforget.org/the-history>. Accessed 24 Oct. 2017.

²² Handbook of Texas Online, Cynthia E. Orozco, "Harlingen Convention," accessed January 16, 2018, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/pqh01>.

²³ Johnson, Benjamin Heber. *Revolution in Texas: how a forgotten rebellion and its bloody suppression turned Mexicans into Americans*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005, 175.

a higher political figure. A controversial issue that continues to trouble the Mexican-American rights movement. Regardless, Canales continued to fight for better rights for everyone, not just the rich. He served as an appellate attorney in *Del Rio ISD v. Salvatierra* an extremely influential court case that helped to end segregation in the Texas public school system²⁴ after helping to found LULAC.

Jose T. Canales, a lesser known founding father of LULAC, played an extremely influential role in its beginnings. The League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) is one of the oldest and largest Mexican-American rights groups in the United States becoming highly respected since its start.²⁵ In Corpus Christi, May 1929 the first meeting of LULAC took place. Canales and other civil rights activists of the 20th century worked to unify the many smaller groups formed over the last decades. He proposed the organization's constitution and gave the group its motto originating from the famous line in the *Three Musketeers*, "All for One and One for all." signifying the difficulty in unification.²⁶ In the founding, Canales discovered a new ally in Alonso Perales, a fellow lawyer. Perales would later go on to serve with Canales in *Del Rio vs. Salvatierra*. Without the consent of LULAC, the pair testified against the Box Bill, legislation meant to further regulate immigration. Canales argued the bill couldn't pass considering the already brutal execution of the current immigrant law.²⁷ LULAC immediately

²⁴ "ANDERS, EVAN. "CANALES, JOSE TOMAS." *Handbooks of Texas Online*. June 12, 2010. Accessed January 11, 2018. <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fcaag>.

²⁵ "LULAC: History." Accessed January 16, 2018. <http://lulac.org/about/history/>.

²⁶ *Ibid*.

²⁷ US Congress, House Immigration Committee, *Western Hemisphere Immigration*. 71st Cong., 2nd Sess., January 29, 1930, testimony of J. T. Canales.

issued a statement saying they didn't stand with the duo. Canales and LULAC continued to have political clashes due to their differing stances on immigration, as LULAC sustained to distance themselves from the Mexican immigrants. Despite this, they elected him president for one term in 1932. Canales' impact on civil rights was made possible by his childhood education. He worked to make sure the next generation would have the same chance at an educated life through his work as LULAC's president. He wrote many books and continued to speak out before dying at the age of 99 in 1976.

Canales journey proves the strength in searching for compromise, no matter the conflict one faces. In his early life, Canales worked for non-violence discovering the power of his voice in government. Through his involvement in the Texas Legislature, he realized the struggles in equal treatment towards Mexican-Americans and the complexity of politics. In his later work, Canales learned there was more than one way to bring about change and although the world would never be perfect, how each achievement was a step in the right direction. It is important to remember people like José Tomás Canales in today's world. Important to remember the progress society has made and the challenges overcome to make them. Important to remember the difference one person in the face of adversity can make without violence or hostility.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Source: Ainsworth, J. S. (1919, Jan 28). CONSIDERATION OF CANALES BILL HALTED SUDDENLY; ITS AUTHOR MOVED RECOMMITAL. *The Statesman* (1916-1921). Retrieved from <https://www.austinlibrary.com:8443/login?url=https://www.austinlibrary.com:2129/docview/1617025236?accountid=7451>

This newspaper article helped me to understand Canales' character. His quotes and the way his opponents were described allowed me to comprehend the dynamic he faced in the legislature.

Primary Source: Fernandez, J. A. (1919, Mar 08). LEGISLATURE WILL REORGANIZE THE STATE RANGERS; ADJOURNMENT DATE IS STILL DOUBTFUL. *The Statesman* (1916-1921). Retrieved from: <https://www.austinlibrary.com:8443/login?url=https://www.austinlibrary.com:2129/docview/1617034608?accountid=7451>

Along with providing a great historically accurate coverage of the investigation, the article also described the general public viewpoint of Canales' investigation through it's author.

Primary Source: J. T. to Gerald Mann, May 15, 1941, South Texas Archives, Texas A&M University-Kingsville, J. T. Canales Papers, Box 430-3

This letter provides Canales' take on the investigation as he remembers the past in the quote I used.

Primary Source: "SPECIFIC CHARGES AGAINST RANGERS ARE SUBMITTED BY CANALES." *The Statesman* (1916-1921), Jan 31, 1919. <https://www.austinlibrary.com:8443/login?url=https://www.austinlibrary.com:2129/docview/1617026397?accountid=7451>.

Although shorter than many of my other primary resources, this article provided both dates a general legislative context.

Primary Source: Texas Congress, Ranger Investigating Committee, Proceedings of the Joint Committee of The Senate and The House in The Investigation of The Texas State Ranger Force, Vol 1 and 2 of 3, 36th cong.1st sess., January 31st, 1919.
<https://www.tsl.texas.gov/sites/default/files/public/tslac/treasures/images/law/1919rangerVolume1.pdf>

This crucial document provided clear historical information through these legislative hearings. I used this document for conversation between Canales and his opponents. It also helped me to understand how Canales was treated as a legislator.

Primary Source: Texas Congress. Ranger Investigating Committee. *Report of Ranger Investigating Committee*. 36th Cong., Regular sess. Cong. Rept.

This report shows how differently the results of the investigation were stretched from Canales' original intent.

Primary Source: Texas Rangers with Dead Mexican Bandits, photograph, Date Unknown;(texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph43198/: accessed February 5, 2018), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, texashistory.unt.edu; crediting Cattle Raisers Museum.

Unidentified Texas Rangers pose over the dead corpses of several Tejanos in a photograph titled "Dead Mexican Bandits." The fact they are posing, even proud, demonstrates how moral killing a Tejano was to many Rangers.

Primary Source: *The Lubbock Avalanche*. (Lubbock, Tex.), 06 Feb. 1919. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress.

Through the library of congress I had access to other state newspapers describing the investigation showing me different viewpoints. The article showed the danger Canales was in over the course of the investigation.

Primary Source: US Congress, House Immigration Committee, Western Hemisphere Immigration. 71st Cong., 2nd sess., January 29, 1930, testimony of J. T. Canales.

This Article provides the testimony of Canales and shows his viewpoint on the Box Bill.

Secondary Sources: Anders, Evan. *Boss rule in South Texas: the Progressive Era*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1987.

This book provides an analysis on Canales' political stances and gave context on the general state of the democratic party. It acted as a starting point to many of my primary sources.

Secondary Sources: Anders, Evan. "CANALES, JOSE TOMAS." *Handbooks of Texas Online*. June 12, 2010. Accessed January 11, 2018. <https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fcaag>.

This short biography gave me a starting point for my essay and the reason I chose my topic. It shows a general overview of Canales' life and provided dates for his law practice and start in the Texas House

Secondary Sources: Bill, A. (2013, March 27). J. T. Canales and the 1919 Ranger Investigation. *South Texas History*, 1(4).

This historian gave early childhood and ancestry information that was helpful to my essay. This newspaper article helped me to find the J. T. Canales estate collection and the South Texas Archives.

Secondary Sources: Johnson, Benjamin Heber. *Revolution in Texas: how a forgotten rebellion and its bloody suppression turned Mexicans into Americans*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005.

A essential book in my essay, it gives information on the border raids and Canales' cooperation with the army. It provides an

interesting analysis on the Ranger Investigation and some quotes on how Canales was viewed.

Secondary Sources: J.T. Canales Estate Collection A1990-034.XXXX; A1992-025; A1998-038; A1999-022.XXXX, South Texas Archives, James C. Jernigan

Library, Texas A&M University-Kingsville
<http://archives.tamuk.edu/ead.php?xml=Canales%20ead>

This historian short biography gave me early childhood and ancestry information on Canales, something that I had trouble finding before.

Secondary Sources: Lukens, Patrick D. *A quiet victory for Latino rights: FDR and the controversy over "whiteness"*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2017.

This book talked of the underlying arguing point of being “more white” in the Latino rights movement. It mentioned Canales’ disagreements with LULAC and his testimony against the Box Bill.

Secondary Sources: LULAC. "History." LULAC. Accessed February 04, 2018.
<https://lulac.org/about/history>

This website shows Canales’ role in LULAC’s founding and gives photographs of the small group working to found, giving perspective.

Secondary Sources: Ribb, Richard. "La Rinchada Revolution, Revenge and the Rangers, 1910-1920." Edited by Arnaldo De Leon. In *War Along the Border*, 56-90. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2012.

I used this book for general information on the Ranger Investigation and as a starting point to find many of my primary resources. This book talked of Inspector Ranger Hanson’s claims

of helping the Rangers and discussed the Ranger Investigation as well as the details of House Bill No 5.

Secondary Sources: Refusing to Forget. "The History." Refusing to Forget. Accessed February 04, 2018. <https://www.refusingtoforget.org/the-history>.

This organization gave me a general history of border violence as well as useful dates and figures.

Secondary Sources: "Texas finally begins to grapple with its ugly history of border violence against Mexican-Americans." Accessed January 5, 2018. http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/history/2016/05/texas_finally_begins_to_grapple_with_its_ugly_history_of_border_violence.html.

This recent article gives a time period for when investigations transcripts were released.

Secondary Sources: Texas Legislative Reference Library. "Jose Tomas Canales." Legislative Reference Library | Legislators and Leaders | Member profile. Accessed February 04, 2018. <http://www.lrl.state.tx.us/legeleaders/members/memberdisplay.cfm?memberID=2588>.

The Legislative Reference Library gave me information on Canales' service in the Texas House of Representatives. It gave me specific information on the legislative session and counties he served. It also provided photos of Canales in his official House Chamber photographs.

Secondary Sources: Texas Legislative Reference Library. "Legislative Reference Library |." Legislative Reference Library |. Accessed February 04, 2018. <http://www.lrl.state.tx.us/>.

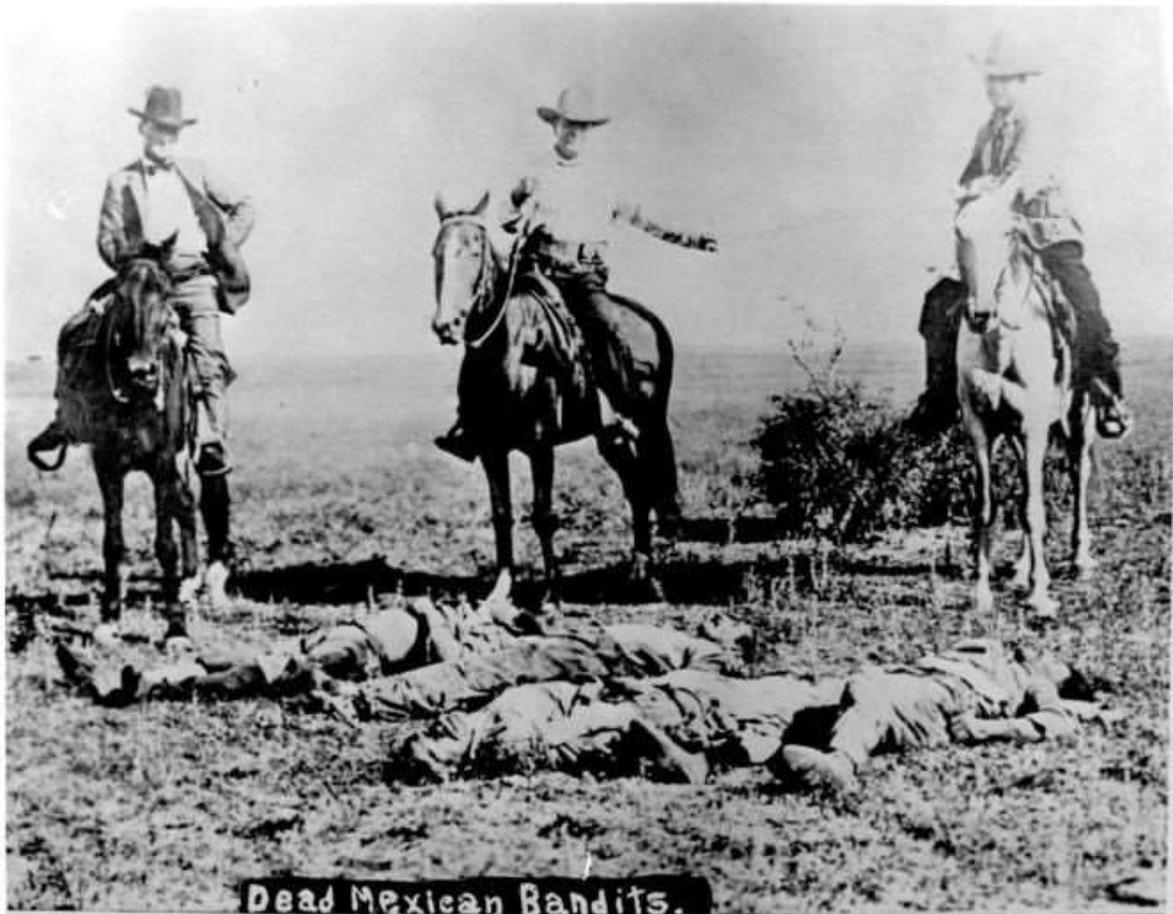
This library provided information on the Ranger investigation committee. It gave me the names of members dates and helped me find the committee's report.

Secondary Sources: The Bullock Texas State History Museum. "Life and Death on the Border 1910-1920." The Bullock Texas State History Museum. Accessed February 4, 2018.

<https://www.thestoryoftexas.com/visit/exhibits/life-and-death-on-the-border-1910-1920>.

This summary of a past exhibit gives a general border violence summary and some startling figures and quotes.

Appendix A



Unidentified Texas Rangers pose over the dead corpses of several Tejanos in a photograph titled “Dead Mexican Bandits.” The fact they are posing, even proud, demonstrates how moral killing a Tejano was to many Rangers.²⁸

²⁸ Texas Rangers with Dead Mexican Bandits, photograph, Date Unknown; (texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph43198/; accessed February 5, 2018), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, texashistory.unt.edu; crediting Cattle Raisers Museum