

FEMALE SUBJECTIVITY AND AGENCY IN POPULAR MEXICAN *CORRIDOS*
(BALLADS): AN EXAMINATION OF IMAGES AND REPRESENTATIONS
OF *SOLDADERAS* (FEMALE SOLDIERS) IN THE
MEXICAN REVOLUTION 1910-1920

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DEDICATION

I dedicate my dissertation to my father and mother – my heroes, que me enseñaron a ser revolucionaria; to my brother Cipriano who refuses to forget our history; and to my sister Bibi, who I respect immensely for living life with courage – como una soldadera.

ABSTRACT

FEMALE SUBJECTIVITY AND AGENCY IN POPULAR MEXICAN *CORRIDOS* (BALLADS): AN EXAMINATION OF IMAGES AND REPRESENTATIONS OF *SOLDADERAS* (FEMALE SOLDIERS) IN THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION OF 1910-1920

May, 2001

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The purpose of the study is to examine the paradox of female subjection and agency in the images and representations of women in Mexican popular culture. This study proposes to explore the “intersectionality” (Collins 1998) of gender, race, and class in female subjectivity and agency, during the Mexican culture of the Revolution of 1910-1920, as depicted in the images and representations of *soldaderas* (females soldiers and/or female camp followers) in popular corridos (Mexican ballads/folksongs).

Five research questions are addressed by the study: 1) How has the image of the *soldadera* in popular culture affected the author’s experience and identity as a Mexican American/Chicana? 2) What do the historical recollections/memoirs reveal about *soldaderas*? 3) How are *soldaderas* portrayed in popular corridos? 4) What are the differences between the representations of *soldaderas* in popular culture (corridos) and their depictions in post/colonial/high culture (memoirs)? and 5) How does the corrido reflect the Mestizo/a culture?

Following the lead of Patricia Hill Collins (1998), I have engaged in critical, Mestiza discourse, which acknowledges the intersection of ethnicity/nationality/race,

class, and gender. A discourse has been created through the use of situated knowledge. Published memoirs represents legitimate knowledge; corridos as oral traditions constitute informed and neglected sources of history, and the use of my autobiography provides an insider/outsider gendered narrative space where I have negotiated dominant and subversive forms of knowledge. By comparing and contrasting published memoirs to corridos and by intersecting my own narrative with the corridos, a postmodern critical race discourse is brought to fruition.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to examine the paradox of female subjection and agency¹ in the images and representations of women in Mexican popular culture.

The Research Problem

This study proposes to explore the "intersectionality" (Collins 1998) of gender, race, and class on female subjectivity and agency, in the Mexican culture of the Revolution of 1910-20, as depicted in the images and representations of *soldaderas* (female soldiers and/or female camp followers) in popular *corridos* (Mexican ballads/folksongs).

Rationale of the Study

Corridos and soldaderas of the Revolution have been a topic of much discussion in various disciplines, from ethnomusicology, history, and literary criticism, to Chicano studies (Arrizon 1998; Blea 1992; Herrera-Sobek 1993; Jenks 1951; Macias 1982; Mendieta Alatorre 1961; Mendoza 1939; Resendez Fuentes 1995; Salas 1990; Simmons 1963; Soto 1979; Turner 1971). The study of soldaderas and gender in the corridos of the Revolution has been limited to the works of Salas (1990), Herrera-Sobek (1993), and Arrizon (1998), but the intersection of race, class and gender has not been adequately

¹ The concepts of subjection and agency are derived from Judith Butler's (1997) The Psychic Life of Power. Subjection and agency are locked in an ambivalent and/or paradoxical state of dependency to power, which frames the subject, but also provides the agency to become/to be. "Subjection signifies the process of becoming subordinated by power as well as the process of becoming a subject" and agent (p. 2).

studied from a situated position and from a sociological perspective. The goal of this study is to provide a sociological analysis of corridos as a site of postcolonial resistance and gender discourse. Let me start with a sketchy history of Mexican people, their culture and their Revolution.

A Short History on Mexico and Its People

Culture of *Mestizaje*

The Spanish colonization of Mexico has resulted in a hybrid culture. Mexican culture is in itself an example of intersectionality, subjectivity and agency. Spaniards conquered and subjugated multitudes in the Aztec Empire through the eradication of their religions, the “whitening” of their blood, and the “civilizing/christening” of the “savage.” The Mexican nation has emerged as a people with varying degrees of indigenous and European beliefs, customs, and color. Therefore, when we speak of the Mexican people, we understand this concept as a hybrid culture of *Mestizaje* (Spanish and Indian).

Mexicans/Mestizos/as are a product of the amalgamation of the European Spaniards and Mesoamerican natives of varying descent. The convergence of these cultures has forged a new set of values. One of the missions for the Spaniards was to introduce “God” to the “savage.” In providing “salvation” to the Indian, Catholicism was spread throughout the land. However, the priests allowed the Indians to superimpose Catholicism over their indigenous rituals and beliefs (Rodriguez 1994) since absolute conversion was not possible (Burkhart 1997).

One of the most intriguing compromises of Christianity and native religions was the re-naming of the Virgin Mary to *La Virgen de Guadalupe*. She represented

Tonantzin, the Meshica Mother goddess, the creator and destroyer, and became the new Mestiza mother of the new Mexicans. "La Virgencita," as she is lovingly and respectfully called, has been one of the bases for the complex set of beliefs, which Mestizos/as have adopted. Mothers hold a revered position, which is associated with moral superiority. And as the mother of the Mexicans, La Virgen is the main object of worship, therefore placing women in a simultaneous primary/secondary role (Rodriguez 1994).

Before the Spanish conquest, Aztec culture included women in the affairs of the community (Burkhart 1997). After the conquest, the Western/Hispanic influence confined women strictly to the private sphere, while before they had been part of the public sphere as priestesses, astronomers, and warriors. It was not until the 1910 peasant Revolution of Mexico that there was a resurgence of female presence in the public sphere. The soldaderas (female soldiers) joined the ranks of warriors alongside their husbands. These women not only did the cooking and cared for the wounded, they fought in the civil war.

Therefore, as I will argue later, in Mexican culture there is a "paradox of subjection" and agency within patriarchal traditions (Butler 1988; Rodriguez 1994). Mexican cultural values situate women in "a unique combination of power and powerlessness" (Rodriguez 1994, p. 77). The Mexican American woman is found at this cultural crossroads, as "the pillar of the family" and as an "American" individualist.

The Mexican Revolution

This research is limited to a specific period in the history of Mexico, from 1910 to 1920. It is during this time that the peasants/*campesinos* and the educated socialist middle classes set out to reform Mexico. The *campesinos*/Indians/Mestizos/as wanted their communal land returned and certain elements in the educated middle class recognized the injustices of the political system, the damaging effects of the foreign investments and, therefore, were willing to unify the Mexican nation by embracing its indigenous heritage.

Mexico had been ruled by Porfirio Diaz for more than 25 years of "successful" re-elections. His opponent Francisco Madero won the 1910 election, but Porfirio Diaz re-installed himself as the president elect. In opposition to the abuses of the wealthy landowners – *hacendados*, the corruption of the politicians – *los científicos*, and the ravages of *El Porfiriato* (Diaz' dictatorship), the *campesinos* (peasants) rose to support Don Francisco Madero and to demand land reform.

The Mexican Revolution was a revolution of *campesinos*, an educated middle class of socialists, landowners, Indians, Mestizos/as, and foreigners. There were multiple reasons for people's involvement in the Revolution, but for the Mexicans, the indigenous, and the Mestizo/a, it was simple: they wanted a better life. Although the Revolutionaries may not have used the term socialism, the Mexican *campesinos* understood and pursued a socialist ideology. They wanted their communal lands restored to them; they wanted freedom; they wanted the *gringos* out of their country; they wanted an end to Diaz's "re-elections;" and they stood against the "corruptive" ideology of the federal government,

which was run by *científicos* (scientists) who embraced capitalism and Comte's motto of "order and progress" (Ibañez 1920).

After Madero announced his Plan of Ayala, in which he demanded ending Porfirio Díaz's indefinite "re-elections," the latter resigned in 1911 and sought asylum in the United States, but the struggle for the presidential office continued. Madero became the constitutional president, but was assassinated by 1913. With the death of Madero, his generals fought for power, with the exception of Emiliano Zapata and Francisco Villa. Villa remained committed to Madero's Plan of Ayala, but his actions were more indicative of his need for revenge against those in power, while Zapata remained loyal to the ideals of socialist agrarian reform (Guzman 1965). General Carranza, who had supported Madero, and had fought alongside Villa, became an enemy of the ideals of the Revolution and won the presidency by force. Carranza remained as the constitutional president until 1920, when he was forced to flee from Mexico City and relinquish his power.

Women joined the Revolution ranks as camp followers and/or soldiers. Some authors make a clear distinction between female camp followers and female soldiers, while others use the term "soldadera" for either role (Arrizon 1998; Resendez Fuentes 1995). Accurate categorization is difficult when we consider the multiple tasks the women carried out. The women of the Mexican Revolution vacillated from one position to another without adhering to a single role. Soldaderas were both subjects and agents. They were subjects when they cared for their men, and they were agents when they shot at the enemy. They were agents when they chose to follow their men to war, knowing

that their roles would be that of subjects. They were generally referred to as *soldaderas*, *galletas*, and *adelitas* and the terms did not differentiate between camp followers and female soldiers (Salas 1990).

Historical records about the Mexican woman and her involvement in the Revolution are scant (Mendieta Alatorre 1961; Salas 1990; Soto 1979). What we know about *soldaderas* comes from Mexican Mestizo/a oral traditions expressed through ballads or corridos. It is through the corrido that the Mexican people have recorded their own histories. In the next chapter, the significance of the Mexican Mestizo/a oral tradition will be discussed.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Popular Culture and the Revolution

The Revolution of 1910 allowed the Mexican people to break with Spanish cultural tradition. During the Revolution, a new musical genre developed out of Spanish ballads and formed the Mexican corrido (Geijerstan 1976; Mendoza 1939; Paredes 1963; Simmons 1963). Guzman (1962) calls the Mexican corrido "poesia callejera" (street poetry) that is inspired by the life of the Indians, the Mestizos and the poor and is addressed to them.

The corrido flourished during the Revolution, from 1910 to 1917, and began to decline during the 1920s. By the 1930s, the oral tradition of the corrido began to turn into a purely commercial product (Geijerstam 1976; Mendoza 1939). Corridos were the first forms of popular art to express the events and significance of the revolution. Woodcuts and murals developed later (Guzman 1962). The Mexican corrido, which is considered a literary genre, helped disseminate news about the battles of the revolution (Geijerstam 1976). Generals employed their own corridistas, who had to be skilled in spontaneous improvisation. The lyricists would put the events to words, while the music remained in its traditional form. The musicians would usually print their songs and sell them on leaflets to earn a small income.

Soldaderas in Corridos

The specific study of the female soldier and camp follower image in corridos of the Revolution has been limited to one chapter in Herrera-Sobek's (1993) The Mexican Corrido: A Feminist Analysis and Salas' (1990) Soldaderas in the Mexican Military: Myth and History. Furthermore, Salas (1990, p. 83) cites Mendieta Alatorre, Turner, Soto, Macias, and Leal as contributors to the understanding of popular culture, but does not find their work to be comprehensive.

According to Salas (1990, p. 89), the corridos about soldaderas "are sung from the viewpoint of lovesick men," as satirical pieces, and as recruitment devises. Salas (1990) notes that "as the level of violence increased, corridos appeared that portrayed women with guns or rifles" (p. 90). But in general, Salas (1990) finds that literary efforts are geared towards relegating "the image of the warrior soldadera to a more pathetic image" (p. 91). One of the most famous corridos is about a soldadera named Adelita. The song was widespread during and after the revolution, and as a result of its popularity, soldaderas were interchangeably called Adelitas. However, different interpretations of La Adelita "did not focus on her valor, but rather on her beauty, desirability, and loyalty" (Salas 1990, p. 92).

Herrera-Sobek (1993) isolates five archetypes of women in the Mexican corrido: the good mother, the terrible mother, the mother goddess, the lover, and the soldier. Herrera-Sobek's (1993) research focuses on ballads from Mexico's Independence Movement to the Cristero Rebellion, which occurred after the Revolution of 1910-1920. Within the soldier archetype, the soldaderas are represented historically, as love objects,

and as mythic archetypal figures. Herrera-Sobek points out that the soldaderas are deprived of their last name. The most popular songs, such as La Adelita and La Valentina, do not mention their last name. This has caused confusion about the identity of the historical women who were honored by the corrido. When soldaderas are identified in a song, they are referred to as the "wife of" or the "widow of." In rare occasions that their full name is used, these names never appear in the title of the corrido.

The development of the Mexican corrido during the revolution (Mendoza 1939), and the historical relevance of the lyrics, allows the use of the ballad in analyzing the paradoxical position of women in the revolution. Arrizon (1998) has examined the image of La Adelita portrayed in the popular corrido by the same name and in literary fiction. Arrizon (1998) believes that "as a text within a text, the ballad is useful analytically because it helps expose the performance of gender relations rooted in the upheaval of social transformation" (p. 95). This argument is further reinforced by Turner (1971), who argues that the legendary heroines of the revolution constitute the essence of Mexican femininity.

Soldaderas, Corridos, and Autobiography

The intersection of gender, corridos, the Revolution, and autobiography has been briefly explored by two authors who experienced the Revolution: Anita Brenner and Edward Larocque Tinker. These two authors have made fleeting comments about soldaderas, but their main objective has been to expound on Mexican art and music of the era (Brenner 1929; Tinker 1961). Keeping these previous works in mind, the goal of this

study is to analyze the images and representations of the female soldier in the corridos of the Revolution in view of my lived experience.

Brenner (1929) in her Idols Behind Altars, recalls her childhood during the Revolution, the artwork by ballad printmaker Posada, and the corridos of the time. Brenner remembers that soldiers could be identified from the songs they sang. Villa's troops sang Adelita; Carranza's troops sang La Cucaracha; and Zapata's men sang La Valentina (p. 44).

Tinker (1961) became intrigued with Mexican corridos during his involvement with the Revolution. "But it was not until the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace sent [him] to Mexico in 1943 to lecture at the National University of North American idealistic literature that [he] got a chance to study the subject" (p. 7). The first time Tinker (1961) heard a corrido was in the border of El Paso, where the rebel forces of Villa were camped, along with their soldaderas.

Following my ears I came into the light of a campfire around which a crowd of Villa's ragged soldiers were gathered with their *soldaderas*—those amazing Amazons who cooked for their men and, with pots and pans, and often a baby on their backs, kept up with the regiment on gruelling marches; or, when need arose, snatched a rifle from a corpse and fought as fiercely as any male. This strange motley crowd, most of them showing strong strains of Aztec, was listening in the moonlight like fascinated children to the singing of the three men (p. 7).

Tinker (1961, p. 6) asserts that "every Ibero-American loves poetry and there is hardly a literate man among them who has not at some time written verse." Tinker illustrates the passion for poetry and music with an amusing illustration from the Revolution.

A body of *Federales* had defeated a band of *Revolucionarios* and were hunting down the fugitives. Finding a man hidden in the branches of a tree, they were about to shoot him when he yelled, 'Don't! don't! I'll come down. I'm a poet!

Immediately guns were grounded, and the *cancionero* climbed down and spent the night, safe and happy, singing his *corridos* around the campfire to the delight of his captors.

Like Brenner, Tinker recognizes that corrido is a rebellious manifestation of the indigenous and the Mestizo consciousness.

... I learned that these ballads of the people played a great part in making contemporary Mexican art an entirely indigeneous expression. . . . Listening to the nasal voices of these modern troubadores, I realized that they were preserving the history of their land in the only way open to the illiterate." (Tinker 1970, p. 143-144; 1961, p. 7)

This new florescence in all the arts, that might be said to have welled up from the very hearts of the people—to have been sung into being by the humble *corrido*—has inspired Mexico's poets, painters, writers and musicians to give new and vigorous life to every expression of her culture, and to make it as autochthonous and deep-rooted in the soil as *tamal* or *tortilla* (p. 40).

As Brenner and Tinker have stated, corridos are rooted in the indigenous culture of Mexico and preserve the stories of the people. And as stories that have come from the turmoil of the Mexican Revolution, they provide evidence of alternative forms of resistance, "which are repeated and shared across diverse indigenous communities" (Tuhiwahi Smith 1999, p. 2).

Summary

The Mexican corrido as an oral tradition, disseminated the news from the battle to the general populace. The lyrics narrated stories about men and women who loved and fought courageously. Due to its historical relevance, the corrido has provided researchers with means to explore the images and representations of women and female soldiers in Mexican culture (Herrera-Sobek 1993; Salas 1990). The corrido and the soldadera have

also become subjects for authors who experienced the revolution and emphasized the importance of poetry and music for the Mexican culture (Brenner 1971; Tinker 1961).

CHAPTER III

THEORY AND METHOD

Qualitative methodology employed in this study, lends itself to the integration of various methods and techniques, to address the complexity and multiplicity of Mestizo/a popular culture as a site of postcolonial gender discourse. Furthermore, conceptual tools for such a study must be sensitive to the ambivalence and multiplicity of Mestizo/a culture.

The research design is guided by postmodern critical inquiry, specifically as exemplified in the works of Dorothy Smith (1990; 1993) and Patricia Hill Collins (1990; 1998). The use of the paradox of subjectivity and agency provides the conceptual tools to explore the "becoming" of the colonized and the "becoming" of the colonizer, which translates into paradoxical gender roles for women. For the becoming of the Mestiza/o, resistance is always present through internal and external mechanisms of negotiation.

The use of corridos in this study provides an alternative form of engaging history. The corrido is an external manifestation of the Mestizo/a culture of Spanish European and Indian cultural values. The corrido is the oral tradition of the Mestizo culture, and, as such, it serves as a primary source reflecting the popular culture of the lower class Mestizo revolutionaries and it provides a historical view of what they considered important in their own culture and from their own perspective. But the corrido is also limiting in that it is framed mostly by the "male gaze" or male perspective. Furthermore, since corridos were the result of lyricists' improvisation, the original verses may have

changed subsequently until they reached their written form. Subsequent printings may have resulted in omissions, exaggerations, and/or romanticized images of the soldadera (Herrera-Sobek 1993; Salas 1990). The historical and literary nature of the corrido warrants the exploration of the idealized depiction of popular images of female soldiers.

Postmodern Critical Race Feminism and the "Situated Subject Position"

The postmodern approach embraces the multiplicity of truths and the multiplicity of methods. It focuses on social and economic injustice, and allows the researcher to acknowledge his/her position. In the words of Patricia Hill Collins:

... critical social theory encompasses bodies of knowledge and sets of institutional practices that actively grapple with the central questions facing groups of people differently placed in specific political, social, and historic contexts characterized by injustice (Collins 1998, p. xiv).

According to the critical perspective, postcolonial people have had to negotiate the integration of contradictory values into their culture. The "struggle with new meanings attached to ethnicity, citizenship status, and religion," has resulted in "oppositional knowledge" (Collins 1998, p. xiii). In Collins' view, oppositional knowledge is another form of theorizing that is usually considered illegitimate due to the diversity of its purposes and the forms in which they are expressed:

Although oppositional knowledge often takes diverse forms, in my view historically oppressed groups also produce social theories. Not only do the forms assumed by these theories--poetry, music, essays, and the like--diverge from academic theory, but the purpose of such theory also seems distinctly different. Social theories emerging from and/or on behalf of historically oppressed groups investigate ways to escape from, survive in, and/or oppose prevailing social and economic justice (Collins 1998, p. xiii).

According to Collins, oppositional knowledge "often [emerges] in conjunction with freedom struggles." I argue, this is the case with Mexican revolutionary corridos. As Mestizo music and as a historical literary genre, the corrido provides a site for postcolonial discourse/resistance in which the paradoxical roles of women as soldiers and/or campfollowers exhibit an ambivalence in the construction of gender roles.

Critical theory allows the use of a multiplicative framework that can examine the intersectionality of race, class, and gender on the paradox of female subjectivity and agency in the popular culture of the revolution. For Collins (1998), critical theory is an encompassing approach which can negotiate the use of diverse methods and theories deemed most appropriate; however, the risk of a superficial analysis is always present.

The strengths of this approach . . . emerge in innovative connections made among diverse ideas and phenomena. Its limitations, however, lie in risking insufficient depth in one knowledge (Collins 1998, p. xviii).

One approach for avoiding superficial analysis is the use of a "situated subject position" (Collins 1998; Smith 1993). According to Smith, as sociologists we must situate ourselves in our research and make "our direct embodied experience of the everyday world the primary ground of our knowledge" (1993, p. 424). For Collins (1998), the acknowledgement of one's position is only a small part of situating ourselves in our research. Not only should we state our intellectual biases, as persons of color we should voice our experiences as they relate to our research. In making ourselves heard, we become agents, but as our stories become part of the text, our words and our/selves become the subject.

Collins' (1998) discourse on critical methodology seeks to contest traditional knowledge by using "oppositional" and contested methods of theorizing. For Collins, a "situated subject position" requires the use of autobiographical narratives. The use of narrative opens the discourse to the contradictory effects of Eurocentric socialization/colonization on persons of color. In linking socio-cultural components to an individual's experience, we provide a micro-macro analysis revealing the reproduction of subjection and agency within ourselves and in our "living" culture. Collins (1998) further argues that writing from a subject position illuminates how power relations can affect individual and group readings of "knowledges generated by elites and oppressed groups" (p. xx).

Research Questions

Five research questions are addressed by the study: 1) How has the image of the soldadera in popular culture affected the author's experience and identity as a Mexican American/Chicana? 2) What do the hitherto unexamined historical recollections/memoirs reveal about soldaderas? 3) How are soldaderas portrayed in popular corridos? 4) What are the differences between the representations of soldaderas in popular culture (corridos) and the depictions in post/colonial/high culture (memoirs)? and 5) How does the corrido reflect the Mestizo/a culture?

Sources of Data

Collection of Corridos of the Revolution

The focus of the research limits the collection of data to revolutionary corridos about soldaderas (Corridos of the Mexican Revolution and Other Songs 1911-1924;

Figuerola 1995; Gomez Maganda 1970; Henestrosa 1977; Hernandez 1996; Herrera Frimont 1934; Maria y Campos 1962; Mendoza 1939; Moreno 1978; Romero Flores 1941, 1977, 1979; Velez 1983). Although some corridos about the female soldiers are popular, other accounts of nameless soldaderas may be found within the text of other corridos. To ensure that all pertinent corridos are included, a general survey of all revolutionary corridos must be undertaken. The number of original revolutionary corridos is estimated to be over three-hundred.

Access to primary historical sources, such as collections of original leaflets or broadsides from the revolutionary era, are limited (El Cancionero Popular 1910-1913; Corridos of the Mexican Revolution and Other Songs 1911-1924). The unpublished collection of Corridos of the Mexican Revolution and Other Songs 1911-1924 is used in this study. The collection contains one-hundred-fifty original and loose prints of the corridos, but does not contain all relevant soldadera ballads. Published collections and research will supplement further data collection (Figuerola 1995; Gomez Maganda 1970; Henestrosa 1979; Herrera Frimont 1934; Maria y Campos 1962; Mendoza 1939, 1990; Moreno 1978; Romero Flores 1941, 1977, 1979; Vasquez Santa Ana 1926; Velez 1983).

Published Recollections/Written History

The research will be triangulated with the use of published historical recollections of participants and/or eyewitnesses of the Mexican Revolution. The point of departure of the study will be descriptions of soldaderas. Published historical recollections are not representative of popular culture. Published historical recollections exclude contributions of illiterate populations and those that lack economic and social resources. Therefore

these publications can be considered examples of high culture and an outsider/colonist perspective (Azcarate 1966; Brenner 1971; Campobello 1931; Davis 1920; Fyfe 1914; Guzman 1965; Harding 1949; Ibañez 1920; King 1935; O'Shaughnessy 1916; Reed 1914; Thord-Gray 1960; Tinker 1961; Wilkie and Michaels 1969). The selection of descriptions about soldaderas will be included and/or summarized in the research, and the insider/outsider status of the authors will be noted, such as their nationality, race, gender, and/or social class when possible.

Author's Lived Experience

The research will be triangulated with the author's own experience of corridos and soldaderas in the "Tex-Mex" Chicano/a culture. Following the process of self-inclusion (Collins 1998), I include my own memories from a situated subject position. I am a Mestiza who grew up in a working class family on the border of Texas and Mexico, at once embracing and rejecting the Mexican, the U.S. American, and the Indian elements of my life. It is this Mestizo/a space that has shaped my knowledge and my research. Although the educational system in the United States has continuously reiterated the passive qualities of the Mexican woman, my childhood and my multiple ethnic cultures have provided me with the impetus to be critical of this framing.

I cannot erase my voice or my experiences from the research because I feel my self-image has been deeply influenced by the popular culture of soldaderas and corridos. I grew up with the images of soldaderas, like Valentina, Juana Gallo, and Adelita. They were the "un/tame/able" heroines of black and white films from the golden era of Mexican cinema and they are the women in today's corridos. Those women have become

mythic images that posit a complex view of Mexican and Chicana femininity that is incompatible with the Eurocentric construction of the passive Mexican female.

Analysis of Data

Selection of Corridos

The Revolutionary process cannot be limited to the period between 1910 and 1920, but most of the Revolution took place within this decade and therefore these years are more pertinent with regard to the development of the soldadera image (Turner 1971). To dispel the ambiguity of beginning and end, the selection of relevant ballads has been limited by two conditions: 1) the ballad was composed between 1910-1920; and/or 2) the ballad became popular (widely heard) between 1910-1920.

Along with the content analysis of ballads of the Revolution, literature and/or research about soldaderas, corridos and/or the Revolution were consulted. First, ballads about women and soldaderas were selected. Second, ballads with emphasis on female fighters and battles were identified through an exhaustive analysis of the primary sources (Corridos of the Mexican Revolution and Other Songs 1911-1924) as well as secondary sources such as Mendoza (1939), Romero Flores (1977), Salas (1990) and Herrera-Sobek (1993). Using these two content-criteria forty-six corridos were selected for this research from three-hundred Revolutionary corridos reviewed. Each corrido selected was translated from Spanish to English.

The selection of the corridos was determined by the musical style and time period. For example, "Jesusita en Chihuahua" was a favorite of Francisco Villa. The title of the song is named after a soldadera from the region of Chihuahua, but it is a polka and

contains no words (ballads, by definition contain words). Therefore, "Jesusita en Chihuahua" was excluded. Another soldadera song titled "Mi soldadita" is a ranchera (traditional Mexican country music) composed by Jose Torres and therefore, it was not selected. Although substantively relevant, the musical style is not a corrido.

The following corridos were identified as music about soldaderas by a compilation of photographs and quotes edited by Konzevik and Casanova (1999) from the National Institute of Anthropology and History in Mexico: "La Perra Valiente/The Brave Female Dog," and "Las Tres Pelonas/The Three Bald Females." A content analysis of "La Perra Valiente" reveals that the corrido refers to a male named Saturnino, therefore it could not be included. The other corrido, "Las Tres Pelonas" is about three women sitting on a balcony watching the troops pass by and therefore it was not selected. My mother says that "Las Tres Pelonas" was a song about prostitutes, which makes it interesting how these ballads are associated with soldaderas, even though their characters are not soldaderas.

To further complicate the identification of "La Perra Valiente," another song, which was also excluded, is associated with a black and white film titled "Las Coronelas." In this film, there are two children who are misnamed Saturnino and Nikolas and who grew up to be beautiful women who became colonels to save their father and their village. This film is a comedy based on the ludicrous battles between two Generals who continue to fight even after the Revolution has ended. The theme song/ballad is also titled "Las Coronelas/The Female Colonels," but the ballad has no substantive text except the repetition of the word "coronelas/colonels." Therefore, there are two ballads

associated with the name of Saturnino, a male name, with the soldadera. One ballad is historical and the other is fictional and comedic. Since Mendoza (1939), Salas (1990), and Herrera-Sobek (1993) do not identify "La Perra Valiente" as relevant, I have decided to exclude the ballad from the study.

Another ballad that was excluded is "Maria La Bandida/Mary the Bandit." This song is not mentioned by any research sources, but it is included in a 1997 compilation of "Los Corridos de la Revolucion/The Ballads of the Revolution." Although the song is part of this compilation, the ballad is a theme song made by a famous Mexican composer, Jose Alfredo Jimenez, for a film of a fictional character named Maria Mendoza, played by the legendary actress Doña Maria Felix. To complicate the validity of the ballad of "Maria la Bandida," there is a historical figure called La Bandida. La Bandida was named Graciela Olmos and was married to the Villista General Trinidad Rodriguez. She is mainly known as a corridista, but considering her relation to the General Rodriguez, she must have also been his soldadera (Gomez Maganda 1970).

Post-revolutionary songs that mention soldaderas are excluded. For example, the ballad "de la Muerte de Pancho Villa/ of the Death of Pancho Villa" was written in 1923 and cites Villa as author of "La Adelita," "La Valentina," and "Juana Gallo" (Moreno 1978). The ballad of "La Rielera" is cited as a song of the Revolution and as a song of the Cristero Rebellion (Mendoza 1939, Hernandez 1996; Herrera-Sobek 1993). A variation of this ballad is "La Rielera Alemanista," which dates it as post-revolutionary. Therefore, I have not included the ballad of "La Rielera" and the "Rielera Alemanista" (Maria y Campos 1962). "Corrido del Norte" was written around 1950 by Pepe Guizar, a

famous Mexican composer. This ballad is sung to “La Adelita,” “La Valentina,” and “Juana Gallo” (Velez 1983). Another famous composer/singer, Cuco Sanchez, wrote “El Revolucionario/The Revolutionary” after the Revolution (Velez 1983).

Four ballads were not found. Three of these ballads were mentioned by Mendoza (1939): “La Soldadita,” “de Chucha la Soldadera,” and “de Maria la Chiquita.” “La Soldadita/the little female soldier” may possibly be a variation of the ranchera “Mi Soldadita.” The ballad of “Chucha la Soldadera” may possibly refer to a soldadera named Jesusa. Chucha is short for Jesusa. And the ballad of “Maria la Chiquita/Mary the Little One” is possibly in reference to a Federal spy that was nicknamed Maria la Chiquita. The final ballad that has not been found is “La Coronela/the Lady Colonel,” which was inspired by the artwork of Posada (Herrera-Sobek 1993).

Analysis of Selected Corridos

Since corridos are similar in their format to Spanish ballads, the text lends itself to line-by-line analysis and stanza/paragraph analysis. To facilitate the use of the constant comparative method, (Strauss and Corbin 1990) a notecard for each corrido was used. The corridos were then divided into types based on general substantive topic. Primary categorization was based on the purpose of the corrido/ballad as expressed in the title: Was the ballad about specific soldaderas, soldiers, or about battles in general? Once the corridos were divided into specific and general, the categorization was guided by the substantive purpose of the lyrics. The ballads which specified homage to named and unnamed soldaderas contained lyrics which identified these women as agents and romantic love subjects. This group of ballads resulted in two main categories:

Revolutionaries/Revolucionarias, and Of Love and Death. The ballads that described in detail the battles of the Revolution were placed in a third category, of News from the Battle Front. The ballads which specified homage to male soldiers were reviewed for specific details about soldaderas as agents/messengers. For the purpose of the research, only relevant stanzas were selected. These stanzas included the key words “vuela paloma/fly dove,” which tend to refer to women. The stanzas which were included in the study also mentioned specific instructions which these women were given as messengers. Therefore, this last category was titled Messenger Dove/Paloma.

An end result of the selection process was four types of corridos: 1) Revolutionaries/Revolucionarias, 2) Of Love and Death, 3) News From the Battle Front, and 4) Messenger Doves/Palomas. Each of the four types contain sub-categories based on specific substantive content of corrido lines or stanzas. The sub-categorization was guided by previous work done by Herrera-Sobek (1993), Mendoza (1939) and Salas (1990) who focus on soldaderas as love objects, as pathetic images, as recruited followers, or as historical, romanticized, and/or mythical figures. For the purposes of this research, under the category of Revolutionaries, soldaderas were identified as Ideal Revolutionaries, as Historical, and as Satirical. In these ballads the female soldiers were praised and idealized for their attributes as fighters and caretakers, were elevated from historical figures to mythical fighters, or were used as subjects of satire or ridicule.

The ballads Of Love and Death reflected the various emotions and concerns that the soldiers had about their soldaderas. The ballads expressed the multiple aspects of love during the Revolution. The first sub-category treats the subject of love as romantic

(Ideal Love); the second sub-category also treats the subject of love as romantic, but adds the element of death as the only possibility for the soldier and the soldadera's separation; the third sub-category (Unfaithfulness) acknowledges the soldier's concern with the transient and weak relationship that he may have with the soldadera; and in the final sub-category (A Plea for Love), the acknowledgement of the soldadera's agency is further established by the soldier's beg for love.

The corridos about the News From the Battle Front were sub-categorized as Agents/Fighters/Warriors; Recruitment Of and Return To; Chorus; and Minor Note: Casualties of War. In the first sub-categorization (Agents/Fighters/Warriors), the soldadera emerges in the corrido as a warrior and fighter. The second sub-categorization treats the soldadera as a subject or as passive. Under this sub-category (Recruitment Of and Return To), the women are mentioned only as peripheral characters who are recruited to become soldaderas or as passive women who must await the return of their soldiers. The sub-category of Chorus contains stanzas in which the soldaderas are mentioned as supportive cheerleaders, and the last sub-category briefly mentions the death of many women and children in the train wreck of 1920 without recognizing that they were soldaderas of General Carranza.

The subjection of the female warrior is noted by Salas (1990) and Herrera-Sobek (1993). Both Salas and Herrera-Sobek critique the limited amount of information about the soldaderas as fighters. This study acknowledges the subjection of the female, and therefore places a stronger emphasis on the paradox of agency, which exists/survives within structures of subjectivity.

Limitations

This research is a "case study" of Mexican Mestizo/a postcolonial resistance and, as such, it can not be generalized. However, due to its methodological goal that embraces the multiplicity and recognition of cultural differences, the lack of generalization is acceptable and intended.

CHAPTER IV

THE AUTHOR'S LIVED EXPERIENCE

Chicana feminist authors, like Anzaldua (1987), have dealt with the problem of cultural identity through autobiographical pieces that are meant to expose the paradox and ambiguity of living in multiple sites of culture and gender by intersecting and vacillating between English and Spanish, with theory and poetry. My goal is to explore the paradox of becoming a subject and agent through the use of autobiographical memories/frames. Those memories/experiences cast a glance at the ongoing rebellion and acceptance of nominal concepts of culture and gender and the multiplicity that the self must learn to accept.

Some Theory on Boundless Frames/Stories/Selves

Stories can be photographed, written, sung, or spoken. The telling of a story comes in multiple forms and from multiple sources. Like a story, individuals and places have multiple identities (Code 1995; Duncan 1996; Fuss 1995; Massey 1994; Scott 1993). "Moreover, such multiple identities can either be a source of richness or a source of conflict, or both" (Massey 1994, p. 153).

Embedded in stories, people, and places, there is a history (Scott 1993). A moment has a context of a certain time and in a certain space but it still becomes part of our memory/photograph or what we tend to call our experience (Scott 1993). And experience becomes history. But history tends to ignore the multiplicity of experience. History is HIS and a moment/story is MINE to carry, to interpret, to paint, to read . . .

Experience and memories defy time and space (Massey 1994). We take, we multiply, we remember exponentially, at different times, and in different spaces. Our lives are like photos/postcards (moving and still). We give story to memory. The holding of an experience goes through multiple frames through time and space. And in Adrienne Rich's (1989, p. 34) words, those frames tell a story: for "our story is of moments."

We hold a memory, faintly remembering the details, but somehow we spin the story and we describe what we did not see then. As a child I did not have the vocabulary to paint my pictures or to recognize the snapshots. So now I write them. And I frame them to understand the multiplicity of self/being.

A moment in time is a postcard and every time you look back and through the snapshots, your his/her-story changes lenses. The postcard is never the same. And the postcard withers, gets old, and the edges get folded and split. But the postcard still stands, different, mutated, with his/her-story. And sometimes the postcard disappears. But I still frame. I frame to understand the paradox of my being. We frame because multiplicity threatens. I/you/we frame because knowledge overwhelms. But in limiting/framing/categorizing/idealizing/defining – we acknowledge that knowledge is multiple (Collins 1994; Goffman 1994; Simmel 1971b). And we acknowledge that it is not easy living within man-made frames.

The Un/bearable Paradox of Being

According to Simmel (1971b), every dimension and behavior of our being "stands at every moment between two boundaries," which we recognize as "above and below." It

is our recognition of those boundaries that allow us “our means for finding direction in the infinite space of our worlds” (Simmel 1971b, p. 353). And not only do we build these boundaries to find our position in this world, we, ourselves, are boundaries. “By the virtue of the fact that we have boundaries everywhere and always, so accordingly we are boundaries” (Simmel 1971b, p. 353).

Therefore, if we create boundaries, re-create boundaries, step-over boundaries and are boundaries, we live in a state of flux where form and continuity makes us a paradox. “As a result of the inherent flexibility and dislocation of our boundaries, we are able to express our essence with a paradox: we are bounded in every direction, and we are bounded in no direction” (Simmel 1971b, p. 355). But as egocentric beings, we refuse to accept that nothing can be contained, and “that life is at once fixed and variable” (Simmel 1971b, p. 364). Instead we assert ourselves “as something complete against other individuals . . . against the total environment, and [do] not tolerate any blurring of [our] boundary” (Simmel 1971b, p. 362). We then live in man-made boundaries that trap us.

Building boundaries around ourselves seems like a futile endeavor, but boundaries are not futile for without the acknowledgement of a boundary, we can not transcend it (Simmel 1971b). For some, the boundaries they create are safe, and for others the boundaries create a state of ambiguity and ambivalence when their boundaries have been made violently through colonialism and imperialism. And hence, the identity of the self lives/evolves in a constant process of definition, acceptance, and resistance.

Cold Memories about a Silent Woman Warrior from Chihuahua

It was a cold February day in 1978, I was dressed in a satin white dress, colorful ribbons in my hair, colorful ruffles around my dress, and white boots. It was the Charro Days' Festival, and the Mexicans and Mexican Americans made the border a place of cultural celebration. It was my favorite time of year. I would have danced to "Jesusita en Chihuahua," but my partner was tall, lanky, and extremely clumsy on his feet. So instead, I held the school banner. At the time I didn't know that "Jesusita en Chihuahua" was one of Villa's favorite polkas and that it was about a soldadera. The song did not give it away. The polka had no words.

Speedy Gonzalez Sang

I watched Bugs Bunny cartoons while I was growing up. One of my favorite stars was Speedy Gonzalez, the Mexican mouse that outwitted Sylvester the cat with intelligence and speed. Speedy G. provided comic relief for *gringos* because everyone knew that Mexicans were slow and lazy.

Speedy Gonzalez was the first positive TV image of a Mexican in *gringolandia*, except for all his *compadres*/friends, who were fat and slow, and had a weakness for cheese/tequila. And when they were drunk on cheese, you would hear them singing:

La cucaracha, la cucaracha, ya no puede caminar, porque le falta, porque le falta, mariguana que fumar . . . The female roach, the female roach, can not walk anymore, because she needs, to smoke mariguana . . .

Carranza's troops sang this song. Speedy's compadres sang this song. Fat mice who wore big sombreros, had funny accents, and got drunk on cheese/tequila. . . . sang about a soldadera with a vice.

Villa *el Robavacas*/the Cowthief was Pedro Armendariz

Si Adelita se fuera con otro, Si Adelita fuera mi mujer . . . If Adelita would leave with another, if Adelita would be my woman . . .

These are the words I remember from heart. . . they belonged to Pancho Villa. A song about longing . . . male desire . . . and female choice.

Villa loved this song, along with his troops, who adopted the corrido of Adelita as their anthem. I do not recall a particular moment when I first heard this corrido. It was always there, especially in black and white films, in which the famous Mexican actor, Pedro Armendariz, became Villa for life.

My mother always called Pancho Villa a *RobaVacas*, a cow thief. That had been Pancho Villa's first career, but what she failed to mention was that he had resorted to this after becoming a fugitive, after having killed the man that raped his sister.

La Historia de un Familiar Contrabandista/The History of the Family Smuggler

There is a corrido about a smuggler named Mariano Resendez. Relation? I don't know. It doesn't really matter. His last name bonded/connected/associated us with him. Mariano was killed in 1900 after having had a lucrative career in smuggling textiles. He was a brave and feared man. He was someone we were proud of . . . because there was a corrido about him. But for my mother, it was a reminder of our tainted ancestry. We came from the central mountains of Mexico, a hideout for *matones*/killers and

contrabandistas/smugglers. For my brother, my sister and I, we were proud of our heritage of resistance. For even a country could not keep us from crossing that imaginary border of 1848. Our families had lived and migrated from central Mexico, to Cameron County (South Texas) to Bexar County (central Texas) and Mariano was a testament to our border resistance.

El Corrido de la Banda del Carro Rojo/The Ballad of the Red Car Bandits

It was a film about border trafficking in the late 1970s. It was a corrido about drug traffickers in a red car. The leader was a woman and she was known as *Camelia la Tejana*/the Texan. She crossed the border rebelliously, like the *soldaderas* who helped the Revolutionaries by smuggling weapons underneath their skirts.

Mestiza Conflict

To live as a Mestiza, you have to learn to endure and resist the warring of classes, of blood, of colonization, of the white, of the Indian. My mother taught fatalistic endurance, to accept Spanish propriety. My father resisted the colonizer in/with silence. My mother carried the colonizer within her, but hated the arrogant Spaniard.

Origins/Layers of My Mestiza Conflict

My grandmother, Nikolasa Reyes met Cipriano Resendiz Gonzalez, a migrant from San Luis Potosi in her hometown of Cuero, Texas. She left with him to Mexico, where she had my father, and three other children. Although my grandmother was light-skinned, and my grandfather was too, my father was dark like his paternal grandmother, a full-blooded Huichol Indian whose last name was Gonzalez. And his maternal grandfather was white, blue-eyed, and abusive -- a representative of the colonizer.

My mother's origins are not very clear. Her father was *Ciro Gonzalez*, the youngest son of a wealthy hacienda landowner. My mother was the result of an out of wedlock union. She remembers her first years in Mexico City, living with her godmother, and visiting a mansion in her best clothes, and being pointed out as Elena's daughter. When she was four or five, her father came for her and she never saw her godmother again. Her step-mother became her mother and to this day, my "step/grandmother" continues the charade, yet it is this charade that has caused much of the conflict in my own identity.

When my mother and father decided to make a life together, my "grandmother" disappeared from her life for five years. My "grandmother" opposed/resisted/disliked my father's Indio/peasant background and his darkness. And she also "opposed" his children's darkness, but my sister was best tolerated; after all she was lighter and therefore, prettier. And I was disliked and ridiculed. And my brother tolerated, because his place was less ambivalent; he was dark and he could be framed. He was *el Prieto*/the Dark one.

I never understood this hatred from my "grandmother" and from my aunts. I remember wanting to please and feeling very conscious of my social status. We were poor and we had "no class." We were dark and we were ugly. I was five and I knew the shame of poverty and of darkness. My "grandmother" never let me forget that I was different from her and her real children. We were considered inferior because we were poor, dark, and spoke a hybrid language. It was many years later when I understood the distance.

The Revolution/the Soldadera in Black and White

I do not remember the first time I learned about the Revolution. La Revolución has always been present in the consciousness of the Mexican. The Revolution was inculcated into the Mexican national consciousness by the PRI – *el Partido Revolucionario Institucional*, the Institutional Revolutionary Party. Before I knew who Karl Marx was, I knew about Villa, Zapata, Madero, Fidel Castro, socialism and solidarity. For me, the Revolution first appeared in black and white. The heroes and heroines were always La Coronela, La Generala, Juana Gallo and Pancho Villa. The black and white films were based on historical figures and to a young child, they seemed to be a historical account of the real Revolution.

The first soldadera I knew was embodied by the revered actress Doña Maria Felix, who became Valentina, Juana Gallo, and La Generala. She was a strong and independent woman and no man could “tame” her. She brought her own personality of strength and independence to every role she played; but unlike her life, the characters she portrayed would eventually be coerced into submission by the power of love and a man worthy of her own greatness.

Secretos/Secrets

My mom's father was the youngest of the Gonzalez Cano family, he was born in 1901 to an hacienda owner, and received his college education in the US. My mother says that they were good people and when the Revolution came, their land was respected and they were able to keep part of their wealth. The oldest son of the Gonzalez Cano family left for the Revolution and was never heard from again.

My mother's "mother" was the daughter of one of the peasants in the Gonzalez Cano hacienda. But she never speaks of her peasant class roots. She has hidden this from her own daughters, just like the truth to my mother's parentage. She lives in shame of her family and has kept them a dirty little secret. But secrets can not be held captive. Otherwise they would never be known to be secrets. That is the paradox of a secret, to be known.

La Tia Maria, Una Villista/Aunt Mary, A Villista

My "great-grandfather" Felipe and my great-aunt Maria were Villistas during the Revolution. They were orphans and had nothing to lose, so they joined the Revolution, in hope of a better future. They were around fifteen and sixteen. My mother says Maria was fierce and foul-mouthed -- *brava y mal hablada*. She did not let anyone take advantage of her and she was strong and assertive. During the Revolution she had several lovers. Some were officers, I believe, lieutenants. She was a beautiful woman whom men desired. These desires saved her brother a couple of times.

Her brother Felipe seems to have gotten himself in trouble with the Villistas, and to save his life, Maria gave herself to an officer in exchange for her brother's life. It is said that she did that more than once. And my mother remembers that Maria never let her brother forget it. When she got mad at Felipe, she would yell at him, "*por mi estas vivo cabron/you are alive because of me bastard!*" When the Revolution ended, Maria moved to Mexico City, where she lived in several free unions, childless and in poverty, although she was a hard worker. She lived drunk and died of cancer in the late 1940s. One of her lovers was a tall and strong bricklayer named Pedro, but known as *El*

Patias/the Sideburns. But she wore the pants in the family. When she was mad at him, nothing could stop her from expressing her anger violently. She had a *genio*/temper and did not like any man controlling her.

Maria and El Diablo/Mary and The Devil

When my mother was eight or nine, she spent time with my great-aunt Maria. My mother remembers Maria as a nice woman, with a foul mouth, who worshipped *el diablo*/the devil. In a corner of her house, she had a little statue of *el cabron*/the devil/the horned one/the goat. Maria's sister, my great aunt Marta, told my mother that she would never return to Maria's house again. According to my great aunt, she saw the devil visit Maria. Maria woke up with scratches around her neck and when Marta (my great aunt) asked her about them, Maria blamed the devil. The previous evening Marta had seen something unusual. She had seen a big black dog that came inside the house and then left. Marta thought it was a new pet. When she asked Maria about it, Marta was shocked by her sister's response, "it must have been him, the devil."

My mother says that all those who went to the Revolution were heavy drinkers/*muy borrachos* and that is why Maria was an alcoholic. My mother also says that the devil was part of Maria's life because her life had been violent. And she had killed many men in the Revolution. For my mother, the Revolution had unleashed evil.

Las Balas de Mi Padre/My Father's Bullets

Mexican music has always been present in my family's life. But it was much later that I understood the many images and memories embedded in corridos -- women fighters, lovers, smugglers and drug dealers.

While my father sang Mexican music, my mother told stories. And the stories fascinated us. They were about our family his/her/stories from the Revolution, from silver screen days. And from black and white images, the corridos, my mother's memories, and my father's lessons, I had no other choice than to become a Chicana soldadera, someone who would defy the Spanish and embrace the paradox of Mestizaje.

My mother was the matriarch and my father was a patriarch. But it was my father who first made me into a soldadera. In our backyard, my father taught me to shoot. He would place a screw at a distance and my sister and I would hit it. We would use clothespins as targets and we would take turns with the BB gun. We were naturals and my mom and dad were really proud.

Summary

Understanding identity development is complex and multiple. Therefore, I have attempted to replicate this process by providing postcards or snapshots of my life in the form of descriptive memories that carry images of subjection and agency of the Mexican woman. To address the first research question of my study, I have provided framed images of my culture, my family, corridos, soldaderas, cartoon rodents, and bandits defying borders. I have left the images framed separately so that the reader can understand how those images are negotiated within the self. We are surrounded by multiple knowledge and it is the individual that provides the space for negotiation. The individual must either accept or refute positive or negative images or learn to embrace the paradox of the images. As a Chicana, I have accepted the paradox and I live in ambivalence with subjection and agency.

CHAPTER V

DEPICTION OF SOLDADERAS IN OTHERS' MEMOIRS

This chapter concentrates on the descriptions of the soldadera/female soldier/campfollower by men and women who experienced the Revolution. These participants and eyewitnesses have described the women of the Revolution in their memoirs, which have been published and therefore, are used as representatives of the outsider perspective, as well as “imaginary” respondents to this study.

Of these, five are female, and only one of them is a native of Mexico and a direct participant in the Revolution. There are six male authors and none of them is a native of Mexico. The memoir selections are primarily grouped into outsider/insider perspectives and then subdivided by gender and ordered by the date of publication.

Female Outsiders

Edith O'Shaughnessy

Mrs. Edith O'Shaughnessy was the wife of an American diplomat in Mexico. As the wife of Mr. Nelson O'Shaughnessy, she was privy to the politics between the United States and Mexico. Her memoirs are composed of letters written to her daughter. The letters are from October 8, 1913 to April 23, 1914, when diplomatic relations ended with Mexico. In her letters, Mrs. O'Shaughnessy records the miseries of war and includes an account of the U.S. occupation of Veracruz, which she supported.

While at Orizaba, Veracruz, the coast, O'Shaughnessy (1916) writes about the soldadera as heroic and worthy of being the subject of a book.

A thick and heartbreaking book could be written upon the soldadera – the heroic woman who accompanies the army, carrying, in addition to her baby, any other mortal possession, such as a kettle, basket, goat, blanket, parrot, fruit, and the like. These women are the only visible commissariat for the soldiers; they accompany them in their marches; they forage for them; they receive their money when it is paid. All this they do and keep up with the march of the army, besides rendering any other service the male may happen to require. It is appalling what self-abnegation is involved in this life. And they keep it up until, like poor beasts, they uncomplainingly drop in their tracks – to arise, I hope, in Heaven (p. 144-145).

In a letter written at a later date, she writes again about trains and army women. In this excerpt O'Shaughnessy lists again what the army women carried with them.

. . . buena Vista station, where General Corral's troops were being entrained. We found a very busy scene. There were long lines of baggage-cars, with fresh straw covering the floors; other baggage-cars containing army women, with their small children, babes at the breast, and the bigger children, who may be of service. Infants between two and ten are left behind. . . . Having no homes, these women are wont to take all their possessions with them – bird cages, goats, old oil-cans, filled with Heaven knows what (O'Shaughnessy 1916, p. 245).

Rosa E. King

Rosa E. King wrote Tempest over Mexico: A Personal Chronicle about her life during the Revolution. Rosa E. King first arrived in Cuernavaca, Morelos in 1905 with her husband. Years later, in the beginning of the Revolution, she returned again to Cuernavaca, but this time she was alone and a widow. She was a wealthy English woman who owned and managed a hotel in Cuernavaca, Morelos, near the City of Mexico. She had two children who grew up in boarding schools in the United States. Morelos was Zapatista land and therefore, King saw federal troops and Zapata's troops march through.

King also knew and admired General Felipe Angeles, who fought alongside Carranza, and later Villa.

King (1935) attributes the reason for the presence of women in the army to the lack of a regular commissary department.

In those days the Mexican army had no regular commissary department and the soldiers brought their 'women' with them to cook and care for them – women wore gaunt with hardship who could fight like she-devils if need be, and who were yet wonderfully gentle and compassionate to their men (King 1935, p. 176-177).

It is interesting that King describes the women as paradoxes of gentleness and fierceness.

She goes on to describe some of the daring feats of these women.

While the men were fighting their way ahead, these women would slip through the lines and go on to the place where the army was to stop, and it was seldom that the soldiers failed to find something savory stewing or broiling over the charcoal when they arrived. On long marches the women carried the soldiers' money in order to buy the food; but the food was not always bought and paid for (p. 177).

Mrs. King provides an anecdote on how Federal soldaderas caught/found/scavenged for their food. This story was recounted to Mrs. King by an officer. As the story goes, the soldaderas had money to buy food, but their money was worthless to the Zapatista shopkeepers. When the shop owners refused to sell the poultry, the women took the fowls and no one tried to stop them, because "everybody knew the soldaderas! (p. 177)"

The wonderful soldiers' women – none like them in the world for patience and bravery at such times – combed the town for food, and when they could not get it any other way they stole, whatever and whenever they could, to nourish their men. These were the type of women who one day, in the north, when their men ran short of ammunition, tied their rebozos to the ammunition cart and hauled it to them. I bow in respect to the Mexican woman of this class – the class despised by the women of indolent wealth, ignorantly proud of their uselessness. The Mexican women who marched with the Mexican soldier, who went before him to

the camping place to have refreshment ready, who nursed him when sick and comforted him when dying, were helpers and constructionists, doing their part in laying the foundation of this liberal government to-day. Mexican women of education, just emerging from your shells of blindness, remember this and honor, wherever she may be found, the Mexican soldier's woman! (p. 183)

King (p. 274) not only writes about the anonymous soldadera, she remembers a female colonel she saw in Veracruz with the Carrancista troops.

In time I became accustomed to the sight of his troops. . . even to the sight of the women soldiers. I remember one particularly, a fine-looking woman, Colonel Carrasco. They said she led her women troops like a man, or an Amazon, and herself shot down, in approved military fashion, any who faltered or disobeyed in battle.

Anita Brenner

Anita Brenner was a “gringa” raised in Mexico. Her father was a white man from the United States, who owned land and cattle in northern Mexico. As a result of his wealth, he had conflicts with Pancho Villa. Brenner’s first work on Mexico began with a study of Mexican artwork in Idols behind Altars. Her second work The Wind that Swept Mexico. The History of the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1942, was originally published in 1943, and then reprinted in 1971. In this book, she writes about the Revolution, taking into account her lived experiences. “The author saw the upheaval as a child, and later knew many of its important participants and learned something about the way it looked to each of them” (p. 303). Brenner makes no claims about the infallibility of her work. At the end of her book, she states “this is no academic history or Ph.D. thesis” (p. 303). In her description of the Mexican Revolution, she also describes the multiplicity of the duties of the Villista troops.

When these armies moved it was like a mass migration. They carried families, three layers deep: some inside the boxcars, some on top, and others, mostly the boys and young men, in hammocks slung between the wheels. Tortillas were ground and baked on fires in oil cans along the whole top of the train, and dogs and babies accommodated themselves in the warmest corners inside. The age span for soldiering was from about seven to seventy. Boys under ten were usually buglers, drummers, or couriers, and did sentry duty too. Beyond twelve no one questioned their place as full-fledged soldiers. The women, though their job was foraging, cooking, and looking after the wounded, pitched in and fought if they felt like it. If a woman's husband was killed, she could either attach herself to some other man or take over his uniform and gun herself. Almost every troop had a famous lady colonel or lady captain, a husky, earringed girl armed to the teeth, and among headlong, reckless fighters one of the first (Brenner 1971, p. 46).

Brenner also describes how the Yaquis fought from the trenches for Obregon and against Villa. Obregon's personal army was composed mainly of Yaquis. "They had been fighting for generations, trained to win or commit suicide" (p. 52). The fighting Yaqui would lay "... in a trench-hole with his wife and children, who kept handing him a reloaded gun as fast as one was finished; and if he was wounded or killed, they continued firing" (p. 52).

Bertita Harding

Bertita Harding is author of several books, in this particular book Mosaic in the Fountain (1949), her autobiography begins with her grandmother in Europe, and then their migration to Mexico. Harding is of Hungarian and French descent. Her mother was Hungarian and her father was French. Her father was an electrical engineer and when electricity was brought to Mexico, he travelled with his family from Europe to install this new technology. They lived as a middle class family and therefore, were targets of Villa. During the Revolution, her father was imprisoned for being a foreigner and belonging to the middle class. Although imprisoned, her father believed and understood the peasants

Revolution. Even though he had not committed any crimes against the Mexican people, he knew that he had done nothing to help those less fortunate. The book ends with her father released and with her awakening of the writer within.

The only mention of soldaderas is made in reference to their protective attitude towards their men. When the Villista army came to Monterrey, Nuevo Leon, Luciana, the maid, warned Harding that the army men were to be feared for their violence and lechery. So she prayed with her rosary in hand. But the opposite occurred. Instead of the anticipated violence, "the weary warriors appeared too exhausted" (p. 294). But Harding believed that the true reason for the lack of mayhem was the presence of the soldadera.

... the Villista army was accompanied by its own 'campaign women' or soldaderas, who kept a sharp eye on their men. Not only did these gun-toting squaws cook, scrub, and bear children beside the battle lines, but they banded together in a concerted front against outside competition. To cast inviting glances at a Villista trooper was to flirt with mayhem at the hands of a female battalion in arms. Thus, without detracting from the efficacy of Luciana's novena, Monterrey womanhood owed something to the soldaderas. Chastity's best insurance is a homicidal rival (p. 294).

Male Outsiders

H. Hamilton Fyfe

Fyfe (1914) wrote The Real Mexico: A Study on the Spot from his observations during the Revolution. He is also the author of The New Spirit in Egypt, and South Africa To-Day. He was a citizen from the United States and visited Mexico in the beginning of the Revolution. He was extremely Eurocentric and racist. He stated that the

Mexican people were all dishonest. In line with his attitudes, he supported U.S. intervention/invasion.

Fyfe attributed the necessity of the *soldadera* to the lack of an "Army Service Corps."

The Mexican Army has no Army Service Corps, no medical department to speak of. It carries no camp equipment, no supplies. Watch a field force break camp at dawn. First there go pattering off a horde of women laden with pots and pans, blankets, sometimes babies. These are the *soldaderas*, the camp followers, the commissariat of the force. That they move as quickly as they do is a miracle. Whatever the day's march may be, they are always on the camping ground before the men arrive. They rig up shelters, they cook *tortillas* and *frijoles* (maize cakes and beans), they make coffee. You see them mending their husbands' coats, washing their shirts, roughly tending flesh wounds. Without these *soldaderas* the Army could not move. While President Huerta was seizing hundreds of men by night in Mexico City and other cities in order to swell his forces to a hundred thousand, he also had women "pressed" to go with the new soldiers and take care of them. *Criadas* (maidservants) were positively afraid to be out after dark (Fyfe, p. 163).

John Reed

Reed was a U.S. American journalist, who rode with Pancho Villa and wrote Insurgent Mexico, which was originally published in 1914 and then in 1969. Some of his selections from that text are also included in Wilkie and Michaels (1969) edited anthology Revolution in Mexico. After riding with Villa, he went on to report on another socialist Revolution in Russia in Ten Days That Shook the World. Reed died of typhus in Moscow on October 17, 1920.

Reed supported the Revolution and strongly opposed U.S. intervention. But even though he supported the Mexican Revolution, some of his descriptions are Eurocentric.

He described Pancho Villa as natural and animal-like and Mexican women as having a "harsh, whining voice" (p. 110).

Reed (1914; 1969) wrote about an encounter he had with a soldadera. Her Juan had been killed and she had been found by Captain Felix Romero. She had been wandering aimlessly in the hacienda La Cadena, where the Captain had returned to bury the dead. He needed a woman, so he commanded her to follow him and so she did without question. Reed describes this woman in the following passage.

There was nothing remarkable about her. I think I noticed her chiefly because she was one of the few women in that wretched company. She was a very dark-skinned Indian girl, about twenty-five years old, with the squat figure of her drudging race, pleasant features, hair hanging forward over her shoulders in two long plaits, and big, shining teeth when she smiled (p. 110).

Her teeth flashed as she smiled, and yet there was a puzzling vacancy about her expression. Indians have mask-like faces. Under it I could see that she was desperately tired and even a little hysterical. But she spoke tranquilly enough (110).

As she prepared the meal for the Captain, Reed asked her if she had been long at the hacienda. She responded, "too long" and then added, "Oh, but this war is no game for women!" (p. 112). She asked Reed if she could spend the night with him. She had lost her man the day before and although she knew that the Captain was her man now, she could not sleep with him tonight. So Reed accepted and took a room. The Captain complained and went to his superior. But nothing could be done if she wanted to go with Reed.

Without the least embarrassment, Elizabetta lay down beside me on the bed. Her hand reached for mine. She snuggled against my body for the comforting human warmth of it, murmured, "Until morning," and went to sleep. And calmly,

sweetly, sleep came to me . . . When I woke in the morning she was gone . . . (p. 114).

Reed found her outside cooking breakfast for the Captain. She asked him if he had slept well. He asked her if she was going with the Captain, and she responded, “ ‘Of course I am going. Seguro! Is he not my man?’ She looked after him admiringly. She was no longer revolted. . . . Elizabetta had forgotten her lover” (p. 115).

Reed also had a more in-depth conversation with two soldaderas, an older woman and a younger woman who was nursing a four-month baby. Reed was hungry and asked these two women for some food and coffee and sat and chatted with them.

In a conversation with two soldaderas: “One was an old, gray-haired Indian woman with a perpetual grin, the other a slight girl not more than twenty years old, who was nursing a four-month baby at her breast. They were perched at the extreme tip of a flatcar, their fire built upon a pile of sand, as the train jolted and swayed along (p.188).

‘Ah! It is a life for us viejas,’ said the girl. ‘Adios, but we follow our men out in the campaign, and then do not know from hour to hour whether they live or die. I remember well when Filadelfo called to me one morning in the little morning before it was light-we lived in Pachuca-and said: ‘Come! We are going out to fight because the good Pancho Madero has been murdered this day!’ We had only been loving each other eight months, too, and the first baby was not born. . . . We had all believed that peace was in Mexico for good. Filadelfo saddled the burro, and we rode out through the streets just as light was coming, and into the fields where the farmers were not yet at work. And I said: ‘Why must I come? And he answered: “Shall I starve, then? Who shall make my tortillas for me but my woman?’ It took us three months to get to the north, and I was sick and the baby was born in a desert just like this place, and died there because we could not get water. That was when Villa was going north after he had taken Torreon (p.188-189).

The old woman broke in: “Yes, and all that is true. When we go so far and suffer so much for our men, we are cruelly treated by the stupid animals of Generals. I am from San Luis Potosi, and my man was in the artillery of the Federacion when Mercado came north. All the way to Chihuahua we traveled, the old fool of Mercado grumbling about transporting viejas. And then he ordered his army to

go north and attack Villa in Juarez, and he forbade the women to go. Is that the way you are going to do, desgraciado? I said to myself. And when he evacuated Chihuahua and ran away with my man to Ojinaga, I just stayed right in Chihuahua and got a man in the Maderista army when it came in. A nice handsome young fellow, too—much better than Juan. I'm not a woman to stand being put upon (p. 189).

Will B. Davis

Will B. Davis was appointed as Vice-Consul in the Guadalajara Consulate in 1908. He was also a medical doctor. He wrote and published a series of letters which he had written to his daughter under the title Experiences and Observations of an American Consular Officer During the Recent Mexican Revolutions: As Mainly Told in a Series of Letters Written by the Author to His Daughter. His daughter had lived in Mexico with him, until she married and returned to the United States. In his letters, as well as in the conclusion of his book, he wrote in defense of the Mexican people. He devoted a chapter to the subject: "In Regard to Some Common Slanders About the Mexican People." He praised the Mexican People – especially the Indian and the peasant as honest and blamed the illiteracy of the "poor peon [peasant] element" on upper classes since "they do not appear to have ever seriously considered how awkward it must be to try to maintain a Democratic form of Government with an illiterate population of eighty-five per cent" (p. 248).

In a letter dated June 28th, 1915, Davis (1920) described "The Proletariat in the Saddle" (p. 152).

One of the most amusing pictures is that presented on the goings out, and comings in, of the infantry. There are usually from one-half to three-fourths as many women as there are men. I do not know how they march in the country, but in going through the city the soldiers march in breasts of two to four, along the

middle of the street, while the “soldaderas,” (women,) toddle along the side-walks on either side, carrying, in various manners, their meager cooking outfits . . . and frequently cages of canary birds, parrots, or any kind of domestic pets that might suit their fancy. Each woman tries to keep abreast with her man, whatever the weight of her burden, and if by any chance she should fall behind, at once strikes a trot – somewhat peculiar to themselves—which is kept up until she is again abreast with one in the column of the soldiery that she tries to never lose sight of. The ranks of these “soldaderas” are made up from 12 to 13 year old girls to old and apparently seasoned women—but a sort of medium between these extremes compose the larger number.

Davis also noted, like Brenner and King, lady colonels and female soldiers dressed in male attire, but Davis failed to mention any warrior attributes of these women. Instead, he focused on beauty and desirability.

I have seen quite a number of women soldiers marching with, and dressed as, the masculine soldiers. On the plaza at present these soldier women are quite an attraction—always seem to be in [good] humor, and to be very popular with the men soldiers and officers. Sometimes these female soldiers are in officer’s uniform, usually of inferior grade; yet I did know a [female] Colonel, from [Matzatlan], who, with her—all male—staff, sojourned two weeks at the Fenix Hotel in this city. She was pretty and very popular with all the army officers. I dubbed her the “Juana de Arco,” (Joan of Arc) of Mexico. . . (p. 154-155).

V. Blasco Ibañez

Ibañez was a Spanish journalist, who went to Mexico on assignment for the Chicago Tribune, the New York Times, and other newspapers in the United States. His book Mexico in Revolution is a compilation of articles written for the various newspapers. Ibañez has this to say about his work:

Works of the moment, these articles record my various impressions of the days during which they were written. . . . They do not contain all that I have to say on the Mexico of the present. They are simple impressions, hastily and incompletely jotted down as circumstances warranted or required (Author’s note, New York, June 20, 1920).

Ibañez is the only author to devote a chapter to the Mexican army, but mostly he wrote about the women of the Mexican army and noted that “no one has ever decided conclusively which of the sexes makes the better soldiers” (p. 173).

The ‘soldierettes,’ poor beasts of burden that they are, or incubators for soldiers and ‘soldierettes’ of future revolutions, also develop heroic courage under certain circumstances. They care as best they can for the wounded falling on the field, and when their ‘man’ is killed they take up his gun and carry on the fusillade. They have been known to work strategems in battle worthy of the heroines of antiquity (p. 185).

Ibañez found that the revolutionaries were made by necessity. He thought that the soldiers and soldierettes were forced into raising arms.

... a great majority of the Mexican population, ... which never start a revolution, but are simply forced into it. ‘I was living on my farm and bothering nobody,’ says an old fighter. ‘First they took my cow; then they took my horse. Finally I said to them: ‘Well, if you are going to take everything, give me a rifle and I will go with you.’ And my old woman felt the same way about it. After all, what else was there to do?’ And so the civil war got one more soldier and one more ‘soldierette’ (p. 184).

But Ibañez did not seem to think that the women had the same level of agency/independence as the males. He found that the revolutionary women became soldierettes by association with their husbands and therefore, when their man died, they had to find another, otherwise they were no longer soldaderas.

The Mexican takes his wife everywhere. He is a sentimental chap, readily susceptible to feminine charms and quite likely to be unfaithful to the woman he was sworn to love and cherish. But he cherishes her all the same. His spouse goes with him into sorrow and joy (p. 173).

Ibañez also noted another term used to describe soldaderas – *galletas*. Ibañez translates *galleta* as hardtack, but it literally means “cookie.”

The soldadera or galleta (hard-tack) "is faithful beyond reproach to her 'man'; but she goes to another without the slightest hesitation the moment her 'husband' is killed or throws her over. What good is a 'soldierette' without a soldier (p. 177)?

Therefore, when you count the army, you must count them as a family. Not only do the soldiers take their wives or loved ones, the Generals also have their "Generalettes."

Ibañez believed that the General, like the soldier, wished for a home life and therefore insisted on their soldierette or Generalette, who rode with her husband on campaigns.

To count the women you count the soldiers. Every one of them has a wife, following the regiment everywhere. Most often, also, he has a number of children along. . . . Alongside the column and keeping step with the men marches a line of copper-colored women, wrapped in black shawls. They are lean and wan, as though the turmoil of that life, without rest or quiet, kept all the flesh stripped from their bones. Each woman carries a basket on one arm. Trotting along at her side are a number of barefoot youngsters. Some of the little fellows are naked. They keep smiling at their daddies, but with a respectful eye out for the officer, a sort of much-feared god, who is always shooing them away when they run up to take their father by the hand (p. 174-175).

As the caretakers of their families, the women must provide food and so they forage from the desert or from others, with their goal being a warm meal for their men and children.

When the troops are on the march the 'soldierettes' form the advance guard. They keep several miles ahead, so that when the men arrive the fires will be burning and the meal ready. The towns and villages are more afraid of the women than of the soldiers themselves, though the latter have only the vaguest notions of property rights and the value of human life. The 'soldierette' will march for whole days with a brat clinging to either hand, another invisible one awaiting its call into the world, a pack of clothes and bedding on her head, and often, to top off the outfit, a parrot. . . . She sweeps everything before her, and the landscape behind has the parched, barren aspect of the desert. It is as though a plague of locusts had settled on the land. That women can pick up a good meal in sterile places where any ordinary human being would starve (p. 179).

Sometimes soldaderas will exchange ammunition with enemy troops for food. It seems illogical, but at least a meal will be ensured, while death may or may not come from his

own bullets. "The one thing certain is the dinner. Death, at the worst, is only a possibility" (p. 181)!

And it does not matter where they are, the soldaderas make any place their home. To be part of a family does not involve a physical manifestation of a home. It only requires the ritual of a meal, with her soldier/Juan and children by her side.

Right there in the middle of the street, or it may be in a railroad station or out in the open fields, the soldier sits down on the ground with his wife and children round him. And he eats his meal with majestic deliberation and slowness. The women are usually dirty, and often they are in rags and tatters. The miserable life they lead does not lend itself to personal refinements. But the delicacy, the neatness and even the primitive taste with which they prepare these meals is something astonishing. The basket contains, besides food, a large napkin or tablecloth, so to speak. It has a colored border, with wide fringes, so that the woman can stretch it tight on the ground. The plates and deep dishes are in earthenware, with painted frets, suggesting the pottery of the Aztecs (p. 176).

Ibañez notes that the Mexican soldier most values a woman's ability to provide a meal and endure hard work, "neither passion nor beauty figure in these unions" (p. 177). The unions between the soldier and a soldadera are not based on age either. Some of the soldiers may be fifteen years of age and their woman may be old enough to be their mothers or grandmothers. The reverse is also seen with older men's relationship with teenage girls. Some of the soldaderas are inherited from other soldiers.

It is during actual fighting in the field that the 'soldierette' gives proof of all her powers of endurance and self-sacrifice. Many Mexican Generals have thought of abolishing her, but in the end they have had to compromise with her and finally to seek her support. What else can be done in an army destitute of a supply and sanitary corps? The sick and the wounded cannot be abandoned to chance. The 'soldierette' makes up for more than one deficiency in the Mexican military system (p. 178).

Once in an action, where the regiment of men was advancing along a road, I was told that the 'soldierettes' and all their children marched along a parallel road. As

the women proceeded they begun to brush the sun-parched trail with branches they had cut from the trees. A great cloud of dust arose, and the opposing General was completely deceived. 'They have cavalry, . . . probably artillery!' And he ordered a retreat (188).

Thord-Gray

Thord-Gray was a ranked officer from the British army, who could be called a soldier of fortune. He followed several civil wars throughout the world. He wrote his memoirs, Gringo Rebel (Mexico 1913-1914), about the Revolution forty-five years after 1914. Thord-Gray reminds the reader that his "notes were written as [he] saw it, not yesterday, but half a century ago" (p. 9).

This book is an historical perspective as seen by the non-Mexican writer while serving in the Rebel Cavalry through the turbulent Mexican Revolution of 1913-1914, which freed the Peons and Indians from the whipping-post and peonage slavery. However, it does not deal with all the faces, or all the fronts, of the revolution. It is confined as nearly as possible to the relatively narrow horizon of the cavalry, to where I was and what I saw (p. 17).

Thord-Gray noted that Villa was not very sympathetic to soldaderas and found them to be a burden. In one instance, Villa ordered the troops to move without the soldaderas.

The women camp-followers had orders to remain behind, but hundreds of them, hanging on to the stirrups, followed their men along the road for a while. Some other women carrying carbines, bandoleers and mounted, managed to slip into the ranks and came with us. These took their places in the firing line and stood all hardships and machine-gun fire as well as the men. They were a praiseworthy lot. It was a richly picturesque sight, but the complete silence, the stoic and yet anxious faces of the women was depressing, as it gave the impression that all were going to a tremendous funeral, or their doom (p. 37).

Thord-Gray goes on to say why soldaderas follow their men and to note the warrior qualities of these women.

The transportation and commissariat of the rebel army were taxed to the limit, often caused by camp followers. It was almost impossible to move troops

without them as most of the women had left their homes with the men to join the revolution. There was nowhere else for them to go, the men wouldn't come without them, and it was dangerous to let them go because they might fall into the hands of the federals while their men served with the rebels. They came along anyhow in the beginning, carrying their bundles of food, pots, pans, and clothing on top of their heads or on their backs with a carrying-strap. Sometimes they were allowed trains of boxcars. They climbed inside or on top, and underneath they slung hammock-like contraptions between the wheels. This was usually the favorite place for the young boys.

These women came by the thousands. They were of happy disposition and most thoughtful of their kind, but demure by nature. They foraged for corn and other food while on the march and frequently arrived in camp ahead of the troops and had tortillas and whatever there was to eat ready for their particular men. These remarkable women would constantly risk their lives to get food to the firing line, and take the guns in place of their men while they ate their meager fare.

It was difficult indeed to give orders for these women to stay behind after they had become part and parcel of the army. The 1st and 2nd Cavalry Brigades did not have much trouble, for the women were forbidden to come from the start, but a few did come along with the infantry behind us.

If a man was killed, the woman would often pick up his gun and continue in his place. As a rule, however, she would later attach herself to another man and work for him. There was nothing crude or vulgar in these unions and perfect decorum usually prevailed. Some women rose to be captains and some colonels, but the higher ranks were generally self-appointed by women leaders of bandit gangs who came and fought on the rebel side (p. 211).

Edward Larocque Tinker

Tinker was a U.S. citizen from the north. He was a yankee who had graduated from Columbia University and then went on to receive his Law degree from New York University's Law School. He also earned a Ph.D. from the Sorbonne in Literature. His memoirs were not written immediately after the Revolution of Mexico. He wrote them at a much later date and published them in 1970 as The Memoirs of Edward Larocque Tinker. Before becoming involved with the Mexican Revolution, Tinker was associated with the District Attorney's Office of New York, where he handled a civil suit from Diaz

and his científicos against Carlo de Fornaro. Fornaro had written a book called Diaz, Czar of Mexico in which he criticized Diaz for the many problems of Mexico. President Diaz went to U.S. President Taft to get an injunction against Fornaros' book. Since sixteen copies had been sold in New York, jurisdiction was given to the District Attorney William Travers Jerome. Since Tinker was the only lawyer that knew Spanish, the case landed on his lap and rekindled his association with Mexico. Fornaro was indicted for criminal libel and spent a year in prison. After three years working in the District Attorney's Office, Tinker left for private practice, and after a year he went to El Paso for adventure in 1912 and worked as a railroad man. While in Mexico, Tinker took note of the soldadera and Villa's train troops. Although Tinker is fascinated by Mexican culture, his Eurocentric perspective occasionally infiltrates his writings. In the following passages Tinker describes the soldadera as a dirty woman in appearance and hygiene, but with outstanding ability to endure.

Every column had a motley collection of camp-followers, each of whom was the sweetheart of one—or many—of the men and they did the cooking. I have seen one of these women, with a pack on her back and a child in her arms, make a march of 30 miles and manage to keep up with the soldiers. They were of the lowest mixed Mexican-Indian type, with flat faces, thick lips and broad nostrils—the dirtiest, most untidy women imaginable. They were a menace to the army because of the diseases they spread. The women of our column had been left in Agua Prieta so our men had to do their own cooking (p. 99).

Villa's train troops provided an alternative form of transportation and housing for soldiers and soldaderas.

I was immensely interested, for the Mexican troop train of those days was the most amazing menagerie imaginable. Between the engine and the three cars at the end of the train devoted to Villa's business and pleasures was the long line of box cars. Horses, ammunition and supplies were packed inside, while the troops

rode on the roofs. There were no formal arrangements for feeding them, so each soldier picked himself a likely girl to go along and cook for him. These were a tough, wiry breed, mostly Indians, and I have seen them dogtrot beside a dusty column of infantry for 30 or 40 miles across the desert, with babies tied to their backs in rebozos, and a basket of supplies and an earthen cook pot balanced on their heads. When the troops camped for the night, these women would pick up a few sticks, start a small blaze, and quickly have a pot of frijoles cooking for supper.

The women were warriors, but amidst all this, they still managed to smile.

In battle they fought like tigers, lying beside their men, passing ammunition and even taking the guns of the killed to keep on firing. These soldaderas were in a way quite wonderful, for they lived under the most primitive conditions, exposed to the sun all day, and lying on bare boards throughout the chill night; yet I never saw one who was not ready to smile or joke. When I appeared with my camera, they gathered round, clamoring to have their pictures taken, and when I aimed at one of them a friend was sure to sneak up behind her and hold up two fingers like horns at the back of her head, as a suggestion that her man was unfaithful. This was a stock trick, and they enjoyed it.

The train although crowded, still provided for intimacy.

Every now and then a soldier, wishing greater privacy, would spread boards across the rods under the cars, making a platform upon which he and his woman could travel. A five-gallon standard oil can, in which a charcoal fire cooked a pot of food, usually hung near them (p. 134-135).

Male Insider

The Mexican male authors either neglected to mention soldaderas or denied their existence altogether. Guzman's (1965) Memoirs of Pancho Villa were developed from notes found by Campobello (Konzevik, et al. 1999). The memoirs of Pancho Villa, although written by Guzman, are supposed to be from Villa's perspective. In this work, there is no mention of soldaderas, except for some of his lovers/wives. There is the mention of a woman that accompanied Zapata to the first meeting between Villa and Zapata. The woman is said to be named Prudencia Cassals, but in Womack's (1968)

Zapata and the Mexican Revolution, she is referred as Prudencio Casals R. Azcarate in his (1966) Esencia de la Revolucion, does not acknowledge the existence of the soldadera. He claims that the soldadera is an image created by the film industry. According to Azcarate, who was a Federal general, soldaderas only came with the federal troops to feed them, and that the existence of heroic warriors was not a fact, but a figment of the contemporary imagination. His limited perspective on the rebel soldadera could be based on his lack of association with the Revolutionaries.

Only one memoir was identified from a Mexican female perspective. The following description of a soldadera varies from the writings of non-Mexican authors. Instead of portraying the contradictory gender behavior of the soldadera, Campobello writes about the beautiful death of a soldadera.

Female Insider

Nellie Campobello

Nellie Campobello (1931) wrote about her childhood in the Revolution in Cartucho: Relatos de la Lucha en el Norte de Mexico. Her writing style invokes images from her childhood, very much reminiscent of Sandra Cisneros' House on Mango Street. She tells us that she lived with her mother in Hidalgo del Parral, in the State of Chihuahua, in the focal center ("foco del Villismo") of Villa's rebel forces. Campobello does not mention her father, but she does mention her brother, who was saved by their mother from a firing squad. Campobello's mother is the main focus of her memory, along with various soldiers, including Nacha Cenicerros, a soldadera. Campobello does

not mention if Nacha Cenicerros is the real name of the soldadera or a nickname. Nacha is short for Francisca and Cenicerros translates directly to ashtray.

Nacha was a Villista Colonel who accidentally shot her man, Colonel Gallardo from Durango, while cleaning her pistol. Her man was shot in the head. When Villa heard of what had occurred, he ordered her execution – “shoot her/*fusílenla!*” he said. Nacha cried for her lover, placed her arms over her face, while her dark braids hung, she received the gunshots from the firing squad. It is said that she cut a beautiful figure when she died. She was unforgettable/memorable to everyone who saw the execution/fire squad. And it is said, “*hoy existe un hormiguero en donde dicen que esta enterrada*”/today there is an ant hill where her body is believed to be buried (p. 56).

Summary

This chapter has attempted to address research question 2: What do published memoirs reveal about soldaderas? In addressing this question, we need to acknowledge that the published memoirs are situated as dominant and legitimate forms of experience, knowledge, and history. And within that framework, ethnicity, nationality, class, and gender further situate the memoirs as outsider/insider-gendered-knowledge.

The depictions of soldaderas from outsider perspectives are at times paternalistic and Eurocentric, but still provide an in-depth description of the various roles in which these women were engaged, from cooking to fighting. Not only do we learn about their roles, we get descriptions of their officer ranks and their cross-gender attire. The differences in the depictions become more visible when compared to Campobello's

memoirs. Her work does not develop the image of the soldaderas as a warrior or cook, instead she romanticizes the tragic death of Nacha.

The extent of detail or lack of detail from the memoirs can be, in part, due to what is considered normal. For the Mexican, Campobello, there is no need to write about what she considers to be normal. Instead, she turns to what she regards as extraordinary. In this case, she romanticizes death. The outsider perspective turns to detail in amazement of what does not seem normal. It is the outsider/"stranger" perspective which affords us a detailed account of the nameless soldaderas. The irony is that which binds/subjects us at one point, frees us again at another, by reminding us about lost memories and opening up the possibility for re/claiming and re/framing (Tuhiwahi Smith 1999). It is through the memoirs of the outsiders/the colonizers, that we are provided with knowledge about ourselves as Mexicans.

CHAPTER VI

THE SOLDADERA IN THE CORRIDO OF THE REVOLUTION

Previous categorizations by Salas (1990) have placed emphasis on soldaderas as love objects, pathetic images, and recruited followers. Herrera-Sobek (1993) categorizes the ballads into three main archetypes: historical, romanticized, and mythical. Salas (1990) and Herrera-Sobek's (1993) classifications are used as axial codes in the development of sub-categories for this research (Strauss and Corbin 1990). Salas (1990) and Herrera-Sobek (1993) primarily focus on the subjective treatment of the soldadera in the corrido and critique the diminished image of the female warrior. This study acknowledges the subjection of the female, and therefore places a stronger emphasis on the paradox of agency, which exists/survives within structures of subjectivity.

In this chapter, I will present forty-six soldadera ballads of the Revolution under four main categories: 1) Revolucionarias/Revolutionaries, 2) Of Love and Death, 3) News From the Battle Front, and 4) Messenger Doves/Palomas (see Appendix for list of corridos). I have categorized the corridos/ballads by content and purpose of the song, as established in the title of the ballad, in order to maintain the integrity and historical relevance of the corrido. The sub-categorization of the corridos is based on the portrayal of the soldadera.

I have preserved the original language of the ballads, and provided English translation for each of them. The English translation attempts to reflect the grammatical

structure of the prose/poetic style of the ballad. Some of the ballads have authors, place of origin, and are dated, but this information has not been always available.

Revolucionarias/Revolutionaries

The first type includes ballads that have content emphasizing the soldadera as a revolutionary, campfollower, and/or fighter. The Revolutionary type includes three categories: Ideal Revolutionaries, Satirical, and Historical.

Ideal Revolutionaries

The idealized image of the soldadera is represented by four ballads: “La Soldadera” (Henestrosa 1977), “La Soldadera” (Vasquez Santa Ana 1926), “Corrido de la Soldadera” (Maria y Campos 1962), and “Marijuana, La Soldadera” (Hernandez 1996). The ideal image represented in the following ballads emphasizes the soldadera’s loyalty to her lover/husband, family, and to the cause. In the corrido of “La Soldadera,” the soldier calls out to his Juana, his soldadera, to follow him in the campaign.

“La Soldadera” (Henestrosa 1977)

*Vente mi Juana, vente conmigo,
que la campaña ya va a empezar,
seran tus ojos mi solo abrigo
y al enemigo sabre matar*

*Mi Juana ¿No oyes a los clarines
como vibrantes tocan reunion?
de los caballos flota las crines
y esta en maitines mi corazon*

*Voy con orgullo tras mi bandera
y te aseguro que he de triunfar,
si esta repleta mi cartuchera,
mi soldadera me ha de animar,*

*Si me atraviesan en el combate
y muerto queda tu zapador,
recoge mi alma, busca el empate,
aunque te mate vil invasor.*

*Mas cuando el triunfo ya se decida
y haya ganado mi batallon
busca mi cuerpo, bien de mi vida,
pon en mi herida tu corazon*

*Mas si las balas, aunque certeras,
mi alma respetan, y mi valor,
te hare unas naguas o lo que quieras
con las banderas del invasor*

*Y cuando el triunfo se determine,
despues de todo te pienso hacer
unos aretes con sus medallas,
a ver si el hallas a tu placer.*

“The Female Soldier/Campfollower/Soldierette/Juana”

Come my Juana/soldadera, come with me
that the campaign is about to start
your eyes will be my only protection
and I will know how to kill the enemy

My Juana, do you hear the bugle
vibrantly playing and calling for a reunion?
From the horses, their manes float
and my heart is in prayer

I go with pride after my flag
and I assure you that I will triumph
if my rifle needs loading
my soldadera will lift my spirits/re-load

If they kill me in combat
and your soldier dead will be
pick up/lift my soul, look for revenge
even if the evil invador kills you

And when the triumph is decided
and my batallion has won
look for my body, good of my life
put in my wound your heart

And if the bullets, hit their mark
but they respect my soul and valor/courage/bravery
I will make you a skirt or whatever you want
with the flags of the invader

And when the triumph is determined
after all is done I plan to make you
some earrings with their medals
and hopefully you will find them to your liking

In another version of "La Soldadera," the soldadera speaks of her sacrifice for her Juan/soldier.

"La Soldadera" (Vasquez Santa Ana 1926)

*Soy soldadera, tengo mi Juan,
que es de primera ya lo veran,
es muy borracho, todos lo estiman,
el no es borracho todos los miman.*

*Desde el Sargento de compañía,
lo tienen dentro todito el día,
y no quieren que a la calle salga,
pues prefieren que no haga guardia.*

*El Subteniente me dijo un día,
que de asistente el lo pondría,
pero, que en cambio le hiciera yo,
no se que cosa, no se explico.*

*Desde ese día, noche por noche,
me pasean en coche con alegría,
pues capitanes y hasta mayores,
son muy galantes y me hechan flores.
Yo les doy gusto, porque, a mi Juan
algún día asciendan a Capitan.*

*En la trinchera y linea de fuego,
yo soy la reina y con valor llevo,
soy soldadera tengo mi Juan,
que es de primera ya lo verán.*

“La Soldadera/The Female Soldier/Campfollower/Soldierette”

I am a soldadera, I have my Juan/John/soldier
he is of first class you will see
he drinks a lot, everyone adores him
he is not a drunk everyone spoils him

Even the sergeant of the campaign
they have him inside all day
and they do not want him to go out to the street
well they prefer that he does not do guard duty

The lieutenant told me one day
that he would make him an assistant
but in exchange I would have to do
something, I do not know, he did not explain

Since that day, every night
they take me on rides happily
well captains and even majors
they are very gallant and they give me compliments
and I give them pleasure, because, my Juan/John/soldier
will someday ascend to captain

In the trenches and line of fire
I am the queen and with bravery/courage I go
I am a soldadera and I have my Juan
he is of first class you will see

The “Corrido de la Soldadera” emphasizes the qualities that make a good wife/woman:
strength, valor, loyalty, and sacrifice.

“Corrido de la Soldadera” (Maria y Campos 1962)

*Abnegada soldadera
de tu bien querido Juan,
tu le cubres su trinchera*

*con tus ropas de percal,
y le das la cartuchera
cuando se pone a tirar.*

*Tu eres alma de la fuerza,
de la fuerza y el valor;
tu le sigues con firmeza,
con firmeza y sin temor,
marchando con entereza
que como tu no hay mejor.*

*Ya te estan saliendo escamas
con los ardores del sol;
pero siempre a tu Juan amas
cual dichoso mirasol,
y en tus cantares le llamas
con tu voz de ruiñeñor.*

*Eres tu siempre la estopa
en una linea de fuego,
viene el enemigo y sopla
y se enciende luego luego,
hasta que el clarin les toca
y manda cesar el fuego.*

*ya se gano la batalla
¡honor a los batallones!
el fragor de la metralla
y el rodar de los cañones;
todos van formando valla
y entrando por pelotones.*

*En una fresca mañana
y entrando por el vergel
se oyen notas de una diana
que tocan en un cuartel,
que al igual que marihuana,
al Juan le saben a miel.*

*Al toque de "media vuelta"
sale la soldaderita,
de pies a cabeza envuelta
junto con su comadrita*

*para hacerle alli en la puerta
a su Juan la comidita.*

*Soldaderita flamante,
no te dejes engañar
que tambien la vista engaña,
no se te enreden las patas
como se enredo la araña,
y te vayas a quedar
como el jilote en la caña.*

*Juanita me dijo un dia
en fiesta de Navidad,
que gran contento tenia
que a su Juan iba a premiar
el coronel de su cuervo
y el ascenso le iba a dar.*

*Ya no te enborraches, Juana,
cuida mucho de tu Juan;
ya viene el dia de su santo
y a ver que chivos le das,
pues te quedaras deseando
darle su cuelga y nomas.*

*Ya con esta me despido
por la verde nopalera,
aqui se acaba el corrido
de la guapa Soldadera;
si les gusto, no lo olviden
que gasten en el su fierra.*

“Ballad of the Soldadera/Female Soldier/Campfollower”

Abnegated/self-sacrificing/selfless soldadera
of your beloved Juan/soldier
you cover his trenches
with your cotton clothes
and you give him the rifle
when he starts to shoot

You are the soul of strength
of strength and valor/courage/bravery

you follow with conviction
with conviction and without fear
marching decidedly
like you there is no better

You are getting scales
with the burns/heat/rays of the sun
but always you love your Juan/soldier
what a lucky man he is
and in your songs you call him
with your voice of a songbird

You are always the line/the one that lights the fire
in a line of fire
the enemy comes and blows
and it is lit quickly
until the bugle plays
and orders the fire to end

The battle has been won
honor to the batallion!
the fire from the machine gun
and the rolling of the cannons
everyone forms a line
and enters for *pelotones*/Federal soldiers

In a cool morning
entering through the garden
you hear the notes of the battle song
that are played in a barrack
that just like marijuana
it tastes like honey to the Juan/soldier

The joint of a half a turn
the little soldierette comes out
covered from head to toe
together with her little friend
to make him there in the door
for her Juan his little food

Bright/flaming little soldierette
do not let yourself be fooled
that eyes also trick

do not let your feet be tangled
like the spider
or you will be left
like a flowering corn on a stalk

Juanita/Little Janie told me one day
during the Christmas party
what great happiness she had
that her Juan/soldier was going to be awarded
the colonel with her body
and the promotion he would give him

Do not drink anymore Juana
take good care of your Juan/soldier
his birthday is almost near
and what *chivos*/goats/horns/betrayal will you give him
well you will stay wanting/desiring
to give him his gift

With this song I say farewell
by the green cactus/*nopalera*
and here the ballad ends
of the handsome *soldadera*
if you liked it, do not forget
to spend on it your coins.

“Marijuana, La Soldadera” was written by C. Marin and recorded by the Bañuelos

Brothers in 1929. This ballad is “an idealized version of a revolutionary couple who
sacrifice themselves on behalf of the motherland” (Hernandez 1996, p. 123).

“Marijuana, La Soldadera” (Hernandez 1996)

Part I

*Va a la guerra Marijuana
tras de su querido Juan
va al compas de los clarines
del tambor el rataplan*

*Adonde va? Va a morir
al pie de su pabellon,*

*por la asesina metralla
que lanza fiero el cañon*

*Juan embraza su fusil,
y Juana con su chontal,
bajan dando barcarolas,
saltando sobre el riscál,*

*Anoche, al llegar al pueblo,
La Marijuana dio a luz
y al nuevo Juan le pusieron,
al bautizarlo, Jesus.*

*Asi, con el niño a cuestas,
cumpliendo con su deber,
ella saca de dondequiera
muchas cosas que comer.*

*Marijuana hace tortillas,
hace caldo, hace pipian,
y antes que lleguen los juanes
ya tiene mucho que cenar.*

*Asi aquella soldadera,,
mas valiente que su Juan,
camina entre los peñasacos:
del tambor al rataplan.*

Part II

*El enemigo esta al frente,
los juanes de tiradores
y Marijuana tambien,
al fulgor de los cañones.*

*Suena la primer descarga
el humo oscurece el viento
y al fin Juan muere en las filas
sin proferir un lamento.*

*Marijuana cuando oyo
el ronco son del clarin
embraza en lugar del Juan,
con gran valor aquel fusil.*

*Lista pasan al concluir
del tambor al rataplan
y ven formando en las filas
a Marijuana por Juan.*

*A sargento, el general,
a Marijuana ascendio
y en su honor ahi en el campo
al batallon destino.*

*Del soldado mexicano
mucho, mucho, hay que contar
porque todos son iguales
a Marijuana y a Juan.*

“Marijuana/Mary Jane, the Soldadera/Female Soldier/Campfollower/Soldierette”

Marijuana goes to war
after her beloved Juan/soldier
in step with the bugle
to the beat of the drum

Where is she going? To die
at the foot of her flag/banner/cause
by the murdering shrapnel
that the cannon launches fiercely

Juan grasps his rifle
and Juana her hat,
singing as they descend
jumping over rocks

last night, when they arrived at the town
Mary Jane gave birth
and to the new Juan/soldier they named him
Jesus at his baptism

Now with a little baby boy on her back
fulfilling her duty
she finds anywhere
many things to eat

Mary Jane makes tortillas
she makes soup, she makes *pipian*/a spicy dish
and before the Juanes/soldiers arrive
she already has plenty for dinner

and that is how that soldadera
more valiant/brave/courageous than her Juan/John/soldier
she walks through the rocky/rugged paths
to the beat of the drum

part 2

The enemy is at the front
the Juanes/soldiers as shooters
and so is Marijuana
by the flare of the cannons

The first shot is heard
the smoke darkens the wind
and in the end Juan dies in the ranks
without uttering a lament

When Marijuana heard
the muffled bugle's tune
instead of embracing Juan
she grasps with great bravery that rifle

They call roll at the end
with the beating of the drum
and they see standing in the ranks
Marijuana instead of Juan

To sergeant, the general
ascended Marijuana
and in her honor there on the field
assigned her to the batallion

About the Mexican soldier
there is much more to tell
because they are all the same
like Marijuana and Juan

Satirical Corrido

The second category represents the image of the soldadera as a subject of ridicule. This category consists of only one ballad titled "La Cucaracha," which has been re-adapted from its original into multiple interpretations. The original ballad dates to the French Intervention in Mexico and was re-popularized during the Revolution by the Carrancista forces (Mendoza 1939).

Romero Flores (1977) collected another version of this ballad in 1915 in the city of Mexico. The song expresses the concern of the city, which was suffering from a lack of food resources. Another two versions are "La Cucaracha Porfirista" and "La Cucaracha Villista" (Velez, 1983), which are aimed at ridiculing Porfirio Diaz, the dictator, and Pancho Villa, the Revolutionary.

In general, this ballad is about a soldadera who is nicknamed the Roach. The ballad is mainly used as a song of satire, which always begins by poking fun at a soldadera, who refuses to walk without marijuana or money.

"La Cucaracha" (Mendoza 1939)

*La cucaracha, la cucaracha
Ya no quiere caminar;
Porque le falta, porque le falta
Marihuana que fumar*

*Con las barbas de Forey
Voy a hacer un vaquerillo,
Pa' ponerselo al caballo
Del valiente don Porfirio.*

La cucaracha, la cucaracha, etc.

"The Roach"

The roach/soldadera, the roach/soldadera
does not want to walk
because she needs, because she needs
mariguana to smoke

with the beards of Forey (General Elie-Frederic Forey, a French interventionist)
I'm going to make a saddle
to put it on the horse
of the brave Don Porfirio

"La Cucaracha, 1915" (Romero Flores 1977)

*La Cucaracha, la Cucaracha,
ya no quiere caminar,
porque no tiene, porque no tiene
dinero para gastar.*

"The Roach, 1915"

The roach, the roach
does not want to walk
because she does not, because she does not
have money to spend

"La Cucaracha Villista" (Velez 1983)

*La cucaracha, la cucaracha,
ya no quiere caminar,
porque le falta, porque le falta,
mariguana que fumar*

*Con las barbas de Carranza
voy a hacer una toquilla
pa' ponersela al sombrero
de su padre Pancho Villa.*

"The Villista (supporter of Pancho Villa) Roach"

The roach, the roach
does not want to walk
because she needs, because she needs,
mariguana to smoke

with the beards of Carranza
I am going to make a scarf
to put it on the hat
of his father Pancho Villa

"La Cucaracha Porfirista" (Velez 1983)

*La cucaracha, la cucaracha
ya no puede caminar,
porque le falta, porque le falta
mariguana que fumar.*

*con las barbas de Forey
voy a hacer un vaquerillo
pa' ponerselo al caballo
del valiente don Porfirio*

*Ya murio la cucaracha,
ya la llevan a enterrar
entre cuatro zopilotes
y un raton de sacristan.*

*La cucaracha, la cucaracha
ya no puede caminar,
porque no quiere y ya no quiero
tanta plagas aguantar.*

"The Porfirista (supporter of Porfirio Diaz) Roach"

The roach, the roach
can not walk anymore

because she needs, because she needs
marijuana to smoke

with the beards of Forey
I am going to make a saddle
to put it on the horse
of the brave Don Porfirio

The roach has died
and they are taking her to be buried
between four vultures
and a rat as priest

the roach, the roach
can not walk anymore
because she does not want and I do not want
many plagues to endure/suffer

Historical Corrido

The third category includes ballads about specific soldaderas that might have been actual historical figures. The four ballads dedicated to Historical soldaderas are titled “El Coyote,” “La Guera,” “Juana Gallo,” and “La Chamuscada.” The first two ballads, although titled differently, contain almost identical lyrics and are in reference to the same soldadera, La Guera. La Guera’s real name was Juana Ramona Viuda de Flores (Salas 1990).

“El Coyote/La Guera” (Herrera-Sobek 1993; Velez 1983)

*La Guera y su gente
improvisa sus trincheras,
aunque es mujer, tiene el grado
de coronel, y sus trenzas
no han impedido que ostente
con orgullo sus estrellas.*

“The Coyote/the White One”

La Guera and her people
improvise in the trenches
although she is a woman, she has the rank
of colonel, and her braids
have not impeded
that she wears with pride her stars

There is also another famous Guera named Carmen Amelia Robles, who was a Colonel in the Zapatista forces. She was accustomed to dressing in male attire. She killed many generals and took part in the taking of many cities. In 1972, she was ninety and living in the state of Guerrero without recognition by the Secretary of Defense (Uroz 1972).

The ballad of “Juana Gallo” is written by Ernesto Juarez and based on a historical soldadera, but because of the ambiguity of the nickname, the appropriation of the song has been contested. Flores Muro (1969) wrote a biography titled La Verdadera Juana Gallo, in which he claims that the real Juana Gallo was a woman from Zacatecas that never was a soldadera, but instead was a taco vendor to the city and to the passing revolutionaries. Her name was Angeles Ramos and had the reputation of being a wild woman with a spit-fire tongue, that only her priest could control. Salas (1990, p. 91) points out that the real Juana Gallo was a Villista named Maria Soledad Ruiz Perez.

In 1983 she was 103 years old and living in Ciudad Juarez. Her father and eight hundred other Villistas were murdered by General Carranza during the Revolution. She and four hundred women fought in one of the battles at Torreon. Her small government pension kept her in substandard housing with little furniture and even few belongings.

Herrera-Sobek (1993) translates Juana Gallo as Jane the Rooster. Although the literal translation is correct, there are some hidden nuisances in the text. First, Juana is

also used to refer to a soldadera and *gallo* may also refer to a cockfighter. The nickname may refer to a "soldadera fighter." Now if Flores Muro (1969) suggests that a taco vendor was also called Juana Gallo, perhaps this nickname was a general term for women who were fighters. I doubt that Juana refers to Jane, considering that neither historical woman was named Juana/Jane. The Spanish word *gallo* is embedded with various connotations. To be a "gallo" means to be brave/valiant and/or a fighter. Gallo/Cockfighter comes from the Mexican tradition of roosters fighting in palenques (arenas).

"Juana Gallo" (Velez 1983)

*Entre ruidos de cañones y metrallas
surgio una historia popular,
de una joven que apodaban "Juana Gallo"
por ser valiente a no dudar*

*Siempre al frente de la tropa se encontraba
peleando como cualquier "Juan"
en campaña ni pelon se le escapaba,
sin piedad se los tronaba con su enorme pistolon.*

*Era el "coco" de todos los federales
y los mismos generales tenían pavor.*

*Abranla, que ahi viene "Juana Gallo"!
va gritando en su caballo: Viva la Revolucion!
Para los que son calumniadores,
para todos los traidores,
trae bien puesto el corazon.*

*Una noche que la guardia le tocaba,
un batallon se le acerco,
sin mentirles a la zanja no llegaban
cuando con ellos acabo.*

*Otro vez que se encontraban ya sitiados
teniendo un mes de no comer,
salio al frente con un puñado de soldados
que apodaban "Los Dorados," y salvo la situacion.*

*Por vengar la muerte de su "Chon" amado
por su vida habia jurado, conspiracion.*

Abranla, que ahi viene "Juana Gallo"!

"Jane the Rooster/The Fighter"

Amidst the noise of cannons and machine guns
a popular history was born
of a young woman nicknamed Jane the Rooster/Soldadera/Cock/fighter
for being brave without a doubt

She was always to be found in the front of the troop
fighting like any other Juan/John/soldier
in campaign no Federal soldier would escape her
without mercy she would break/kill them with her enormous pistol

She was the coco/coconut/breaker/topknot of all the Federals
that even the generals were afraid

Open the door, that Juana Gallo is coming!
she is yelling from her horse: Hail/long live the Revolution!
To those that are connivers
to those that are traitors
she has her heart in the right place

One night when it was her turn for guard duty
a batallion came near
without lying to you, to the trench they would not arrive
when she finished them off

Another time when they found themselves situated/in a situation
having one month without eating
she came out leading a handful of soldiers
that were called the Golden Ones and saved the situation

To avenge the death of her loved one "Chon"
for his life she had sworn, conspiracy

Open the door, that Juana Gallo is coming!

The ballad of "La Chamuscada" was written by Federico Curiel, and is about a soldadera nicknamed the Burnt One (Velez 1983). According to the song, her hands were burned by explosives and that is the reason for her nickname La Chamuscada. Herrera-Sobek (1993) does not mention who this song is about, but it could possibly be about Clara Rodia de la Peña, who fought alongside her father Herculano de la Rodia (Uroz 1972).

"La Chamuscada" (Velez 1983)

*"La Chamuscada" le dicen 'onde quera,
porque sus manos la polvora quemo,
entre las balas paso la pelotera,
la "revolufia" sus huellas le dejo.*

*No hubo un hombre jamas a quien quisiera,
de entre la tropa ninguno le cuadro,
solo a su padre le fue fiel soldadera
y al probrecito una bala lo quebro.*

*Hoy, cuando escucha cantar esta tonada,
como que siente hartas ganas de llorar,
pero se aguanta, porque es "La Chamuscada",
que por valiente llevo a ser general,*

*Yo vi a su padre morir entre sus brazos
y vi tambien al traidor que lo mato,
al muy canalla le dio cuatro balazos,
como cedazo dejo su corazon.*

*Desde aquel dia ya no fue soldadera,
con su canana repleta y su fusil
en las batallas fue siempre la primera,
las balaceras nomas la hacian reir.*

*Hoy, cuando escucha cantar esta tonada,
como que siente hartas ganas de llorar,
pero se aguanta, porque es "La Chamuscada,"
que por valiente llego a ser general.*

"The Burnt One"

The Burnt One they call her everywhere
because her hands were burned by explosives
amidst the bullets the fight occurred
the revolution left her a mark

There was never a man who she loved
she liked no one from the troop
only to her father was she a faithful soldadera/campfollower
and to the poor thing a bullet broke/killed him

Now when she hears this song being played
she seems to feel a huge desire to cry
but she holds back because she is the Burnt One
that for valiant/courageous/brave she became general

I saw her father die in her arms
and I also saw the traitor who killed him
she gave the traitor four shots
in pieces her/his heart was left

From that day she was no longer a campfollower/soldadera
with her cartridge loaded and her rifle
in the battles she was always the first
the firing of bullets only made her laugh

Now when she hears this song being played
she seems to feel a huge desire to cry
but she holds back because she is the Burnt One
that for courageous/brave she became general

Corridos of the Revolutionaries focus on the soldadera's paradox of subjection and agency as fighters and caretakers. The sub-categories help provide a comprehensive depiction of the soldadera's positions and roles. The corridos that fall under Ideal

Revolutionaries include lyrics that portray the soldadera as a fighter, mother, wife, and caretaker. Corridos about Ideal Revolutionaries give praise to these women as ideal soldaderas who will sacrifice their lives for their loved ones and for the cause. Satirical corridos treat the soldadera as a subject of ridicule and therefore treat the soldadera image negatively and positions the soldadera in subjection. Historical corridos exemplify the agency of the soldaderas more strongly than any of the above-mentioned sub-categories.

Of Love and Death

The second type is Of Love and Death. These ballads are addressed to soldaderas from the perspective of lovesick men. The most popular songs of the Revolution were “Adelita” and “Valentina,” which were the anthems of the Villistas and Zapatistas, respectively. The ballads do not mention the heroics of these women, even though, Adelita, Valentina, La China, and Marieta are historical figures. This type is sub-divided into the following: Ideal Love, Only with Death, Unfaithfulness, Plea for Love, and Recruitment.

The Ideal Love category includes ballads that merge the subjects of love and war. The second category, Only with Death, sings of love and death; Unfaithfulness refers to ballads of love and infidelity; Plea for Love is about lovesick men begging for love; and Recruitment identifies ballads that contain elements of love, war, and recruitment.

Ideal Love

The ballad “Adelita” is one of the most famous songs of the Revolution. This song was extremely popular that the name Adelita became synonymous with soldaderas. There are several versions of the “real” life of Adelita. And there are various versions of

the same song. The ballad included in this study was recorded in 1919 by Trio Gonzalez (Hernandez 1996). Villa was attracted to Adelita, some say that she flirted with him, and other versions say that he stole a kiss by force. Her boyfriend/lover saw this encounter between Villa and Adelita, and shot himself. Villa, furious at the loss of a good soldier sent her away. Eventually, Adelita was found dead amongst the Dorados, Villa's fighting elite force. When Villa found her among the dead, he honored her by saying that she had been indeed a Dorado (Dromundo 1936).

Unlike the life of Adelita, the ballad only sings of love and desire. The story of love begins with a soldier cursing his love.

"Adelita" (Hernandez 1996)

*Adelita se llama la ingrata
la que era dueña de todo mi placer
Nunca pienses que llegue a olvidarla
ni a cambiarla por otra mujer.*

*Si Adelita quisiera ser mi esposa
Si Adelita fuera mi mujer
le compraría un vestido de seda
y la llevaba a dormir al cuartel.*

*Si Adelita se fuese ir con otro
le seguiría la huella sin cesar,
en aereoplano, en un buque de guerra
y si se quiera hasta en tren "melitar."*

*Ya me llama el clarin de campaña
como valiente guerrero a pelear
correran por los raudales la sangre
pero olvidarte jamas lo veras.*

*Y si acaso yo muero en campaña
y mi cadaver en la tierra va a quedar,
Adelita, por Dios te lo ruego,
que con tus ojos me vaya a llorar.*

*Adelita por Dios te lo ruego,
Nunca vayas a hacerme traicion.
Sabes bien que mi amor es ya tuyo
como lo es todo mi corazon.*

“Adelita/Soldadera”

Adelita was the name of the ungrateful one
the one that owned all my pleasure
never think that I ever forgot her
nor change her for another woman

If Adelita would want to be my wife
if Adelita was my woman
I would buy her a silk dress
and I would take her to sleep to the barracks

If Adelita would leave with another
I would follow her without stop
by plane, in a warship
and if she wants even by military train

The campaign bugle calls me
like a brave/valiant/courageous warrior to fight
blood will run through the streams
but to forget you, never you will see

And if I die in campaign
and my cadaver is to stay in the earth
Adelita, for Godsake I beg you
that with your eyes you will cry for me

Adelita for Godsake I beg you
Do not ever betray me
You know well that my love is already yours
like all my heart is

The song La Valentina was the anthem of the Zapatistas. According to Salas (1990), the ballad predates the Revolution. The song became identified with Valentina Ramirez, who was photographed by Casasola in 1913. The ballad included in this study was recorded in 1935 by Lydia Mendoza and her family, one of the most popular early Tejano singers (Hernandez 1996).

"Valentina" (Hernandez 1996)

*Una pasion me domina
es la que me hizo venir,
Valentina, Valentina,
yo te quisiera decir.*

*Dicen que por tus amores
un mal me va a seguir;
ni importa que sea el diablo
yo tambien me se morir*

*Si porque tomo tequila,
mañana tomo jerez:
si porque me ves borracho,
mañana ya no me ves.*

*Valentina, Valentina,
rendido estoy a tus pies;
si me han de matar mañana,
que me maten de una vez.*

*Una Juana, y otra Juana
dos Juanes tengo a la vez
Una me tiende la cama
otra me da comer.*

*Valentina, Valentina
rendido estoy a tus pies
si me han de matar mañana,
que me maten de una vez.*

"Valentina"

A passion dominates me
it is what has made me come
Valentina, Valentina
I would like to tell you

They say that for your love
an evil will follow me
and it does not matter that it is the devil
I also know how to die

If because I drink tequila
tomorrow I drink sherry
if because you see me drunk
tomorrow you will not see me

Valentina, Valentina
I am surrendered at your feet
if they are to kill me tomorrow
they might as well kill me now

One Juana/soldadera/soldierette, another Juana
two Juanas I have at the same time
One does my bed
the other one feeds me

Valentina, Valentina
I am surrendered at your feet
if they are to kill me tomorrow
they might as well kill me now

The "Revolucionario de Joaquinita" is found in Mendoza's (1939, p. 672) collection. This ballad is another example of the ideal love of and for a soldadera.

"Revolucionario de Joaquinita"

*Joaquinita, pulsaremos esta lira
Y entonaremos, si te place, esta cancion.*

*Dame un abrazo y un besito, prenda amada,
Ya nos veremos a la entrada del Cañon (Cañon de Aviles, Durango)*

*Los pajarillos que en las ramas se encaraman
Sobre las hojas tan frondosas del sabino,
Se contemplan al volar de rama en rama,
Cantando coplas deliciosas en su trino*

*Ya sueña la hora, mi querida Joaquinita,
En que me vuelva a los campos a pelear;
Dame un abrazo y un besito, vida mia,
En el Cañon ya nos habremos de encontrar.*

*Eres mas bella y mas hermosa que las flores,
Yo te comparo con el mas bello rubi,
Y te aseguro, mi querida Joaquinita,
Cupido y Venus nada valen junto a ti.*

*Yo ya me lanzo a los campos de batalla,
Dame un besito, Joaquinita de mi amor;
Aqui en mi pecho tu imagen llevo grabada,
Llevo en mi mente una herida de dolor.*

*Y si una bala me quitase la existencia,
Dueña de mi alma, no me vayas a olvidar;
Y como prueba de tu carino ardiente
Hasta mi tumba tu me iras a visitar.*

*Y Joaquinita, pulsaremos esta lira
Y entonaremos, si te place, esta cancion.*

*Dame un abrazo y un besito, prenda amada,
Ya nos veremos a la entrada del Cañon.*

“Revolutionary of Joaquinita”

Joaquinita we will play this lyre
and we will tune, if you like, this song

Give me a hug and a kiss, my loved one
we will see each other at the entrance of the Canyon
the birds that sit on the branches
over the abundant leaves of the *sabino* tree
contemplate each other as they fly from branch to branch
singing delicious couplets in trinity/three/triplets

Dream the hour, my dear Joaquinita
when I return to the fields to fight
give me a hug and a little kiss, my life
in the canyon we will meet again

You are more beautiful than flowers
I compare you with the most beautiful ruby
and I assure you, my dear Joaquinita
Cupid and Venus nothing matters next to you

I launch myself to the battle fields
give me a little kiss, Joaquinita my love
here in my chest/heart I carry your image engraved
I take in my mind a wound of pain

And if a bullet takes my life/existence
owner of my soul, do not forget me
and like proof of your arduous love
to my tomb you will visit me

And Joaquinita, we will play this lyre
And we will tune, if you like, this song

Give me a hug and a little kiss, my dear love
we will see each other at the entrance of the Canyon

Only with Death

The "Corrido a Cecilia" by Isaac Barragan was printed alongside the ballad of
"The Battle of Aguascalientes" in an original broadside from the Revolution (Corridos of
the Revolution and Other Songs 1911-1924). This ballad is similar to other love songs.

"Corrido a Cecilia"

*Tu eres toda mi vida
la que amo por entero
como un bello lucero
que hermosa eres Cecilia.*

*Asi, bella Cecilia,
yo muero por tu amor,
como un astro que brilla
te di mi corazon*

*Incomprensibles son
las penas que yo siento,
cuando de ti me ausento
se aumenta mi pasion.*

*Rendido desde entonces;
de amor henchido vengo,
tu image seductora
sabe que soy su dueño*

*En fin, niña querida,
jamas te olvidare,
pues solo con la muerte
de ti me apartare.*

"Ballad of Cecilia"

You are my whole life
the one I love completely
like a beautiful star
how beautiful you are Cecilia

Like that, beautiful Cecilia
I die for your love
like an astro that shines
I gave you my heart

Incomprehensible are
the sorrows I feel
when I am absent from you
my passion grows

Surrendered since then
of love inflamed I come
your seductress image
knows that I'm her owner

Well, my dear girl
I will never forget you
well only with death
will I leave you

Unfaithfulness

The ballad of "Marieta" is a popular song that is mentioned in various collections and music compilations, but the excerpt included in this study has been collected from my mother, who remembers part of the song. The ballad of "Marieta" is in reference to Maria del Carmen Rubio (Salas 1990). The song warns Marieta not to be a coquette:

*Marieta no seas coqueta
porque los hombres son muy malos
prometen muchos regalos
y lo que dan son puros palos*

Marieta do not be a flirt
because the men are really bad
they promise many gifts
and all they give are sticks

The ballad "De La Chinita" (Mendoza 1939, p. 590) also laments about the way his loved one is a tease. The song contains the following lines which express his sorrow and finds that the only remedy to this situation is a gun:

*Cuanto padezco chinita,
Porque t' ihas vuelto muy loca,
Solo con mi treinta-treinta
Se te quita lo marota.*

How sorry I feel chinita,
because you have turned out too crazy,
only with my thirty-thirty/rifle
will it stop you from being a tease

Another version that proceeds from Michoacan (Mendoza 1939) has a verse that calls women devils.

*Las mujeres son el diablo,
Segun lo tengo entendido
Y cuando quieren a otro hombre
Hacen guaje a su marido.*

The women are the devil,
well that is what I understand it to be
And when they love another man
they make their husbands idiots.

A Plea for Love

The following songs include excerpts in which the object of love is begged to love the soldier. The first song is "Jesusita," a song that proceeds from San Luis Potosi, central Mexico, which is dated around 1912 (Mendoza 1961). The first version pleads for Jesusita's love, and pleads her to see his love for her.

*Y quiereme, Jesusita,
y quiereme por favor,
y mira que soy tu amante
y seguro servidor.*

And love me Jesusita
and love me please
and see that I'm your lover
and servant

In the second version of the same ballad titled "Jesusita," which originates from San Pedro Gorda, Zacatecas around the date of 1885 was collected by Mendoza (1961) January 13, 1948. The ballad was repeated to Mendoza by Petra Guzman B., who learned the song at the age of ten. Although the songs have different dates of origin, they remain quite similar. In this version, the plea for love changes slightly.

*Quiereme, Jesusita,
quiereme por tu amor
mira que soy tu amante
tambien tu adorador*

Love me Jesusita
love me for your love
see that I am your lover
and also your adorer/worshipper.

The following ballad is entitled "La China" (Mendoza 1939). This song could be based on a historical figure, but we cannot know for certain. There was a rebel leader who went by the nickname "La China." Womack (1968) writes about La China in his study on Zapata. At Puente de Ixtla, many women who were the widows, wives, daughters and sisters of rebels joined together to make a batallion for the purpose of avenging their dead loved ones. La China was said to have been a husky ex-tortilla maker, leading a rebel group dressed in rags and finery, "wearing silk stockings and dresses, sandals, straw hats, and gun belts" (p. 170). They raided throughout the district of Tetecala and became the terrors of that region. It was said that even one of Zapata's generals treated her with respect.

It is possible that this song refers to the historical La China, although the lyrics mention nothing of her heroics or plunder. After all, the same has been done to historical figures like Adelita, Marieta, and Valentina.

*Quiereme por Dios, chinita,
Quiereme, no seas así;
Mira que yo soy tu amante,
Tu eres la dueña de mi.*

For Godsake love me *chinita*
love me, do not be that way

see that I'm your lover
you are my owner

Recruitment

In the following two ballads, soldaderas are being asked by Juanes/soldiers to come away with them. In the first ballad, "De La Chinita Maderista," the Juan/soldier/lover claims to love her because she is a Madero/rebel supporter. The soldier uses love as a way to emotionally manipulate his woman to join him.

"De La Chinita Maderista" (Mendoza 1939)

*Si vieras Chinita,
Y ¡Ay! cuanto te quiero,
No mas porque dices:
Que viva Madero!*

*Si tu me quisieras
Como yo te quiero,
Iriamos los dos
A pelear por Madero.*

*Chinita, si no me quieres,
Dime pues, por que me engañas?*

*Si vieras chinita,
Y Ay! Cuanto te quiero,
Nomas porque dices:
Que viva Madero!
Si tu me quisieras
Como yo te quiero,
Iriamos los dos
A pelear por Madero.*

"The Maderista (supporter of Madero) Chinita"

If you would see *Chinita*
and oh! how much I love you
just because you say
hail/long live Madero!

If you would love me
the way I love you
we would both go
to fight for Madero

Chinita, if you don't love me
tell me then why you lie to me?

If you would see *chinita*
and oh! how much I love you
just because you say
hail/long live Madero!

If you would love me
the way I love you
we would both go
to fight for Madero

The Ballad of Zenaida was written by Fortunato Aguilera (Martinez Serrano 2000). In this ballad, the soldier convinces Zenaida to leave with him by train. Since the train is an important aspect of the Revolution and is associated with Villa, this song may refer to a Villista couple.

"La Zenaida"

*Mire niña, yo vengo de lejos
caminando en un tren de pasajeros,
solo vengo a pedirle un favor
que acompañe a este pobre soltero.*

*Mire joven, si fuera soltero
y si usted me quisiera tambien,
yo con gusto le acompañaria
si me diera el pasaje pa'l tren*

*Alla viene ese tren pasajero
con Zenaida lo estoy esperando
yo me llevo a esta joven que quiero
aunque muchos se queden llorando*

"Ballad of the Zenaida"

Look *niña*/dear girl, I come from far
travelling in a passenger train
I only come to ask one favor of you
to accompany this poor bachelor

Look here young man, if you are a bachelor
and you love me too
with pleasure I will accompany you
if you gave me a ticket for the train

There comes the passenger train
I am waiting with Zenaida
I take this young woman that I love
even if many are left crying

Corridos Of Love and Death treat the soldadera as a subject and as a rational agent. The corridos under the sub-categories of Ideal Love and Only with Death are representative of the stereotype of Latino love, where the man vows undying love that only through death can they be physically separated, but emotionally and spiritually they will always be connected. The three sub-categories of Unfaithfulness, A Plea for Love, and Recruitment present the soldaderas as rational beings with the ability to choose. The soldadera is portrayed as owner of her body and as one who decides who is to be her man. The soldadera chooses her lover, while the soldier begs for her love or begs her to become his campfollower.

News From the Battle Front

The third type is News From the Battle Front. These ballads embody the oral tradition of the corrido as a form of communication and history. The ballads in this group recount the events that occurred from 1910-1920. The first ballad dates one of the

first battles of the Revolution, November 18, 1910. The last ballad dates from Carranza's withdrawal from Mexico City in 1920 by train. There are four categories included in News From the Battle Front: Agents/Fighters/Warriors, Recruitment of and Return to, Chorus, and Minor Note.

Agents/Fighters/Warriors

This category consists of ballads about battle news which include historical accounts of women as soldiers, warriors, and revolutionaries. This group contains ten ballads. The first ballad is a tribute to the first skirmish between the insurgents and the Federal forces. This confrontation occurred on November 18, 1910, two days before the Plan of Ayala called for the Revolution. It is in this confrontation that Carmen Serdan, Aquiles Serdan's sister, picked up arms and called the people to action.

The title and content of the song is a tribute to Aquiles Serdan, who was the leader of the anti-reelection party in Puebla and supporter of Madero: "Laureles de Gloria al Martir de La Democracia Aquiles Serdan/Laurels of Glory to the Martyr of Democracy Aquiles Serdan." The song was written by Marciano Silva. Although the ballad is primarily a tribute to Aquiles Serdan, the last stanza hails Carmen Serdan (Corridos of the Revolution and Other Songs 1911-1924; Herrera Frimont 1934).

*Hijos de Puebla, de rodillas ofrecedles
Un homenaje con el mas crecido afan,
A los obreros y estudiantes que como heroes
Llenos de gloria sucumbieron con Serdan.*

*Hagan recuerdos del 18 de noviembre,
Año por gracia de mil novecientos diez
Cuando con sangre se escribio en paginas breves
Una epopeya muy gloriosa en honra y prez.*

*Cuando Madero bajo a hacer su propaganda,
Se adhirió en Puebla mucha gente a su favor,
Los que sinceros exigían en su demanda
Otro gobierno que no fuera el dictador.*

*Varios obreros y estudiantes se afiliaron
Al candidato con el mas crecido afán,
Y como jefe del partido designaron
Al invencible señor Aquiles Serdan.*

*Mucio Martinez cuando tuvo la noticia
Hizo sobre ellos una cruel persecucion,
Porque el gobierno clerical y porfirista
Había triunfado en su burlesca reeleccion.*

*El día 18 al nacer el nuevo día,
Miguel Cabrera con una orden imperial
Llegó a la casa de Serdan y le exigía
Que se le abriera, pues traía orden de catear.*

*Carmen Serdan al oír las amenazas
Abrió la puerta, mas la entrada le negó,
Y entonces él como un esbirro del Tetrarca
Sin respetar al bello sexo la golpeo.*

*En ese instante salió Aquiles iracundo,
Y al darse cuenta que a su hermana maltrataba
Le pego un tiro, y a Fragoso su segundo
Preso en un cuarto ordeno que se dejara.*

*Pocos minutos despues de aquella escena
Llegaron tropas federales y gendarmes
Para entrar a aquella casa tan famosa
Donde se hallaba un conjunto de Titanes.*

*Quince patriotas mexicanos se aprestaban
Para luchar contra dos mil ¡oh que heroismo!
Los que en la lucha desigual no se fijaban
Ni los llenaba de pavor su cruel destino.*

*En un alcon hacia la calle apareció
Carmen Serdan portando un rifle con firmeza,*

*La que ante un grupo de curiosos se expreso
De esta manera, con un acto de nobleza.*

*¡Vengan esclavos a pelear su libertad
que aqui en la casa tengo parque y carabinas
sublime herencia que a sus hijos dejen
de bienestar, no de baldon ni de ignominia!*

*Diciendo esto, y haciendo el primer disparo,
Y abriose el fuego sobre aquel bello edificio
Tomando luego las alturas los sicarios
Para poder bien dominarlos a toditos.*

*La primer victima fue Maximo Serdan,
Y asi siguieron sucumbiendo uno por uno,
Hasta que el fuego extinguiose, porque a par
De los patriotas no quedaba ya ninguno.*

*Al penetrar la soldadesca a aquella casa
Solo encontraron los despojos inmortales
Que sucumbieron en defensa de una causa
Como esforzados y valientes liberales.*

*Luego pusieron una estrecha vigilancia,
Y un gendarme cerca ya de la oracion,
Vio una figura y disparole sin tardanza,
Sin ver quien era quiso hacer la ejecucion.*

*Era Serdan, el bravo Aquiles, que salia
De su escondite buscando una salvacion,
Era un apostol que mas tarde se uniria
A su partido contra su reeleccion*

*Salud, obreros y esforzados estudiantes,
Que en union del bravo Aquiles sucumbieron,
Como coplero permitidme que les cante
Esta epopeya donde de gloria se cubrieron.*

*Duerman en paz en sus tumbas silenciosas,
Caros hermanos, estudiantes y obreros
Glorificados como Ignacio Zaragoza
Y ensalzados por un hijo de Morelos.*

*Carmen Serdan que igual a Leona Vicario
Te hiciste grande por tu arrojo sin igual,
A ti vendran llenas de lauros y de hinojos
Las mexicanas vuestro nombre a venerar.*

Sons of Puebla, offer them on your knees
an honor with the most growing support/fervor
to the laborers/workers and students who like heroes
full of glory succumbed with Serdan

Remember the eighteenth of November
year of grace of nineteen-hundred ten
when with blood it was written in brief pages
an epic poem very glorious in honor and distinction

When Madero came down to do his propaganda
many people in Puebla aligned with him
those that sincerely demanded
another government to not be a dictator

Several workers and students affiliated themselves
to the candidate with the more growing support/fervor
and like head/leader of the designated party
to the invincible Mr. Aquiles Serdan

When Mucio Martinez (Federalist) heard the news
he did over them a cruel persecution
because the clerical and Porfirista government
had triumphed in their burlesque re-election

The eighteenth day at the birth of a new day
Miguel Cabrera with an imperial order
arrived at the house of Serdan and demanded
that the doors be opened since he had an order to sack the place

When Carmen Serdan heard the threats
she opened the door, but denied him entrance
and then he like a henchman of Tetrarca
without respecting the beautiful sex struck her

In that instant Aquiles came out
and when he found out that someone mistreated his sister
he shot Cabrera, and Fragoso his second in command
imprisoned in a room ordered a retreat

A few minutes after that scene
federal troops and the police arrived
to enter that famous house
where a group of Titans were found

Fifteen Mexican patriots lent themselves
to fight against two-thousand. Oh what heroism!
those in the fight did not take notice
nor were filled with fear of the cruel destiny that awaited them

In a balcony facing the street she appeared
Carmen Serdan carrying a rifle firmly
before a group of curious onlookers she expressed
in this manner, with an act of kindness/nobility

“Come slaves to fight for your liberty
that here in the house I have ammunition and weapons/rifles
sublime inheritance that you will leave your children
of well-being, not of disgrace nor of ignominy/dishonor”

Then saying this, and making the first shot
and fire was opened to that beautiful building
taking later the stage were the killers
to dominate everyone well

The first victim was Maximo Serdan
and that is how one by one they succumbed
until the fire was extinguished . . .
of the patriots none were left

When the soldiers penetrated that house
they only found the immortal remains
who succumbed to the defense of a cause
like forceful and brave liberals

Later they put a close/tight vigilance
and a police close to prayer
saw a figure and without delay shot at him
without seeing who it was he wanted to do an execution

It was Serdan, the brave Aquiles, who was coming out
from his hideout looking for salvation
it was an apostle who much later would reunite
with his party against re-election

Health/cheer, workers and brave/strong students
who in union with the brave Aquiles succumbed
like a vendor of ballads/poetaster let me sing
this epic poem where in glory they were covered

Sleep in peace in your silent tombs
Dear brothers, students and workers
Glorified like Ignacio Zaragoza
And exalted by a son of Morelos

Carmen Serdan like Leona Vicario (freedom fighter from the Independence
Movement)
you made yourself great with your abandon
to you will come full of laurels and on their knees
the Mexican women will revere/honor your name

The ballad/corrido of the "Toma/Taking/Capture of Papantla" cites the specific
date that the city was taken by the Revolutionaries. The battle began a Thursday
morning, June 24th, 1913, with a light drizzle. And until 4 p.m. that day, the
Constitutionalist forces took the *plaza*, the market square. One of the women who was
praised for her valor, was Chabela, the woman of Juan Tapia. The ballad goes on to say
that she earned the love of her people and won a rank in the army.

"De La Toma de Papantla" (Mendoza 1939)

*Con llovizna amanecio
En la mañana del jueves,
Dia veinticuatro de junio. . .*

De mil novecientos trece. . .

*Y a las cuatro de la tarde,
Mes de junio veinticuatro,
Los Constitucionalistas
Por fin la plaza tomaron.*

*Ay! Chabela, la mujer
De Juan Tapia se ha ganado
El carino de su pueblo
Y en el ejercito un grado*

"Ballad of the Taking/Capture/Seizure of Papantla"

Dawn came with a light drizzle
Thursday morning
the twenty-fourth of June . . .

of nineteen hundred thirteen . . .

and at four in the afternoon
June twenty-fourth
the Constitutionalist forces (Carranza's forces)
finally took the square

Oh! Chabela, the woman
of Juan Tapia has won
the love of her town/people
and in the army a rank

During the Revolution, President Wilson decided to intervene and invade the Port of Veracruz on April 21st, 1914. United States' Marines unloaded from the ship "The Florida" and marched towards the dock of "Porfirio Diaz." The "gringos" fought against students from the Naval Academy. The students stood their ground for eight hours. The

ballad states that the marines were cowards and since they had no confidence in their abilities, the soldiers resorted to bombs. Not only were the young males heroic in Veracruz, women also fought the invaders. The title of the ballad is in itself a synopsis of the historical account of the invasion: "Heroic Action by Captain Azueta, Glorious Memories of the Defense of the Port of Veracruz, Honor and Glory to the Young Students of the Naval Academy, Horrors committed by the Yankee in the Port of Veracruz/Heroica Accion dei Capitan Azueta, Recuerdos Gloriosos de la Defensa del Puerto de Veracruz, Honor y gloria a los Jovenes Alumnos de la Escuela Naval, Horrores cometidos por el Yanki en el Puerto de Veracruz" (Corridos of the Revolution and Other Songs 1911-1924).

*El dia veintiuno de Abril
fecha de negro capuz
entro el yanki malandrin
al Puerto de Veracruz*

*Fecha que con roja tinta
registrara nuestra historia,
pues que negra traicion pinta,
traicion de negra memoria. . .*

*Las denodadas mujeres
al invasor combatieron,
y con sangre generosa
aquellas calles tiñeron . . .*

The twenty-first of April
the date of the dark/black hood
the evil yankee entered
to the port of Veracruz

date that with red ink
our history was recorded
well what dark/black treason it paints
treason of dark/black memory . . .

the admirable women
fought the invader
and with generous blood
the streets they tainted . . .

There are three ballads that mention the heroic efforts of one soldadera named Petra Herrera, also known as “La Generala.” She is the only soldadera whose first and last name is recorded in a corrido. In the ballad, “Corrido de las Hazañas del General Lojero y La Toma de Torreon por el Ejercito Libertador/The Ballad of the Feats/Deeds of General Lojero and the Taking/Capture of Torreon by the Liberator Army,” the Insurgents or Maderistas defeated the Federal forces. The brave Petra Herrera fell prisoner to the enemy, and when she was taken to General Lojero, she was not afraid to say, “Viva Madero/Hail Madero!” The Federals ran and as they left, Petra Herrera hurriedly dressed and escaped. In the ballad “Corrido de la Toma de Torreon/Ballad of the Capture of Torreon,” Petra Herrera is cited again. On May fourteenth, at midnight she stormed into the Presidency with great force.

In the third ballad, “Corrido del Combate del 15 de Mayo en Torreon/Battle of the Combat of the Fifteenth of may in Torreon,” we are reminded that it was Petra Herrera who was the leader of the attack, and was always the first in the firing line. Petra Herrera is hailed, along with the Maderistas, and then the Federal troops are wished death, along with the cowardly Porfiristas. The ballad ends with a heartfelt hail to Francisco Madero and down with re-election.

*"Corrido de las Hazañas del General Lojero y La Toma de Torreon por el
Ejercito Libertador" (Maria y Campos 1962)*

*La valiente Petra Herrera
en el frago del combate
aunque cayo prisionera
ni se dobla ni se abate.*

*La llevaron los rurales
ante el general Lojero
y sin temores cervales
le dijo: ¡Viva Madero!*

*Un sujeto presuntuoso
que se dice militar
que de noche huye medroso:
Como se puede llamar?*

*Al retirarse la tropa
federal, mas que de prisa
se puso la paisana ropa
incluyendo la camisa.*

The brave Petra Herrera
in the middle of the combat
even though she fell prisoner
she will not fold or lose her spirit

The rurals took her
before General Lojero
without trembling fear
she told him: Hail/long live Madero!

A presumptuous subject
who calls himself a military soldier
that at night he escapes/runs with fear
what can you call him

when the federal troop retreated
quickly Petra put on her clothes
including the shirt

"Corrido de la Toma de Torreon" (Maria y Campos 1962)

*El dia 14 a medianoche
entraron con gran violencia
Petra Herrera en adelante
a la mera presidencia.*

*El domingo sostuvieron
la guerra por todo el dia
matandose unos con otros
con bastante valentia.*

*La noche vino lluviosa
en la ciudad de Torreon
los federales huyeron
dejando la poblacion. . .*

*Vivan pues los maderistas
viva Dios que es lo primero
viva la Guadalupana
y don Francisco I. Madero.*

The day fourteenth at midnight
entered with great violence
Petra Herrera leading
to the presidency

Sunday they sustained
the war all day
killing each other
with a lot of courage/bravery

the night came with rain
in the city of Torreon
the Federal army ran
leaving the population . . .

Hail/long live the Maderistas
Hail/long live God who is the first
Hail/long love la Guadalupana/Virgin Mary
and Don Francisco I. Madero

"Corrido del Combate del 15 de Mayo en Torreon" (Maria y Campos 1962)

*La valiente Petra Herrera
al combate se lanzo
siendo siempre la primera
ella el fuego comenzo. . .*

*Que viva Petrita Herrera,
que vivan los maderistas,
que mueran con los pelones
los cobardes porfiristas.*

*Con entusiasmo sincero
digamos de corazon
¡viva Francisco I. Madero!
y abajo la reeleccion.*

The valiant/brave/courageous Petra Herrera
she launched herself to combat
always being the first
she started the firing

Hail/long live Petrita Herrera
Hail/long live the Maderistas
may the pelones/bald ones/Federals die
the cowardly Porfiristas

With sincere enthusiasm
we will say with heart
Hail/long live Francisco I. Madero!
and down with the re-election

In the battle of Zacatecas, the soldaderas are anonymous "juanas," who look for the wounded in the fields and pray for the dead. Some are from the mountains, the rest from the towns, they were all beautiful and "wore their pants well." In this ballad, we are told that the soldaderas are brave women. A person that is brave is associated with wearing pants, which are symbolic of male attributes of bravery.

"La Toma de Zacatecas" (Herrera-Sobek 1993)

*Son bonitos estos versos
de tinta tienen sus letras
voy a contarles a ustedes
la Toma de Zacatecas.*

*Mil novecientos catorce,
las visperas de San Juan
fue tomada Zacatecas
como todos lo sabrán . . .*

*La toma de Zacatecas
por Villas, Urbina y Madero,
el sordo Maclovio Herrera
Juan Medina y Ceniceros . . .*

*Andaban las pobres "juanas"
empinadas de los cuerpos
recogiendo a los heridos
y rezandole a los muertos.*

*Unas eran de la sierra,
las mas de las poblaciones,
eran todas muy bonitas,
y de muchos pantalones*

"The Capture of Zacatecas"

These verses are beautiful
the letters are in ink
I am going to tell you
about the take/battle of Zacatecas

Nineteen hundred fourteen
around the celebration of San Juan
Zacatecas was taken
like everyone knows . . .

The taking/defeat/battle of Zacatecas
by Villas, Urbina, and Madero
the deaf Maclovio Herrera
Juan Medina and Ceniceros . . .

The poor Juanas/soldaderas
bent over
picking up the wounded
and praying to the dead

some were from the mountains
the rest from the towns
they were all so beautiful
and of "many pants"/brave

In the ballad of "The Death of Emiliano Zapata," the soldadera is anonymous again, but she forewarns Zapata of treason by Guajardo. Zapata hears the advice, but he still dies.

"La Muerte de Emiliano Zapata, 1919" (Romero Flores 1977)

*... Una mujer se acerco
a Zapata desmayada,
diciendole que Guajardo
queria hacerle una celada.*

*Zapata oyo los consejos
de su amiga sin igual,
y tambien formo sus planes
para evitar cualquier mal . . .*

"The Death of Emiliano Zapata, 1919"

A woman fainted near Zapata
to warn him that Guajardo
wanted to betray him

Zapata heard the advice
of his female friend
and also formed his plans
to avoid any wrongdoing

In the second category of News from the Battle Front, there are several ballads that recruit the soldadera or promises the return of their men. In "La Toma de Torreon, Segunda Parte," the soldier asks his lover to go away with him to battle (Corridos of the Revolution and Other Songs 1911-1924). The ballad of Aurelia is a song about the battle of Morelia, in which the soldier explains to her why he has returned to her side (Maria y Campos 1962). In the last ballad, "El Corrido del Constituyente, 1917," the soldadera is invited to hear the conference between the Generals at the theater (Romero Flores 1977).

"La Toma de Torreon, Segunda Parte"

*Que dices, Chata, nos vamos?
Yo si me voy con usted,
pero me lleva a caballo
porque no se andar a pie.*

"The Take/Capture of Torreon, Second Part"

What do you say Chata, shall we go?
I will leave with you
but you must take me by horse
because I do not know how to go by foot

"El Corrido de Aurelia o La Toma de Morelia" (Maria y Campos 1962)

*El dia quince de abril,
voy a contartelo, Aurelia,
se pronunciaron las fuerzas
que guarnecion a Morelia. . . .*

*Por eso vuelvo a tu lado
mi queridissima Aurelia,
que las fuerzas de Obregon
ya estan de nuevo en Morelia.*

*Aquí termina el corrido
de esta gran revolucion
¡Viva Pascual Ortiz Rubio
y el general Obregon!*

"The Ballad of Aurelia or the Take of Morelia"

The fifteenth day of April
I'm going to tell you Aurelia
the forces were announced
to head to Morelia

that is why I return to your side
my dear Aurelia
that the forces of Obregon
are now in Morelia again

Here ends the ballad
of this great Revolution
Hail/long live Pascual Ortiz Rubio
and the General Obregon!

"El Corrido del Constituyente, 1917" (Romero Flores 1977)

*Andale chata y nos vamos
ponte tus choclos morados;
vamos al tiatro "Iturbide"
veras a los Diputados. . .*

*Andale chata y te merco
tu rebocito guichol;
oiras a los Diputados
sacar sus trapos al sol. . .*

*Andale chata y nos vamos,
ponte apriesa los botines,
a ver si te toca un cacho
del señor Palavichines (el señor ingeniero Felix F. Palavicini) . . .*

*Andale chata y nos vamos
ponte tus nagueas de lana
para que veas esa alqueria
de la ciudad queretana.*

"The Ballad of the Constituent, 1917"

Come on chata and we will go
put on your shoes
let's go to the theater Iturbide
and you will see the deputies

come on chata and I will buy you
your Huichol shawl
you will hear the deputies
take out their rags to the sun/laundry their dirty clothes in public

Come on chata and we will go
put on quickly your boots
let's see if you get a piece
of Mr. Palavichines

Come on chata and we will go
put on your wool skirt
so you can see that farmhouse
of the city of Queretaro

Chorus

The third category includes ballads in which the soldaderas cheer and hail the
feats of the troops and generals in chorus.

"La Toma de Cautla por Zapata, Primera parte" (Guerrero and Macazaga
Ordoño 1985)

*Las soldaderas gritaban
¡viva el Quinto Regimiento!
el asombro de Chihuahua, Sonora
y otros encuentros,
el Quinto de oro es de fama,
no como ustedes, Niguentos,
hay veran, patas rajadas,
les servira de escarmiento.*

*Viva la Guadalupana!
gritaban los insurgentes,*

*que es la Reina soberana
de los indios de Occidente!
Viva el heroe de Chihuahua!
Muera vuestro Presidente!
Pelones del 5o, salgan al campo
si son valientes.*

"The Capture/Taking of Cautla by Zapata, First Part"

Federals:

The soldaderas yelled
Hail/long live the Fifth Regiment
the amazement of Chihuahua, Sonora
and other encounters
the Fifth one of gold is famous
not like you, insects
there you will see, "patas rajadas"/Indians
it will serve them as punishment

The Insurgents:

Hail/long live the Guadalupe/Virgin Mary
the insurgents yelled
that she is the sovereign queen
of the Indians of the West
Hail/long live the heroe of Chihuahua
May our president die
Bald ones/Federals of the Fifth, come out to camp
if you are braves

"A Joaquin Amaro, 1915" (Velez 1983)

*Gritaban unas mujeres
abajo de unos nopales:
--Ahi viene Joaquin Amaro,
padre de los federales!*

"To Joaquin Amaro, 1915"

Some women yelled
underneath some *nopales*/cactus
here comes Joaquin Amaro
Father of the Federals

The fourth category includes a ballad, which notes anonymously the casualties of war. In the ballad "La Maquina Loca, Episodio de la Salida de los Carrancistas de Mexico el 7 de Mayo de 1920/The Crazy Machine, Episode of the Exit of the Carrancistas from Mexico the Seventh of May 1920," the song recounts the accident which the Carrancista forces underwent (Corridos of the Revolution and Other Songs 1911-1924). President Carranza and his troops left Mexico City and in his escape there was an accident that killed many of his troops, along with the soldaderas. This ballad is written by one of the most popular corridistas, Melquiades C. N. Martinez.

*En el dia siete de Mayo
de mil novecientos veinte
paso esta horrible desgracia
que a muchos causo la muerte . . .*

*En ese horrible desastre
hubo heridos sin contar
tanto mujeres y niños
que es dificil anotar*

On the seventh day of May
of nineteen hundred twenty
a horrible disaster happened
that caused the death of many

In this horrible disaster
there were countless wounded
women and children
that it is difficult to record

News From the Battle Front commemorate soldaderas as secondary and crucial characters. The corridos included under this category are titled in honor of battles and/or male heroes. Nevertheless, the soldadera is still present as a subjected agent within the

framework of the corrido. Corridos under the sub-category of Agents/Fighters/Warriors depict women fighters as crucial characters, some of them with a name and others without. Carmen Serdan and Petra Herrera are remembered for their historic feats; while other women fighters are remembered as anonymous characters in battle. Corridos under the sub-category of Recruitment Of and Return To depict the paradox of subjection and agency. Soldaderas are recruited and are portrayed as rational beings who can choose to follow their men or as women that passively await the return of their loved ones. The sub-category Chorus depicts the soldaderas as cheerleaders and supporters and therefore as passive soldaderas who remained on the sidelines. The last sub-category Minor Note treats the soldadera as a minor character in which her role as a fighter or caretaker is completely ignored and she becomes only a nameless body.

Messenger Doves/Palomas

The last type of corridos identifies ballads that mention doves/palomas as messengers. Although the lines do not specifically state that the doves are soldaderas, the dove is a common symbol used to represent women in Mexican music. Doves are also used as messengers and soldaderas were commonly used as spies and messengers. Their gender allowed them the ability to travel across enemy lines without notice.

Mendieta Alatorre (1961) identifies several messengers, Juana Gamboa and Paulina Maraver Cortes. Soto (1979) mentions Josefina Ranzeta as a spy, Margarita Ortega and her daughter Rosaura Gortari as weapon smugglers, and Zapatista Colonel Dolores Jimenez Muro, who was over sixty, as a messenger. In Rosa E. King's (1935) memoirs, she mentions one spy named Helene Pontipinnani. Thord-Gray (1960) also

mentions men and women spies dressed as peons and sent to the capital to get information.

The stanzas in the following ballads have the same text, with minor changes. In “La Toma de Torreon Primera Parte/The Capture of Torreon First Part,” a message of loyalty is sent to Madero (Corridos of the Revolution and Other Songs 1911-1924; Guerrero and Macazaga Ordoño 1985). The message informs him that Carranza has captured Mexico City.

*Vuela, vuela, palomita,
parate en aquel romero
anda, y saluda gustosa
a don Francisco I. Madero.*

*Vuela, vuela, palomita,
llegate hasta ese rosál
y dile al Señor Madero
que le sigo siendo leal.*

*Vuela, vuela, palomita,
vuela, que así no te alcanza
que triunfo en la Capital
don Venustiano Carranza.*

Fly, fly little dove
land in that rosemary
go ahead and greet them with pleasure
to Don Francisco I. Madero

Fly, fly, little dove
get to that rose bush
and tell Mr. Madero
that I'm still loyal to him

Fly, fly little dove
fly, so that way they will not catch you
that I triumphed in the Capital
Don Venustiano Carranza

In "La Traicion de Mercado/The Treason of Mercado," a messenger is sent to the President to warn him about General Mercado's treason (Romero Flores 1977).

*Vuela, vuela, palomita,
vuela hasta la Capital
y avisale al Presidente
lo que hizo este general.*

Fly, fly, little dove
fly all the way to the capital
and tell the President
what this general has done

In "Los Combates de Celaya/The Battles of Celaya," the messenger is responsible for sending and receiving counter-signs (Corridos of the Revolution and Other Songs 1911-1924).

*Vuela, vuela, palomita,
vuela, con la mariposa,
la primera contraseña
era un trapo color rosa.*

*Vuela, vuela, palomita,
anda a ver lo que ha pasado,
la segunda contraseña
era un trapo colorado.*

Fly, fly, little dove
fly, with the butterfly
the first counter-sign
was a pink rag

Fly, fly little dove
go and see what has happened
the second counter-sign
was a red rag

In "El Fusilamiento de Cirilo Arenas/The Execution of Cirilo Arenas" which is dated March 4th, 1920, Cirilo sends a messenger to inform his mother about his execution in Puebla (Corridos of the Revolution and Other Songs 1911-1924).

*Vuela, vuela, palomita,
vuela, si sabes volar
y anda avisale a mi madre
que me van a fusilar*

*La palomita volo
y a la mama fue a avisar
que en Zacatelco se hallaba
y a Puebla fue a regresar*

Fly, fly little dove
fly if you know how to fly
and go tell my mother
that they are going to execute me

The little dove flew
and she went to warn/tell his mother
who was in Zacatelco
and to Puebla she returned

In the "Corrido de Casas Grandes/Ballad of Casas Grandes" por Rosalio Arguello, the messenger carries a directive for a new plan of attack (Corridos of the Revolution and Other Songs 1911-1924; Guerrero and Macazaga Ordoño 1985).

*Vuela, vuela, palomita,
anda avisale a Trujillo
que no ataque a Agua Prieta
que nos vamos a Hermosillo*

Fly, fly, little dove
go and warn Trujillo
not to attack Agua Prieta
that we are leaving to Hermosillo

In "Fusilamiento de Murguía/The Execution of Murguía" by Eduardo Guerrero, the messenger is to inform all that Murguía has died (Corridos of the Revolution and Other Songs 1911-1924; Guerrero and Macazaga Ordoño 1985).

*Golondrina mensajera
de tristezas o alegría
ve a anunciar por donde quiera
que murio Pancho Murguía*

Messenger pigeon
of sadness and happiness
go announce it everywhere
that Pancho Murguía died

In "La Conferencia con Villa/The Conference with Villa," the message announces Villa's capture of the Hacienda Canutillo (Corridos of the Revolution and Other Songs 1911-1924; Guerrero and Macazaga Ordoño 1985).

*Vuela, vuela, pajarillo,
y anunciale al mundo entero
que en la hacienda Canutillo
Pancho Villa es el primero.*

Fly, fly, little bird
and announce to the entire world
that in the hacienda Canutillo
Pancho Villa is the first

In "Corrido de Francisco Villa/Ballad of Francisco Villa," the message warns the listener about Villa's arrival (Velez 1983).

*Vuela, vuela, palomita
vuela en todas las praderas
y di que Villa ha venido
a hacerles echar carreras*

Fly, fly, little dove
fly through all the pastures

and say that Villa has come
to make them run

In the "Corrido de Benito Canales 1913/Ballad of Benito Canales 1913," a woman from Jalisco gives Benito Canales a message that betrays him to the Federal forces (Romero Flores 1977).

*Al llegar a Surumuato,
su querida le aviso:
Benito, te andan buscando,
eso es lo que supe yo . . .*

*Una mujer tapatia
fue la que les dio razon:
Orita acaba de entrar
vayanse sin dilacion . . .*

*Cuando la tropa eso oyo,
pronto rodearon la casa,
esa ingrata tapatia
fue causa de su desgracia . . .*

*Aqui termina el corrido
de don Benito Canales,
una mujer tapatia
lo entrego a los federales*

At arriving at Surumuato
her loved one warned him
Benito, they are looking for you
that is what I know . . .

A woman from Jalisco
gave them the message
They have just entered
Go without delay . . .

When the troop heard this
quickly circled the house
that ungrateful woman from Jalisco
was the cause for his downfall . . .

here ends the ballad
of Don Benito Canales
a woman from Jalisco
turned him in to the Federal troops

The corridos about Messenger Doves/Palomas depict the paradoxical state of the soldadera as a subject and agent. The corridos contain excerpts about women as spies, agents, or messengers, but the music is primarily about battles or male heroes. And within the text of battles and heroes, the soldadera as agent is provided a minor space in which her role remains peripheral and nameless. The paradox of the soldadera's position is most evident in the treatment of these messengers, who are agents. Although they act as agents, spies, and messengers, they come to the corrido as minor subjects, exhibiting their agency through the metaphorical use of the dove – a romantic symbol of peace and love. While the heroes of the song are remembered by their first and last name.

Summary

The goal of this chapter has been to explore the portrayal of the soldadera in the oral tradition of the corrido. In summary, corridos are “counter-stories,” in Tuhiwahi Smith’s (1999, p. 2) words, they are “powerful forms of resistance which are repeated and shared across indigenous communities.” As counter-stories they have developed a gendered narrative of subjection and agency. They flesh out the complexity of the paradox of women as the objects and subjects of social change. Through the agency of the brave female fighter, the soldadera became the subject of the corrido. As revolutionaries in the corridos of *Revolucionarias*, *News From the Battle Front*, and *Messenger Doves*, they were loyal wives, lovers, fighters, and spies. As objects/subjects

of desire in the corridos Of Love and Death, the feats of the soldaderas were silenced, but were still given agency. In these ballads, the lovesick men were at the mercy of the women, to whom they pleaded for love, fidelity, and loyalty. Therefore, the women were situated as rational, independent beings capable of choosing their men.

CHAPTER VII

MESTIZA DISCOURSE

This research study has attempted to provide a framework which allows a dialogue between situated knowledge. My work embraces the goals that C. Wright Mills (1959), Smith (1993), and Du Bois (1994) set forth in their own work. These sociologists understood the importance of auto/biography. For Mills, capturing the sociological imagination required the intersection of auto/biography and history. Smith (1993) advocated the recognition of one's gendered position in the development of research and Du Bois (1994) used auto/biography to develop an understanding of race. But their work is problematic since it provides a limited perspective. It is Collins (1998) who has taken their work and integrated the various goals and perspectives of Mills, Du Bois, and Smith.

In the tradition of Collins' (1998) work, I have engaged in a critical, Mestiza discourse which acknowledges the intersections of ethnicity/nationality/race, class, and gender. Through the use of situated knowledge a discourse has been created, guided by the following research questions: 1) how has the soldadera image affected my Chicana identity; 2) how is the soldadera portrayed in published memoirs; and 3) how is the soldadera portrayed in the oral tradition of the corrido. The use of published memoirs represents legitimate knowledge; corridos as an oral tradition are situated as illegitimate forms of history, and the use of my auto/biography provides an insider/outsider gendered narrative space where I have negotiated dominant and subversive knowledge. In order to

provide a critical race discourse, research questions 1, 2, and 3 are considered in the last two research questions: Are there differences between the representations of soldaderas in popular culture (corridos) and in the depictions of memoirs? And, how does the corrido reflect the Mestizo/a culture? By comparing and contrasting published memoirs to corridos and by intersecting my narrative with the corridos, a postmodern critical race discourse is brought to fruition.

The Images and Representations of Soldaderas in Corridos and Memoirs

The image of the soldadera in the memoirs were developed mostly by outsiders from Europe and the United States. Only one of the memoirs comes from a female insider. The memoirs' depictions of the soldaderas are detailed accounts of the way the women followed their men, cared for the wounded, and provided meals to the men. Therefore, the soldaderas are mostly seen as providing the army with a commissary. There is mention of the women as fighters and spies, but the information on these aspects of their roles is scant.

The corridos are from an insider's perspective. The poets/songwriters are indigenous and Mestizos/as and are Revolutionaries, most likely from campesino/peasant background. The subjects of the corridos are about the Revolutionaries, battles, love and death, heroes and heroines. I have classified corridos that contain stories about soldaderas into four main categories: Revolutionaries, of Love and Death, News from the Battle front, and Messenger Doves. This categorization is indicative of the complex depiction of women soldiers by corridos. The categories reflect the multiplicity of soldadera roles as fighters, cooks, lovers, spies, mothers, and officers. Unlike the

memoirs, the corridos give us their first names or their nicknames. And in three corridos, one famous soldadera, Petra Herrera, is remembered by her first and last name.

In considering the differences between insider-corridos and outsider-memoirs, gender did not separate the memoirs from the corridos. Although the corridos are composed mostly by males and the memoirs include both male and female perspectives, it is the writers' ethnicity/race/nationality and class that gives them their unique perspectives. This becomes more apparent when we consider only the memoirs, placing particular attention on the only insider perspective provided by Nellie Campobello, a Mexican woman who experienced the Revolution as a child. It is interesting to note how her depiction of the soldadera, Nacha Ceniceros, not only provides us with a first and last name, her record of this woman is poetic and romantic, very much like the corridos. Although Campobello writes a memoir, her ethnicity/race/nationality and class aligns her work more closely to the corrido. Therefore, ethnicity/race/nationality and class are paramount in situating the individual as an insider/outsider, while gender is negotiated within that framework.

Corrido as Mestizo/a Cultural Expression/Resistance

The Mexican corrido has been acknowledged as a descendant of Spanish balladry, but its indigenous or Mestizo tradition has not been studied. Mendoza's (1939) studies of corridos have been limited to the style of music composition and text patterns. I argue that the topics of the corridos are of indigenous and mestizo/a origin. The form of the corrido is the Spanish ballad, the lyrics are in Spanish, but the content of the music is derived from the indigenous heritage of the Mexicas.

Before the Spaniards brought their language or their balladry to the Americas, the Aztecs wrote and sang poetry in Nahuatl. The poets were both male and female of noble lineage. Leon-Portilla (1992, p. 175) notes that “indigenous chroniclers speak . . . about several Nahua women versed in the art of poetry,” Lady of Tula and Macuilxochitzin. The Lady of Tula was a royal concubine and Macuilxochitzin was the daughter of Tlacaoel, a counselor to Mexica rulers. Like the Aztec women poets, not much is known about women corridistas of the Revolution. There was at least one famous woman corridista named Graciela Olmos, who was married to a general.

The Nahuatl song/poetry intended to record and honor conquest in battle. The male poet Aquiauhtzin of Ayapanco composed a song about the warrior women of Chalco around 1430-1500. And very much like the corrido about soldaderas, the feats of these women are transformed into topics of love and sex, and therefore, this song is an example of Nahuatl erotic poetry. Leon-Portilla, in a passage worth quoting at length, summarizes the poet’s project:

Here the women of Chalco are seen as precipitating a war. The poet has them challenge the lord of Tenochtitlan to a battle in which only the most highly sexually endowed could hope to win. The war is transformed into an erotic siege, with the opposing armies closing in on one another, symbolizing the sexual act with all its foreplay (Leon-Portilla 1992, p. 256).

Indigenous heritage has made the corrido a mestizo, a Mexican tradition that was intertwined with the Revolution of 1910. The indigenous heritage of poetry and song seems to parallel the concerns or choices of subjects of the Revolutionary corrido. Corridos about soldaderas are in themselves examples of this heritage – poetry about warrior women.

In studying the soldaderas and their corridos, subject categories emerged: revolutionaries/warrior women, lovers, heroines of battles, and spies/agents. These same subjects are part of the history of the Pre-Columbian women of Mesoamerica. In particular, the heritage of warrior women does not begin with the soldaderas of the Revolution, but with pre-conquest warrior goddesses and Indian women warriors.

Indian Women Warriors of Mesoamerica

Studies about the Indian women of the Mesoamerica have led to the belief that the Indian woman lived in a much more egalitarian society than the Spanish woman (Burkhart 1997; Kellog 1997; Salas 1990; Schroeder 1997). Their lives and work were considered separate and equal (Burkhart 1997; Kellog 1997; Shroeder 1997). The role of the woman and the man were equally important. It was not an absolute and binary division of labor, but a symbiotic and holistic interdependence that extended to the battlefields and vice versa.

It is hypothesized that the Mexicas/Aztecs were originally a gynarchical society that over time transformed into a much more patriarchal society (Salas 1990). The legends of the Mexicas are indicative of the much more predominant roles for women. Their legends contain warrior gods and goddesses and battles between male and female warriors.

As the Mexicas moved towards the Valley of Mexico after A.D. 800, both men and women helped lead and defend their tribes against enemies, "as individuals, together with men, or in separate women's groups led by women" (Salas 1990, p. 3). Salas (1990) believes that women's power extended, out of necessity, to include that of warrior or tribal

defender. And then there was a shift from female to male relations. The emphasis on interpersonal relations moved from mother/daughter relations to mother/son. The Mexicas eventually eliminated the “warrior goddess and [forbade] women to be war chiefs” (Salas 1990, p. 7).

As Mexicas encouraged women not to bear arms in combat, they were re-classified as warriors without weapons. Their role was to cheer and encourage male warriors. Those Indian women were called *mociuaquetzque* – warrior supporters. Women who died giving birth were also recognized as warriors, but considered princesses – *cihuapiltin*. As the Aztec empire grew, the growth of Mexica military allowed/necessitated/accepted women as “neutrals” in battle, and also allowed the development of *auianimes*, pleasure girls in service of male warriors, who in battle were transformed into *mociuaquetzque*. It appears these supportive women, warrior women with children, and warrior women lovers re-appeared in the Revolution and hence, in the corrido.

Summary

Memoirs and corridos are derived from experience, and therefore the memories/histories they represent are not absolute. Remembering gender through written and oral history is primarily framed by ethnicity/race/nationality. Published memoirs from outsider perspectives portray women limited by their roles as caretakers, while the insider-corrido expresses the complex paradox of gender for soldaderas. The insider/outsider narratives engage in a Mestizo/a discourse, found in corridos, in which

soldaderas are treated as subjects and agents simultaneously. Soldaderas represent a revival of the pre-conquest stratum of warrior women.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

In this final chapter, I want to reiterate my goals for this project. First, it has been my concern to explore the intersectionality of gender, race/ethnicity/nationality, and class with female subjectivity and agency in the Mexican Revolution. In order to achieve this goal, I have used situated knowledge/experience: published memoirs, corridos, and auto/biography. Second, in order to address the complexity and multiplicity of Mexican culture, I have integrated various methods. This integrative approach is not meant to provide conclusive findings.

The goal of this research has been to provide a framework for the discourse of subjectivity and agency. I have allowed the data to speak for itself, within a framework which re-frames situated knowledge as paradoxical (Strauss and Corbin 1990; Tuhiwahi Smith 1999). To further explore the paradox of subjectivity and agency, I have situated myself as an agent/researcher and subject (Collins 1990). I have provided an auto/biographical Mestiza perspective about the images of the soldadera in the corrido as it relates to identity construction, within the matrix of class, race/ethnicity/nationality, and gender (Collins 1990; Smith 1993).

I will now proceed with a discussion of three elements which have been integral to the development of this research: 1) collective memory, 2) the structures in which memory survives/lives, and 3) auto/biography as a method. Not only are these elements part of the process, they have theoretical implications. Collective memories are

gendered, familial, and personal. The image of the soldadera has been carried through collective memories, which are multiple and layered. The soldaderas have survived in the published memoirs of outsiders, in the Mexican oral tradition of the corridos, and in the stories of my own family. The structures or frameworks in which collective memories have survived/lived have been in dominant and subversive forms of knowledge. Legitimate history and counter-stories exist in a dialectical tension, and within that tension the individual is situated and must negotiate subjectivity and agency.

Theoretical Implications

Post-colonial Collective Memory

It has been close to five-hundred years since Hernan Cortes landed in Mesoamerica and although the conquest was physical, biological, and spiritual, the legacy of the indigenous populations persist in Mexico. Many tribes in Mexico still retain their original ancestral language, including Nahuatl the language of the Aztecs/Mexicas and Mayan. The same can be said of our indigenous food. We/Mexicans/Americans/Chicanos eat the indigenous food that Aztec women prepared before the conquest (Burkhart 1997). And we still spice them with *chile*, coloring them red and flavoring them hot. We have never forgotten the ability to make them. We still drink atolli/atole, a drink made of maize, and sometimes flavor it with chocolate (champurrado). Tortillas have been inherited from our indigenous roots, to the soldaderas of the Revolution, to our contemporary cuisine.

Remembering is the legacy of the Mexican/Mestiza as the keeper of knowledge and as the subject of corridos and legends. The Indian woman taught the Mestiza, who

taught the Chicana, to make tamales. When Christmas comes, we make tamales to celebrate the birth of Jesus. We eat tamales of many types, with beef, pork, beans, sugar, cinammon, and candy, because it is the traditional food of the holiday. Or so we have accepted.

If the recipes of our food have survived in the collective memory, our images of women have done the same, albeit trapped within the text/framework of the colonizer. We have taken Spanish as the language that binds the many who have been colonized. First we were forced to take the Spaniards' culture, and then within that framework/subjugation, we have re-invented our culture to/of Mestizos/as.

Spanish ballads have been transformed into the Mexican corrido and within the framework of the colonizer, images of female agency have survived. Like the women of the indigenous legends, the image of the warrior and the supportive woman persists in the corrido of the Revolution. The corridos tell the stories of anonymous soldaderas, who fight by the side of their man, alone, or alongside other female warriors, care for their families, provide sexual satisfaction, and are spiritual uplifters to their men. These images resonate with Aztec legends (Salas 1990). Embedded in the text and structure of the Spanish colonizers, the images of Aztec warrior women survive in the Revolutionary soldadera.

Through the legends of the Mexicas and the corridos of the Revolution, we remember warrior women. The domain of the Mexican/Mestiza woman has safeguarded knowledge of strength and loyalty in the corrido. The "Ballad of the Female Soldier" praises the soldadera:

You are the soul of strength
of strength and valor . . .
you follow with conviction
. . . and without fear . . . (p. 62)

The corridos provide images of women following their beloved men and of women sacrificing their bodies to satisfy other men for the sake of protecting their own loved ones. In the following instance, the soldadera gives pleasure to officers, in order to secure a higher rank for her soldier:

The lieutenant told me one day
that he would make him an assistant
but in exchange I would have to do
something, I do not know, he did not explain

Since that day, every night
they take me on rides happily
well captains and even majors
they are very gallant and they give me compliments
and I give them pleasure, because, my Juan/John/soldier
will someday ascend to captain (p. 59)

And these stories of sacrifice are not just carried by the words of the corrido, I have heard them in the stories of my family.

Remembering our heritage and our roots is an intrinsic aspect of our negotiation and use of language. Mexican Mestizo/a culture worships the mother figure and hence, to disrespect and dishonor an individual, we use language against the mother. To hurt one another, we will say, "*no tienes madre*/you don't have a mother." Do the three words, *no tienes madre*, remind us that our cultural heritage and roots are matrilineal? For if we do not have a mother, we can never be/come. Or do those words remind us of a fear that began with the eradication of *lo indio*/the Indian and the creation of Mestizaje?

We concern ourselves with the authenticity of our lineage through our mothers because we have been raped too many times to know our fathers. Our collective memory carries proverbs reminding us of our fears about bastardization: "*hijo de mi hijo dudas habran, hijo de mi hija nieto sera*/son of my son doubts there will be, son of my daughter grandson he will be." Because only through our women can we be certain of our heritage.

Mexican Familism: A Framework for Subjectivity and Agency

I believe that not only has a collective memory of our indigenous past of gender attributes and relations led us to live in an ambiguous paradox of subjugation and agency, but so has our familism. Familism is a framework that can provide support, but it can also imprison us. Familism binds us into a framework from which we cannot easily escape, or wish to escape.

Within familism, some women have experienced power at varying degrees and other women have experienced male domination and more paradoxically the same women have experienced both. But within the framework of familism, women have also been provided the avenue to extend their agency beyond the private sphere and to the battlefield. For the Mexican woman, becoming a *soldadera* was mainly a result of a woman's loyalty to her lover or husband, in other words, to serving her family as exemplified in the following verse:

Marijuana goes to war
after her beloved Juan/soldier
in step with the bugle
to the beat of the drum . . . (p. 65-66)

The soldadera followed her man, cared for him, cared for her children, made them a home on the battlefield, and fought alongside her family!

Now with a little baby boy on her back
fulfilling her duty
she finds anywhere
many things to eat

Mary Jane makes tortillas
she makes soup, she makes *pipian*/a spicy dish
and before the Juanes/soldiers arrive
she already has plenty for dinner

and that is how that soldadera
more valiant than her Juan/John/soldier
she walks through the rocky/rugged paths
to the beat of the drum (p. 66)

The soldadera was simultaneously a subject to her family and an agent of the Revolutionary war. As an agent, she faced the hardships of war, like a "man." But as a subject, those hardships were framed by the expectations of her role as a caretaker. In the corrido of "La Chamuscada," we find that the campfollower only becomes a soldier when her father is murdered. The bard sings:

I saw her father die in her arms
and I also saw the traitor who killed him
she gave the traitor four shots
in pieces her/his heart was left

From that day she was no longer a campfollower/soldadera
with her cartridge loaded and her rifle
in the battles she was always the first
the firing of bullets only made her laugh (p. 76)

Freed from the expectations of a caregiver, "La Chamuscada" avenges her father's death and becomes a general.

The concept of auto/biography is integral to the sociological imagination (Mills 1959). Before Mills, W.E.B. Du Bois recognized the importance of situating the self in terms of larger social realities such as race. In 1940, Du Bois published his first autobiography, Dusk of Dawn: An Essay Toward an Autobiography of a Race Concept. I did not read Du Bois early in my graduate studies. I came across this book while working on my dissertation. The concerns Du Bois had in the first half of the twentieth century as a member of an oppressed group, coincided with some of the concerns that I had as a Mestiza and a student of sociology. Although a social scientist, he was skeptical of scientific study. He wrote, "I had too often seen science made the slave of caste and race hate" (Du Bois 1994, p.100). For Du Bois, science was not as objective as it professed to be. Modernization and science were tools of capitalism meant to exploit people of color. My own skepticism of science and universal truths has also been a result of my "double consciousness." Nevertheless, like Du Bois, I have chosen to empower myself as well as my community through the discipline.

I have always known that my first identification is with the Mexican American community, but as I pursued my graduate studies, I have subjected my community, even as I was empowering myself with Mestiza consciousness. My ethnic history, as well as my educational history has brought me to an intersection of insider/outsider status, to choose one over the other, because I have not learned to negotiate this ambivalent space of inquiry. I have had to face the responsibility of self disclosure, as a subject, and as an agent/researcher.

My professor suggested that I write about the contemporary corrido that thrives in my community, in Mexican radio space, and in public and private occasions -- but I kept forgetting. And the more I forgot, the more it seemed like resistance. It was at this point that I had to explore my experience as a subject, consider my history, and recognize my position. I found the colonized Indian, created by the image of the colonizer: stubborn and distrustful. I have always embraced these attributes, in the same way Mexican Americans embraced Chicanismo as a political weapon, making them a source of empowerment. For what Spaniards called stubbornness, the Indian knew to be silent resistance. Like my indigenous ancestors, I listened, I nodded, and I forgot/resisted.

The intersection of Mestiza consciousness, along with the ambivalent stance I hold towards positivism, my concerns are multiple and contradictory: First, I am afraid that I betray my community by disclosing spaces in which resistance thrives. Mexican radio space, although set in an open forum, is closed to outsiders by a language barrier. Second, I have to consider if my actions are exploitive, because I am afraid of using my community as an exotic spectacle. As a product of Mexican culture, I can not forget that it is my duty to protect my “man” and remain loyal to “him.” Because in their air-time, “my men” voice their vulnerabilities, hate for the gringo, and ridicule effeminate males.

Although my voice is subjugated in this space, I can not betray it. It is consumer culture that has transformed the corrido into a commodity. And as a product, it has lost its rich nuances. The corrido is no longer a place for female gender resistance. Today's corrido is about Mexican American male resistance – the racism in the United States,

im/migration, and druglords. Although the Mestizo consciousness remains in the lyrics of some of today's artists, the Mestiza consciousness has been erased.

Capitalism and modernization continue to erode our indigenous traditions and therefore, the female warriors in us. Then I remember that we/women of color have always negotiated resistance from a subjected position. Today's Mexican corrido does not sing about the warrior-me, but Chicana poetry persists (Anzaldua 1987). I was reminded by one of my professors that the music of the Revolutionary past continues/persists/survives within our families – at family gatherings old timers will request a corrido from the past, maybe someone will pick up a guitar, or will bring out an old record, and our children will remember.

One Last Family Story

My mom has always said that men are like children. Men don't know/*los hombres no saben*. I heard this all my life as she took care of my father. And she has always advised on the vileness of men, because men are "*animales/animals*" – loci of brute force and lust. But my father was different. And my brother is different. And my brother's son is different. And little girls always have to take care of little boys.

I was at home this past Christmas, and my nephew was playing with his younger cousin. They were playing with firecrackers when my mother turns to the little girl, two years younger than my nephew. She tells the little girl to take care of her cousin Ramon, because little girls know better. And in that moment, I saw it repeat itself. It was subjugated agency. It was my mother's voice.

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APPENDIX

LIST OF SELECTED AND TRANSLATED CORRIDOS

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Revolutionaries/Revolucionarias

1. La Soldadera (Henestrosa 1977)
2. La Soldadera (Vasquez Santa Ana 1926)
3. Corrido de la Soldadera (Maria y Campos 1962)
4. Marijuana la Soldadera (Hernandez 1996)
5. La Cucaracha (Mendoza 1939)
6. La Cucaracha 1915 (Romero Flores 1977)
7. La Cucaracha Villista (Velez 1983)
8. La Cucaracha Porfirista (Velez 1983)
9. El Coyote/La Guerra (Herrera-Sobek 1993; Velez 1983)
10. Juana Gallo (Velez 1983)
11. La Chamuscada (Velez 1983)

Of Love and Death

12. Adelita (Hernandez 1996)
13. Valentina (Hernandez 1996)
14. Revolucionario de Joaquinita (Mendoza 1939)
15. Corrido a Cecilia (Corridos of the Revolution and Other Songs 1911-1924)
16. Marieta (Velez 1983)
17. De la Chinita, 2 versions (Mendoza 1939)
18. Jesusita, 2 versions (Mendoza 1961)
19. La China (Mendoza 1939)
20. De La Chinita Maderista (Mendoza 1939)
21. La Zenaida (Martinez Serrano 2000)

News From the Battle Front

22. Laureles de Gloria al Martir de la Democracia Aquiles Serdan (Corridos of the Revolution and Other Songs 1911-1924; Herrera Frimont 1934)
23. De la Toma de Papantla (Mendoza 1939)
24. Heroica Accion del Capitan Azueta, Recuerdos Gloriosos de la Defensa del Puerto de Veracruz, Honor y Gloria a los Jovenes Alumnos de la Escuela Naval, Horrores Cometidos por el Yanki en el Puerto de Veracruz (Corridos of the Revolution and Other Songs 1911-1924)
25. Corrido de las Hazañas del General Lojero y la Toma de Torreon por el Ejercito Libertador (Maria y Campos 1962)
26. Corrido de la Toma de Torreon (Maria y Campos 1962)

27. Corrido del Combate del 15 de Mayo en Torreon (Maria y Campos 1962)
28. La Toma de Zacatecas (Herrera-Sobek 1993)
29. La Muerte de Emiliano Zapata, 1919 (Romero Flores 1977)
30. La Toma de Torreon, Segunda Parte (Corridos of the Revolution and Other Songs 1911-1924)
31. El Corrido de Aurelia o la Toma de Morelia (Maria y Campos 1962)
32. El Corrido del Constituyente, 1917 (Romero Flores 1977)
33. La Toma de Cautla por Zapata, Primera Parte (Guerrero and Macazaga Ordoño 1985)
34. A Joaquin Amaro, 1915 (Velez 1983)
35. La Maquina Loca, Episodio de la Salida de los Carrancistas de Mexico el 7 de Mayo de 1920 (Corridos of the Revolution and Other Songs 1911-1924).

Messenger Doves/Palomas

36. La Toma de Torreon, Primera Parte (Corridos of the Revolution and Other Songs 1911-1924; Guerrero and Macazaga Ordoño 1985)
37. La Traicion de Mercado (Romero Flores 1977)
38. Los Combates de Celaya (Corridos of the Revolution and Other Songs 1911-1924)
39. El Fusilamiento de Cirilo Arenas (Corridos of the Revolution and Other Songs 1911-1924)
40. Corrido de Casas Grandes (Corridos of the Revolution and Other Songs 1911-1924; Guerrero and Macazaga Ordoño 1985)
41. Fusilamiento de Murguía (Corridos of the Revolution and Other Songs 1911-1924)
42. La Conferencia con Villa (Guerrero and Macazaga Ordoño 1985)
43. Corrido de Francisco Villa (Velez 1983)
44. Corrido de Benito Canales (Romero Flores 1977)