CHAPTER THREE

Americanization and Resistance

*Contested Terrain on the Southwest Frontier, 1848–1912**

INTRODUCTION

Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century the United States began an era of expansionism, supported ideologically by the notion of "Manifest Destiny." Journalist John O'Sullivan, who argued that Providence granted the United States a divine mandate to spread from coast to coast, coined this term in 1845. The ideology of the United States possessing a Manifest Destiny ultimately provided justification for the Mexican War of 1846–1848.

Since the early 1820s, increasing numbers of British, French, American, and Russian immigrants had begun settling in Mexico's frontiers. Mexico welcomed these settlers, particularly to Texas. The Mexican government offered inexpensive fertile land to settlers. In exchange, settlers were required to obey Mexican laws, learn the Spanish language, and convert to Catholicism. Furthermore, Mexico overlooked slave trade laws as an additional inducement to American slave owners.[1] The generous land distribution drew colonists, such as Stephen Austin, to Texas with hundreds of land-hungry families. The trickle into Texas became a flood, and by 1830 Americans overwhelmed Mexicans in Texas by 25,000 to 4,000.[2] The new settlers largely ignored the unenforceable laws regarding Hispanicization and Catholic conversion.

The independence of Texas in 1836 as a sovereign republic and its subsequent U.S. annexation in 1845 paved the way for the United States to spread to the West Coast. A weak Mexican military and government, unresolved border disputes between the United States and Mexico, resurgent Indian threats, demand for western lands, and President James K. Polk's fear

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of a British or Russian invasion of California contributed to the subsequent U.S. decision to declare war on Mexico.[3]

The defeat of Mexico, ratified in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), altered the political, economic, and social lives of Mexicans. The adjustment from Spanish to Mexican rule was less abrupt than that to American conquest. Spain and Mexico had at least shared the Spanish language and Catholicism as the official religion of the State. Before the war, Mexicans had not been immigrants to the region; after the war they became immigrants, colonized peoples on their former land. Articles VIII and IX of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo articulated the rights and responsibilities of 100,000 Mexicans who had been conquered. Under Article VIII individuals had one year to become Mexican citizens or seek U.S. citizenship. As the new territories entered statehood, their constitutions narrowed suffrage restrictions. According to Martha Menchaca the new constitutions only granted suffrage to Mexicans considered to be part of the "white" race. Mestizos, Indians, African Americans, and Afromestizos were denied political rights. For example, in 1849 California granted the vote to "every white, male citizen of Mexico who shall have elected to become a citizen of the U.S."[4] Blacks and Indians were excluded from this citizenship, although they had previously been protected under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Furthermore, statutes barred "nonwhite" populations from practicing law, becoming naturalized citizens, and, in many cases, marrying Anglos.[5] This racialization of Mexican peoples also extended to schooling. For instance, by the early 1860s, California's school code stipulated that "Negroes, Mongolians and Indians" be excluded from the regular public schools.[6]

Both citizenship rights and land rights granted under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo became the cause of considerable conflict between newly arriving Anglos and native-born Mexicans. During the California Gold Rush of 1849, for example, Mexicans were often labeled "foreigners" and thrown off claimed lands. Even Mexicans who carried their U.S. citizenship papers were forced out of gold mining extralegally and often with violence.[7]

Scholars of the Mexican experience have been highly critical of violations of the treaty that resulted in widespread land loss to Mexicans. As part of the treaty, Mexico ceded 500,000 square miles—including the contemporary states of California, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming—for only 15 million dollars. Mexicans owned much of this land in large tracts. Articles VIII and IX of the treaty protect the rights of Mexicans to continue ownership of land. "In the said territories, property of every kind, now belonging to Mexicans not established there, shall be inviolably respected. The present owners, the heirs of these, and all Mexicans who may hereafter acquire said property by contract, shall enjoy with respect to it, guaranties equally ample as if the same belonged to citizens of the United States."[8] Under pressure from Anglo settlers wishing to take title to Western land, the U.S. Congress passed the Land Act of 1851. The Land Act created boards of land commissioners in each new state and territory to adjudicate the validity of former Mexican land grant titles.[9] Between 1848 and 1900

Mexicans lost millions of acres in the Southwest. Historian Albert Camarillo identifies several factors leading to this tremendous loss of land. These factors include long and costly legal battles before the board of land commissioners; exploitation by lawyers and other unscrupulous Anglos; lack of Mexicans' English skills; "spendthrift practices" of the *Californio* elite; and land confiscation by squatters.[10] Californio is a term generally utilized to refer to the original Spanish land grantees in California that formed the middle and upper classes of Mexican society before United States conquest.

In general, historians agree that Anglo settlers in the states of Texas and California benefited more from "prompt and liberal adjudication" of land grants than did settlers in the territories of Arizona and New Mexico.[11] Whether in New Mexico, California, or Texas, the land loss among Mexicans significantly contributed to their diminished status of second-class citizens by the 1880s and 1890s.[12] The concomitant decline of the cattle industry, the Civil War, and economic downturns of the late nineteenth century exacerbated the diminished economic and social status of nearly all but a small group of elite Mexicans.[13] As will be explored, this declining social and economic status limited the abilities of formerly elite Californios and *Tejanos* to invest as highly in advanced education for their children.

The tangible aspects of the American conquest codified in citizenship and property law represented only some of the dramatic changes for Latinos in the nineteenth-century Southwest. Cultural conflict between the arriving Anglo-Protestant settlers and new Mexican Americans surfaced in muted terms during the 1830s and 1840s but escalated during the Mexican War and into the 1850s. Anglos arriving to Texas and California brought with them negative stereotypes of the character, religion, and racial composition of Mexicans. In general, Mexicans were disparaged as "greasers," immoral, sexually degenerate, indolent, "mongrels," "papists," and potentially subversive politicos.[14]

The belief in Anglo-Saxon Protestant superiority, which settlers brought to the Southwest in the mid-nineteenth century, resulted from a convergence of factors. Proponents of the Mexican War viewed Southwestern land as wasted in the hands of mongrel Mexicans. Californian settler T. S. Farnham, for instance, declared in 1840 that Californios were an "indolent, mixed race," and "the old Saxon blood must stride the continent."[15] The racial mixing between Spaniards, Mestizos, Native Americans, and African Americans over three centuries particularly offended Americans grappling with their own race questions over African American slavery and fears of miscegenation. As a slave state, Texas attracted Southern white migrants who viewed dark-skinned peoples with suspicion and suspected they may have been tainted with African blood.[16] As these white supremacist views were carried into the Southwest, they were often manifested as acts of violence, racial slurs, and blatant discrimination, contributing to the continued social and economic decline of former Mexican citizens.[17]

An additional factor shaping Anglo negativity toward Mexicans was the Roman Catholic religion. Anti-Catholicism resurfaced in the mid-nineteenth-

century United States as thousands of immigrants, largely Irish Catholics, arrived in the 1830s and 1840s. On the East Coast, anti-Catholicism took the extreme form of convent and church burnings. The formation of the anti-Catholic, anti-immigrant political party—the Know-Nothings—culminated anti-Catholic hysteria in the 1850s. According to party members, Catholics were loyal only to the pope in Rome and thus represented a subversive threat.[18]

Mexicans who had traditionally combined Catholic religious feast days with municipal events often protested the attacks on Catholicism.[19] Furthermore, as discussed in chapter two, public schools during the Mexican Era were often taught by priests or nuns or in Catholic Church buildings. The close alliance between the Catholic Church and public schools disturbed arriving Anglo-Protestants.

During the first decades after American conquest, Mexicans resisted the marginalization of their language, culture, and religion through several means. Varying by locality and time, Mexicans were able to retain some of their rights, and intermarried and assimilated with leading Anglo families as one strategy of survival. Others formed *mutualistas* (mutual aid societies) or participated in more militant and extralegal organizations such as Las Gorras Blancas (the White Caps). This famous resistance group sabotaged the introduction of barbed wire fences in New Mexico ranching areas.[20]

Eventually, Anglos overwhelmed Southwestern Latinos numerically, politically, and economically. The process of becoming residents of a nation with a separate and foreign linguistic, cultural, and religious heritage was often painful for many Latinos, whose roots in the new U.S. lands stretched back to the late 1500s. Proponents of public education, U.S. society's primary vehicle for Americanization among newly arrived immigrants to the East Coast, encountered unique challenges developing a secular educational institution within a historically Spanish Catholic culture.

EDUCATION AND NATION-BUILDING IN TEXAS, 1836–1900

The Americanization of Texas Mexicans, or *Tejanos*, began with the Texas Revolution of 1836.[21] The Anglo-led government of the Republic of Texas valued the potential benefits of a public school system. In fact, the republic's declaration of independence from Mexico referenced the lack of schools as one of its rationales for rebellion, stating, "It [the Mexican government] has failed to establish any public system of education, although possessed of almost boundless resources, (the public domain,) and although it is an axiom in political science, that unless a people are educated and enlightened, it is idle to expect the continuance of civil liberty, or the capacity for self-government."[22] Resolutions for public education were passed in the Congress of Texas,

particularly the provision of land grants for schools, and newspaper editorials bemoaned the lack of genuine interest in supporting schools. However, citizens of the Republic of Texas encountered the same difficulties characteristic of Mexican Texas. Similar to most frontier areas, a combination of private, religious, and quasipublic institutions arose where enough students and a qualified teacher could be procured.[23]

In 1845, Texan citizens voted to be annexed by the United States, a step the United States was eager to approve. As residents of a newly acquired U.S. territory, Tejanos began to see their traditions, culture, and language come under fire. The establishment of American-style public schools after statehood in 1845 brought the Tejanos into further conflict with the rapidly growing numbers of Anglo settlers.[24] In the decades following the Texas government's 1854 "Act to Establish a System of Common Schools," Tejanos wishing for public education experienced shifting attitudes toward Spanish language use, equal access, and the employment of Tejanos or other Latinos as teachers.

In the urban centers of the northeastern United States, public schools had long served the function of assimilating immigrants.[25] The southwestern experience differed because of pre-established Hispanic communities and the strong influence of German immigrants. Through law, the Texas Anglo-dominated legislature reinforced English as the public schools' proper language of instruction. Two years after Texas formally established public schools, an 1856 amendment stipulated that "No school shall be entitled to the [monetary] benefits of this act unless the English language is principally taught therein."[26] The amendment was approved again in Chapter 98, Section 9 in the 1858 legislature.[27] The state requirement of English-language instruction in Texas's nineteenth-century public schools was rarely fully adhered to in local communities; rural communities especially strayed from the requirement. Both German immigrants and Tejanos maintained their native languages in many public schools during the transitional decades of the 1850s through 1880s.

Tejanos did not so much reject the English language as attempt to preserve Spanish while also learning the language of their conquerors. Thus, for example, the Spanish-language newspaper in San Antonio, *El Bexareño*, advocated that public education be conducted in both languages.[28] Shifting state policies reflected the fluidity of Americanization measures. When the public school system in Texas was recreated in 1871 under Radical Rule during Reconstruction, a more flexible approach was pursued toward the language interests of Tejanos, Germans, and French. In his first annual report, Superintendent of Public Instruction J. C. DeGress stated that as a result of "the large proportion of citizens of German and Spanish birth and descent in our State," teachers would be permitted to teach the German, French, and Spanish languages, "provided the time so occupied should not exceed two hours each day"[29] (see document 3.1). Public school officials in other locales, such as among the German communities of the Midwest, had

also compromised on language policies in order to keep immigrant children in the public school system.[30]

The presence of the Spanish language and use of Tejano teachers persisted during these transitional decades of Texan public schools. Arnoldo De León has documented the extensive number of Mexican-born or Spanish-named public school teachers in the counties of San Bexar, El Paso, Duval, and Nueces between 1850 and 1900.[31] State policy could not alter the ethnic heritage of Tejanos and other newcomers. School officials in the twelfth school district reported in 1872 that "of the population three-fifths are Mexicans, still speaking their own language and observing their own customs, and the remainder a mixture of all classes and creeds."[32] By 1886 the superintendent of public instruction indicated that although the law stated that "schools shall be conducted in the English language," many citizens complained that Spanish or German was being utilized as the language of instruction in public schools (see document 3.2).

The enormous size of Texas and its rural nature contributed to a variety of local arrangements, some of which incorporated the Tejano community members into the school systems. For example, on large ranches, owners created special schools for *vaqueros'* (cowboys) children. Children at the Randado Ranch in Zapata County and Los Ojuelos in Encinal County studied English and Spanish and took exams in three subjects at the end of each year.[33] The lines between public and private schooling were often blurred, particularly under the state's "community system." In the late nineteenth century, rural areas were permitted to use public funds for a school if the teacher could pass the Board of Examiner's test. Thus, the sisters of Nazareth Academy became certified by the state of Texas as community teachers and taught Mexican pupils in Spanish and English with public funds.[34]

In El Paso, a unique situation arose within the public school system. The city's public school system was established in 1883, yet only a "handful" of Tejano pupils attended. According to San Miguel, Jr., school officials' reluctance to teach non-English-speaking children led Tejano parents to establish a private school and hire Olivas V. Aoy, "an elderly Spaniard," to prepare Spanish-speaking children for the public schools.[35] The private school was called the Mexican Preparatory School and was formally created in 1887. In 1888 the El Paso school board incorporated the school into the city system. By 1899, the "Aoy" Mexican Preparatory School had twice been enlarged, enrolled three hundred students, and had signed additional children onto a waiting list. Many Mexican parents in El Paso sent their children to the Aoy School, which boasted the highest attendance of any elementary school (white or Mexican) in the city.[36]

Tejano parents seeking educational opportunities for their children also relied significantly upon the rapidly growing parochial schools sponsored by the Roman Catholic Church. According to Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr., Catholic schools were popular among Latinos in the Southwest for three reasons. First, Catholic schooling was seen as a form of preserving Latino identity because of the closely intertwined nature of religion with Latino culture. Second, the Catholic Church was willing to permit the speaking of Spanish in school and allow Mexican Americans to preserve other cultural traditions. Thus, instead of imposing "subtractive" measures upon Mexican children, measures that San Miguel, Jr., and Richard Valencia define as ones that not only "inculcate American ways, but also . . . discourage the maintenance of immigrant and minority group cultures," Catholic teachers permitted "additive" measures such as bilingual or trilingual language instruction.[37] Last, the recruitment of mostly female teaching orders provided an inexpensive method of staffing schools, and some of the sisters were native Spanish speakers from Spain or Mexico.[38] Both male and female teaching orders were also heavily recruited from France to the Southwest during this era, and they brought a liberal attitude toward the value of learning and teaching several languages.

Between 1848 and 1900 dozens of Catholic schools for boys and girls were established in Texas.[39] The Incarnate Word in Brownsville, Texas was founded in 1853 for girls between the ages of 5 and 18. Students came from Texas and Mexico to learn traditional subjects in addition to music, painting, sewing, and embroidery.[40] The Ursuline Sisters also established schools in both Galveston and San Antonio by the early 1850s. The Ursuline Academy of San Antonio (1851) taught traditional academic subjects and all students were required to learn Spanish, English, and French, "not only by theory, but by practice: the pupils were required to converse in these languages in the respective classes." Mother Joseph Aubert, a teacher at the school, wrote to her former superior in France in 1857 that nearly one hundred children from the "best" Spanish, German, French, and British families attended the school. Boarding students at the Ursuline Academy were reputed to come from the wealthier class of Hispanics who could afford tuition. However, the sisters also opened a "free day school principally for the benefit of Mexican children." Mother Aubert commented on this student population, describing that they consist "mainly of Mexicans who are now loyal American citizens. I love all these children . . . they are so affectionate and responsive to kindness."[41] The sisters were eventually asked to turn their day school over to another order that was not cloistered. One sister recalled, "It was with an aching heart . . . that the Ursuline Nuns beheld the 300 Mexican children of their free school that had been attached to the Academy pass from their care to that of the Sisters of the Incarnate Word."[42] The female teaching orders who came to Texas in the nineteenth century played a pivotal role in spreading education, particularly for Mexican girls and young women whose families preferred they attend single-sex schools rather than the emerging coeducational public schools.

Texas Bishop Odin enthusiastically championed Catholic education for boys. The Brothers of St. Mary founded a school for young men in San Antonio in 1852. The academy quickly became St. Mary's University and offered advanced study that included Latin, history, algebra, and philosophy.

In 1888 the Brothers of St. Mary also opened the San Fernando Cathedral School as a preparatory school.[43] The Brothers of the Holy Cross came to Austin in the early 1870s and founded St. Edward's Academy for boys. The school expanded and was chartered by the state of Texas as St. Edward's College in 1885.[44] Schools for boys were also founded in Brownsville (1872), Houston (1899), and Waco (1899). Catholic orders of both men and women were recruited and brought from the northeastern United States and from Europe to work in Texas. Protestant denominations, particularly the Presbyterian Church, also saw Texas specifically and the Southwest in general as a missionary enterprise.

Although most missionary work among Latinos was conducted in New Mexico and Colorado, Tejanos enrolled their children in Protestant schools for several reasons: lack of alternative options (particularly during the frontier decades), perceived advantages for their children learning English from Anglo teachers; or anticlerical sentiments toward the Catholic church that dissuaded them from sending their children to parochial schools. One revealing description of the religious fervor and anti-Catholicism that missionary teachers brought to the Mexican field is recorded in the memoir *Twenty Years Among the Mexicans* (see document 3.3). Author Melinda Rankin, a New England–born Presbyterian missionary, arrived in Brownsville, Texas in 1852.[45] She established a successful school for girls called the Rio Grande Female Institute. She found that her English skills helped bring children from the local Catholic school: "I possessed one important advantage, namely, the Mexicans desired their children to learn English, and as that language was but imperfectly taught in the convent, many left and came to me on that account."[46] Miss Rankin sought funds from donors all over the country to build a permanent school in Brownsville. Upon its establishment in 1854, Rankin wrote satisfactorily, "A Protestant Seminary is reared in front of papal Mexico, and within its walls are gathered Mexican girls, whose improvement encourages me to hope that their consciences may become enlightened . . . this institution is one of the instrumentalities by which God intends to disenthrall benighted Mexico from the dominion of popery."[47] Miss Rankin remained in charge of the school until 1861, when Confederate sympathizers viewed her Yankee background as unpalatable, and, like many northern teachers in the South before and during the Civil War, she was driven out.[48] The school was apparently resurrected after Reconstruction as the Presbyterian Mission School in 1878. The wife of the Presbyterian church's pastor, Mrs. Hall, was the principal. A Mexican teacher, Luciana Media, was hired among the assistants who worked with more than 60 Mexican girls. Students attended free of charge and received instruction in both Spanish and English.[49]

As Texas changed its status from an independent republic to part of the United States, Tejanos experienced a political, social, and economic shift between 1848 and 1900. Tejanos attempted to seek the best educational alternatives for their children based on local circumstances. In some cases, parents viewed Americanization as the best strategy for adaptation and sent their children to the new public schools. Others selected Protestant schools that may not have charged fees, such as the Presbyterian Day School in 1840s San Antonio. Similarly, Anglo Protestants enrolled their children in Catholic parochial schools that appeared to offer a superior education compared to the limited public school alternatives. During the last half of the nineteenth century the Texas public school system began to impose harsher restrictions against the Spanish language and created separate Mexican schools. In response, some middle-class Tejano communities established their own private schools, such as El Colegio Altamirano in Jim Hogg County (1897–1958), that were free from the control of the Catholic Church or the state of Texas.[50]

FROM ALTA CALIFORNIA TO THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA: EDUCATION, AMERICANIZATION, AND THE CALIFORNIO POPULATION

From a want of any organized system of school instruction while California remained a Mexican province, it is not surprising that, in very many cases, the children of the older Californians have little or no education beyond that of repeating and a few reading the ceremonies and religius [sic] *books of the Catholic church. It is true that there are exceptions to the position taken; but scarcely in sufficient numbers to form any considerable amount. This class of our population has heretofore been deprived of the advantages of schools; and now, since the parents of such children have been brought into contact with the Anglo Saxon race, the want of education becomes more apparent to them, and they are alive to the interests of this important subject.*

—*John G. Marvin, Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of California, 1851*[51]

Similar to the situation in Texas, a small number of Mexicans controlled a considerable portion of the land and political power in California at the time of American conquest in 1848. Historians estimate that these elites represented only about 5 percent of the Mexican population. In order to distance themselves from the negative connotations ascribed to Mexicans, they began using the name *Californio*.[52] However, even those of the elite Californio class found their Hispanic language, culture, and religion under assault by the state of California's new constitution and laws.

After U.S. conquest, the Gold Rush of 1849 brought thousands of Anglo settlers to the Golden State. By 1860, the Anglo and Mexican populations of California exceeded 380,000.[53] During this era of rapid change the public school system of California was viewed as a stable influence in molding the

diverse groups of European immigrants, Californios, and Anglos into the future citizens of California. Unlike Texas, which experienced a long disruption in the public schools due to the Civil War and Reconstruction, California moved forward quickly in its public school development. A state superintendent was appointed in 1851 and schools were created in counties throughout the state. During the 1850s and 1860s Californios and Anglos clashed over language issues in the new public schools. Early public school reports illuminate the bilingual/bicultural environment present in many communities (refer to document 3.4). Similar to Tejanos, Californios did not reject the English language but wished also to preserve Spanish in both the home and the public domain.

The experience of Santa Barbara's Californios in the 1850s illuminates tensions over language issues throughout the Southwest as Mexicans found themselves becoming foreigners in their native lands. Because Californios comprised three-fifths of the population, they initially wielded considerable influence in the community. Spanish-language instruction was maintained in Santa Barbara's public schools in the early 1850s. Two male teachers from Chile taught geography, history, writing, and arithmetic.[54] However, the state of California began passing "subtractive" policies in 1855 that forbade the teaching of Spanish in public schools. The city's two Anglo school commissioners (two were Anglo and one was Mexican) called for English-only public schools. A temporary compromise was reached with the creation of a separate English school. However, the expense of maintaining two schools was prohibitive and the English- and Spanish-speaking public schools were combined into one bilingual school. Upset, Anglo parents withdrew their children from the bilingual school. The city's increasingly anti-Mexican newspaper, the *Gazette*, declared "the parents of American children unwilling that they should learn a confused jargon and gibberish, prefer to keep them at home." By 1858 the Anglo parents had won the battle for English-only instruction. Subsequently, many Mexican parents chose to enroll their children in a Catholic school that permitted Spanish.[55]

Mexicans in Los Angeles experienced similar adjustments. In 1850 the city council still called itself the ayuntamiento, the nomenclature from the Mexican Era. The city hired a Spanish-speaking retired soldier, Francisco Bustamente, who had formerly taught during the Mexican Era. Bustamente was contracted to "teach to the children first, second, and third lessons, and likewise to read script, and so much as [he] may be competent to teach them orthography and good morals."[56] Because of the new public school law requiring English in the public schools in 1855, the approximately 500 school-age children (majority Mexicans and Californios) were then schooled in English. In response, Antonio Jimeno del Recio offered to teach Spanish-speaking children at public expense. The town council (which still included one Latino member) approved the proposal and the Spanish class was taught for a brief period until funds ran out.[57] By the end of the 1850s, Anglo teachers, such as Miss Gertrude Hoyt, instructed Spanish- and English-

speaking students in English. According to Pitt, "Yankee parents complained occasionally that she had difficult coping with the Spanish (and French) children to the detriment of Yankee children."[58]

Los Angelenos who wished for their children to learn Spanish and English, and could afford the fees, sent their children to one of California's many Catholic schools. During the first years of statehood in California, 1850–1855, Catholic schools continued to educate Mexican Americans and were often provided with public funds for their efforts. Section 10 of California's 1851 school law permitted religious schools to receive "compensation from the Public School fund in proportion to the number of its pupils, in the same manner as provided for district schools by this act."[59] By 1853, anti-Catholic sentiments were gaining ground in California and these liberal measures came under attack. Bishop Joseph S. Alemany asked the California superintendent of public instruction to continue supporting the Catholic schools, requesting, "I beg leave to ask you to aid us with your great influence, that the reported schools may not be altogether cut off from the public fund." According to Bishop Alemany, in 1853, 12 schools with a total of 579 pupils were being instructed in English, French, and Spanish languages in the Catholic schools throughout California.[60]

The 1855 revised school law permanently removed the option of public funds for private religious schools. The code included the stipulation that "no sectarian books should be used, and no sectarian doctrines should be taught in any public school under penalty of forfeiting the public funds." The superintendent of 1865 commented, "The stringent provision settled then, and probably forever, the question of an American system of public schools in this State, free from the bitterness of sectarian strife and the intolerance of religious bigotry."[61] One last effort was made to permit Catholic schools to receive funds in an 1860 bill introduced to the California Assembly by Hon. Zack Montgomery of Yuba County. The bill was argued vigorously in the Assembly but was ultimately defeated.[62] In the northeastern United States, fights over public funds for Catholic schools had engaged the energies of urban school officials during these same decades.[63] In the Southwest, the Catholic religion had been so closely intertwined with schooling for centuries that the separation of church and state represented a profound break in cultural traditions.

The racialization of Latino children after American conquest further shaped their educational circumstances in the post–Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo decades.[64] Most Mexicans in California and the Southwest were of varying degrees of *mestizaje*—the result of Native Americans, Spaniards, Africans, and Mexicans comingling over several centuries. Californios of darker complexion were placed at a distinct disadvantage if they classified themselves or were classified by the government as Native Americans (or blacks) instead of Mexicans. As a result, Menchaca suggests that many mestizos identified themselves to the government as Mexicans to avoid discrimination. For example, as early as 1858, "Negroes, Mongolians, and

Indians" in California were not allowed to attend schools for white children "under penalty of the forfeiture of the public school money by districts admitting such children into school."[65] The revised California school law of 1866 permitted some exceptions to this rule. Section 56 permitted a board of trustees by a majority vote to "admit into any public school half-breed Indian children, and Indian children who live in white families or under guardianship of white persons." In Section 57, "children of African or Mongolian descent, and Indian children not living under the care of white persons, shall not be admitted into public schools." Schools were required, however, to open public schools whenever at least ten parents of "such children" petitioned the school board.[66] Except for the very few children who may have had white guardians willing to petition for entry to white schools, the majority of mixed race children were placed in segregated schools. The description of one such school in Los Angeles underscores this point:

> There is also a small school of fifteen negro children of all the shades arising from blending all the primary colors of Spanish, American, Indian, and African parentage. They are engaged in the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties, as their little room ten by fifteen feet, has neither desks, blackboard, maps, charts, nor any kind of furniture, except a line of rough board seats without backs, around the walls.[67]

Anglo attitudes regarding the educability of Mexicans, Indians, and African Americans were commonly disparaging. John Swett, superintendent of public instruction for California from 1863 to 1868, often made comments such as "The boys' school, numbering, say forty scholars, held in a comfortable brick school-house, is attended mostly by children whose mother tongue is Spanish, and who are not remarkable either for order or scholarship."[68] In San Buenaventura, Swett drew the conclusion that since "the American residents there have established a private school and refuse to send their children to the public schools, where the 'native' children attend, we are led to suppose that its management is not the best in the world."[69] The decades of cultural conflict between Californios and Anglos resulted in the diminished political and economic status of Mexicans and their descendents. However, as historians Richard Griswold del Castillo and Albert Camarillo have found, Mexican communities increasingly relied upon themselves to preserve their language, culture, and identity.[70]

HISPANO SCHOOLING IN THE TERRITORIES OF NEW MEXICO, COLORADO, AND ARIZONA

Both demographics and geography shaped an educational history in the territories of Arizona (1848–1912), Colorado (1848–1876), and New Mexico (1848–1912) distinct from that of California and Texas. The rural and isolated nature of the land and majority Hispanic citizenry preserved the Spanish language and led to blended public-private schools for a longer duration than in California and Texas.

Arizona

> *Elhrenberg [AZ] was about one hundred and twenty-five miles up the river from Yuma . . . My school room was a building formerly used as a saloon . . . I had fifteen pupils not one of whom knew any English; and I knew nothing of Spanish. One of the trustees was of an old California family and was master of both English and Spanish. He helped me organize my school the first morning and told me that if I ever needed any help to send for him, as his store was quite near . . . I taught through the months of May, June, July and August. We had no electric lights in those days and a lighted lamp added too much to the heat and attracted too many insects. So I used to sit outside evenings and gather the children around me. It served me as a lesson in Spanish and them as one in English so that when I went to Yuma about October 1, I had a large vocabulary, probably thousands of words, all that were needed for ordinary conversation, but I knew nothing of the grammar."*
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> —*Frank C. Lockwood,* Pioneer Days in Arizona: From the Spanish Occupation to Statehood, *1932*[71]

After the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the Southern portion of Arizona remained part of Mexico. In 1853 the United States purchased 30 thousand square miles from Mexico for 10 million dollars in the Gadsden Purchase. Until 1864, Arizona was part of the territory of New Mexico, and then it began its own territorial governance. Formerly called *Alta Pimeria*, the territory remained remote and home to hostile Indians, particularly the Apache. Ranching, long-distance freighting, and silver mining brought Anglo settlers to Arizona, but they were greatly outnumbered by Hispanics and Native Americans until railroads were built in the late 1880s.[72] As a result, the Spanish culture and language persisted, even in the new public schools.

The responsibility of creating Arizona's new school system was placed under the direction of the territorial governor, who was ex-officio superintendent of public instruction. Prior to the early 1870s public schools were sporadically created. For example, after the school law of 1868 records indicate that Augustus Brichta taught "fifty-five Mexican boys" for 6 months in a crudely constructed building.[73] A teacher named John Spring also taught an early school in Tucson in 1871. He "taught one hundred thirty eight boys, nearly all Mexicans, for fifteen months in a long, rudely furnished adobe building with dirt floor and dirt roof." The teacher tried bilingual education strategies; for instance, he "had to go over their lessons with them in Spanish before trying to teach them in English." The pupils had already received some schooling either "for brief periods in Mexico" or from private instruction. Attendance at Spring's school was high for that era, averaging 78 percent of enrollment over a 15-month period.[74] In Yuma, one former teacher recalled that in the first year of public schools in 1872, "There were pupils of all ages from married women to those just old enough to enter . . . only a very few knew any English, so the teachers just had to do the best they could."[75] The next year in Tucson, a "free public school" for girls was opened. A Mrs. L. C. Hughes taught the school in the old Pioneer Brewery.[76]

As Arizona formalized its school laws, Mexicans were incorporated into the power structure. For example, Governor Stafford identified Estévan Ochoa as a key supporter of public schools in his annual reports. He wrote of Ochoa, "Being a Mexican by birth, his devotion to the school system, and his clear, practical intelligence, have been of invaluable service in stimulating his people to sustain the public school system."[77] Ochoa was named as a member of the Tucson school board and elected state legislator in the 1870s.[78]

Regarding tolerance toward the Spanish language, Arizona's public school reports reveal a liberal attitude toward bilingualism not evident in Texas or California. As late as 1899, the Anglo superintendent of Apache County schools, John T. Hogue, critiqued public school teachers who worked among Hispanic populations and did not know the language. Hogue concluded his 1899 report, stating:

> I have one other suggestion to make. It has come under my observation that in school districts where the population is largely Spanish-speaking or Mexican, that the pupils, as a rule, do not progress well under the tutorage of teachers who have no knowledge of the Spanish language; in fact these pupils, the great majority of them, advance slowly and very unsatisfactorily in all cases where the teacher has no knowledge of the Spanish language. In view of this fact, and in consideration of the more significant fact that our Government has, as a result of the Spanish-American war, acquired an immense territory where the Spanish language is the dominant and prevailing language, I recommend that teachers in school districts where the inhabitants are largely Spanish-speaking people, should, in addition to being English scholars, also be Spanish scholars.[79]

In 1904 Hogue was still recommending the employment of bilingual teachers. (See document 3.5.)

The completion of railroad passages in the late nineteenth century, linking Arizona to California, and political developments in the Southwest contributed to an increase in ethnic tensions between Mexicans and Anglos in Arizona Territory. According to Thomas Sheridan, by the turn of the century, the gulf between Mexicans and Anglos had widened and "the segregation that characterized Texas and California took root in Arizona as well."[80] The Mexican community in Arizona maintained its bicultural identity through the publication of Spanish language newspapers such as *El Fronterizo* (1878–1914). Furthermore, mutualistas, such as the Alianza Hispano Americana, founded in 1894, provided legal and financial support and a social outlet for Arizona's Mexican community.[81]

New Mexico

New Mexicans also shared the relative tolerance toward the Spanish language displayed by Arizona school officials, but with one important difference—not only the Spanish language but also the Catholic Church was closely united with New Mexico's public schools through the nineteenth century. In contrast, Arizona secularized its public schools by the mid-1870s.[82] Indeed, one key example of the tensions between Mexicans in New Mexico, called

Hispanos, and Anglo settlers concerned the scope of Catholic involvement in public schooling and the centralized (often Anglo) territorial control of schools versus local control.

Established as a territory in 1850, New Mexico passed its first school law in the 1855–56 legislature. The law stipulated that the schools would be supported by a property tax and control would reside with the territorial government. Because they were accustomed to local control and holding large tracts of land, the new law was unpopular with Hispanos. Quickly, Hispanos repealed the law by a general vote of 5,016 against and 37 in favor. Anglos viewed the repeal as a rejection of education in general, instead of a rejection of less control and more taxes. The territorial governor William Pile condemned the vote, saying, "If more proofs of the present unfortunate condition of the mestizos were wanting, it may be shown that their indifference to education reaches not only hostility, but a hostility which has, perhaps, been expressed with more unanimity at the ballot-box than any similar instance in history." Governor Pile continued his diatribe, stating that the only explanation for such a vote was the "the people are so far sunk in ignorance that they are not really capable of judging of the advantages of education . . . the verdict shows that the people love darkness better than light."[83]

As Lynn Marie Getz documents in her skillful study of Hispanos and education, the 1856 vote represented a "myth of Hispano resistance" to public schooling. In subsequent legislation, Hispanos supported public schools, and even the idea of taxing themselves—but they wanted to maintain local funding control.[84]

The Hispano community dominated New Mexico's school leadership and subsequently possessed the type of political power necessary to protect its interests and concerns. For example, in 1875, 27 of the 34 county school commissioners were Hispanos. By 1878, 33 of the 39 elected school commissioners were Hispanos. At the territorial level, Hispanos were also well represented.[85] The office of superintendent of public instruction, created in the 1891 School Law, was held continuously by Hispanos from 1891 to 1905. Amado Chávez (1891–1897), Placido Sandoval (1897–1899), Manuel C. Baca (1899–1901), J. Francisco Cháves (1901–1904), and Amado Cháves (1904–1905) in another term, served as the territory's chief state school officers.[86]

Of all the southwestern states, New Mexico appeared to most fully embrace Spanish/English bilingualism in its public schools. In 1875, for example, two-thirds (86 of 131) of the public schools were conducted exclusively in Spanish, and an additional one-third (38 of 131) were taught in Spanish and English. Thus, only 5 percent of the territory's public schools (7 of 131) were taught in English.

The publication of legislative laws in English and Spanish further highlighted the political strength of Hispanos. Prior to 1886, Hispanos dominated the legislature, a fact that influenced educational matters.[87] As late as 1889 the school laws of New Mexico were printed in both languages, alternating Spanish and English (see document 3.6). Section 1110 of the 1889 school law permitted texts in either language, stating, "It shall be the duty of the School

Directors to adopt text books in either English or Spanish, or both."[88] Thus, the English-only rules that characterized Texas and California by the 1850s had not taken root in New Mexico. However, the territory finally passed a law in 1891 requiring that English be included in all of the public schools. The Hispano superintendent of schools, Amado Cháves, observed of this new ruling, "no opposition has been encountered in any part of the Territory in the matter of introducing English speaking teachers in districts where heretofore Spanish alone had been taught." Furthermore, he was pleased "that the greatest interest is being shown, in the Spanish speaking counties, in behalf of the new law, which requires that the English language shall be taught in all the common schools of the Territory."[89] Although English eventually became the official language of the public schools in New Mexico in 1907, biliteracy was championed through the end of the nineteenth century. Overall, the secure hold on Hispano culture and language persisted in New Mexico far longer than in other parts of the Southwest.[90]

The Catholic Church played an extremely influential role in the educational development of Latinos particularly and in New Mexico in general. A significant irritant to Anglo officials in the territory was the granting of public funds to Catholic schools. Territory secretary William G. Ritch (1873–1884) railed against the "priestly influence" to "gradually subvert the public schools and the school fund."[91] In his 1875 annual report he condemned the fact that "in a majority of the counties, to-day, the school books and church Catechism, published by the Jesuits, and generally in Spanish, constitute the text books in use in the public schools."[92] The separation of church and state that Ritch desired did not materialize in New Mexico during the nineteenth or even early twentieth century. County school commissioners often requested religious orders to organize public schools and paid priests and nuns from the common school fund. The Jesuit press that Secretary Ritch mentioned, Imprenta del Río Grande, published public school textbooks used in the late nineteenth century.[93]

Statistics from the territorial secretaries' reports suggest that Hispanos heavily patronized the Catholic schools, which were also accessible to non-Catholics. St. Michael's College in Santa Fé, for example, was established by the Christian Brothers in 1859. The school offered advanced instruction for young men but also ran a "free department for the poorer class, which has been attended by a yearly average of 180 male [Mexican] pupils." St. Michael's received seven hundred dollars annually from the public school funds for its "charitable services."[94] In addition to academies for boys in Santa Fé and Las Vegas, girls in particular were most likely to attend Catholic schools because of Hispanic cultural practices that kept the sexes apart.

In 1874, Secretary Ritch wrote, "girls are not generally admitted to the public schools. This arises from a belief quite generally prevailing in the territory that there should be separate schools for girls; and not from indisposition to provide for them."[95] Several teaching orders in New Mexico opened their schools to girls. By the early 1890s over one thousand girls in New Mexico were being educated in Catholic schools. The Sisters of Loretto opened the Academy of Our Lady of Light in 1853. The sisters had arrived in Santa Fé in 1852 but waited one year because of the need "to acquire the Spanish language" first.[96] In 1881 a permanent building costing $24,000 was built and by 1891, 280 girls were enrolled at Our Lady of Light.[97] The Sister of Loretto operated schools in six other New Mexican towns by 1892, totaling almost six hundred girls. The Sisters of Mercy also taught young Hispanic women in New Mexico. In four different locations they enrolled 379 pupils in 1892. Lastly, the Sisters of Charity teachers were actively involved in the educational enterprise. Including 62 girls in the Santa Fé Orphan Industrial school, 18 Sisters of Charity instructed 544 girls by the end of the nineteenth century. A portion of the public school fund was given to the Catholic schools in exchange for their assistance.[98]

Another factor shaping the educational opportunities of New Mexico's Latino population in the late nineteenth century was the presence of Protestant missionary schools. The Presbyterian Church, under the leadership of Sheldon Jackson, viewed New Mexico in particular as a missionary field ripe with possibilities. Jackson wished to seize New Mexico for Protestantism "as the Spanish had, centuries earlier, replaced the Aztec religion in Mexico with Catholicism."[99] Schools run by the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions were determined to save Latino children from Catholicism and ignorance in general.[100]

The missionary enterprise was extensive in New Mexico. In 1891 Superintendent of Public Instruction Amado Cháves noted that over 880 Mexican children were attending missionary "day schools," and 145 were in boarding schools.[101] Presbyterians were not the only denomination in New Mexico. The Methodist Church and the New West Educational Commission opened schools enrolling hundreds of Mexican children.[102] Protestant missionary schools created dilemmas for Hispano parents in New Mexico. The large number of children enrolled suggests that depending upon the availability of other schools, a missionary school was better than no school at all. However, many Hispano families were threatened with excommunication from the Catholic church for sending their children to Protestant schools. For the children themselves, historians point out that there could be long-term benefits to attending missionary institutions. Because most public schools were conducted in Spanish, and Catholic schools in both languages, missionary schools "offered upwardly mobile Hispanos entry to the language, values, and milieu of the Anglo world."[103] Specifically, Susan Yohn found that Hispano youth, especially those who converted, became "recipients of whatever largesse the mission enterprise had to reward" and became well-connected with networks of Anglos who could further their education and assist with employment.[104]

HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY MEXICAN AMERICAN[105]

The possession of a college degree or even collegiate participation in mid-nineteenth-century America was rare for anyone regardless of race, gender, or

ethnicity. College graduates represented only 1 percent of the male workforce before the Civil War.[106] The small numbers of Latinos in nineteenth-century colleges were thus drawn from among the most privileged classes in the new territories as well as families from northern Mexico who sent their sons to receive a bilingual education.[107]

The newly developing state universities in the Southwest provided one pathway for students seeking higher education during this era. The University of California, Berkeley, opened its doors in 1869 with 40 students. The university quickly found itself in a situation familiar to many colleges of that era—few students were adequately prepared for collegiate-level work. As a result, the university opened a preparatory department called the Fifth Class. Standards for admission were lower, and during its brief existence from 1870 to 1872, the Fifth Class enrolled almost two dozen Mexican-born and Californio students; only two Latino students passed the entrance examination and proceeded to the freshman class.[108] The abolition of the preparatory department in order to "raise standards" two years later resulted in the "virtual disappearance of Spanish surnamed students from the University of California."[109] Although some Latino students attended the Berkeley campus at the University of California during the following one hundred years, it was not until after 1970 that the Latino student was more than a rarity.

In Texas, the flagship university campus in Austin was opened in the fall of 1883. Apparently, in 1894 Manuel García was the first Mexican American to graduate from the University of Texas.[110] Little is known about other Latinos in the Texas university system during this early era, although estimates from the 1920s place the Hispanic population at only 1.1 percent of all undergraduates.[111]

Latino participation in late-nineteenth-century higher educational institutions in Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico has received little scholarly attention, but the sociohistoric context (of a longer, more open attitude toward bilingualism and biculturalism) suggests participation was higher than in Texas or California. The Mexican-born Mariano Samniego arrived in Arizona as a boy in the 1850s. He received his bachelor's degree in 1862 from Saint Louis University and became a prominent businessman. In 1886 he was appointed as a member of the first board of regents for the University of Arizona.[112] His presence may have encouraged Latino access to schools among the student population in a time and place that Latinos still maintained political power. Another Arizonan of Mexican birth, Estévan Ochoa, was elected mayor of Tucson in 1875 and helped found the Arizona public school system.[113]

Parallel to the important role of Catholic parochial schools during the Americanization period, Catholic colleges also provided safe havens for Latinos seeking higher education in the late nineteenth century. Santa Clara College in San José was a popular choice for Latinos during this era. Founded in 1851 as a school only for young men, Santa Clara was enrolling over one hundred students by its third year. Furthermore, "instruction [was] in both English and Spanish."[114] In the 1867–1868 school year, one-quarter of the

student population was Spanish-speaking. Between 1851 and 1876 almost four hundred Hispanic-surnamed students attended Santa Clara College. Gerald McKevitt argues that the Jesuits in charge "actively recruited Spanish-speaking students" through the publication of a Spanish-language catalog.[115] Notre Dame College, California, opened as an academy for girls in 1851 and was chartered in 1868 as a college. According to one account from the 1850s, one-half of the pupils were Americans, "many from Protestant families." The school had "one room for the Spanish girls, another for the English, and a third for the smallest children."[116] The school's report cards and bills were printed in Spanish for the Spanish-speaking parents. Other Catholic colleges in the Southwest that enrolled Latino students include St. Mary's Catholic College in San Francisco, the College of San Miguel in Santa Fé, New Mexico, and St. Joseph's College in Texas.[117]

Historians Leonard Pitt and Albert Camarillo suggest that as southwestern Latinos declined in social, economic, and political status during the last half of the nineteenth century they were less likely to have the means to send their sons off to college or their daughters to Catholic academies.[118] The journal of Jesús María del Estudillo at Santa Clara College in the 1850s and 1860s (document 3.7) illuminates one such situation. Although Jesús María led a very typical college life and enjoyed socializing with young women from nearby Notre Dame College, he also worried about his family's ability to pay his tuition. In his private journal Jesús María recounted his family's declining fortunes and legal troubles over land titles and squatters. Furthermore, he disclosed his hurt feelings over one faculty member's harsh judgement of his English skills.

Higher education, a rare commodity for most of the U.S. population at the turn of the century, was pursued among Latinos when finances permitted. The Hispanics of the Southwest heavily patronized Catholic colleges because the Catholic Church represented a smooth continuity and accommodation with the Spanish language and religion.

DOCUMENT 3.1

Language Issues in the Public Schools of Texas, 1871

States in the Southwest and elsewhere compromised on strict English-only rules, particularly when those policies resulted in parents choosing private schools over the newly created public schools. In this document and the one that follows (3.2), Texas officials reveal how the implementation of statewide policies was often difficult at the local levels.

From *First Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Texas, 1871* (Austin, TX: J. G. Tracy, State Printer, 1872), in the Rare Book Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (L204 .A19 1871).

INTRODUCTION OF LANGUAGE IN SCHOOLS

The large proportion of citizens of German and Spanish birth and descent in our State, and the large proportion of emigrants of foreign birth that are constantly being added to our population, rendered the introduction of rule 7, rules governing public schools, necessary. Under its provisions teachers are permitted to teach the German, French, and Spanish languages in the public schools of this State, provided the time so occupied shall not exceed two hours each day. This clause has met with much favor throughout the State, as it brings children of scholastic age of foreign birth or descent into the public schools, where otherwise they would be subject to the additional burthens [*sic*] of expense in supporting private schools, where attention would be paid to them familiar with English and German or Spanish and English.

DOCUMENT 3.2

Persistence of Spanish and German Languages in Texas Schools, 1886

From *Fifth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Scholastic Years ending August 31, 1885 and August 31, 1886,* Being the Eleventh Report for the Department of Education, Benjamin M. Baker (Superintendent of Public Instruction, State of Texas) (Austin: State Printing Office, 1886), in State Government Publications, States Other Than Wisconsin, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

SCHOOLS TAUGHT IN THE GERMAN AND SPANISH LANGUAGES.

The present law declares that the exercises of the schools shall be conducted in the English language. And yet very many complaints have been made each year to the effect that some of the schools are conducted in the German and some of them in the Spanish languages. Investigation disclosed the truth of some of the charges, but the Superintendent in a majority of instances found himself powerless to remedy the evil. I have myself conversed with teachers who could not speak the English sufficiently well to be understood. I am glad to say that as to the German language nearly all the complaints were made by Germans. I do not hold it objectionable to teach other languages than the English in the schools, but they should be pursued as studies, while the language of the school should be the English. This matter should be seriously considered by the Legislature, for if not arranged it promises much harm to public school interests.

DOCUMENT 3.3

Account of a Protestant Missionary in 1850s Brownsville, Texas

Born in Littleton, New Hampshire, on March 21, 1811, Melinda Rankin received a New England education and began teaching in the common schools of that region. Similar to many women who traveled West to spread the gospel through the public schools, Rankin also chose to combine proselytizing and teaching. Melinda's goal was to convert Catholics to the Presbyterian faith in Mexico. However, because the Mexican constitution forbade the teaching of other religions, she chose to open a school and mission in Brownsville, Texas, along the U.S./Mexico border. With the assistance of the American and Foreign Christian Union in New York, Rankin eventually reached her goal of establishing missions inside Mexico. She also taught among the freed people of the American South after the Civil War and lived actively until her death on December 6, 1888.[119]

In this passage from her book, Twenty Years among the Mexicans, the strength of her evangelical spirit is conveyed through her thoughts and actions while teaching Mexicans in the border town of Brownsville. Readers will gain a sense of the intense anti-Catholicism prevalent in the United States of the early 1850s and the means in which native populations such as the Mexicans of Brownsville interacted with missionaries in their midst.

From: Melinda Rankin, *Twenty Years among the Mexicans: A Narrative of Missionary Labor* (Cincinnati: Chase and Hall, Publishers, 1875), pp. 34–45, 57–61, 63–74.

CHAPTER V.

In the spring of 1852 I believed that time had fully come for me to commence my work for the Mexican people. I had gained some very important information in regard to my probable success, through Rev. Daniel Baker, D.D., a Presbyterian minister, who, in 1850, had ascended the Rio Grande River as far as Roma, a distance of two hundred miles, for investigating the condition of the country for evangelical work. He represented the Mexicans as accessible, and many of them manifesting the desire for instruction in the Bible.

I left Jefferson, Eastern Texas, in May, and went to New Orleans to take passage on a vessel for Brazos Santiago, near the mouth of the Rio Grande

River. I purposed going to Brownsville, a place situated about sixty miles up the river, opposite Matamoras, Mexico. The steamship for which I waited brought news of the invasion of Brownsville, by Indians, of a very alarming character. This condition of affairs, prevailing at the place of my destination, presented somewhat of an obstacle in the way of the further prosecution of my journey, as I had hoped that things had become sufficiently settled on the frontier to insure personal safety at least. But could I turn back because of difficulties in the way? I thought of the trials of "Pilgrim," who met lions in the way, and also of the advice given to him "To keep in the middle of the road, and the lions could not harm him." "Duty to God" was my watchword, and on His powerful arm I trusted for protection, and I resolved to go forward. Remaining in New Orleans over the Sabbath, I attended what was then Rev. Dr. Scott's church, where I heard a sermon from a stranger (Dr. S. being absent) which fully established my faith in God's Providential dealings with his people. Although that stranger, who was a foreigner, judging by his dialect, may never know, in this world, the comforting message he brought to me on that occasion, perhaps a future day will reveal that it was a word spoken in season to one soul at least. With renewed courage I took passage, and crossed the Gulf of Mexico, landing at Brazos, and passing over an arm of the sea, arrived at Point Isabel. There I took a stage for Brownsville.

A new sensation seized me when I saw, for the first time, a *Mexican*, a representative of the nation for which I had entertained such profound interest. I did not feel, as many others have expressed, that the *sight* of a Mexican was enough to disgust one with the whole nation. A heartfelt sympathy was revived, not by the prepossessing exterior, surely, but because a priceless soul was incased in it for whom the Savior had died. And a whole nation of souls, shut out from the light of the gospel of salvation, pressed with an increased influence upon my heart. Although I was coming into a land of new and untried scenes, yet I felt God's presence encompassing me, and I repeated the lines of Madame Guyon,

> "To me belongs nor time nor space,
> My country is in every place;
> I can be calm and free from care,
> On any shore, *since God is there*."

Just before arriving in Brownsville, the driver of the stage asked me where I wished to be left. I replied, "Take me to the best hotel in town." He answered, "There is no hotel in Brownsville." This intelligence was somewhat of a damper upon my feelings and prospects, and I mused upon the unpleasant condition of a stranger arrived in such a place after nine o'clock at night. After a little time the driver said, "I know a German woman who sometimes takes lady boarders, and I will take you to her house." Accordingly, I was set down at this woman's door, and I found my way inside, and asked for a night's lodging. The woman kindly received me, and I passed the night very comfortably.

At ten o'clock the next day I sallied out in quest of more commodious quarters. I found an American family, with which I was invited to remain a few days, but they could not give me permanent board. After several applications for a boarding-place, I was finally compelled to provide a home for myself, which I did, by renting two rooms, one for a residence, and the other I intended appropriating to school purposes. The day before opening my school, I went to my rooms, but not under very auspicious circumstances. At dark, I had no bed to sleep on, nor did I know how I was to obtain my breakfast, to say nothing of supper. But before the hour of retiring came, a Mexican woman brought me a cot, an American woman sent me a pillow, and a German woman came and said she would cook my meals and bring them to me. Did I not feel rich that night as I retired to my humble cot? Indeed, I never closed my eyes in sleep with more profound feelings of thankfulness to God. I fully believed I was where my Divine Master had called me to go—upon the border of that land where I had so long desired to be—and to whose people I trusted to the Lord would make me eminently useful.

Next morning I opening my school with five pupils, but more promised. The education of the children seemed the most feasible means of benefiting the people at the time, and I opened a school although upon the American side of the Rio Grande. The laws of Mexico, at that time, most positively forbade the introduction of Protestant Christianity in any form, and had I gone into Mexico proper for the purpose of teaching the Bible, I should have been imprisoned.

That portion of Texas between the Rio Grande and Nueces Rivers had been claimed by Mexico previous to the late war, but the United States had conquered, and, consequently, it was under our government. Some thousands of Mexican people preferred remaining in their old homes, which fact gave me an opportunity of laboring among Mexicans under the protection of our own government. I was truly happy in a short time in obtaining some thirty or forty Mexican children, and giving them daily instruction in the Bible, against which the parents manifested no objection. I found some who could read in the Spanish language, and a few who had acquired some knowledge of the English. The parents were greatly desirous their children should learn the English language, and become Americanized, and hence my school received popular favor on that account. To be able to put the Bible into the hands of three or four dozen Mexican children, and give them instruction in its blessed teachings, I felt to be an unspeakable privilege. Although the work might look small to the eye of human reason, yet faith bade me hope it might prove a *beginning*, and I was satisfied to work on, even in this small way. The parables of our Savior afforded me much encouragement, especially those in which He compares the kingdom of heaven to a grain of mustard seed, which, when sown, is the lead of all seeds, yet from it sprang a tree sufficiently large for the fowls of heaven to lodge in its branches; also "to leaven, which a woman took (there was a good deal of significance in the fact that it was a *woman*) and hid in three measures of meal, until the whole was leavened."

. . .

CHAPTER VI.

In the midst of the most sanguine expectations of permanent good upon this frontier, I was surprised, one day, by hearing that several priests and nuns had come from France to establish their head-quarters at Brownsville. They had brought means for erecting a convent, for the evident purpose of educating the youth of the Rio Grande Valley. Suddenly and unexpectedly, all my prospects of usefulness there seemed completely frustrated; for what could I do, with such an array of influences against Protestantism and the Bible? But, could I abandon the field, and leave it in the hands of foreign priests and nuns? Indeed, I could not get my own consent to run before popery, while I held in my hand such a powerful spiritual weapon as the Word of God, and I was enabled to carry the matter to the throne of grace, and wait for Divine direction. I spent whole nights in prayer to God. During one of those seasons in which I was earnestly seeking for guidance, a light suddenly dawned on my mind, from these words in the book of Revelation: "These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them: for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings: and they that are with Him are called, and chosen, and faithful." The impression that these words made upon my heart, immediately settled the question of my remaining. Although single-handed and alone, yet, with the assurance derived from these words of Scripture, I felt stronger than my enemies; and I resolved to stay and maintain my post. In order to make a successful stand, I must have a building which would bear some comparison with the party with which I had to compete. My accommodations hitherto had been exceedingly limited; and, as I could obtain no aid from the inhabitants of the region, I resolved to go to the United States and secure the means for building a Protestant seminary at Brownsville. If France could afford to send four millions of dollars to the United States for educational purposes, (as she did that year) I felt that the Protestant Christians of the United States could afford a few hundred for the Rio Grande; so, I closed my schools, and set my face toward my native land, feeling quite assured of prompt and efficient aid. The scene of my departure was calculated to deepen my interest for these people. As I was about starting on the stage for Brazos, I was surrounded by the Mexican girls and their mothers, each uttering the earnest request, "come back," "*come back very soon*," and they stood and watched me with tearful eyes, until I passed out of their sight. When I arrived at Brazos, I could find no conveyance to New Orleans but a schooner, and that very small and inconvenient.

[Miss Rankin's ability to obtain financial contributions in New Orleans was limited, but she made many contacts and gained confidence that her work in Brownsville—and efforts to raise money—were appropriate and useful endeavors. She had little luck in Louisville, but convinced members of Philadelphia's Presbyterian Board of Education to help her raise five hundred dollars. In Boston she obtained another five hundred dollars from its churches. These efforts wearied her, but after a few months rest, she returned along the Ohio and Mississippi rivers arguing the importance of her

cause at every stop. Occasionally she accepted rides, but the greater part of her journey was made on foot, walking eight to ten miles a day. Many people along the way expressed contempt for Mexicans but sanctioned her work with donations of 10 to 20 dollars. Overall, she described the journey as fatiguing but ultimately rewarding and successful.]

. . .

In the autumn of 1854 I entered my new seminary. This was an auspicious event. The days of labor and scenes of anxious solicitude were all forgotten on the morning I assembled my pupils for the first time in this Protestant institution. I explained to them that the building had been given by Christian friends abroad for their benefit, and endeavored to impress them with the vast importance of improving the privileges it would afford them to the best advantage possible. With my Mexican girls, I consecrated this new edifice to God by reading a portion of Scripture and by prayer. The American Bible and Tract Societies of New York continued to supply my demands for books; although I often wondered at their liberality, considering the very unpopular work I had in hand. I used often to think, in reference to the indifference which prevailed so extensively towards Mexico and her people, that the Lord had chosen me for the work because I was so very insignificant, and it mattered little if I did spend my poor life and services among the Mexicans.

CHAPTER IX.

In 1855 I felt the need of assistance, and I ventured to write a letter to Rev. Dr. Kirk, of Boston, Mass., asking for a colporteur for the Mexican frontier. The letter, quite unexpectedly to me, was published in the magazine of the American and Foreign Christian Union for August, 1855. I will copy the letter, and also the remarks of the editor. It was headed—

"A Voice From The Rio Grande.

"The following letter from Miss Rankin, one of the worthy daughters of New England, who, by much sacrifice and indomitable perseverance, has succeeded in establishing a seminary for Mexican young ladies, in Brownsville, on the Texas side of the Rio Grande, which separates the United States from Mexico, will be read with much interest."

But to the letter:

"*Brownsville*, April, *1855*.

"Rev. Dr. Kirk:

"*Dear Sir*—Convinced that you have sympathy with whatever appertains to the interest of Christ's kingdom, I take the liberty of calling your attention to this remote land, where, and on the border of which, are thousands of immortal souls under the influence of Popery, in its most enslaving and debasing forms. You are fully acquainted with Romanism, and, therefore, I need not describe to you the character of this soul-destroying agency of the arch-enemy Satan. I presume also, that I need not describe the painful emotions awakened in the heart by daily witnessing the sad influence of that system, so wisely calculated to lead immortal souls to endless ruin.

"We have in Brownsville some three or four thousand Mexicans, who have escaped the dreaded influence of a corrupt priesthood of their own country, in whose moral condition and wants my sympathies are deeply enlisted, and in whose behalf I now write. The enterprise in which I was engaged when last in your city I have, with the blessing of God, carried out successfully. A Protestant seminary is reared in front of papal Mexico, and within its walls are gathered Mexican girls, whose improvement encourages me to hope that their consciences may become enlightened, and that they will embrace the Gospel, which can save their souls. I trust it may ultimately be seen that this institution is one of the instrumentalities by which God intends to disenthrall benighted Mexico from the dominion of popery . . .

I proposed to the Board of the American and Foreign Christian Union, that if they would furnish me the means for employing an assistant teacher in my school, so I could be, in part, relieved from school duties, I would become their colporteur and Bible reader. The proposal was accepted, and January of 1856 I came under the auspices of that society. Re-enforced by a competent teacher, I was greatly strengthened, and the school and Bible distribution received a new impulse. I visited all the houses of the Mexicans in Brownsville and vicinity, and supplied every family of which any member could read, with a Bible. Only occasionally would I find one who rejected it. It was said by my American friends: "The Mexicans take your Bibles to turn over to the priests to be burned." I would follow up my investigations until I was satisfied that such was not true. Indeed, I never ascertained that a single Bible was destroyed. But *I did* ascertain that the Mexicans concealed them in the most careful manner, taking them out and reading them by night, as they said, "when the priests were not about." I went one day to the house where one of my pupils resided, to inquire after her absence, and also to make inquiry after a Bible I had furnished her. A report had crept into school that she had exchanged it with the nuns for a "saint," and that they (the nuns) had burned it. The mother of the girl met me at the door, and with streaming eyes told me that her daughter had died with yellow fever but a short time before. I asked her, if she had her Bible? She replied, "No, I put her Bible in her coffin, as she loved it so much, and it was buried with her." I found another similar case, where a father had put the Bible by the side of his son in his coffin. Although I could not fully coincide with this use of God's Word, yet there was something pathetic and suggestive in the act of these bereaved Mexican parents.

DOCUMENT 3.4

Transitions in the Public Schools of California, 1852

These selections from the first annual reports of the school superintendent in California illuminate the transitional state of public schooling under the new governance of the United States. Strict separation of church and state was unheard of and school organization reflected the "mixed" population of the children themselves. Mexican/Spanish families intermarried with Anglo settlers pouring in from the east. Some schools were Catholic, and some were conducted in Spanish and others in English. They reflected a bicultural/bilingual society in which one language or culture was not yet subsumed under the other.
In the documents below the county clerks have estimated the number of school-age children in each county and written their observations of the state of schooling.

From *The First Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Legislature of the State of California. 1852*, Eugene Cassely, State Printer, Appendix F, School Statistics, pp. 48–50. Found in State Government Publications, States Other Than Wisconsin, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

SAN LUIS OBISPO COUNTY—200 Children

Pueblo, San Luis Obispo,
January 7, 1852.

John G. Marvin, Esq.

"Sir:—Yours of December 5, 1851, was duly received with regard to schools in this County; there is not one at present. A school was kept open last summer, at the expense of the County, by a Spanish teacher, but was so grossly neglected that it was abolished. A great part of the children in this County are of American fathers, but none speak the English language; which, of course their parents are most anxious to have them learn; hence the difficulty—that of getting a teacher who understads [*sic*] both English and Spanish—the situation not being sufficiently remunerative for a person having those acquirements. If a school could be established in this Pueblo, I am of opinion, that it would be sufficient for the absolute wants of the County; as in all other

parts the population is so sparse, that but a few could attend, on account of the distance from one farm to another. Whereas, in this place, children would be sent to board for the sake of attending school. I have acquainted some of the heads of of [*sic*] the most respectable families with the purport of your letter, and probably you will hear from some more interested, and better able to inform you on this subject than myself.

I remain yours truly,"

JAMES D. HUTTON,
Clerk San Luis Obispo County.

SANTA CRUZ COUNTY—200 Children

In the town of Santa Cruz are two schools—one English, with 40, and one Spanish, with 25 scholars.

They are supported by the tuition money paid by the patrons.

SANTA CLARA COUNTY—300 Children

In San José there are two Select or High Schools. One of them is a young ladies' Seminary, containing about 90 pupils. It is under the management of the Sisters of Charity. The other is the San José Academy. Through the exertion and liberality of the Hon. G. B. Tingley and several other residents of the city of San José, a subscription of $5,000 was raised, in September last, for the purchase of buildings, and endowing, to some extent, the above mentioned Academy. The Rev. E. Bannister is Principal, and his lady and Miss Winlack, are assistant teachers. The school numbers about 60 scholars, each of whom pay from eight to sixteen dollars per quarter for tuition.

At the Mission of San José is a Catholic School, numbering about 20 pupils.

In the village of Santa Clara, there are two Primary Schools, numbering about 64 scholars. "In addition, there have been two other schools taught in the township. The number of scholars will not vary far from 35."

F. COOPER, P. M.

SANTA BARBARA COUNTY—400 Children

"There is one school in the town of Santa Barbara, under the supervision of the City Council. There are two teachers, who receive together $70 per month from the city. Both teachers being Chilanians [Chileans], no English is taught—Geography, History, Writing, and Arithmetic, being the only branches taught. As there is not one Spanish Grammar in the town, that branch is of course entirely neglected; nor do I know that any exertions have been made to get any books. There is a great deficiency here of school books of every

description. The teachers, apparently, are excellent men, and understand their profession.

There is also a school in Santa Inez, under the direction of the Catholic Church. English is here taught. There was formerly a school, well attended, in San Buenoventura, but it has been broken up."

S. BARN . . . [illegible]

DOCUMENT 3.5

From the Report of Apache County, Arizona School Superintendent, 1905

Not all Anglo school superintendents viewed English as the only means of instruction for southwestern Latinos. In this passage a local school superintendent is recommending what we call today bilingual instruction for the children of Arizona's rural public schools in the early 1900s. Furthermore, he highlights the need for bilingual teachers. The Spanish language persisted in the schools of Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico well into the 1900s.

From *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Territory of Arizona, 1905–1906* (Phoenix: The H.H. M'Neil Co. Print, 1906). Found in State Government Publications, States Other Than Wisconsin, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.

The progress made by pupils in Apache county during the school year ending June 30, 1905, has been very satisfactory in the districts where the English is the dominant language spoken. But in districts where the Spanish language dominates and the teachers had little or no knowledge of the Spanish language, the progress made by the pupils has been very discouraging and unsatisfactory.

The average daily attendance of pupils at school in Apache county this year was 523.22 pupils against 553.52 pupils last year, a decrease in the average daily attendance of 30.30 pupils, which is not a very creditable showing.

The number of children of school age in Apache county, who have not attended any school during the last year is 213, an increase of 49 over the previous year, and the delinquents were largely from districts where the pupils were of Spanish parentage, and the teachers had no knowledge of the Spanish language.

The poor progress made by the pupils in Spanish speaking districts in Apache county is, in my opinion, directly attributable to two prime causes, to-wit:

1st. The lack of knowledge of the Spanish language on the part of English speaking teachers and their inability to interest or explain to their pupils.

2d. The absolute failure upon the part of county officials to enforce the law in regard to compulsory education in Spanish speaking districts . . .

It will be observed, by reference to the school statistics, that in school districts where the Spanish language dominates, and the teachers possessed little or no knowledge of the Spanish language, the average daily attendance of pupils at school largely decreased, as compared with the years when the same districts were so fortunate as to secure teachers who had a fair knowledge of the Spanish language. To illustrate: Take District No. 6 for the school year ending June 30, 1905; this district had a teacher who was a good Spanish as well as English scholar, the average daily attendance of pupils was 70 scholars. For the last year, ending June 30, 1906, this district, No. 6, employed a teacher who possessed no knowledge of the Spanish language, and the average daily attendance of pupils at school was 51.90, a decrease of 18.10 pupils in the average daily attendance, and [the school] made poor progress, and this is the result always in Spanish speaking districts where the teachers employed [possessed no] knowledge of [the] Spanish language.

In all districts where the Spanish language prevails I respectfully suggest that the teachers employed should have a practical knowledge of that language, otherwise, they will be unable to do either themselves or the pupils justice, or render value received for the salary they receive.

DOCUMENT 3.6

Bilingualism in the Territory of New Mexico, 1889

A strong Hispano concentration in the territory of New Mexico contributed to the persistence of Spanish side by side with English as the language of instruction in New Mexican public schools. After 1912, when New Mexico (and Colorado and Arizona) became states, bilingualism was slowly squeezed out of the schools and as a feature of state legal documents.

From *Compilation of the School Laws of New Mexico*, containing "All Laws and Parts of Laws Relating to Public Schools of the Territory of New Mexico" (East Las Vegas: J. A. Carruth, Printer, Binder and Blank Book Manufacturer, 1889), p. 14. Rare Book Room, Library of Congress, Washington D.C. (LB2529. N6 1889)

Sec. 1110. It shall be the duty of the School Directors to adopt text books in either English or Spanish, or both, and when adopted they shall not be changed for a period of five years. Any School District Treasurer who shall pay to any teacher any money until the requirements of this section are complied with, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and subject to a fine in double the amount of the money so paid, or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding thirty days, and such Treasurer and the sureties on his official bond shall be liable for the payment of such fine.

Sec. 1110. Será el deber de los directores de escuelas adoptar libros de texto en Inglés y Español ó en ambos idiomas y cuando adoptados no serán cambiados por el périodo de cinco años. Cualquier Tesorero de distrito de escuela que pagare á algun dinero hasta que los requisitos de esta seccion sean cumplidos será considerado culpable de un mal proceder y sujeto á una multa en doble la suma de dinero pagada así, ó á encarcelamiento por un término que no exceda trienta dias, y tal Tesorero y los fiadoresen su fianza oficial serán responsables al pago de tal multa

DOCUMENT 3.7

Higher Education for a Californio, Santa Clara College

In these 1862 Diaries of Jesús María Estudillo, we are privy to the thoughts and feelings of a young man from one of the older Californio families. Like many Mexican families of the nineteenth century, their fortunes were eroded by the legal costs of fighting land grant title adjudications and threats from squatters on their land. Furthermore, the young man's sensitivity toward criticism of his English skills is revealed as he partakes in college life in San José during the 1860s.

Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, and Santa Clara College Archives, San José, California.

January 28.

"First day I went to class. I made a composition in the English class. Commenced today in chemistry on Metallic elements. The last study hours I spent putting down some scraps in my scrap book. This day has been extremely cold. The snow still appears on the mountains. The ice was very thick this morning. After dinner (noon) I went to Father Mengarini's room and gave him one hundred and fifty dollars on account for my tuition. Molina received Solari's letter and wished me to pay him eight dollars for the desk; but I would not give him but six."

February 8.

"This morning I was examined in grammar and arithmetic, as for the former, I stood a middling examination, but for the latter, I passed much better than English. We had Philosophy and some experiments performed on Liquids or Non-Elastic Fluids in motion. Today we had a short drill. I was nominated and elected 2nd Corporal by acclamation, at first I did not wish to accept the office but afterwards I consented, not that I cared for the office. Palmer went to the Mission [San Jose], promised to come back tomorrow."

February 28.

"When I came to the study for Chemistry class, I found two letters in my desk, one from my mother and another from Delores. Lola (Delores) tells me that she has been very sick, that they did not expect her to live. Of course these

sad news pierced my heart at the first sight . . . We had speaking class. I spoke, 'Unfurl the banner of freedom.' We had in chemistry class a lecture by Roche and soda water was made. I took a glass of it, it was very good. I got this afternoon the 'Spectator' from the library, I commenced reading it this evening. Lola tells me that Dona Estudillo [is] not pleased with my epistolary style, that I have not improved my English. Indeed, I am very sorry that she has such a bad opinion of me, also says that I spent too much money on my way to the college."

April 21.

" . . . Father Caredda this morning reminded us of a few points in the rules of the College and during the forenoon the principal rules of the College were hung in the windows of the study room . . . After he had read the written rules, he said that there were four or five different spirits in the College but how they came in, he did not know—viz, Spirit of Novel Reading, 2nd, Spirit of Gambling, 3rd, Spirit of Laziness, 4th, Spirit of Destruction, by which different kinds of furniture had been spoiled, such as doors, and desks disfigured in the like manner."

May 1.

"Splendid time! Picnic, picnic!!! I got permission to go out, and soon did I put my desires into execution. I got to San Jose about ten o'clock A.M. and then I met Palmer, Keating and Murphy. Palmer and myself got ready to go to the Burnett's picnic. I was invited by Prevost. Palmer drove the horse and buggy, after an hour and a half of traveling we came to the desired spot; but nevertheless, had to make a small mistake, we expected the picnic was at the house of Mr. Burnett, not so, it was two miles further on Steven's Creek. After a hard travel we got to the desired spot. For a picturesque scene, this spot can hardly be surpassed. Here indeed the work of Nature has displayed its wondrous hand in the landscape of the country around the spot of the pleasure enjoyment. Flowery green meadows with a beautiful running stream was a sight for a poet to contemplate upon. The fair sex, among whom there were many handsome ones, seemed to enjoy themselves under the shade of an alder tree whose branches covered us from the sun. I did not partake in the dance. My acquaintances were, I mean in the female line, were Miss Sunol, Miss Bascom, to the latter I did not speak. Of course, Lizzie Miller was there. We had plenty of champagne, cakes and everything we could wish. Soon after we left on our way home, but we could not find the right road; but after Bernard Murphy took the lead and we found ourselves in Santa Clara. I saw at Cameron's Hotel some of the Hoges family. The afternoon after we got to Santa Clara was very windy and during the whole of the night the wind blew extremely hard. It was a little too warm when we left San Jose, but as soon as we got to the mountains a few drops of rain fell but did not continue."

May 18.

"I went out walking with some boys and Father Nattini, walked as far as the first bridge and then came home . . . After supper I spoke to Breen to write me

a speech for the exhibition and he very kindly proposed to do it. Palmer this evening was caught making a cigarrito in the Refectory and Father Caredda has given him punishment, but Palmer would not submit and proposes to leave the College tomorrow."

May 19.
"It is sad to record that a friend, whose friendship I always keep sealed with the truest bond of affection, was turned out of the College last night, he was not even permitted to pass the night at the College. Father Caredda spoke to us in the Refectory and for many other reasons, better known to them (the faculty), Edward Palmer was expelled after dinner. I heard Palmer had been in the College last night but did not see him . . ."

June 9.
"The private examinations began today, they commenced with all the small boys in the preparatory Dept. Received this afternoon a letter from Dolores and the papers; I see by Dolores' letter that Magdalena [his sister, Mrs. John Nugent] has brought forth a child, a girl named Sybil, and she is well. This evening during the first hour of study I and Marks and Duffy were in Father Caredda's room to write the invitations for the exhibition . . . I gave Father Caredda the name of my speech of the exhibition, to be put in the programme, he told me that he would not promise to call me as there were so many speeches already . . ."

June 10.
"Today I was very much displeased in the way Father Young treated me concerning my speech after having given it to him two weeks ago, he comes now, that there is no time to speak it in the exhibition, yes, for me there is no time, but for the rest, there is plenty. In chemistry class the compositions were brought in, but I promised Father Messea to give him mine this evening, but I did not on account of having gone to the exhibition of the other college and coming home so late. Seven of us boys went with Father Young. If at our exhibitions, we could not do better I would duck my head. The most ridiculous speaking I have ever heard, for example; 'Policy of the Administration' and two others. I saw Miss Hall and five girls of the Seminary sat right behind us and with their fan, they gave me and James Hughes more than the air needed."

October 13.
"Of all my College days, this has been the wretchedest, no peace has dwelled within this troubled bosom in the whole day since grammar class to the hour of writing these few lines, seven o'clock in the evening. I have wished that I would not have had to come back this session and I declare that if I am kept in the same English class after Christmas, I will not come back, at least if the same teacher teaches the class. After the class was over this morning, I took out my grammar to the study room to have Father Young explain something I did not understand, when some three or four boys called him and he commenced to speak to them. They told him some trifles, the fact was, that he left me standing with my book in my hand and did not finish his explanation, the small boys were more important to him; this I considered the worst kind of insult and hope I shall see the time when I can have an explanation of this act of my teacher. This evening the boys went to the Circus, I did not go because I had too many duties to perform and expected to write to San Diego, this last thing I did not do."

October 20.
"After supper I went down and sat by myself on the last bench by the corridor of the dormitory and contemplated for a good while what course in life I should follow out of College. Sometimes I thought or [*sic*; of] remaining till I would graduate; at others, I thought of not coming any more after this session and if circumstances would not permit, I would not come back after Christmas. For a long while these thoughts were in my mind, they were expelled when Townsend came up to where I was and soon after the bell rang for beads [rosary] and we had to repair thither."

October 24.
"I received this morning a letter from Mr. Ward, brought to me from San Jose by Crandell. I learnt that he had sent two hundred dollars by the stage. I asked Father Caredda's permission to go and bring money. I got the money from Mr. Crandell. I bought several articles of stationery, a Spanish Dictionary, English and Spanish, paid $6.75, Lord Chesterfield's Letters to his son, sundries, $4.00. I saw in San Jose, James Breen, H. Farley, B. Murphy, we had a game of billiards. Farley was my partner, we beat them. There was great excitement this morning when I came to San Jose, on account of the scape [*sic*] of Felipe, the prisoner who was to have been hung this morning. He killed the jailer and four others made the scape [*sic*]. I came back to Santa Clara about half past seven . . ."

"I asked him [Father Neri] when he was going to give me my lecture back and to my great astonishment, he said he had already given it to Valenzuela because he found many things to insert in mine. I was raging mad to hear this, after he promised it to me, and gave it to somebody else. I thought there must have been something else besides connected with it, not that something was to be inserted in my lecture, why did he not tell it to me before, he had it already when he told me I was to deliver it. I shall see that I have this explained to me. I wrote this evening about a page letter to Miss Mary Gray of El Rancho Puente. I heard that Ed Palmer was going to the Oakland College in a few days."

November 14.
"I heard from Faure & Bowie that a paper of candies with a china image of something like it, but anyhow, that they were introduced into the Convent and directed to Miss Grace Riddle and signed by Bowie. Father Caredda had

this morning spoken with Bowie, Faure and I believe Hastings, to find out who was the person that sent this article into the Convent. Of course they directed themselves to Bowie as it was signed by him, but he denied having done such a thing. Whoever did this, indeed, proves to be a black-guided person, for no gentleman would have done such a thing. The picture that was painted was the doing of no gentleman. Father Caredda says that if it is found out that such a thing was done by anybody from this college, that he will be expelled immediately and so he deserves."

CHAPTER FOUR

Education and Imperialism at the Turn of the Century

Puerto Rico and Cuba, 1898–1930

Cuba and Porto Rico, were intrusted [sic] to our hands by the war, and to that great trust, under the providence of God and in the name of human progress and civilization, we are committed. It is not a trust we sought; it is a trust from which we will not flinch.

—President William McKinley[1]

INTRODUCTION

American victory in the Spanish-American War of 1898 launched the United States into the role of imperial power. American support for Cuban independence from Spain initially brought the U.S. military to the Caribbean in 1898. When the *U.S. Maine* battleship blew up in the Havana harbor, killing over two hundred U.S. servicemen, Congress authorized war against Spain. The intervention to free Cuba from the "tyranny" of Spanish colonialism expanded to include Spain's Pacific colonies. The Treaty of Paris in December 1899 concluded the brief war and established the United States as an imperial world power.[2] According to the terms of the Treaty of Paris, the United States acquired the Philippine Islands, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the naval base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. Cuba itself was protected from outright acquisition in the 1898 Teller Amendment, which authorized the president to intervene in Cuba but did not grant him the power to establish rule over the island.[3] In return, Spain received 20 million dollars. The treaty also guaranteed religious freedom in the new territories, but the U.S. Congress held the power to determine the "legal, civil and political status" of the newly acquired peoples.[4] The former Spanish subjects of Puerto Rico and Cuba thus found themselves transferred from one imperial power to another.

Public education as a vehicle of Americanization had been utilized in the southwestern U.S. territories acquired in the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Fifty years later, the American government maintained the faith that public schools and the English language would also convince Puerto Ricans

Additional Praise for Victoria-María MacDonald's *Latino Education in the United States*:

MacDonald has provided a comprehensive, readable, and provocative guide for those interested in the historical evolution of Latino education in the United States. The combination of shrewd introductory essays, carefully selected readings, and extensive bibliography should make *Latino Education in the United States* one of the preferred reference books in the fields of Latino studies, education, and history. . . . One of the most impressive elements of *Latino Education in the United States* is that it provides an outlet to the many voices associated with Latino educational issues: voices of oppression, hope, discrimination, opportunity, and relentlessness. MacDonald's scholarly command of the historiography of Latino education, combined with extensive archival research, make this book a must-read for those interested in Latino and educational issues.

—*Félix V. Matos-Rodríguez, Ph.D. and Director, Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, Hunter College*

Latino Education in the United States

A Narrated History from 1513–2000

Victoria-María MacDonald

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