

# Notes

## INTRODUCTION

1. Oscar Dancy, testimony, "Proceedings of the Joint Committee of the Senate and the House in the Investigation of the Texas State Ranger Force," Adjutant General Records, Texas State Archives, Austin, 543-544. The term "ethnic Mexican" is used in this book to refer to Mexican nationals and Mexican Americans living in the United States.

2. Dancy, testimony, "Proceedings," 543-544; H. J. Kirk, testimony, "Proceedings," 597. Kirk identified Florencio's father as Miguel and his brother as Isodoro, but did not name his mother or wife.

3. Dancy, testimony, "Proceedings," 543-544; H. N. Gray, testimony, "Proceedings," 1059-1061.

4. Ibid.

5. Las Tranquilas Ranch was also known as the Piper Plantation. Reports noted that Chas Stark Jr., a US Army private, accompanied the Rangers as a guide along with two sons of Atenojenes Uribe. Report from Hon. Andres G. García, Inspector General Charge'd Affairs, El Paso, Texas, May 24, 1918, evidence, "Proceedings," 807-809. Records show that Champion received permission from a local Judge Edwards.

6. Chas F. Stevens, testimony, "Proceedings," 1432; "Servicio Consular Mexico. Consulado General en El Paso, May 24, 1918," "Proceedings," 810; Dancy, testimony, "Proceedings," 543-544.

7. Dancy, testimony, "Proceedings," 557.

8. Florencio García, May 1918, certificate number 19810, State Registrar Office, Austin, FHL microfilm, 2,073,216. It appears that the number 189, a code for unidentified cause of death, was added in pencil or a different pen. The number looks to have been added after the certificate was filed on May 27, 1918.

9. "Rangers Are Charted with Man's Death," *Brownsville Herald*, May 28, 1919; "Accused Rangers Waive Hearings: Saddler and Lock Remanded to Custody of Their Captain—Bond Fixed at \$3,000," *Brownsville Herald*, June 1, 1918; "Dos Rangers Fueron Acusados de Homicidio," *La Prensa*, June 3, 1918; "Dos Rangers Fueron Consignados al Gran Jurado en Brownsville," *La Prensa*, June 6, 1918. The *Brownsville Herald* inaccurately identified Miguel as Florencio's brother. Articles in *La Prensa* list him as his parent. *La Prensa* made mention of the charges in a longer article about the demand for Mexican labor in Texas.

10. Dancy, testimony, "Proceedings," 543-544; David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), 110-112. Examining the lives of people who lived in the borderlands, on the fringes of national powers, shows that they lived with relative autonomy from national governments and without giving much care to the societal and racial norms that governed the rest of the United States or Mexico. In his study of the annexation and incorporation of half of Mexico's territory through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), Montejano describes the nineteenth century as a period when the Anglo elite learned Spanish, adopted Mexican ideals of land use, intermarried with Mexican women, and became close family friends with landowning Mexican families.

11. Stevens, testimony, "Proceedings," 1432.

12. Historians William D. Carrigan and Clive Webb caution readers not to assume that the numbers tallied by historians equal the actual number of Mexicans killed by mobs in the United States. Instead, they hope their index will inspire new research while providing concrete evidence of the widespread horrors of lynching cultures in the United States. Carrigan and Webb, *Forgotten Dead: Mob Violence against Mexicans in the United States, 1848-1928* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 5. For more about what numbers reveal or obscure, see Chapter 2 of this book.

13. Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 256-259.

14. In his book *Lynching in the West*, art historian Ken Gonzalez-Day shows what he calls the "transracial" nature of lynchings in California. He demonstrates that mobs were guided by public anti-miscegenation and anti-immigrant sentiments as well as larger frustrations with the state judicial system. In California, African Americans, Native Americans, Chinese laborers, and Latinos of Mexican and Latin American descent were lynched. Gonzalez-Day, *Lynching in the West: 1850-1935* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 3.

15. See Monica Muñoz Martinez, "Recuperating Histories of Violence in the Americas: Vernacular History-Making on the US-Mexico Border," *American Quarterly* 66, no. 3 (2014): 661-689, and Chapter 2 of this book for further discussion of the practices of terror and intimidation.

16. "Trouble Zone along the Rio Grande Is Almost Deserted," *San Antonio Express*, September 11, 1915. See also James Sandos, *Rebellion in the Borderlands: Anarchism and the Plan de San Diego* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992); Benjamin Heber Johnson, *Revolution in Texas: How a Forgotten Rebellion and Its Bloody Suppression Turned Mexicans into Americans* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 2-3.

17. Michel-Rolph Trouillot rightfully reminds historians that universities and university presses are not the only loci of the production of historical narrative. He built on Marco Ferro's arguments that academics are not the sole teachers of history. For more, see Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 20, and Marc Ferro, *L'histoire sous surveillance: Science et conscience de l'histoire* (Paris: Calmann Levy, 1985).

18. These methods are inspired partly by ongoing struggles of mothers in the Americas who publicly mourn the murder and disappearance of their children. Public memorials and performances challenge state violence and judicial neglect while also serving as reminders of the pain carried by those living in the wake of state violence. For more, see Susana Rotker, *Captive Women: Oblivion and Memory in Argentina* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002); Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003); Rosa-Linda Fregoso, *MeXicana Encounters: The Making of Social Identities on the Borderlands* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); María Josefina Saldaña-Portillo, *The Revolutionary Imagination in the Americas and the Age of Development* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003). This work is also informed by scholars advancing research and methods for narrating histories of violence. See Karl Jacoby, *Shadows at Dawn: An Apache Massacre and the Violence of History* (New York: Penguin, 2008); Ned Blackhawk, *Violence over the Land: Indians and Empires in the Early American West* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008); Alicia Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries: Latino Cultural Politics in the US-Mexico Borderlands* (New York: New York University Press, 2008); Lisa Yoneyama, *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space and the Dialectics of Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Marisa Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

19. María Josefina Saldaña-Portillo gracefully shows that both Spanish and British colonialism in North America were space-making endeavors that carefully placed (and displaced) Indigenous subjects in landscape. See *Indian Given: Racial Geographies across Mexico and the United States* (Durham, NC: Duke University

Press, 2016) 7. Walter Prescott Webb, *The Texas Rangers: A Century of Frontier Defense* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 3, 11. Despite popular assumptions about Rangers as uniformly white, Indigenous and Tejanos also served as Rangers in the nineteenth century. Gary Anderson, *Conquest of Texas: Ethnic Cleansing in the Promised Land, 1820-1875* (Oklahoma City: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005) 10, 176-180; Robert Perkinson, *Texas Tough: The Rise of America's Prison Empire* (New York: Picador, 2010), 52-55.

20. As quoted in Perkinson, *Texas Tough*, 55, 97; Johnson, *Revolution in Texas*, 12; Webb, *The Texas Rangers*, 279; Karl Jacoby, *The Strange Career of William Ellis: The Texas Slave Who Became a Mexican Millionaire* (New York: Norton, 2016), 10-13.

21. Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 262, 266; Kelly Lytle Hernández, *Migra! A History of the US Border Patrol* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

22. Some historians credit the Mexican rural police under the administration of President Porfirio Díaz with developing *la ley de fuga*. According to these accounts, the Rangers imported these brutal methods from Mexico. These suggestions displace the blame from Texas Rangers for their actions and frame Mexican officers as the root of this violent practice in the border region. To the contrary, prior to the Díaz regime, Texas residents complained that state agents did not hesitate to kill prisoners. Charles H. Harris and Louis R. Saddler, *The Texas Rangers and the Mexican Revolution: The Bloodiest Decade, 1910-1920* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), 27.

23. As quoted in Webb, *The Texas Rangers*, 227; editorial in the *Victoria Advocate* reprinted in the *Austin Daily Republican*, October 10, 1870.

24. Elliott Young, *Catarino Garza's Revolution on the Texas-Mexico Border* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 7.

25. Cortina's men would maintain control until December of that year when the US Army arrived in force to retake the region. The mid-1870s would again prove to be violent in west Texas when residents in El Paso, Ysleta, and San Elizario led a mob against new merchants who aimed to make a profit from salt deposits in the region. For generations residents had considered salt deposits located approximately 100 miles east of El Paso free for public use. Conflicts came to a head in 1877 and the US Army came to disperse the revolt. Miguel Levario writes that the El Paso Salt War defined the social context for Anglos living in west Texas. For more, see Levario, *Militarizing the Border: When Mexicans Became the Enemy* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2012) 36; Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans*, 6, 32-36, 73; Mario T. García, *Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans of El Paso, 1880-1920* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982), 156-157.

26. Américo Paredes, "With His Pistol in His Hand": *A Border Ballad and Its Hero* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1958), 138-141.

27. Olivier Razac, *Barbed Wire: A Political History* (New York: New Press, 2002), x, 5; Reviel Netz, *Barbed Wire: An Ecology of Modernity* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2004). Razac explains, "This was prison by fragmentation, in which even the fragments were imprisoned. Barbed wire made the Indians' geographical and social environment hostile to them, so that it became a foreign territory where the tribal way of life was unimaginable and where nomadic wandering and hunting were impossible."

28. By 1875, barbed-wire fences effectively ended cattle drives of thousands of cattle transported from Texas to northern locations like Kansas City and forced cattlemen to patronize the railroads to move their herds north. Smaller ranchers without large properties could not sustain their herds and Mexican ranchers in particular suffered disproportionately high losses. Richard R. Flores, *Remembering the Alamo: Memory, Modernity, and the Master Symbol* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002), 46.

29. For more on the American property laws and the denial of property rights of Mexicans throughout the southwestern United States, see Richard White, "It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": *A New History of the American West* (New York: Norton, 1993); Patricia Nelson Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: Norton, 1987); Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans*; David Weber, ed., *Foreigners in Their Native Land: Historical Roots of Mexican Americans* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973); Maria Montoya, *Translating Property: The Maxwell Land Grant and Conflict over Land in the American West, 1840 to 1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Audrey Smedley, *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2007).

30. Walter Prescott Webb wrote that Mexicans became "victimized by the law" in their person and property. Webb, *The Texas Rangers: A Century of Frontier Defense* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 175-176; Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans*, 51-53. Some of the nineteenth-century residents of the Southwest who benefited from Spanish colonization in the Americas now found themselves being displaced by new forms of colonization.

31. Young, *Catarino Garza's Revolution*, 1, 7, 189-190.

32. The US military needed basic geographical mappings of the region to suppress its residents. For more on these efforts to map and represent this region to the broader US public, see Young, *Catarino Garza's Revolution*, especially chapter 7.

33. Quoted in *ibid.*, 226.

34. For a fuller analysis of the social significance of the publications in *El Bien Público* and the brutality of Captain Bourke, see *ibid.*, 246-251.

35. Gerardo Cadava argues convincingly that the border continued to remain permeable through the mid-twentieth century. Cadava, *Standing on Common Ground: The Making of a Sunbelt Borderland* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013).

36. Young, *Catarino Garza's Revolution*, 7, 40, 201-211, 215.

37. *Ibid.*, 210-211.

38. *Ibid.*, 209.

39. Montejano includes Webb, Duval, Nueces, Cameron, Hidalgo, Starr, and Zapata Counties in his calculations for deep south Texas. Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans*, 106-109.

40. As quoted in *ibid.*, 113.

41. *Carizzo Springs Javelin*, August 5, 1911, quoted in Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans*, 131.

42. "Los Mexicanos de San Angelo Demandan a Los Sindicos de las Escuelas Públicas," *La Crónica*, June 25, 1910.

43. See Mario T. García, *Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans of El Paso, 1880-1920* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981); Johnson, *Revolution in Texas*, 59.

44. Timothy J. Dunn, *The Militarization of the US-Mexico Border, 1978-1992* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 6-8; Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans*, 106-117.

45. John Mckiernan-González reminds us that a mounted medical guard preceded the Border Patrol by forty years. In 1882 the US Marine Hospital Service drew a 146 mile-long line from Laredo to Corpus Christi and quarantined residents south of that line. Mckiernan-González, *Fevered Measures: Public Health and Race at the Texas-Mexico Border, 1848-1942* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012) 10; "Prison Camp Is a Real Showground," *El Paso Herald*, March 18, 1914; "Mexican Refugees Won't Be Sent Back," *New York Times*, January 13, 1914; "Soldiers Shoot Mexican at Marfa," *El Paso Herald*, January 12, 1914; "Vaccinations Are Blamed for Deaths," *El Paso Herald*, February 14, 1914; Lona Whittington, "Road of Sorrow: Mexican Refugees Who Fled Pancho Villa through Presidio, Texas, 1913-1914" (master's thesis, Sul Ross State University, Alpine, Texas, 1976), 3, 21, 57, 72-73.

46. Nelson Greene, artist, *Uncle Sam Picking Up Mexican Revolutionists with Shovel for the International Rubbish Can*, Mexico, 1915 (photograph retrieved from the Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2016681636/>).

47. Dunn, *The Militarization of the US-Mexico Border*, 9; Evan Anders, *Boss Rule in South Texas: The Progressive Era* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982), 215-218; Arnoldo De León, *War along the Border: The Mexican Revolution and Tejano Communities* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2012).

48. Harris and Saddler, *Texas Rangers and the Mexican Revolution*, 427; "Texas Ranger History," <http://www.texasRanger.org/history/Timechaos.htm>; José T.

Canales, testimony, "Proceedings," 678; E. M. Sorrenson, testimony, "Proceedings," 1034.

49. James A. Sandos convincingly argues that the leaders of the rebellion Aniceto Pizaña and Luis de La Rosa were inspired by the anarchist writings of Ricardo Flores Magón. See Sandos, *Rebellion in the Borderlands: Anarchism and the Plan de San Diego, 1904–1923* (Oklahoma City: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992). For more on the Magón brothers inspiring revolt, see Kelly Lytle Herández, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles, 1771–1965* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017).

50. Thomas H. Kreneck and Bruce S. Cheeseman, "Map of the Santa Gertrudis Estate, 1871: A Foundation Document of King Ranch," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 108, no. 2 (2004): 232–244.

51. Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans*, 110–112; Johnson, *Revolution in Texas*, 18.

52. Frank N. Samponaro and Paul Vanderwood, *War Scare on the Rio Grande: Robert Runyon's Photographs of the Border Conflict, 1913–1916* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 75–76; James L. Allhands, *Gringo Builders* (Iowa City: n.p., 1931), 265–266.

53. Frank Pierce, *A Brief History of the Lower Rio Grande Valley* (Menasha, WI: George Banta, 1917), 114, 91.

54. Trinidad Gonzales, "The Mexican Revolution, *Revolución de Texas*, and *Matanza de 1915*," in *War along the Border: The Mexican Revolution and Tejano Communities*, ed. Arnoldo De León (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2012) 107–133; Pierce, *A Brief History*, 103; Judge James B. Wells, testimony, "Proceedings," 676.

55. Paredes, "With His Pistol in His Hand," 31. For more on Texas Rangers acting under the authority of the state governor and being financed by Anglo ranchers, see Julian Samora, Joe Bernal, and Alberta Pena, *Gunpowder Justice: A Reassessment of the Texas Rangers* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979); Harris and Saddler, *Texas Rangers and the Mexican Revolution*.

56. Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans*, 33. Regarding El Plan de San Diego, historians continue to debate whether insurrectionists actually authored the manifesto or if it was planted to justify brutal repression.

57. C. L. Jessup, testimony, "Proceedings," 1102–1103.

58. *Ibid.*, 1119–1120.

59. Saidiya Hartman asks, "What are the protocols and limits that shape the narratives written as counter-history, an aspiration that isn't a prophylactic against the risks posed by reiterating violent speech and depicting again rituals of torture?" Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," *Small Axe*, June 2008, 1–14.

60. Paredes, "With His Pistol in His Hand"; Acuña, *Occupied America*; Robert Rosenbaum, *Mexicano Resistance in the Southwest: "The Sacred Right of Self-Preservation"* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981); Johnson, *Revolution in*

Texas; Robert Utley, *Lone Star Justice: The First Century of the Texas Rangers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); De León, *War along the Border*.

61. Walter Prescott Webb, *The Texas Rangers: A Century of Frontier Defense* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1935).

62. Ramón Saldivar noted that Américo Paredes's efforts to preserve vernacular cultures of Texas-Mexicans were particularly urgent because "even the dead are not safe from cultural eradication." Saldivar, *The Borderlands of Culture: Américo Paredes and the Transnational Imaginary* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 8, 12-13. See also John Morán González, *Border Renaissance: The Texas Centennial and the Emergence of Mexican America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009); José Limón, *Américo Paredes: Culture and Critique* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012).

63. Chapter 5 of this book examines this history. For more, see González, *Border Renaissance*.

64. Elliot Young, for example, writes that if not for the corrido tradition, then the revolt of Catarino Garza in the late nineteenth century would have been all but forgotten. Growing studies of rebellion on the US-Mexico border focus on armed conflict. Young, *Catarino Garza's Revolution*, 2-8. For more on the history of rebellions in this region, see Johnson, *Revolution in Texas*; Sandos, *Rebellion in the Borderlands*; Juan Gomez-Quinones, *Sembradores: Ricardo Flores Magon y El Partido Liberal Mexicano: A Eulogy and Critique* (San Francisco: Aztlan Productions, 1973); W. Dirk Raat, *Mexico: From Independence to Revolution, 1810-1910* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982); Linda B. Hall and Don M. Coerver, *Revolution on the Border: The United States and Mexico, 1910-1920* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990).

65. For important insights into researching the aftermath of violence, see Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," and Kidada E. Williams, "Regarding the Aftermath of Lynchings," *Journal of American History* 101, no. 3 (2014): 857-858.

66. Williams, "Regarding the Aftermath of Lynchings," 856.

67. Williams, *They Left Great Marks on Me*, 13.

68. In her first book, Vicki Ruíz refers to the "shadowing" of Mexican women's experiences by scholarly publications that relegate women to "landscape roles. . . . The reader has a vague awareness of the presence of women, but only as scenery, not as actors" (Ruíz, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930-1950* [Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987], xiv). This book expands the metaphor to examine how popular cultural memories similarly relegate some victims of racial violence to the margins. For more, see Vicki Ruíz, *From Out of the Shadows: A History of Mexican Women in the United States, 1900-1995* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

69. Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 29, 162.

70. For debates about oral histories and testimony as archival sources, see Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis and History* (New York: Routledge, 1992); Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991); Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, eds., *The Oral History Reader* (London: Routledge, 1998). For more on the relationship between history and memory, see Matthew Garcia, *A World of Its Own: Race, Labor, and Citrus in the Making of Greater Los Angeles, 1900–1970* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 9, 150–153.

71. By the late 1950s, both the University of California at Berkeley and UCLA had launched oral history research centers modeled after one started at Columbia University. See Donald A. Ritchie, *Doing Oral History: A Practical Guide* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 12, 22.

72. T. Fujitani, Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama, eds., *Perilous Memories: The Asia-Pacific War(s)* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 4–6, 21.

73. See Leigh Raiford, *Imprisoned in a Luminous Glare: Photography and the African American Freedom Struggle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 16; Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries*, 30, 46–48.

74. Macarena Gómez-Barris describes representations of state terror by witnesses and people generations removed as evidence of the afterlife of violence. See Gómez-Barris, *Where Memory Dwells*; and Herman Gray and Macarena Gómez-Barris, *Toward a Sociology of Trace* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010). For more leading examples, see Schmidt Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries*; Nicole M. Guidotti-Hernández, *Unspeakable Violence: Remapping US and Mexican National Imaginaries* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011); Antonia Castañeda, “‘Que Se Pudieran Defender’ (So You Could Defend Yourselves): Chicanas, Regional History, and National Discourses,” *Frontiers* 22, no. 3 (2001): 116–142; Emma Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999); Stephanie Camp, *Closer to Freedom: Enslaved Women and Everyday Resistance in the Plantation South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Sarah Haley, *No Mercy Here: Gender, Punishment, and the Making of Jim Crown Modernity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016).

75. Norma Longoria Rodriguez, interview by author, September 22, 2010, San Antonio, TX, digital recording.

76. Mireya Loza writes that in the case of oral history, “the practice of producing a record (an audio / video recording or transcript) turns the ephemeral repertoire of embodied practice / knowledge into an enduring unchanging material record. The interpretation of that material can change, but the material itself is frozen.” Loza, *Defiant Braceros: How Migrant Workers Fought for Racial, Sexual, and Political Freedom* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press,

2016), 13–14. For another example of history that explores loss, see Allyson Hobbs, *A Chosen Exile: A History of Racial Passing in American Life* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

77. Saidiya Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," *Small Axe*, June 2008, 4–5.

78. For more on efforts of institutions such as universities seeking retrospective justice for their links to slavery, see the "Report of the Brown University Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice," published by Brown University in 2006. For an early charge that racial violence in the United States be seen as a violation of human rights, see William L. Patterson, *We Charge Genocide: The Crimes of the Government against Negro People* (New York: International Publishers, 1951).

79. As quoted in Alexa Mills, "A Lynching Kept Out of Sight," *Washington Post*, September 2, 2016.

80. Michael Rothberg convincingly shows that multidirectional memory, remembering that embraces an intercultural dynamic, has potential to create new forms of solidarity and new visions of justice. For more on this and on relational methods for writing history, see Rothberg, *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009); and Natalia Molina, "Examining Chicana/o History through a Relational Lens," *Pacific Historical Review* 82, no. 4 (2013): 520–541.

## 1. DIVINE RETRIBUTION

1. At approximately 1,300 feet in elevation, the town sits on top of the Edwards Plateau on just over one square mile of land. This region is bound by the Balcones Fault to the south and east, the Llano Uplift and the Llano Estacado to the north, and the Pecos River and Chihuahua Desert to the west.

2. "Armed Mexicans Marching on Town of Rocksprings," *El Paso Times*, November 14, 1910.

3. "Quemado Vivo," *El Regidor*, November 10, 1910. Local reports noted that the mob apprehended Rodríguez on a ranch owned by Jim Hunter. *San Antonio Daily Express*, November 14, 1910, and *El Paso Times*, November 4, 1910; Arnaldo De León, *Mexican Americans in Texas: A Brief History* (New York: Harlan Davidson, 1999), 50; Charles H. Harris and Louis R. Sandler, *The Texas Rangers and the Mexican Revolution: The Bloodiest Decade, 1910–1920* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007), 51–52; William D. Carrigan and Clive Webb, *Forgotten Dead: Mob Violence against Mexicans in the United States, 1848–1928* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 81–82.

4. Carrigan and Webb, *Forgotten Dead*, 81–82, 141–143; De León, *Mexican Americans in Texas*, 50; Harris and Sandler, *The Texas Rangers and the Mexican Revolution*, 51–52.