

**THE CITY THAT THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT FORGOT:  
SEGREGATION AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY IN LUBBOCK, TX 1890-1990**

A Dissertation

by

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## **ABSTRACT**

This work uses previously unpublished primary documents and oral histories from several archives to demonstrate that the city of Lubbock, TX began a collective memory in 1955 that misrepresented the status of race relations, and allowed them to claim a civil rights movement was unnecessary even though protests and marches were occurring throughout the rest of the nation. This work lays out how the city council, main city newspaper, and the city's Anglo population began constructing a post-racial narrative by touting that Lubbock Independent School District (LISD) voluntarily desegregated in 1955, suggesting that desegregation throughout the city followed without incident. The city built on this narrative by arguing that the city united during the aftermath of a 1970 tornado that tore through the city, ending all remaining remnants of segregation. However, as this study explores the events during the three decades following the 1970 tornado, such as the Department of Justice's (DOJ) lawsuit against LISD, and the civil rights activity that occurred in the wake of the DOJ's presence, it is made evident that the city's collective memory is more myth than reality. Although some achievements were made towards racial equality during the three decades, the misrepresentative narrative is continuously pushed by the city, uncontested by the Anglo majority, and defiant that racial progress occurred by force. As a result the core of the city's racial inequality remains, hindering future aspirations of its Mexican American and African American populations.

## **DEDICATION**

This dissertation is dedicated to my maternal grandparents, Josephina and Pedro Rodriguez. It was their immigrant story that sparked my interest in Mexican American history. Growing up in poverty their education opportunities were severely limited. It was their love, support, and hope that I would have a better life than theirs that kept me going in my pursuit of higher education.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I began this project intending to look at relations between Mexican Americans and African Americans amidst court cases that integrated school districts across Texas. As I narrowed the scope of my project for logistical reasons I was torn between cities, but in the end something kept drawing me back to Lubbock. After living in Lubbock for two years, the city's nonchalant attitude towards race relations in its history and stories of the desegregating tornado continued to tug at me, and so began my journey into the impact that collective memory has on race relations.

This dissertation was only possible due to the hard work and assistance from so many others. Dr. Carlos Blanton, my advisor read countless drafts of this dissertation, helping to hone my discussion of race relations and collective memory. The rest of my committee, Drs. Albert Broussard, Julia Blackwelder, Glenn Chambers, and Lynn Burlbaw provided useful feedback, and great insight into my topic.

The Formby Research Fellowship made much of my research possible and I am grateful for their support of my project. Just the same this project would not have been possible without those who took the time to tell me their stories, thank you. Thank you to the Texas Tech University Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library staff. Nicci Hester and Daniel Sanchez in particular were an immense help in tracking down sources, both written and oral. I am especially grateful to Jon Holmes who provided me feedback on my topic, source suggestions and just helped by talking out ideas with me.

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Thank you to Drs. Jorge Iber and Miguel Levario from Texas Tech University for providing me support and guidance even when I was no longer officially their student. Thank you to the great friends I made during the graduate program for lending an ear when I needed to vent, and for making life all the more enjoyable. I would also like to thank my parents and sister for their support as I worked through the doctoral program. Finally, thank you to my husband Nathaniel Weber who while working on his own dissertation still took time to proofread mine, and provided me with endless love and support.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

During 1965, those interested in maintaining racially constructed boundaries throughout the United States publicly and violently reacted towards minorities, and sympathizing Anglos who marched, protested, and lobbied for legislation in pursuance of civil rights. Protests such as the planned march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama on March 7<sup>th</sup> of that year challenged the violence and obstacles continuously placed in front of African Americans attempting to vote.<sup>1</sup> Martin Luther King Jr., the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and protestors, both African American and Anglo set out for Montgomery and were met by state troopers and local lawmen at the Edmund Pettus Bridge. Law officials violently subdued protestors with clubs and whips. President Lyndon Baines Johnson, influenced by the violence in Selma, pushed for and signed the Voting Rights Act in August of that year.

Only days later, a California highway patrolman pulled over Marquette Frye, an African American, under suspicion of alleged drunk driving. Tensions between the African American and Anglo community already existed in California, and the arrest of Frye triggered rioting. African Americans rioted in the impoverished, commercial section of Watts, a neighborhood in South Central Los Angeles. The riot lasted for six

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<sup>1</sup> The 15<sup>th</sup> amendment, ratified in 1870 extended the right to vote to African American males. However, obstacles such as the grandfather clause, literacy exams, and poll taxes were enacted in various towns throughout the country, particularly in the South. Voting qualifiers combined with intimidation and violence kept many African Americans from actualizing the right extended to them in 1870. African American women gained the right to vote in 1920 when universal suffrage was granted to all women in the form of the 19<sup>th</sup> amendment.

days, and is considered one of the worst urban rebellions during the Civil Rights era. The riot only came to an end after California's National Guard arrived. However, the damage was already done: millions of dollars of property damage, dozens dead, and countless more injured.<sup>2</sup> Both events were directly linked to the refusal of the majority population (Anglos) in the United States to eliminate all remnants of de jure segregation after the 1954 *Brown v Board* decision.

The events serve as evidence that the civil rights movement was still alive throughout the nation. However, the dominant narrative in Lubbock, Texas denies that a civil rights movement ever occurred within the city because as the narrative argues, a movement was not necessary. According to this view, created by the city council and majority Anglo population, the city was racially harmonious and merely accepted such important rulings as *Brown v Board*.<sup>3</sup> As part of that narrative Lubbock claimed they voluntarily desegregated their school district in 1955. So in 1965 when the rest of the nation was fraught with violence sparked by resistance to civil rights activity, Lubbock's dominant narrative claims there was none of either within the city. There was no need for a civil rights movement in the city because as the city of Lubbock and some of its citizens have described, conditions in regards to race were not that bad. However, the reality of Lubbock's racial climate was not as harmonious as its collective memory claims.

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<sup>2</sup> "Watts Riot," *Civil Rights Digital Library of Georgia*, accessed: January 1, 2015, [http://crdl.usg.edu/events/watts\\_riots/?Welcome](http://crdl.usg.edu/events/watts_riots/?Welcome)

<sup>3</sup> *Brown v Board* refers to the 1954 *Brown v Board of Education at Topeka Kansas* case which overturned the separate but equal doctrine put in place after the 1896 *Plessy v Ferguson* case.

This study explores the formation of Lubbock's collective memory with regard to race. It challenges official claims that the Lubbock Independent School District (LISD) voluntarily desegregated in 1955 without issue, and that the city as a whole was racially united during the aftermath of a major tornado that hit in 1970. The study emphasizes that despite the city's claims of voluntary school desegregation in 1955, and the city's use of a 1970 natural disaster to enforce the notion that desegregation spread voluntarily throughout the city, the Department of Justice (DOJ) felt the need to intervene in 1970 and file a lawsuit against the Texas Education Agency (TEA) and school district of Lubbock for maintaining illegal racial segregation within the school district. Segregation existed within the school district because defacto segregation existed throughout the city, particularly in residential patterns. After a twenty year period of federal court supervision, the city maintained the narrative that race was never an issue in Lubbock. This attitude was deeply imbedded in the city's collective memory.<sup>4</sup> This study illuminates that the collective memory formed and maintained by the city government and local mainstream media denied the reality of racial issues faced by Mexican Americans and African Americans in Lubbock, TX.

As more than a counter-narrative, this study illuminates that Lubbock's dominant narrative, shaped by the city government and local mainstream media, created a collective memory that ignored racial problems in the city. This not only benefited the city's outward image, but it made it difficult for minorities to challenge racial

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<sup>4</sup> It is worth noting that in 1970 litigation was waged against not only Lubbock, but school districts across the south, including some of the largest cities in Texas. Dallas and Houston who had racially diverse populations were overseen by the federal court for up to thirty years.

inequalities because the narrative was supported by the Anglo majority population. The 1970 tornado, discussed in chapter 3 is an example of how the city strengthened that narrative, and the LISD lawsuit, discussed in chapter 4 is an example of how an outside source, the DOJ presented an opportunity for minorities to challenge the narrative on a larger scale. However, once the LISD case came to an end the city reasserted its non-racial narrative, stunting minority progress once more. The city of Lubbock's collective memory protects the racial hierarchy created during the town's founding. Despite Mexican American and African American civil rights activity post 1970, the core of the racial inequality was never dismantled in Lubbock. The minority communities gained representation through legal pursuits as discussed in chapter 5, but only because these changes were forced on the city. The city's collective memory does not acknowledge this and thus the city's majority claims changes were done of their own accord, and or that it resulted in something positive. Lubbock's collective memory stunts the progress of African Americans and Mexican Americans in the city by white washing over the struggle to deconstruct racial boundaries, and reasserting that a movement is not needed because race is a non-issue in the city.

Before discussing Lubbock's historical background it is necessary to define terms. "Post-racial" refers to a society which no longer displays racial prejudice and discrimination. For the purposes of this study, "Mexican Americans" and "Hispanic" are used interchangeably. Mexican American denotes people of Mexican origin but born in the United States whereas the term Hispanic, broader in its definition, identifies

people whose roots lay Mexico or the Spanish New World.<sup>5</sup> Both terms are used by the city and its residents, particularly those who settled in the Guadalupe neighborhood, known as the city's barrio. "African American" is used to identify individuals of African ancestry, more specifically those who are categorized as having "black" skin. The sources used in this study demonstrate that early terms used to denote Africans Americas in Lubbock included "negro," and in derogatory cases, "nigger." Post 1960 African Americans and other Lubbock citizens used the term "Black." The terms Anglo and White are also interchanged throughout the study, and refer to those individuals who are categorized as Caucasian with light skin and European ancestry. The terms majority or at large population refers to the Anglo population of Lubbock who make up the majority population, and "minority populations" refer Mexican Americans and African Americans.<sup>6</sup>

## **Background**

The south plains area, located in portions of north and west Texas, first developed after U.S. military operations ended in the region during the 1870s and ranching efforts commenced. Buffalo attracted hundreds to west Texas. As the century

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<sup>5</sup> Jorge Iber, *Hispanics in the Mormon Zion 1912-1999*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000); Andres A. Tijerina, "History of Mexican Americans in Lubbock Country, Texas" (master's thesis, Texas Tech University, 1979).

<sup>6</sup> According to the Texas Department of State Health Services Lubbock's 2013 projected total population was 301,066; the Anglo population 165,686; African American 21,035; Hispanic 102, 653; and other 11,692. Source: "Texas Population, 2013" (Projections, *Texas Department of State Health Services*, March 16, 2015, <https://www.dshs.state.tx.us/chs/popdat/ST2013.shtm>)



progressed, a Quaker population began farming in the south plains area. The practice spread throughout the area during the late 1800s and early 1900s. In 1876 the state legislature created Lubbock County out of the Bexar Land District which encompassed the Texas panhandle. The area grew as developers moved to the area and envisioned trade centers for the existing ranches and farms. In 1890 two men from a nearby ranch founded the city of Lubbock. Around the same time settlers in the area moved away from ranching and general farming to visions of cash crop production. King cotton made its way to Lubbock and the land grew it successfully. By 1905 the county had its first cotton gin and a few years later their first railroad. White settlers came from all over, especially east Texas and the “new south.” Those who had grown cotton in east Texas saw the promise of cotton production in the booming west and took their cotton production methods with them. Settlers from the new south came from an area where cotton once reigned, but fell as the south diversified its crops after the civil war. Those comfortable with growing cotton, or who lost everything during the war, saw cotton production in west Texas as a second chance.

White settlers relocating to the area brought with them their established hierarchy, which included existing stereotypes about African Americans.<sup>7</sup> The first African American recorded as living in Lubbock arrived in the area as a white family’s

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<sup>7</sup> The “new south” refers to the geographically southern states after the Civil War; C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913*, (Louisiana State University Press, 1951); Donald Abbe, Carlson, Murrah, eds., *Lubbock and the South Plains*, (Windsor Publications, Inc 1989); Neil Foley, *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture*, (University of California Press, 1999); Walter L. Buenger, *The Path to a Modern South*, (University of Texas Press, 2001); Paul H. Carlson, Glasrud, eds., *West Texas: A History of the Giant Side of the State*, (University of Oklahoma Press, 2007); Paul H. Carlson, *The Centennial History of Lubbock: Hub City of the Plains*, Donning Company, 2008); John T. Becker, Awasom, and Henry, *Cotton on the South Plains*, (Arcadia Publishing, 2012); Lubbock Heritage Society, *Images of Lubbock*, (Arcadia Publishing, 2013); *West Texas: A history of the giant side of the state*, (University of Oklahoma Press, 2014).

servant girl.<sup>8</sup> Like other African Americans who arrived after her, she was allowed to live on the west side of town amongst local whites, but only in servant quarters. African Americans not serving a particular family in Lubbock were not so welcomed. In 1908, white Lubbockites posted signs on the outskirts of town declaring “No Niggers allowed in town after dark.”<sup>9</sup> When other towns throughout west Texas had incidents of racial violence the *Lubbock Avalanche Journal*, the city newspaper, printed an editorial that read “several Negroes were driven out of San Angelo, one was killed. Lubbock can avoid this by forbidding any Negroes come to town.”<sup>10</sup> As the cotton business boomed in Lubbock, more African Americans came to the area for seasonal work. By 1917 the census recorded that sixteen African Americans, and no Mexican Americans, lived in the Lubbock area. Although, the number was relatively small the white citizens of Lubbock passed a city ordinance in 1923 that stated “no negro or persons of African descent, containing as much as one-eighth Negro blood, shall own property or reside thereon in any part of the City, except that part lying south of 16<sup>th</sup> Street and east of Avenue C [because it is] dangerous to the health and pollutes the earth and atmosphere....”<sup>11</sup> In their attempt to manage the growing African American population white Lubbockites designated the eastern portion of Lubbock as “Black Lubbock.” Eventually, the area

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<sup>8</sup> Robert L. Foster, “Black Lubbock: A History of Negroes in Lubbock, TX to 1940,” Masters Thesis, Texas Tech University, 1974; Julius Amin, “Black Lubbock: 1965 to the Present,” *West Texas Historical Association Year Book*. Vol. LXV, 1989, pgs 24-35.

<sup>9</sup> Jon Holmes, “Meditations by the Light of a Courthouse Fire,” unpublished, 2012.

<sup>10</sup> “Editorial,” *Lubbock Avalanche Journal*, (Lubbock, TX) Oct 28, 1909.

<sup>11</sup> Amin.

saw its own African American school, pool and police officers. Anyone of color living on the other side of town was a servant living in servant quarters.

Similar to the African American population, Mexican Americans started to migrate to Lubbock as laborers. The population began small and seasonal, but over time the Hispanic population began to settle and grow, creating the need for the first one room “Mexican Elementary” school in the 1920s. The 1926 city directory listed 104 people with Spanish surnames. This is out of an approximate total of 15,500 names listed.<sup>12</sup> Mexican Americans settled in the central area of Lubbock, next to the railroad tracks. The group did not have the same type of ordinances waged against them as African Americans, but they nonetheless encountered discrimination in local shops and restaurants.<sup>13</sup>

After 1909 Lubbock boomed thanks to the railroad, growth in agriculture, the oil industry, and the establishment of Texas Tech University. As the town grew so did the overall population and the need for additional elementary and high schools.<sup>14</sup> The number of schools catering to the Mexican American and African American population grew as did the number of elementary and high schools for the Anglo children in Lubbock, but not at the same rate. African American and Mexican American schools were always fewer in the number than the majority white schools. In addition to

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<sup>12</sup> Andres A.Tijerina, “History of Mexican Americans in Lubbock Country, Texas” (master’s thesis, Texas Tech University, 1979)

<sup>13</sup> Julian Samora, *The Wetback Story*, (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971); Tijerina.

<sup>14</sup> As of 2015 there are thirty-two elementary schools, ten middle schools, and four high schools in Lubbock. “Schools and Other Programs,” *LISD*, March 10, 2015, [www.lubbockisd.org](http://www.lubbockisd.org)

segregated structures, African American Lubbockites had their own sports teams, and recreational facilities. African American teachers and administrators led the African American schools. Despite having inferior facilities, several residents that attended the all African American schools prior to integration fondly remember a sense of community since their teachers and principal lived within their neighborhoods.

Mexican American children, however, did not see school staff as an extension of their family. This is partly due to the fact that many of the students were seen more as laborers than students. Hispanic children in Lubbock were given half days so that they could join their parents and work in the fields without breaking any truancy laws. When they did attend school, some Mexican Americans found themselves in the classroom alongside white students. Throughout existing oral histories and interviews conducted specifically for this study, older generations of Mexican Americans recounted, Lubbock school teachers who ignored or reprimanded them for speaking Spanish. In some cases they were even mocked by teachers in front of their classmates.<sup>15</sup> The psychological damage inflicted by this public harassment was enough to drive Mexican American students from the classroom.<sup>16</sup>

In 1955 Lubbock Independent School District (LISD) claimed they desegregated, but true integration never occurred due to residential segregation. LISD students attended their community or “neighborhood” school for classes. Lubbock neighborhood schools never truly had to deal with the intent of the 1954 *Brown v Board* ruling because

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<sup>15</sup> Linda DeLeon, interview by Author, 2008.

<sup>16</sup> Examples and oral histories that discuss Mexican Americans in the early Lubbock classroom can be found in chapter II of this study.

as long as Mexican Americans and African Americans resided in specific parts of Lubbock, socially segregated from whites, neighborhood schools would remain segregated without strict enforcement. However, that changed when a horrific act of mother nature threatened to disturb the existing residential pattern.

In May of 1970 the city was struck by a major tornado, tearing through the center of Lubbock and displacing Mexican Americans living in the city's barrio. During the aftermath city officials and the media promoted the idea that the tornado furthered the desegregation process through the relocation of displaced Mexican Americans. Further, the city claimed that people came together and helped one another, breaking down color lines amongst, Anglos, Mexican Americans, and African Americans in Lubbock. Lubbock's majority white community, led by the city council and aided by the main city newspaper, used the disaster to solidify the collective memory that regarded race as a non-issue in Lubbock.<sup>17</sup>

In August, just a few months after the tornado, a storm of a different type hit Lubbock. Despite the city's declaration of desegregation five years earlier, the United States Justice Department intervened in 1970 filing a suit against the Texas Education Agency and Lubbock Independent School District (LISD).<sup>18</sup> The case represented part of an overall effort by the Justice Department to desegregate schools throughout the old

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<sup>17</sup> Mhyra S. Minnis, "Tornado: The voice of the people in Disaster and after, a study in residential integration" (Lubbock: Texas Tech University, 1971), 21; "All they could do was pray; 1970 tornado struck swift, deadly blow," *Lubbock Avalanche Journal*, May 11, 1995; Nancy Prater, "Twist of Fate," *Lubbock Avalanche Journal*, May 11, 1995.

<sup>18</sup> "The United States of America, Plaintiff-Appellant, v. Texas Education Agency (Lubbock Independent School District) et al., Defendants-Appelles" (No. 78-2526 United States Court of Appeals, Fifth Circuit, 1979), Dallas Fort Worth Federal Records.

south and parts of Texas, including west Texas. Under the watchful eye of Federal Judge Halbert Woodward, the city implemented a stair stepping process, bussing, and magnet programs in an attempt to integrate LISD. Many of the issues uncovered in the history of Lubbock and their process of educational integration can be found in the following historiographies: African American, Mexican American, education, civil rights, legal, whiteness, natural disaster, and collective memory.<sup>19</sup>

## **Historiography**

Regardless of what the dominant narrative in Lubbock claimed, Mexican Americans and African Americans in the city, like those across the rest of the nation, faced issues in the spheres of civil, legal, social, and educational rights. For Mexican Americans, the social inequalities they faced stemmed from absorption into the United

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<sup>19</sup> The “old south” refers to the geographically southern states before the Civil War, but is often limited to the southern states that were part of the original thirteen colonies, and the states that played a larger role during the Civil War. C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, (Oxford University Press, 1965); Rodolfo Acuna, *Occupied America: The Chicano’s Struggle Toward Liberation*, (Dover Publications, 1972); Gary Orfield and Susan Eaton, *Dismantling Desegregation: The Quiet Reversal of Brown V. Board of Education* (New Press, September 1997); Richard Garcia, *Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class: San Antonio, 1929-1941*, (Texas A&M University Press, 2000); Adam Fairclough, *Better Day coming: Blacks and Equality, 1890-2000* (Penguin Books, 2002); *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture*, (University of California Press, 1999); Guadalupe San Miguel, “Let all of them take heed”: *Mexican Americans in the campaign for educational equality in Texas, 1910-1981*, (Texas A&M University Press, 2000); Mark V. Tushnet, *The NAACP’s Legal Strategy against Segregated Education 1925-1950*, (University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Guadalupe San Miguel Jr., *Brown, Not White: School Integration and the Chicano Movement in Houston*, (Texas A&M University Press, 2005); Neil Foley, *The White Scourge*; Michael Phillips, *White Metropolis: Race, Ethnicity, and Religion in Dallas, 1841-2001*, (University of Texas Press, 2006); David R. Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness: How America’s Immigrants Became White: The Strange journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs*, (Basic Books, 2006). Carlos Blanton, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas, 1836-1981*, (Texas A&M University Press, 2001); Behnken, Brian D. *Fighting Their Own Battles: Mexican Americans, African Americans, and The Struggle for Civil Rights in Texas*, (University of North Carolina Press 2011).

States after the war with Mexico between 1846-1848. African Americans on the other hand were denied education ever since the importation of Africans to the United States for the purposes of slavery. Before delving into various components of Mexican American and African American historiographies it is important to explore collective memory, and its place in this study.

In 1925 sociologist, Maurice Halbwach published *Social Frameworks of Memory*, bringing attention and influence to the term “collective memory” which was already in use but still lacked credit in the theoretical world. Halbwach’s study focused on the variability of memory. History, which relied on straight facts was typically uniform, with unchanging dates, names, and locations, but memory varied. Depending on the length of time that had passed between the historical event and the time of remembrance, recollections of the event could contain great detail or be vague, and could be biased. Whatever the discrepancies, Halbwach argued that memory is intertwined with society. A person forms and recalls memories within society. Memories can be framed in the present and the past, which makes them variable and dependent on the person conveying the memory, and how that person fits in society.<sup>20</sup> The variability that Halbwach spoke of demonstrates that past events may change for people depending on their status or position in society. The discussion of memory in this study is not only important to understanding the city’s dominant narrative but how that narrative affected the minority population.

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<sup>20</sup> Jeffrey Olick, Seroussi, Levy, eds., *The Collective Memory Reader*, (Oxford University Press, 2011), 18.

Since Halbwach, other academics, mainly in the field of sociology, have explored how memory influences society. Most of these academics are in the field of sociology. To a lesser extent historians have begun delving into collective memory as the field has incorporated oral histories. However, there is still criticism over the use of oral histories, because some consider them unreliable. As Halbwach's work highlights variability does exist in memory but it is important to realize that while the use of oral histories may provide vague information in regard to basic facts, oral histories are important to understanding the perspective of the groups who were often left out of traditionally used documents to write early histories. In that regard traditionally used documents providing basic facts are unreliable because they only provide one side of the story, and contain one perspective. For instance the main local newspaper in Lubbock represented the goals of the Anglo population in Lubbock, and not those of the minority communities. Based off of their paper alone, this study might have agreed there would also be no reason to study race relations because the newspaper spread the notion that race was a non-issue in Lubbock.

The scholars who have added to Halbwach's work, such as Emile Durkheim, expand on theories such as distinguishing between autobiographical memory and historical memory. As Durkheim explains an individual in modern times may have a historical memory of the civil war because of the stories that were passed down through time, but no one has an autobiographical memory because there are no remaining survivors. According to Durkheim this is where "collective representations," are important. "Collective representations," are symbols of some sort that become part of



the group even if they are not linked to a particular individual. The construction of the civic center and memorial built for the tornado victims, seen in chapter 3, serves as this type of collective representation. The memorial is present for all to see and includes victims of all origins, and according to Lubbock's dominant narrative it therefore must be true that the tornado racially united the city. Further scholars such as phenomenologist, Edward Casey argue that commemoration encourages participation by those who partake in the commemoration. Participants then become intertwined, and create a shared identity. The anniversary of the tornado is often commemorated reinforcing the dominant narrative over race. If we are to believe that memory continues to live and is activated by commemoration, and further that group identities are formed based on stories of their past, then even the minorities who suffered discrimination but who commemorate the anniversary of the tornado may buy into the memory which created through the commemoration itself.<sup>21</sup>

Historian Peter Burke, expanded on this argument, arguing that memories are "affected by the social organization of transmission and the different media employed."<sup>22</sup> Essentially, history is a social memory. Based on Burke's theory, writing and print are not powerful enough to stop the spread of myths of this kind, in other words, this study would not break the collective memory held in Lubbock for decades.

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<sup>21</sup> Jeffrey Olick, Seroussi, Levy, eds., *The Collective Memory Reader*, (Oxford University Press, 2011), 177-185.

<sup>22</sup> Peter Burke, "From 'History as Social Memory'," in *The Collective Memory Reader*, eds. Jeffrey Olick, Seroussi, Levy (Oxford University Press, 2011), 189.

Burke concluded that the written word can preserve records of the past which challenge the myths and even undermine them.

The Halbwachsian model holds that memory is determined by an identity (collective or individual). The memory is constructed to fit the identity of said collective or individual at the moment that they are constructing the memory. Hence if the identity wants to uphold a certain level of integrity they will construct an identity that does not challenge that integrity.<sup>23</sup> Since this facet of memory delves into the construction of identity it was probably best seen in Benedict Anderson's 1983 *Imagined Communities*. Anderson's imagined communities can be viewed as imagined identities. The more a community is imagined the more the constructed memory becomes essential to that identity. In the same respect forgetting negative aspects of a community's history can be just as important.<sup>24</sup> While Anderson's study looked at the construction of nations, the theory can still be applied to this study because positive memory in regards to race was very important to the city of Lubbock.

Jan Assmann, a German Egyptologist, has also provided a study useful to understanding Lubbock's story. He distinguishes "communicative memory," from "cultural memory." Communicative memory relies on the passage of information from one generation to the next, such as oral histories. Not only does communicative memory only go back about a few generations but past events are negotiated through their passage and therefore are malleable. Assmann's theory of cultural memory, on the

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<sup>23</sup> Allan Megill, "From 'History, Memory, Identity,' in *The Collective Memory Reader*, eds. Jeffrey Olick, Seroussi, Levy (Oxford University Press, 2011), 195.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (Verso, 1998).

other hand, does not rely on the passage of information from one person. Instead individuals or groups draw on a store of information. Whereas communicative memory is malleable in part because the person passing along information of the past may forget, leave out or change details, cultural memory is reconstructed by the group or individual drawing from the stores of information. The way they perceive the information reconstructs the memory. Their perceptions of the information can be influenced by their position in the present. Further, cultural memory differentiates itself in that it does not rely on a single medium, but “comprises that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose ‘cultivation’ serves to stabilize and convey the society’s self-image. Upon such collective knowledge, for the most part (but not exclusively) of the past, each group bases its awareness of the past of unity and particularity.”<sup>25</sup> For example, oral histories are representative of communicative memory, whereas the propaganda-like narrative formed by Lubbock’s city has created a formal storage of past events according to them. Citizens drawing from that store of knowledge then see events according to the dominant narrative, affecting their views on race relations, shaping their cultural memory. The scenario in Lubbock is nicely summed up by Assmann’s discussion of mnemohistory which he explains as a concern with the way the past is remembered rather than the way past events actually occurred.<sup>26</sup>

Historians thus far have largely applied the theories behind collective memory to a nation’s memory of warfare, such as Paul Fussell’s, *The Great War and Modern*

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<sup>25</sup> Jan Assmann, “From *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism*,” in *The Collective Memory Reader*, eds. Jeffrey Olick, Seroussi, Levy (Oxford University Press, 2011), 209, 215.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid

*Memory*, or to political events, such as in Michael Schudson, *Watergate in American Memory*.<sup>27</sup> Collective memory can be understood as an understanding of past events, shared by a group, city, or nation. In this study of Lubbock's race relations, the collective memory is a narrative formed by the city government and majority Anglo population. The narrative is sculpted in the past through the main stream media and city publications. The memory continues to dominate in present day with the majority of citizens repeating the narrative, and through commemorations of that narrative that overshadow the struggles of the African American and Mexican American communities in Lubbock.

The plight of Mexican Americans can be seen directly after the U.S.-Mexican War. Under the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe, Mexicans who resided in the territories acquired by the United States after the war were supposed to receive US citizenship, and all the legal rights associated with that citizenship. This included a process that allowed newly American citizens, Mexicans, to hold onto the land they owned under their former government. Although some historians argue that US had a clear procedure to demonstrate land ownership, many Mexicans lost their land to Anglos that moved into the newly acquired territories.<sup>28</sup> Ultimately, an unclear understanding of

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<sup>27</sup> Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford University Press, 1975); Michael Schudson, *Watergate in American Memory: How we remember, forget, and Reconstruct the past* (New York: Basic Books, 1993); For similar cases of how contemporary political goals rely on reshaping the memory of past events see especially: John Bodnar, *Remaking American: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1992); Jerry Lembecke, *"The Spitting Image: Myth, Memory, and the Legacy of Vietnam"* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), Edward Linenthal, *The Unfinished Bombing: Oklahoma City in American Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

<sup>28</sup> Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1992); Armando Alonzo, *Tejano Legacy* (University of New Mexico Press, 1998).

the American legal system, language barriers, and financial hurdles resulted in the loss of land and ranch owner status for many Mexican Americans, and they were condemned to a second class status that extended to every aspect of their lives, including their children's education.

In the case of African Americans, poor education and illiteracy was the remnant of the slave era, when education of slaves was either limited or forbidden. Whites often justified their stance on slave illiteracy by claiming African Americans were mentally incapable of learning to begin with—also an argument for the perpetuation of slavery generally. In reality, illiteracy helped subjugate African Americans and stopped current slaves from organizing resistance or becoming the next Frederick Douglass, or Nat Turner.<sup>29</sup> Once the civil war emancipated, slaves the Reconstruction era between 1865 and 1877 began, the Freedmen's Bureau established schools for the newly free. Young and old took advantage of the opportunity, overcrowding the schools, but once Reconstruction ended many Southern states pulled funding from education, saddling African Americans with a poor education in the public school systems, reserving quality education for the select whites who could afford it.<sup>30</sup> This is clearly seen in Texas when the 1866 state legislature moved that all taxes collected from African Americans should exclusively go to African American schools. In her book about desegregating the

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<sup>29</sup> Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long Aftermath of Slavery*, (Vintage Books, 1980; Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, (Dover Publications, Inc1845); Stephen B. Oates, *The Fires of Jubilee: Nat Turner's Fierce Rebellion*, (Harper and Row, Publications, 1975).

<sup>30</sup> Litwack.

University of Texas, Dwonna Goldstone argues that this condemned African Americans to schools lagging because of limited income.<sup>31</sup>

The 1896 Supreme Court case *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which condoned the segregation of railroad cars, also affected education. Supreme Court Justice Henry Brown read the decision remarking that, “if the civil and political rights of both races be equal, one cannot be inferior to the other civilly or politically. If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them on the same plan.”<sup>32</sup> During the era of Jim Crow the decision set by the highest court in the land conveyed the simple, but impossible message that it was acceptable to segregate any and all facilities as long as they remained equal.<sup>33</sup> Segregation was inherently unequal but in an attempt to hold on to the structure detrimental to minorities, proponents of segregation provided many far reaching arguments for why segregation was necessary. For example, school districts often denounced minority students mentally deficient.<sup>34</sup> School administrators, teachers, and others justified segregation through labels such and mentally deficient, and limited the education minorities received.

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<sup>31</sup> Dwonna Goldstone, *Integrating the 40 Acres: The Fifty-Year Struggle for Racial Equality at the University of Texas*, (University of Georgia Press, 2006), 4.

<sup>32</sup> “Transcript of *Plessy v. Ferguson*,” *Our Documents*. accessed February 5, 2015. [www.ourdocument.gov](http://www.ourdocument.gov)

<sup>33</sup> The Jim Crow era was the social caste system put in place by Anglos from approximately 1877 through the 1960s. They used studies in areas such as eugenics and Social Darwinism to argue that African Americans were inferior in every way possible, and that segregation was necessary to protect the white race from occurrences in the mixing of races. The era resulted in spread of derogatory stereotypes of African Americans, and hostility and violence directed towards them.

<sup>34</sup> Miroslava Chavez-Garcia, “Intelligence Testing at Whittier School, 1890-1920” in the *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol 76. No. 2, 193-228; Carlos Blanton, “From Intellectual Deficiency to Cultural Deficiency: Mexican Americans, Testing, and Public School Policy in the American Southwest, 1920–1940,” *Pacific Historical Review*, 72:1 (February 2003): 39–62.

Historically, the Anglo community preferred that Mexican Americans and African Americans worked in the fields or in vocational professions. Booker T. Washington's Institute of Tuskegee is one example. Anglos supported Washington, an African American because he warned other African Americans to stay out of politics and focus on vocational studies, learning a trade. Washington viewed vocational training as an opportunity to remove African Americans from the field, but Anglos supported the training because they believed it kept minorities out of higher education and provided them with vocational workers. As a result Anglos financially contributed to the institute because it appeared that Washington's school kept African Americans in line, even when behind the scenes Washington attempted to influence politicians to take action for the betterment of African Americans.

Vocational education was an improvement to field work, and in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was a viable option for bettering the condition of the minority population. The idea that minorities belonged in vocational schooling continued well into the twentieth century, when vocational education was no longer a step up from the fields, but a restriction on the level of education a minority could achieve. Minority students were tracked into vocational studies even after legal segregation ended because Anglos still viewed them as inferior. The minority students enrolled in Lubbock Independent School District were not an exception to this. Open hostility towards minorities occurred when they reached for more than vocational training, and a higher station in life. Minority frustration grew as they continued to

personify what it meant to be a good citizens, and their efforts were met with little in the way of social mobility.<sup>35</sup>

Mexican Americans, particularly the “Mexican American” generation that lived through World War II, as described by Mario T. Garcia, “recognized themselves as U.S. citizens, knew that their country was the United States and not Mexico, had become increasingly socialized to U.S. norms, ideologies, and mass culture, and expected to be treated like other Americans.”<sup>36</sup> The generation included the first generation born in the U.S., and at times recent immigrants who embraced the American identity and citizenship, while renouncing new immigrants.<sup>37</sup> The generation mobilized politically and legally to acquire the rights they felt entitled to.

Many in this generation found themselves disillusioned after fighting for their country during World War II. Historical figures for the generation and their movement include Hector P. Garcia, a WWII veteran and doctor who grew frustrated with the maltreatment of his people despite their war time sacrifice. He founded the GI Forum, and used the Felix Longoria Affair to bring national attention to the discrimination Mexican Americans faced. During this period of the first half of the nineteenth century, the Mexican American generation was also responsible for organizations such as the

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<sup>35</sup> Richard A. Garcia, *Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class: San Antonio, 1929-1941* (Texas A&M University Press, 2000); Gilbert Gonzalez, *Chicano Education in the Era of Segregation* (University of North Texas Press, 2013).

<sup>36</sup> Mario T. Garcia, *Mexican Americans: Leadership, Ideology, and Identity, 1930-1960* (Yale University Press, 1991) 297.

<sup>37</sup> Mario T. Garcia; George Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (Oxford University Press, 1995); David G. Gutierrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (University of California Press, 1995).



League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), the American GI Forum (AGIF), and the Viva Kennedy clubs.<sup>38</sup> Each of these organizations attempted equality and social mobility in some aspect of life by attempting change through the legal system and political activeness. Mexican Americans of this generation applied the argument that they were legally white to the education sphere, arguing that this meant their children should have access to the same facilities as racially white children. The results were mixed with Mexican American children attending the same schools as Anglos in some cities, but still facing discrimination in the classroom.<sup>39</sup> Members of the LULAC used the legal system, education, and their economic status to try and achieve cultural whiteness in addition to their legal whiteness. They believed acceptance as culturally white citizens translated to civic equality, something that the legally white status had not accomplished on its own.<sup>40</sup>

African Americans and Mexican Americans had their own form of a middle class, and both groups believed education was the gateway to opportunity and equality. For instance members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) legal team, such as Charles Hamilton Houston and Thurgood Marshall, played an instrumental role in dismantling Jim Crow. The organization

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<sup>38</sup> Patrick Carroll, *Felix Longoria's Wake*; Ignacio Garcia, *Viva Kennedy: Mexican Americans in Search of Camelot* (Texas A&M University Press, January 2000); The GI Forum was made up of veterans who were frustrated by the inequalities they faced even after serving their nation during wartime. The Viva Kennedy clubs were aimed at achieving political mobility by supporting Kennedy during the election, only to be disappointed by the lack of appointments in national positions

<sup>39</sup> Ian Haney Lopez, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (NYU Press, 1997); Neil Foley, *The White Scourge*; Carlos Blanton, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas*.

<sup>40</sup> Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins* (Oxford University Press, 1964).

spearheaded litigation that resulted in precedent setting cases such as; *Murray v. Maryland*, *Sweatt v. Painter*, and the 1954 landmark case *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*.<sup>41</sup> Mexican American organizations such as LULAC and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) also waged a litigious war, but Mexican Americans in higher positions, such as foreman for prominent ranches, used their positions to get their children into schools with whites before litigation made it possible for others. This did not mean their children were free from discrimination within the schools, but they could at least attend. LULAC and other groups consistently pushed for better education and access to higher education as a means for improving the group's social status. Members and chapter leaders were even responsible for starting a program aimed at teaching Mexican American children one hundred English words prior to starting school. Although the Mexican American middle class claimed they fought for educational equality for all minority children, they did not always achieve this, prioritizing opportunities for their own children first which could leave children of lower class Mexican Americans to struggling for themselves.<sup>42</sup>

Legally white Mexican Americans had particular issues that differed from the African American experience in segregated schools. Their legal status made them a regular target for discrimination in cases where they were not physically segregated from

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<sup>41</sup>In *Murray v. Maryland* resulted in the desegregation of the University of Maryland's Law School. In *Smith v. Allwright* the NAACP helped to break down primary elections in the south that prevented African Americans from participating. In *Sweatt v. Painter* and *McLaurin v. Oklahoma* laws were struck down in Texas and Oklahoma that maintained segregated graduate schools. The 1954 landmark case *Brown v. Board of Education* overturned the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision by demonstrating that separate facilities were inherently unequal as declared by Supreme Court Justice Earl Warren.

<sup>42</sup> Richard Garcia, *Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class: San Antonio, 1929-1941*, (Texas A&M University Press, 2000); Thomas Krennek, *Mexican American Odyssey: Felix Tijerina, Entrepreneur and Civic Leader, 1905-1965* (Texas A&M University Press, March 2001).

white students. In cases where Mexican Americans attended “white” schools they faced negative reactions to their bilingualism.<sup>43</sup> Anglo students attacked their cultural and physical differences. If Mexican American children were not picked on by white students because of these differences, they still had to deal with those children’s parents who feared that contact with Mexican American children somehow negatively affected their own white children. A common argument was that Mexican American children were dirty and this supposed lack of hygiene might spread disease and lice to otherwise clean white children.<sup>44</sup> In comparison, African American children had some protection from these stereotypes, at least within school walls. The quality of facilities was poor, but pre-integration African American communities avoided the constant sense they were left behind. In part this was because they may have had separate schools and African American teachers who instilled a sense of worth in the students.<sup>45</sup> Mexican Americans segregated in their own school from whites typically had less qualified teachers than those within white schools. Minorities were directed towards vocational studies; Anglos, towards higher education. In most cases minorities were lucky if they made it to high school. This was especially the case for Mexican American children who might have to migrate seasonally to work in the fields and help their families earn an income.

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<sup>43</sup> Linda De Leon, interview by author, 2006.

<sup>44</sup> Arnolodo De Leon, *They Called Them Greasers: Anglo Attitudes toward Mexicans in Texas, 1821-1900* (University of Texas Press, 1983); Gilbert G. Gonzalez, *Chicano Education in the Era of Segregation*, (University of North Texas Press, 2013); Miroslava Chavez-Garcia, “Intelligence Testing at Whittier School.”

<sup>45</sup> William Powell, interview by Daniel Sanchez, 1995; Carlandis Lane, interview by Daniel Sanchez; July 7, 1995. Ernest Stevenson, interview by Daniel Sanchez, 1995; Samuel Thomas, interview by Daniel Sanchez, 1995; Clarence and Ruth Priestly, interview by author, June 2012 in Lubbock, TX.

The incentive to attend school when one's family might benefit from their working was low, especially if students were regularly punished in school for speaking their first language. Encouraging bilingualism was a difficult task for a Mexican American family, especially given that Mexican American children were punished and ridiculed for speaking Spanish. This discouraged Mexican American children and is part of the reason why so many dropped out. When students in the South West and South Texas protested during the late 1960's and early 1970's as part of the Chicano movement, one of their biggest grievances was school districts denying them the right to speak Spanish. Some teachers suggested to students that they were mentally deficient for speaking Spanish.<sup>46</sup> There are examples of Mexican American children enrolled in Lubbock ISD who were too embarrassed to return to school because they were made fun of for speaking Spanish or they struggled to learn because they could not understand the teacher, who refused to translate.<sup>47</sup>

Mexican American students were considered below average whenever they struggled to speak English. Whites argued that their incapability to speak English was a sign of intellectual deficiency. Further, whites employed the use of intelligence "IQ" testing to further segregate Mexican American and African American children from whites. The IQ tests employed followed the methods of Alfred Binet, who formulated his test to determine the needs of the mentally ill. His methods were never meant as a

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<sup>46</sup> Ignacio M. Garcia, *The Forging of a Militant Ethos among Mexican Americans* (The University of Arizona Press, 1997).

<sup>47</sup> Linda De Leon, Interview by Author, 2008; Carmona, Connie, 1999.

testing mechanism for students. IQ tests created an immediate inequality between minority children and whites.

Scholars who believed in eugenics and the use of IQ exams argued that there was a direct correlation between dark skin color and low scores. As a result, African Americans were almost always categorized in the bottom tier, which reflected their status in society. A lighter skin color, middle class economic status, and other variables could help a minority push past the barriers typically placed in front of their minority group. Many of those who were lucky enough to achieve higher education, like W. E. B. Dubois, had relatively lighter skin and grew up in north and did not experience the same tribulations that African Americans living in the south did. This is evident in the difference of opinion between Dubois and Booker T. Washington, who was of a darker complexion, born into slavery, and resided in the south. Not having experienced the level of discrimination, and the constant threat of violence that Booker T. Washington was familiar with in the south, Dubois spoke out against discrimination with a fearlessness that Washington could not afford. This is in part why Washington focused on vocational schooling as discussed earlier.<sup>48</sup>

Similarly, it is arguable that Mexican Americans, like Historian Carlos Castaneda who graduated with his doctorate from the University of Texas in 1932, was able to do so because his light complexion offered him the possibility to “pass” as white.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, (New York: Bantam Dell, 1903); Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery*, (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1901); Louis R. Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915*, (Oxford University Press: 1983).

<sup>49</sup> It is worth noting that Castaneda achieving a PhD from the University of Texas was quite an accomplishment given that many Mexican Americans throughout the country had difficulty moving past

Additionally, his actions never radically pushed the boundaries of the existing power structure. He left academia over frustrations with his relatively lower pay and therefore was never seen as a problem that had to be stopped or kept from higher education.<sup>50</sup> On the other hand Mexican American figures like Hector P. Garcia publically spoke out against discrimination which ultimately threatened his safety, regardless of his light complexion and medical education.<sup>51</sup> It is important to note that neither Garcia nor Castaneda were absolute activists or accomodationists. The GI Forum fought for Mexican American rights but at the same time initially supported the mass deportations of Operation Wetback. The operation was put into motion in 1954 after repercussions of the Bracero program resulted in illegal immigration. The GI Forum released a study entitled “What Price Wetback?” which argued illegal immigrants harmed America and displaced American workers. The study was unsympathetic toward the plight of illegal immigrants which is perhaps surprising given that members of the organization may have only been one generation removed from Mexican immigrants themselves. In the case of Castaneda, he only served as Superintendent in Del Rio, Texas for one year because Anglo parents did not like his Mexican heritage. Later in life he became an activist and worked for Fair Employment Practices. However, one of the ways he

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high school. Additionally, as see in *Sweatt v. Painter* case of 1950 African Americans were barred from post graduate integrated education in the state of Texas. In the case of Herman Marion Sweatt he was refused admission to the UT law school.

<sup>50</sup> Felix Diaz Almaraz, *Knight without Armor: Carlos Castaneda, 1896-1958*, (Texas A&M University Press, 1999).

<sup>51</sup> Patrick Carroll, *Felix Longoria's Wake: Bereavement, Racism, and the Rise of Mexican American Activism*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003).

assisted Mexican Americans was by relying on their status of legal whiteness. For example, when Mexican Americans working for Shell Oil complained about the company paying them less than Anglo workers and having to use the “colored” bathrooms, Castaneda wrote a letter to Shell instructing them that they were breaking the law because Mexican Americans were legally white. His actions and those of the GI Forum demonstrate that some Mexican Americans were willing to do whatever it took to better their circumstances, even if it meant differentiating themselves from new Mexican immigrants, and if the circumstances of African Americans went unchanged. Their actions also indicate that a light complexion and legal whiteness did not equate to social whiteness.<sup>52</sup>

IQ exams automatically worked against Mexican American children who did not speak English since they could not read the questions. Anglos who argued the tests did not focus on language, or that the exam was read to non-English speaking students, failed to acknowledge that the teachers reading the exam spoke poor Spanish and that the test automatically discriminated against minorities because they were historically under educated.<sup>53</sup> Despite the discrepancies in IQ testing, institutions continued using it

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<sup>52</sup> Juan Ramon Garcia, *Operation Wetback: The mass deportation of Mexican undocumented workers in 1954*, (Praeger, 1980); Carl Allsup, *The American G.I. Forum: Origins and Evolution*, (University of Texas Center for Mexican American Studies Monograph 6, Austin, 1982); David R. Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness*, (Basic Books 2006); Neil Foley, *Quest for Equality: The failed promise of Black-Brown solidarity*, (Harvard University Press, 2010); Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*, (Princeton University Press, 2014).

<sup>53</sup> Samuel George Morton, *Crania Americana*, (J. Pennington, 1839, Lewis M. Terman, *The Measurement of Intelligences: An Explanation of an a Complete guide for the use of the Stanford revision and extension of the Binet-Simon Intelligence Scale*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916); Helen Koch and Rietta Simmons, “A study of test-performance of American, Mexican and Negro Children,” *Psychological Monographs*, Vol 35, (1926), i-116; Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr., *Let All of Them Take Heed: Mexican Americans and the Campaign for Educational Equality in Texas, 1910-1981*, (University of Texas Press,

to label minority children as intellectually deficient. In doing this educators and Anglos in general were able to justify segregation within the schools. According to this argument, segregation was just the result of one group's inability to keep up with another group who happened to be all white. Unfortunately, IQ testing resulted in more than just the under education of minority students. In worst case scenarios minority children were sent to reform schools such the Whittier School in California. Children there, deemed intellectually deficient, were also labeled as juvenile delinquents. In some cases, doctors and officials at Whittier even decided to sterilize these children, often without the minors' knowledge. Doctors and officials argued that intellectual deficiency and delinquency was genetic, and sterilization could serve as a proactive measure for removing juvenile delinquents from society.<sup>54</sup> Segregation in education was bad, but the methods used to enforce it only made matters worse for minority children.

Although the circumstances for African Americans could not change without a massive overhaul of the existing legal system and social doctrine, some Mexican Americans could better their condition through the process of Americanization.

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1987); Carlos Blanton, "They Cannot Master Abstractions: but they can often be made efficient workers: Race and Class in the Intelligence Testing of Mexican Americans and African Americans in Texas during the 1920s," *Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 81, Issue 4, (2000): 1014-1026; Miroslava Chavez-Garcia, "Intelligence Testing;" Whereas, California testing lumped together each minority group in Texas testing distinguished between the scores of lighter and darker skinned Mexican Americans, or middle class and working class Mexican Americans. Studies such as those conducted by Helen Koch and Rietta Simmons in 1926 found that Mexican children with very light pigment were more successful in testing. They did not distinguish between the African American population. Further, the Gould study documents that children were asked culture oriented questions which Blanton points out that only children of middle class and from the north east may know. Additionally, Gould's book makes the observation that Morton's observations about cranial capacity overlooked the basic fact that humans with a larger body would have a larger skull, not necessarily a larger or smarter brain.

<sup>54</sup> Chavez-Garcia.



However, Americanization meant leaving behind the Mexican part of one's culture. For Mexican American children it was difficult to balance the demands of Americanization with their family's desire to hold on to culture.<sup>55</sup> Schools pushed for Americanization because in their minds it translated to responsible and hardworking citizens, everything they believed to be the antithesis of Mexican culture.<sup>56</sup> In *Hunger for A Memory*, Richard Rodriguez wrote about his personal choice as a child to Americanize. Garcia argues that full Americanization brought him opportunities he would not have otherwise had. The cost of complete assimilation, however, was distance from his family. Although Garcia's rejection of his culture falls on the extreme end, Mexican American children were forced to decide how much they were willing to Americanize.

In Americanizing, Mexican Americans had to decide what cultural behaviors and or traditions to hold on to. In most cases Mexican American youth tried to find a balance between the two cultures, some carving out an identity of their own. Mexican American Zoot Suiters during the 1940s personified this process. They held on to traditional mannerisms and language but embraced non-traditional attire that symbolized their attempt to fit into the time's popular culture. The zoot suit was merely a piece of apparel, but the alterations and the way in which it was worn identified the culture of the youth wearing the suit.<sup>57</sup> Zoot Suits are only one aspect of the minority youth's attempt

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<sup>55</sup> George J. Sanchez; Vicki Ruiz, *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America*, (Oxford University Press, 2008).

<sup>56</sup> Arnaldo De Leon, *They Called Them Greasers*; Gilbert Hinojosa, and Jay P. Dolan, *Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church 1900-1965*, (University of Notre Dame Press, 1994); Iber.

<sup>57</sup> Edward Escobar, *Race, Police, and the Making of a Political Identity: Mexican Americans and the Los Angeles Police Department, 1900-1945*, (University of California Press, 1999); *Mexican*

to balance personal culture with Americanization. African American youth also felt the need to carve out identities of their own.

Young minority males fought in both world wars as an attempt to prove their commitment to American citizenship. This was particularly important given that the Great Depression hit African Americans harder than Anglos in general, with fifty percent unemployment in black communities. Despite the implementation of the New Deal African Americans continued to struggle more than Anglos. As Harvard Sitkoff wrote, “Economic reconstruction took precedence over all other concerns. Congress held power of the purse, and the South held power of Congress.”<sup>58</sup> At the time many Anglos viewed Mexican Americans as a group that could simply be returned to Mexico because they were using up valuable resources during a time of crisis.<sup>59</sup> Even though these minority groups were essentially betrayed by their government through the unequal distribution of relief, and the process of repatriation, young minority men and women continued to enlist. Women joined the Women’s Auxiliary Army Corps (WAAC). They also sought jobs that assisted their family’s income, and when the depression passed they took money they were earning on their own to buy items such as American

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*Americans and World War II*, ed. Maggie Rivas Rodriguez (University of Texas Press, 2005); Luis Alvarez, *The Power of the Zoot: Youth Culture and Resistance during World War II* (University of California Press, 2009); Richard Rodriguez, *Hunger of a Memory*, (Bantam, 1983).

<sup>58</sup> Harvard Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 39; Cheryl Lynn Greenberg, *To ask for an Equal Chance: African Americans in the Great Depression*, (Roman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009).

<sup>59</sup> Abraham Hoffman, *Unwanted Mexican Americans in the Great Depression: Repatriation Pressures, 1929-1939*, (University of Arizona Press, 1974); Zaragosa Vargas, *Labor Rights are Civil Rights: Mexican American Workers in Twentieth Century America*, (Princeton University Press, 2005); Francisco E. Balderrama, *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s*, (University of New Mexico Press, 2006).

beauty projects. As Mexican American youth struggled to fit in they found themselves challenging the comfort levels of their elders. Older generations of Mexican Americans and recent immigrants found themselves torn between the Americanization process that may bring them and their children better opportunities and the looming impression that their culture would surely fade.<sup>60</sup>

After the sacrifices made by the minority community during the Great Depression and World War II, both African Americans and Mexican Americans expected more from their citizenship. There was resurgence in civil rights activism, including in the realm of education. One of the great victories to come out of that drive was the decision of *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka Kansas*. The *Brown* decision overturned the “separate but equal” doctrine established by *Plessy v Ferguson* more than fifty years previous. The *Brown* decision brought a promise of change, but that change would not come easily. Many whites outright refused to accept desegregation, and while *Brown* set a precedent that would eventually make segregation illegal in all aspects of life, de facto segregation remained and defeated the intent of the *Brown* decision. Such cultural segregation was difficult to prove as it was enforced through social customs. African Americans faced hostility from whites all around who felt the group was encroaching on their way of life. The infamous Little Rock incident is a prime example of how whites escalated to violence due to this irrational fear. When threats of violence failed to stop the desegregation process in schools white parents removed their children

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<sup>60</sup> George J. Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American*

from public schools, and even from within the city limits to avoid forced integration.<sup>61</sup>

While it may have occurred on a smaller scale than the national norm, white flight and violence quickly became evident in Lubbock when integration was forced by the courts.

Both minority groups dealt with intimidation, threats, and violence after the *Brown* decision but Mexican Americans were forced to reevaluate their legal identity when the *Brown versus Board* decision was made in 1954. For African Americans the decision meant a step towards equality in schools, no matter how hostile the transition. But for Mexican Americans the *Brown* decision initially proved problematic because Anglos used Mexican American's white legal status to continue segregation. Guadalupe San Miguel's, *Brown, Not White* discusses the Houston School District's attempted to circumvent the integration of racially white and African American students by placing African American students and legally white Mexican American students in the same schools together. The Mexican American legal status meant that technically the school system had desegregated because legally white students were attending school with African American students.<sup>62</sup> Mexican Americans quickly realized that their legal status was harmful to their fight for equal education. In response the group pushed the courts

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<sup>61</sup> It is important to note the distinction between desegregation and integration. Although the *Brown* decision made segregation illegal in schools, desegregation merely removed the ban that kept minority students from attending what was once a previously all white school. The decision was accurately labeled a landmark decision, but simple desegregation did not mean minority and white children would actually attend the same school, especially since many school districts around the nation assign students to schools based on their neighborhood. Given that segregation was more systemic than just separate schools, and also existed in residential patterns, true integration or the bringing of the different racial groups together in one school typically did not occur without the implementation of strategies such as busing and magnet programs.

<sup>62</sup> Guadalupe San Miguel, *Brown, Not White: School Integration and the Chicano Movement in Houston*, (Texas A&M University Press, 2005).

to declare that Mexican Americans were a minority group. By doing this, school districts had to acknowledge that placing African Americans and Mexican Americans in the same school no longer qualified as desegregation. However, changing their legal status was only one step in combating educational segregation.

*Brown versus Board* was slow in implementation. Some scholars such as Gary Orfield and Susan Eaton in *Dismantling Desegregation*, even argue that desegregation never fully occurred, and that segregation is recurring for a number of reasons such as the courts' lack of commitment to the struggle.<sup>63</sup> However, this lack of commitment could even be seen directly after *Brown*. Schools systems claimed they desegregated but because of school and residential locations, whites still attended their own schools. Lubbock's claims of desegregation in 1955 serve as an example of this. If it looked like some form of integration was going to occur, whites refused to attend school, and even demonstrated their refusal with acts like setting fire to a cross on the campus lawn, as written in *White Metropolis*.<sup>64</sup> Whites utilized every method they could to maintain educational segregation, white flight, private schools, tracking, and the continued mistreatment of minority students.<sup>65</sup>

African Americans and Mexican Americans had to navigate the changing currents of educational segregation. Whenever a new wave threatened educational

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<sup>63</sup> *Dismantling Desegregation*, ed. Gary Orfield and Susan Eaton

<sup>64</sup> *White metropolis: Race, Ethnicity, and Religion in Dallas, 1841-2001*, (University of Texas Press, 2006).

<sup>65</sup> Amilcar Shabazz, *Advancing Democracy: African Americans and the Struggle for Access and Equity in Higher Education in Texas*, (University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Dwonna Goldstone, *Integrating the 40 Acres*; Both Shabazz and Goldstone provide examples in their work of how the quest for equal education in Texas extended to higher education, and desegregating institutions such as the University of Texas.

equality the two groups had an opportunity to join forces, but that did not often occur. Historians have written little about why both groups did not work together, at times speculating that it was because Mexican Americans wanted to be white. However, historical events have dictated that not every Mexican American wanted to be socially white, and even more that there were never absolutes amongst either minority groups. While some may have wanted social whiteness in addition to legal whiteness, a faction of Mexican Americans recognized that a white legal status was potentially more damaging than if they were to embrace minority status. This is particularly evident after the *Hernandez v Texas* case in 1954, when a legally white Mexican American was convicted by an all racially white jury considered by the law to be a jury of peers. Therefore the lack of cooperation did not solely stem from the desire of Mexican Americans to become white. Even Mexican Americans who did not want social whiteness found that some members of the African American community believed that the legal whiteness meant Mexican Americans had less difficult or significant struggles. Regardless of the path chosen legal whiteness further separated the Mexican American community from the African American community who would never be considered “white” even if they wanted this categorization.

In Lubbock, this reality meant that a faction of the African American community believed that the Mexican American community could not understand their struggles. Further, African Americans who did see common ground with Mexican Americans as the oppressed, found that the issues they hoped to tackle did not always align with the goals of Mexican Americans. For instance Mexican Americans in Lubbock wanted to

address language as some of the children were in mixed schools, whereas African Americans, who had their own facilities, wanted upgrades to match white Lubbock schools. The priorities of each group did not necessarily conflict with one another but the proponents of these causes did not always see the value of working together, especially if it meant that one community might obtain their goals at the expense of the others.<sup>66</sup>

In the 1970s, the federal courts intervened in school desegregation after recognizing that implementation of the *Brown* decision was moving too slowly. The courts filed suit against school districts throughout the nation, especially in the south, including Lubbock. Minority activists jumped on the opportunity to push along their goals. Even though the 1960s saw the signing of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act, African Americans and Mexican Americans alike still felt progress moved too slow. In the wake of the assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Malcolm X, MLK, and Robert Kennedy, African Americans saw the rise of organizations such as the Black Panther party who eventually refused to recognize the American government, and called for an immediate end to anything they considered economic and social injustices. In addition to their call for exempting African Americans from the draft, and the release of

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<sup>66</sup> Brian D. Behnken; Michael Phillips, *White metropolis: Race, Ethnicity, and Religion in Dallas, 1841-2001*, (University of Texas Press, 2006); Thomas Kreneck, *Mexican American Odyssey: Felix Tijerina, Entrepreneur and Civic Leader, 1905-1965* (Texas A&M University Press, 2001).

all African Americans from prison, members called for the arming of all African Americans.<sup>67</sup>

Similar to the divergence seen by the Black Panther party from the non-violent movement, participants of the Chicano movement changed strategies from that of the Mexican American generation. In general Chicanos were considered young, militant in their demands, and embraced “Brown pride.” Men in the Mexican American generation willingly signed up for WWII to prove their citizenship but the Chicano generation protested the Vietnam War. They rejected Americanization as necessary to fit into society. They pushed for embracing Mexican culture and encouraged followers to take personal action for change. This was seen in the student walkouts that took place during the 70’s. High School students drew inspiration from the Chicano movement, tired of the school district tracking them into vocational schooling and punishing them for speaking Spanish in school, students walked out in protest.<sup>68</sup> In certain areas such as South Texas the walkouts generated some success.<sup>69</sup> However, other areas of the country still saw discrimination and education inequality.

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<sup>67</sup> Joshua Bloom and Waldo E. Martin, *Blacks against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party*, (University of California Press, 2014).

<sup>68</sup> Ignacio M. Garcia, *Chicanismo: The Forging of a Militant Ethos among Mexican Americans*, (University of Arizona Press, 1997); Francisco A. Rosales, “The fight for educational reform,” in *Chicano: The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement*, (Arte Publico Press, 1997); Ernesto Chavez, *¡Mi Raza Primero!: Nationalism, Identity, and Insurgency in the Chicano Movement in Los Angeles, 1966-1978*, (University of California Press, 2002).

<sup>69</sup> Guadalupe San Miguel Jr., *Let All of Them Take Heed*, (University of Texas, 1987); Guadalupe San Miguel Jr., “The Community is beginning to rumble: the origins of the Chicano Educational Protest in Houston, 1965-1970,” *Houston Review* 13, (1991), 127-147; Guadalupe San Miguel “From the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to Hopwood,” *Harvard Educational Review* (1998); Miguel A. Guajardo and Francisco J. Guajardo, “The impact of Brown on the Brown of South Texas,” *American Educational Research Journal* 41, no. 3 (2004); James Barrera, “We Want Better Education!: The Chicano Movement for Educational Reform in South Texas, 1968-1970, ( PhD diss., University of New Mexico, 2007).



The problems of the 1970s were the same problems that existed prior to the *Brown* decision. Mexican Americans wanted bilingual education for their children. Both minorities wanted equal facilities for their children, and for the quality of teaching to be the same. However, Anglos fought integration through white flight and by sending their children to private schools. As a result, tax bases shrank and public schools mostly catered to minority students, who continued to receive an inferior education in comparison to white children because less money went into their schools. Some west and central Texas school districts were tied up in civil rights litigation into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Federal courts closed numerous cases such as in LISD, before true integration was reached, despite minorities' concerns. In defense of their decision, the courts argued that the school districts had made all necessary attempts to integrate but nothing more could be done to actualize the process. Legally, school districts had desegregated, but they could not control which student populations remained in public school systems. The collective memory formed by the city of Lubbock ignored the transfer of Anglo students to private schools. As a result Mexican Americans and African Americans continued to suffer the injustice of unequal education of their youth. Lubbock, TX is just one example of the desegregation process playing out in the court system post 1970, but as a study it can provide a glimpse into the often overlooked process of integration that took place in west Texas, and how collective memory white washed over the failures of the desegregation process in that region.

The *United States V Texas Education Agency, et al Lubbock* case touches on various components found within the existing Mexican American and African American

historiography, but remains different from any of the work currently in the field. This study differentiates itself from existing historiographies because it entails components of several historiographies, in the areas of civil rights, education, comparative race, whiteness, collective memory, and even natural disaster. For instance, many education histories, including those which are also considered civil rights histories provide a straight forward narrative, where the historical actors are either victims of discrimination and/or active agents in the final outcome of their story. This category of histories touches on an array of topics such as discriminatory practices, and the aftermath of *Brown V Board*. Adding to the discussion, the field has seen studies which evaluate the negative effects that legal whiteness had on Mexican Americans, the important role that language played, and the United States' turbulent relationship with bilingual education. Studies have even ventured into the detrimental impact of IQ testing.<sup>70</sup> However, few education histories tied to civil rights deal with a comparative race, or relational race component, and the dynamics of that relationship. Even fewer examine the role that collective memory played in the outcome for each group involved.

Existing comparative race studies explore the realities Anglos faced in comparison to African Americans or Anglos in comparison to Mexican Americans and so on. Only a small fraction of the literature looks at both African Americans and

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<sup>70</sup> *Dismantling Desegregation*, eds. Gary Orfield and Susan Eaton; Guadalupe San Miguel, *Brown, Not White*; Lynn Marie Getz, *Schools of Their own: The Education of Hispanos in New Mexico, 1850-1940*, (University of New Mexico Press, 2010); Carlos Blanton, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas, 1836-1981*, (Texas A&M University Press, 2004); Guadalupe San Miguel, *Let All of Them Take Heed: Mexican Americans and the Campaign for Educational Equality in Texas, 1910-1981*, (Texas A&M University Press, 2001); Carlos Blanton, "From Intellectual Deficiency to Cultural Deficiency," in the *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 72 Issue 1, (2003). 39.

Mexican Americans together. Further, within that area of literature few studies move past a comparison of the two groups, to evaluate their relationship with one another, with their living environment, Anglos, and how whiteness affected their fight for civil rights and educational equality.<sup>71</sup> Brian Behnken's *Fighting Their Own Battles* is one of the few books that covers comparative race during the civil rights movement, providing an overview of the time period and reasons for why the two groups did not work together. He suggested that in some cases much of the reason for the lack of cooperation was due to the Mexican American's desire to be white.<sup>72</sup> While the historiography demonstrates that some Mexican Americans wanted to associate themselves with whiteness as part of their Spanish heritage, and in hopes of bettering their societal conditions it is an incomplete conclusion as to why more cooperation did not take place between the two minority groups. This explains only part of the reason for why Mexican Americans did not unify with African Americans. Examples include LULAC member Felix Tijerina, who did not allow African Americans in his restaurant to appease the white community.<sup>73</sup> These acts can be explained as self-preservation, similar in nature if not circumstance to examples of African Americans who owned slaves as a means of social

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<sup>71</sup> Neil Foley, *The White Scourge*; Carlos Blanton, "George I Sanchez, Ideology, and Whiteness in the Making of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement, 1930-1960," *Journal of Southern History* 72:3 (August 2006): 569-604.; The idea of "relational race" was discussed by George J. Sanchez during a presentation he delivered at the University of Texas in 2014 as part of a symposium held by the school's Center for Mexican American Studies. The discussion involved his research on the different minority groups in Boyle Heights.

<sup>72</sup> Behnken.

<sup>73</sup> Krenek. Some of the additional literature that touches on Mexican Americans distancing themselves from African Americans for the sake of protecting their own interests includes: Brian Behnken,; Maximilian Krochmal, "Labor, Civil Rights, and the Struggle for Democracy in Mid-Twentieth Century Texas," (PhD Dissertation, Duke University, 2011).

and economic survival in the old south.<sup>74</sup> However, in looking at the history of Lubbock, the relations between black, brown, and white are much more complex than one group's desire to be like the other, or even explanations of self-preservation. Mexican Americans in Lubbock felt that they experienced discrimination at the same level or in some cases worse than African Americans because if integrated into white classrooms they were commonly ignored, mocked or reprimanded. African Americans in Lubbock on the other hand saw Mexican Americans as white because of their legal status, and in some cases reflect on integration as a bittersweet process that broke apart the community support system that their children relied on when attending segregated schools. In many cases there was miscommunication and a lack of understanding between groups, and a collective memory so strong that minorities did not always feel comfortable publically challenging the narrative, and as a result even repeated it at times. As an example, while going through existing oral histories, and conducting interviews for the study, interviewees at the beginning of the process led the interviewer to believe that race problems were not that bad in Lubbock. However, as the interview carried on those interviewed began telling stories of discriminatory acts which demonstrate racial discrimination and a race problems in Lubbock's history.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Michael P. Johnson, *Black Masters: A free family in the old south* (W.W. Norton and Company, 1986).

<sup>75</sup> The following is a small sampling of the oral histories which discuss race issues in Lubbock. Eta Delta Omega Chapter of the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, interview by Robert Weaver, February 2012; Freedonia Paschal, interview by author, June 2012; Ruth and Clarence Priestly, interview by author, June 2012 in Lubbock TX. Interviews used in this study range from the years 1969-2012

## **Chapter Description**

Chapter two of this study will provide insight into the history of Lubbock and how its founders began shaping the narrative that dominated the city's collective memory. It discusses the time period from 1890-1969, including the founding of Lubbock County and eventually Lubbock City itself. This chapter will establish that the city founders recreated the racially based social hierarchy from the south in west Texas. However, as the civil rights movement gained momentum on a national level, the city of Lubbock prevented a large scale civil rights movement by claiming self-enforced desegregation in their public schools, and molding a post racial narrative.

Chapter three examines how the city used the aftermath of an F5 tornado that tore through Lubbock and destroyed the Guadalupe Barrio in May of 1970. The aftermath of the tornado served as an opportunity for the city to strengthen its collective memory in regards to race by claiming that the tornado brought all peoples across the city together. The narrative was an attempt to remove any lingering doubts that race was still an issue in Lubbock. The city and dominant local newspaper pushed the notion that the tornado completed the job of desegregating the city. In reality, the tornado was an opportunity for the city to relocate a portion of the Mexican American population further east, which was historically the African American side of town, perpetuating the residential segregation that had existed in Lubbock since the arrival of minorities in the area.

Continuing with the year 1970, chapter four examines how only months after the great tornado of 1970, the Department of Justice (DOJ) filed a suit against the Texas Education Agency and the Lubbock Independent School District. An outside source, the federal courts, threatened the city's dominant narrative in regards to race. The chapter will explore the DOJ's crusade against school districts across the south, with emphasis on the court orders for desegregating Lubbock such as stair stepping, busing, and magnet programs. In describing the court ordered process of integration the chapter will point out how teachers and administrators were the first to be shuffled around in the Lubbock Independent School District. The chapter will also examine the minority community's reactions to the methods of integration employed, and demonstrate how it influenced civil rights activity.

In the midst of twenty years of federal court intervention the minority communities of Lubbock were reinvigorated to mobilize in pursuit of civil rights goals. The presence of an outside source with authority, the DOJ, provided the minority community with an opportunity to challenge the city's dominant narrative on a larger scale. Chapter five will discuss local civil rights activity such as a riot in east Lubbock, efforts to remove the at large election system that existed for city council members, and how that translated to the end of an at large election system for school board members as well. More importantly, it will demonstrate how their efforts challenged the city's collective memory.

Finally the conclusion will reflect on how each minority community was impacted by Lubbock's collective memory, and the fight for integration. For example,

many in Lubbock's African American community expressed conflicted memories over the process. Some said integration was a good thing, but then point out it also meant the breakdown of their community. The chapter will also evaluate the way the groups perceived one another, such as African Americans pointing out that Mexican Americans were white because of their legal status.<sup>76</sup> An analysis of the varying perspectives will assist in providing insight into the reasons why minority groups in Lubbock, and even across the nation did not pursue civil rights goals as a unified front. The study will conclude with an overview of the impact, positive or negative, that the collective memory had on race relations, and the conditions of minorities in Lubbock.

This study is not meant to be an exhaustive history of Lubbock, or even of its minority communities. The heart of this study is a history of the city's collective memory, how it was shaped and used to oppress minorities while still claiming Lubbock was a "post racial" society. It examines the impact that twenty years of federal court supervision had on a city's collective memory, which dictated that their schools voluntarily desegregated in 1955 without issue, and further that the city as a whole was racially united during the aftermath of an F5 tornado that hit in 1970. It demonstrates that the movement was purposely forgotten by the city's collective memory, which has been used throughout Lubbock's history to oppress the minority community.

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<sup>76</sup> William Powell, interview by Daniel Sanchez, 1995; Carlandis Lane, interview by Daniel Sanchez; July 7, 1995. Ernest Stevenson, interview by Daniel Sanchez, 1995; Samuel Thomas, interview by Daniel Sanchez, 1995; Clarence and Ruth Priestly, interview by author, June 2012 in Lubbock, TX.

## CHAPTER II

### THE FOUNDATION OF LUBBOCK AND ITS MEMORY

The popular perception of the city of Lubbock is not necessarily flattering. In an episode of the animated comedy *King of the Hill*, Peggy Hill clandestinely drives to Lubbock, TX, where there is a store that caters to people with above-average sized feet. As she drives to Lubbock she is surrounded by images of emptiness. There are no other cars around her. On each side of the road there is just open land covered in dirt. Even as she turns the knob to find a radio station all she hears is static. There is just the glare of the hot Texas sun on the open road.<sup>1</sup> The depiction of the route to Lubbock is indicative of how the city is regarded amongst many outsiders as a small town in the middle of nowhere, and a cultural wasteland.

The depiction of Lubbock as a small middle of nowhere town is contrary to the image that Lubbock has molded for itself as a “hub.” Although, Lubbock is not as large as metropolitan areas such as Dallas, the “little city” located in West Texas is not so small.<sup>2</sup> The 2013 census reported that 239,538 people live in the city of Lubbock, 75%

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<sup>1</sup>Mike Judge, “The order of the straight arrow,” *King of the Hill*, (Twentieth Century Fox, January 1997). *King of the Hill* was a long running animated series based on a group of neighbors living in Texas. The comedy often its humor around existing stereotypes of the state, its cities, and institutions. The scene described in the text is indicative of the way not only pop culture portrays Lubbock is present day but also the way many Texans view Lubbock.

<sup>2</sup> Following the Civil War the geographic definition of West Texas placed the demarcation line west of Ft. Worth, TX, or the 98<sup>th</sup> meridian. For this study the definition of West Texas has been adopted from *West Texas: A History of the Giant Side of the State*. As such West Texas encompasses the Panhandle, The Rolling Plains and Llano Estacado; the Edwards Plateau, Western Hill Country; Permian Basin; and the Big Bend-Trans-Pecos country. Per the above definition Lubbock, TX is located in West Texas. Paul Carlson, "Introduction," in *West Texas: A History of the Giant Side of the State*, ed. Paul Carlson (Boston: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 1.



Anglo, 9% African American, and 35% Hispanic or Latino.<sup>3</sup> Although not the largest city in Texas, Lubbock's early history earned it a reputation as a hub city due to its railroad connections, animal paths, and wagon trails for livestock and cowboys. Today Lubbock's location includes federal and state highways, a regional airport, a medical center, the county seat and a major university. For these reasons and more Lubbock officials have long referred to the city as the "Hub City" of the Plains, even in 1890 when the county only consisted of thirty-three people.<sup>4</sup>

### **Lubbock's Early Years**

Lubbock's geographic location and natural environment has historically made it a gathering point. The city boasts that it has been a "Hub" for 12,000 years, long before the establishment of the town. The area now known as Lubbock Lake was an attractive site not only to the settlers in 1890 but also to ancient animals and the humans who hunted them during the Pleistocene Epoch. The area is rich in natural resources and appealed to both the Apaches and Coronado's Expedition in the 1540's. Historians of the south plains such as Paul Carlson note that the Apaches used the lake until they were pushed out by the Shoshonean speaking Comanches, and that Coronado's army returned from present day Oklahoma to New Mexico via Yellowhouse Canyon. Through this

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<sup>3</sup> *United Census Bureau*, Accessed September, 2014, <http://www.census.gov/en.html>

<sup>4</sup> *Lubbock and the South Plains*, (Windsor Publications, 1989); Paul H. Carlson, *The Centennial History of Lubbock: Hub City of the Plain*, (Donning Company, 2008); Lubbock Heritage Society, *Lubbock: Images of America*, (2013).

route it is likely that he passed through what is now Mackenzie Park in Lubbock, and that his men camped at Lubbock Lake. The present day site of Lubbock's Country Club offered a steady supply of plums, cactus fruits, squash, hackberries, and buffalo, as well as other vegetation for those passing through the area.<sup>5</sup>

American settlers recognized the potential of Lubbock's location after thousands moved westward for the California gold rush. Over time the Santa Fe Trail between Kansas City and New Mexico increased the southwest population. The federal government commenced exploratory missions in the upper Llano Estacado, urged by the large movement of people through the area. Finally, the Red River War from 1874-75 brought large concentrations of American soldiers to the area in search of "rogue" Native Americans who had left Oklahoma. Settlers cleared the area for ranching after the government relocated the surviving Native Americans to Oklahoma.<sup>6</sup>

State officials in Austin established Lubbock County in 1876. The county's establishment was part of the state opening the Bexar Land District. In 1876, Texas had roughly 56,000,000 acres of unappropriated public land, and 20,000,000 acres of public school land. Southerners relocating to Texas after the civil war created a demand for land and the state was financially strapped after the civil war. The state began selling unappropriated land in order to pay off some its debt. They passed an act passed in 1879 which allowed for the sale of land in 54 west Texas counties for fifty cents an acre. However, the process was done hastily and speculators maneuvered around the 640 acre

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<sup>5</sup> *Lubbock and the South Plains; Centennial Lubbock*, 13-23; *Lubbock: Images of America*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*

per person restriction.<sup>7</sup> Surveyors, land developers, real estate agents, speculators, and cattle raisers flocked to the panhandle. The first permanent white settlers of the south plains region of Llano Estacado were a small colony of Quakers in the late 1870s. The 1880 Lubbock county census indicates that almost all the twenty five residents listed themselves as shepherders. Even the first Mexican in the Lubbock area, Andrew Gonzalez, was a sheep herder for rancher John Coleman. John Coleman was the census enumerator and thought to have run the largest bovine operation in the county. The county's staple was livestock until two rival townships took form.<sup>8</sup>

In 1890 two town promoters arrived to the county with plans of constructing their own town. The county only had thirty-three people at the time which would not be enough to support two separate towns. However, both town promoters were drawn to the area nicknamed La Punta de Agua, for the water and the resting spot it provided travelers. In addition to Lubbock's lake, the area was attractive for settlement because it was at the crossing point of two military roads.<sup>9</sup> One group of developers, headed by Frank E. Wheelock and Rollie Burns of the IOA Ranch, developed an area which is the present day downtown. The second group of developers led by Whit E. Rayner, Van Sanders, and W.A. Carlisle settled an area south of Yellow House and the location of present day Jones AT&T stadium. It was clear from the beginning that both towns were

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<sup>7</sup> Texas General Land Office, "History of Texas Public Lands," [http://www.glo.texas.gov/what-we-do/history-and-archives/\\_documents/history-of-texas-public-lands.pdf](http://www.glo.texas.gov/what-we-do/history-and-archives/_documents/history-of-texas-public-lands.pdf), November 15, 2014.

<sup>8</sup> *Lubbock and the South Plains; Centennial Lubbock*, 13-23; *Lubbock: Images of America*.

<sup>9</sup> "La Punta de Agua" translates to the point of water. It is what made the Lubbock area so attractive to travelers before and after the settlement of Lubbock city. The north and south road ran between Fort Elliott and Fort Concho near present day San Angelo. The East West road connected Forts Griffin, Belknap, and Richardson in the east with Fort Sumner in New Mexico. *The Centennial History of Lubbock*, 13.

too close to one another other to succeed, as they fought over which town would hold the county seat. On Christmas in 1890 the two settlements agreed to unite. They purchased a third piece of land for \$1,920 which united the two townships into present day Lubbock.<sup>10</sup>

Changes in Texas agriculture began around 1900. While cattlemen abandoned their livestock ventures due to low cattle prices and repeated drought, new arrivals to the Lubbock area raved about the fertile soil. State legislators also began passing legislation that benefited farmers rather than cattle owners or railroaders. The legislature eliminated laws which allowed for the unrestricted sale of land and public land sales. They put in place a minimum price of \$2 per acre and stated that no any one person could claim more than 5,120 acres. More importantly, changes to the law in 1883 distinguished between agriculture and pasture land, giving privileges to farmers because it was believed that they would settle the land. The law was repealed in 1887 but led to the *Four Section Settler Acts*. The process helped to open up and attract settlers to Lubbock.<sup>11</sup>

As southern immigrants made their way west for cotton production, Lubbock County grew, with a population of 293 in 1900. The population continued to climb with the introduction of the railroad in 1909. That year Lubbock entered into contract with

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<sup>10</sup> Ray Glass, "Rough and Tumble Beginning: Town got name from hard-charging Lubbock," *Avalanche-Journal* (Lubbock, TX), January 21<sup>st</sup>, 2006; *The Centennial History of Lubbock*, 25-41.

<sup>11</sup> The Four-Section Act of April 4, 1895, allowed for the sale and lease of up to four sections of school, asylum, or public lands in Texas counties. The act was an extension of laws made starting in 1887 that allowed settlers to purchase four sections of pastureland from the public domain. The sales were directed by the commissioner of the General Land Office. Residence on the land was required for three years. As a result the act which was initially meant to attract ranchers to unsettled regions attracted farmers, especially in the west plains. Dibrell, "FOUR-SECTION ACT," *Handbook of Texas Online* (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ugf01>), accessed November 30, 2014.

the Southwestern Construction Company for the construction of a north to south rail line, connecting it to Plainview, TX. The terms of the contract indicated that Southwest Construction was to complete the project that same year in return for right of way through the county and city, and a sum of \$50,000 which the county and Lubbock citizens would pay during the first ten days that the trains began running through Lubbock. The first passenger train arrived October 25, 1909. The Santa Fe Railway timetables listed Lubbock for the first time in January of 1910. The growth of the Santa Fe line connected Lubbock to Houston, Amarillo, Kansas City, Chicago, and El Paso. By 1917 Lubbock County had five railroad lines.<sup>12</sup>

Railroad growth and population growth correlated. In 1910 the population was 1,938 and grew to 4,051 people by 1920. By 1950 the south plains grew to a population of 396,829, with 71,747 of those people in Lubbock. The south plains of west Texas was one of the last frontiers developed in the US, with fast growth from 1930-1950. Despite the Great Depression, Lubbock expanded with increased agriculture, the founding of the Texas Technological College in 1923, the building of Mackenzie State Park as part of the Public Works Administration, the construction of Reese Air Force Base just west of Lubbock, a growing oil industry, and the establishment of two new hospitals.<sup>13</sup> The growing population in Lubbock placed the city in a position to be a

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<sup>12</sup> Bob Burton, "First Spoke," *The Cyclone*, Volume XVII, Issue 1 (Spring 2010): 1-2; "Railroad coming to Lubbock!" *Avalanche-Journal Lubbock Centennial*, accessed March 9, 2015, [http://www.lubbockcentennial.com/Section/1909\\_1933/SantaFeRR.shtml](http://www.lubbockcentennial.com/Section/1909_1933/SantaFeRR.shtml).

<sup>13</sup>"Lubbock Texas: Facts and Figures pamphlet" located in the E.J. Lawrey Papers, Wallet 2 at the Southwest Special Collections Archives, Lubbock TX; "It happened here," *Story of Lubbock told by Lawrey* (1954), located in the E.J. Lawrey Papers, wallet 1 at the Southwest Special Collections Archives,

potential metropolitan area (metro) in West Texas which could influence surrounding cities not only in economic and living standards but also in race relations.

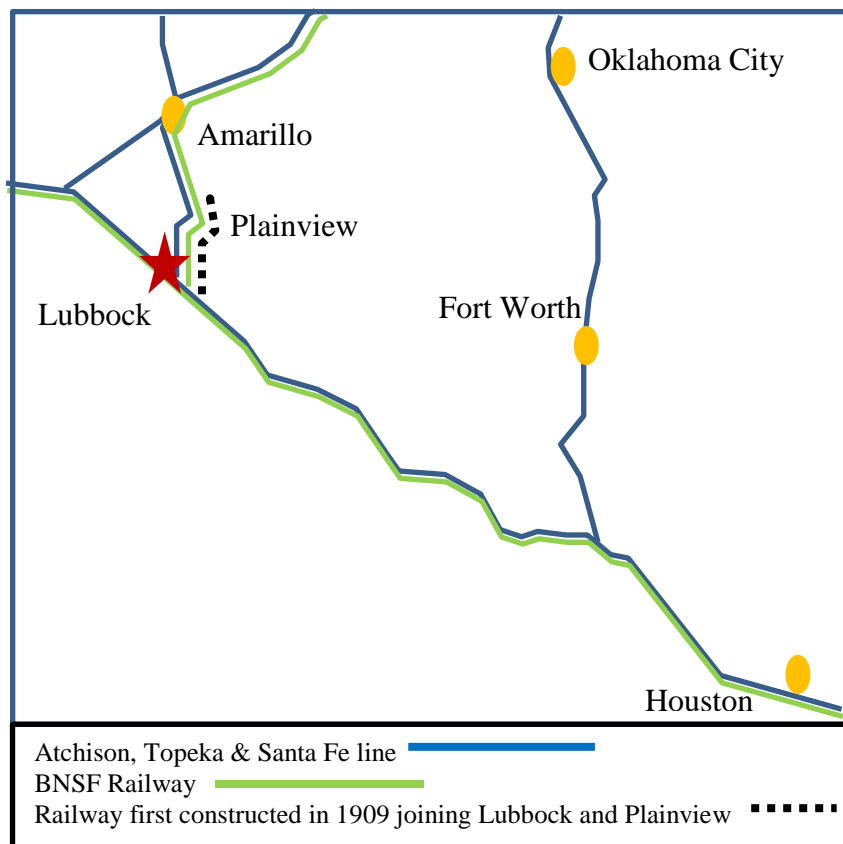


Figure 1: Image of the Santa Fe rail line. The above image indicates the rail lines in west Texas according to BNSF and Permian Basin Railways. The star denotes the general location of Lubbock. The blue line represents the original rail line and the modern Santa Fe Railway can be viewed under the green line marked as BNSF.<sup>14</sup>

Lubbock Tx; Matthew Crawford, "A plan for the future: facilitation growth in the northeast portions of Lubbock," (senior thesis, Texas Tech University, May 2003).

<sup>14</sup> Map created by author with information from the following sources: "History and Legacy: The History of BNSF," *BNSF*, accessed March 9, 2015, <http://bnsf.com/about-bnsf/our-railroad/company-history/overview/#/6/zoomed>; The West Texas and Lubbock (WTLC), owned by Permian Basin Railways as of May 2002 began as the Crosbyton-South plains Company (CS). The CS Company was purchased in 1915 by the Atchison Topeka and Santa Fe Railway (ATSF). The parent company, ATSF later changed the name of CS to South Plains and Santa Fe Railway (SPSF). The ATSF also acquired Panhandle and

The racial hierarchy established in Lubbock over the decades is a significant part of understanding race relations in west Texas. However, few histories of west Texas explore these relations.<sup>15</sup> In the case of Lubbock, existing histories that mention race do not challenge the city's version of race relations. An examination of the city's racial history will contribute to multiple historiographies in the following areas: civil rights, Mexican American, African American, collective memory, race, and studies of the west. Not only did the city expect residents to abide by the racial social structure put in place, but as a "Hub" city Lubbock influenced surrounding cities and rural areas in west Texas. Despite claims of self-imposed desegregation by 1955, and unification after the 1970 tornado, it is evident that the city's strong roots in a southern racial social hierarchy proved disadvantageous for minorities.

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Santa Fe (PSF). Both lines were sold by ATSF in 1990 to the Seagraves, Whiteface and Lubbock Railroad (SWLR), except the Bledsoe to Whiteface section which was abandoned in 1984. SWLR was purchased by Rail America (RA) in 1995. RA then renamed the SWLR line to West Texas & Lubbock Railroad (WTLC). Specific sections such as the Seagraves line were completed by the SPSF in 1918, and the Whiteface line was completed in 1925 to Bledsoe, TX. Source: "West Texas and Lubbock Railway," *Iowa Pacific*, March 9 2015, <http://www.iowapacific.com/permian-basin-railways/westtexas.html>.

<sup>15</sup> It is important to note that during the interviews I conducted with current Lubbock residents most of them stated that while some progress has been made in breaking down the racial social divide, the racial hierarchy established during the city's founding continues to exist in present day Lubbock.

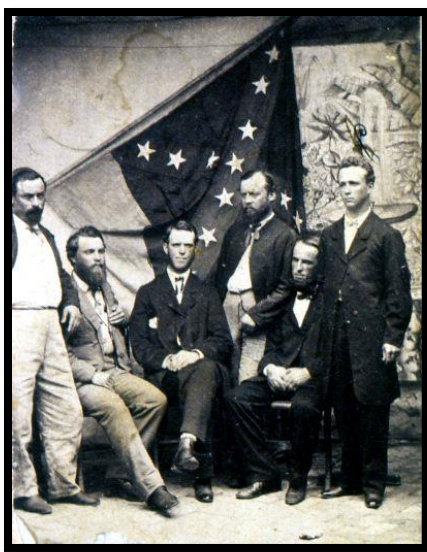


Figure2: Image of Saltus Lubbock. Lubbock is believed to be second from the right.<sup>16</sup>

Some of Lubbock County's first Anglo migrants shared the values of Thomas Saltus Lubbock, the man for whom the location was named. During his life Thomas S. Lubbock was a cotton merchant who participated in the Texas Revolution, served as a Texas Ranger, and fought for the south during the Civil War. Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy sent the strong secessionist, Lubbock to Texas in 1861 to recruit men for a cavalry regiment.<sup>17</sup>

All of the roles that Thomas Lubbock held personified the racist institution of slavery. Although slavery existed around the world, it was the absolute backbone of the southern confederate economy. During slavery's gradual abolition throughout the world and within the United States, the American South adamantly fought to hold onto what it

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<sup>16</sup> "Image of Saltus Lubbock," Located in the Lubbock Pictorial Collection SWCPC 417 # 427 at the Southwest Collections/ Special Collections Library at the Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX.

<sup>17</sup> Ray Glass, "Rough and Tumble Beginning: Town got name from hard-charging Lubbock."



referred to as its “peculiar institution.” The caste system created by the institution of slavery continued throughout the United States even after the 13<sup>th</sup> amendment legally ended the practice. Nativist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan directly challenged the newly freedmen and ensured that the social hierarchy system created under the planter system remained largely in place. The social hierarchy and all of its negative aspects migrated to west Texas with its southern transplants.

### **Relocating West**

Many of those relocating to west Texas from the south did so in a last chance attempt to profit from cotton farming. In naming their new found location after Thomas Lubbock, the former confederate citizens sent a message about the social and political structure in which they held on to, and would apply to their new town. The continuation of the old south caste system can be seen in the arrival of the first African American to Lubbock in 1914. She was a twelve year old servant girl relocating with her employers from the south.<sup>18</sup> Indicative of the traditional southern roles established during the years of slavery, many of the early African Americans in Lubbock were servants to white employers. Once the African American population grew past employed servants, the city of Lubbock enacted various laws to segregate the city. The laws resembled those enacted in the south after the Civil War by Anglos attempting to keep their social status

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<sup>18</sup> Katie Parks, *Remember When? A History of African Americans in Lubbock, TX* (1999); Margaret Dupree, interview by Richard Mason, January 27, 1981, located at the Southwest Special Collections Archive at Texas Tech University in Lubbock, TX.

intact when the newly freed slaves were granted many of the freedoms once reserved solely for whites.<sup>19</sup> Just as black codes placed restrictions on the liberties of southern African Americans so too did the residential codes enforced in Lubbock.

### **Incorporation of Lubbock/ City leaders**

Shortly after incorporation the city of Lubbock held its first city council election on April 6, 1909. Frank Wheelock, one of the town's original developers, stood unopposed for election as mayor, receiving all 168 votes cast that day. Citizens also voted for five aldermen's positions, electing Dr. M.C. Overton, C.E. Parks, P.B. Penney, G.A. Rush, and Sam C. Spikes, and Jace A. Hyatt as city marshal. The first meeting was held six days later in a building located at what is now 1100 block of Main Street.<sup>20</sup>

Many of the first Lubbock leaders, particularly Wheelock, held great influence in the city. Wheelock was one of the town developers who established the old Lubbock town that was located northeast across of Yellow House Canyon. He also built the

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<sup>19</sup> The 14<sup>th</sup> amendment of 1864 granted the protections of the Bill of Rights to African Americans by stating, "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." "Transcript of 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Civil Rights (1868)" Source: *Our Documents* (<http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=43&page=transcript>), accessed November 20, 2014; While the 15<sup>th</sup> amendment extended suffrage to African American males through Article XV, section 1, "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Source: Fourth Congress of the United States of America, "Transcript of 15th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Voting Rights (1870)" *Our Documents* (<http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=44&page=transcript>), accessed November 20, 2014.

<sup>20</sup> Lawrence L. Graves, *A History of Lubbock*, (West Texas Museum Association, Lubbock, TX 1965).

famous Nicolette Hotel in the center of the north east town, and that was later relocated to the present downtown Lubbock area after the two competing towns merged.

Wheelock also brought the first cotton gin to Lubbock and the first self-binding harvest machine in the county. He served on the first Lubbock County Commission, was Lubbock's first postmaster, and president of the Lubbock Cemetery Association.<sup>21</sup>

Until the establishment of a single-member district election system in the 1980s, Lubbock's political system was operated by an elite group of the city's oldest families. The small group held their "round table" meetings at the Tea Room on the mezzanine of the Hemphill-Wells department store located downtown. They held onto power in the city through membership and influence in civic service organizations such as the city's Lions Club and Rotary club.<sup>22</sup> They were the civic life line of Lubbock. Their beliefs and practices in regards to race shaped the city's response to race relations.

## **East Lubbock**

Lubbock was known as the 'diamond of the west' for its heavy cotton production and plentiful underground water. The majority of the African Americans who migrated to Lubbock County did so because of cotton. Ninety-five percent of the early settlers came from small towns in southeast Texas, where picking jobs paid a third what they did in Lubbock. African Americans flocked to west Texas, some saving enough money to

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<sup>21</sup> "History of Lubbock continuing with Charlotte Kirkpatrick," *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal* (January 30, 2012) located at *Lubbock Online* (<http://lubbockonline.com/life-columnists/2012-01-29/history-lubbock-continuing-charlotte-kirkpatrick#.VF-2vcln07w>), accessed September 12, 2014

<sup>22</sup> Centennial Lubbock, pg.9

travel by passenger train but most travelling via freight train, and later by old trucks, and cars. The trip could take up to four to five weeks. Shortly after the first group of African Americans arrived in Lubbock in January 1910, the editor of the *Avalanche-Journal* newspaper adamantly spoke out against them.

The white population's negative attitude towards African Americans was well documented in the *Avalanche-Journal*, the city paper which served the majority white population. A 1911 article titled "The Texas Negro" made the argument that African Americans were better off as slaves because emancipation had placed a burden on African Americans: "Freedom has carried with it responsibilities which have weighed heavily upon the colored race and after half a century of freedom they are still the 'drawers of water and the hewers of stone.' The young are dependent upon the white man for their education and the aged and infirm are his wards." The author claimed that in 1860 there were over 158,000 slaves in Texas worth a value of approximately \$106,688,920 which produced the state with over a million dollars in tax revenue. As slaves African Americans produced a net revenue of \$100 per annum but left to their own devices in 1911 only \$2 per annum. The fact that the article was endorsed in the pages by the town's primary newspaper suggests the majority of Lubbock's Anglo residents held the same attitude towards African Americans.<sup>23</sup> Yet the African American population continued to grow.

In January 1917 City Council minutes listed sixteen African Americans residing in the city limits. White residents of Lubbock, believing African Americans were

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<sup>23</sup> "The Texas Negro," *The Lubbock Avalanche*, (July 20, 1911).

inferior passed a new city ordinance to deal with the growing African American population. Lubbock's ordinance of 1917 epitomized the doctrine of separate but equal established by the 1896 Supreme Court case *Plessy v Ferguson*.<sup>24</sup> The ordinance restricted all blacks or anyone with as much as one eighth "negro" blood to residing in the area south of 16<sup>th</sup> street and east of Avenue C. The only exceptions made to the boundary restrictions were for African Americans who worked as servants on the west side of town. In those cases they were to reside in servant's quarters on their employer's property. City officials claimed that the ordinance was necessary because blacks were "dangerous to the health and pollute(s) the earth and atmosphere."<sup>25</sup> The ordinance restrictions led to a concentration of African Americans in east Lubbock, eventually nicknamed "Black Lubbock."

During the 1920s, when new African Americans migrants came to Lubbock for the harvest season they were temporarily sheltered in a boarding house on Avenue A operated by Ben Shields and Calvin Quigley. Farmers came to the facility and picked up laborers. Some farmers cheated workers out of pay. After the farming season passed African Americans moved into town. Some acquired jobs as maids and servants. The city restricted them to living in back of their employer's main house or 'Out on the Hill' which was still considered better than residing on the east side of town in neighborhoods

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<sup>24</sup> *Plessy v Ferguson* ruled over the segregation of train cars and in the process created a doctrine of separate but equal. Anglos applied the doctrine to every aspect of life until it was overturned by the *Brown v Board* case in 1954. The time in between the two ruling was known as the Jim Crow Era with "Jim Crow" or segregationist laws created as a way of keeping African Americans and Mexican Americans from fully utilizing their Civil Rights, granted by the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> amendments. The city of Lubbock enforced that segregationist lifestyle by every means possible, including the ordinance of 1917.

<sup>25</sup> "Ordinance No. 225" located in Lane, Nancy and Arthur Collection at the Southwest Special Collections Archive at Texas Tech University in Lubbock TX; Amin.

such as Carver Heights, Manhattan Heights, Queen City, Steen City, Thunderbird, Cress Haven, Haynes Seiber, and Wheelock second addition where there were no water lines.<sup>26</sup>



**Figure 3:** Map denoting East Lubbock. The markings on the map denoting Ave C and 16<sup>th</sup> Street indicate the portion of east Lubbock that African Americans were expected to reside in if they were not servants to someone living in west Lubbock.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Electricity was turned on in west Lubbock in 1916 but did not reach east Lubbock till the 1930s and bids to lay water mains into the Mexican American and African American sections of the city began on July 12, 1945. Source: Parks, ch.2

<sup>27</sup> Map sketched by author.

Residents of east Lubbock endured many shortages. Even medical services were restricted. The first African American doctor in Lubbock was Dr. Joel P. Oliver, during the 1930s. Stories from the Lubbock African American community claim Dr. Oliver fled to Chicago for his safety after marrying an Anglo woman, another indicator of the racial beliefs Lubbock's Anglo community held. The African American community did not see medical relief till Dr. Joseph A. Chatman moved to the area in 1939, and eventually opened a hospital. Prior to his arrival nearly all the hospitals in Lubbock denied admission to anyone they considered "negro." The west Texas hospitals included West Texas Hospital, Lubbock Sanitarium (now Methodist), Porter Clinic, and St. Mary's of the Plains Hospital. Only Sanitarium accepted African Americans but placed them in the basement next to the kitchen and garbage cans. They used a sheet draped over a rack to separate males from females. During the 1940s a black businessman was in an auto accident and mistaken as Anglo because of his light complexion. As a result he was taken to the West Texas Hospital. When his wife arrived and they realized he was African American they quickly discharged him. His wife had to carry him to another hospital.<sup>28</sup>

For the African American population discrimination was a common occurrence. Ada Graves moved to Lubbock in 1940, where her family managed to live downtown because they paid rent to live in the servant quarters of her husband's employer. However, that did not mean they were free of discrimination. The family avoided

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<sup>28</sup> "A proposal to the XYZ foundation for Msaidia Historical & cultural arts museum," (unpublished proposal by the committee for Msaidia, Lubbock TX, copy in author's possession, 2010); Parks, ch.13.

trouble from the Anglo population by keeping to themselves and mainly staying in.<sup>29</sup> As a result of the racism throughout Lubbock, residents of east Lubbock relied on each other for obtaining basic services. They built and operated their own businesses. Further, part of the revenue from stores, restaurants, and hotels in east Lubbock went back into maintaining the area. As a result of the resident's investment, east Lubbock boomed. The success of residents was short lived though, because the city began an urban renewal project in 1958 and put an end to African American control over the east Lubbock.

As discussed by Julius Amin, outside investors purchased up the area once owned and operated by its own residents. The investors had no interest in the residents' quality of life, and they funneled their money into apartment complexes. City officials, who viewed many of the existing buildings as substandard, saw the new structures as progress. After 1958 African American Lubbockites were not only restricted to one section of town, they no longer controlled their own neighborhoods. Those that lost their businesses or could not afford the new "low" income housing picked up and moved, decreasing the already small population of African Americans in Lubbock.<sup>30</sup>

The African Americans who remained in Lubbock went on to fight various civil rights battles, including a battle over their final resting place. In 1961 resident Gene Gaines filed a suit to desegregate the Lubbock cemetery. The cemetery had fences which indicated four sections, whites, African Americans, Catholics, and Jews. It is not

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<sup>29</sup> Ada Grave, interview by Robert Foster, April 8, 1969 located at the Southwest Special Collections Archive at Texas Tech University in Lubbock, TX.

<sup>30</sup> Amin, 25.



clear from the sources which section Mexican Americans were buried in but given that the main church in the Mexican American neighborhood was Catholic it is likely that Mexican Americans were buried in the Catholic plots. Gaines' who was a local African American lawyer took up the matter after his wife passed away. He was displeased by the restrictions put in place by the cemetery.<sup>31</sup> Gaines' won the lawsuit but it was a minor victory in the grand scheme of segregationist policies throughout Lubbock. The institutional racism in Lubbock still remained. Gaines' case was the beginning of a series of legal battles that impacted the future of African Americans and Mexican Americans living in Lubbock

### **Guadalupe Barrio**

Similar to many immigrant groups who leave their country for the hope of a better life, Mexicans immigrated to the United States in surges during times of political turmoil, economic depression, and violence in their home country. Mexico's government has struggled for stability ever since achieving independence. The country had over ten presidents between 1850 and 1900, and some of them did not even last a year. The instability was a result of political corruption, military coups and activism that plagued the country's system. By 1890 many Mexicans fled towards the United States in search of the American promise. The numbers increased steadily over the next forty years. At the turn of the century Mexican immigration only comprised .07 percent of the

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<sup>31</sup> "A proposal to the XYZ foundation for Msaidia Historical & cultural arts museum,"4.

total immigrants coming to the United States. But by 1925 the percentage rose to 15.68 percent.<sup>32</sup>

Many Mexicans felt that they had no choice but to leave their home country. Under the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz ordinary citizens only made about twenty cents a day, about five dollars and twenty-six cents in 2014 dollars.<sup>33</sup> Mexican immigrants living close to the US Mexican border fled to areas such as the Rio Grande Valley to work the cotton fields, or the Big Bend region to work in the mines. Mexicans who lived further south in Mexico saw an opportunity to escape when Diaz allowed US companies to build railroads that entered the country. As historian Andres Tijerina explains, Diaz's believed Mexico's railroad track expanding under his regime would add to his legacy. However, Diaz unintentionally provided an opportunity for citizens to permanently leave the country, with tracks running north, and through employment offered by US companies. He hoped Mexican workers would take the money they earned from US employers and pump it back into Mexico's economy. Diaz even encouraged US employers to hire Mexicans by allowing them to discriminate against dark skinned Indian workers, and pay them less. Diaz does not appear to have anticipated that many of Mexican citizens would use US employment to permanently relocate as they did in when a revolution against Diaz broke out in 1910. In less than ten

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<sup>32</sup> Julian Samora, *Los Mojados: The Wetback Story*, (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971), 36; David Gutierrez, *Wall and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity*, (University of California Press, 1995); Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*, (Princeton University Press, 2014).

<sup>33</sup> Matt S. Meier, and Feliciano Rivera, *The Chicanos: A History of Mexican Americans*, (Hill and Wang Publishing, February 1994); "inflation calculator," *DaveManuel.com*, accessed March 10, 2015, <http://www.davemanuel.com/inflation-calculator.php>.

years Mexico saw the overthrow of Diaz by Francisco Madero, the assassination of Madero by his general Victoriano Huerta, and the overthrow of Huerta by Venustiano Carranza, Alvaro Obregon, Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa, an alliance which did not last. In those same ten years Mexican immigration into the United States went from 125,000 people to 252,000 people.<sup>34</sup> Mexico was a violent hotbed, and in economic shambles when it entered the 1920's.

Workers employed by the railroad companies travelled north to locations where the railroad industry expanded, and labor camps were established. Although many of the Mexican immigrants who first settled in Lubbock were part of the railroad system several immigrants worked in the cottons fields just as African Americans migrating to Lubbock did. According to Tijerina, during the 1920s the Lubbock Chamber of Commerce took calls from area farmers who claimed they had a shortage of hands. He writes that based on the information they gathered the Chamber of Commerce estimated that 2,500 laborers were needed for the 1927 season. He further adds that Lubbock County attempted to recruit laborers to their fields by advertising in the local paper, *The Lubbock Morning Avalanche*.<sup>35</sup> For both minority groups, temporary employment

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<sup>34</sup> Pauline R. Kibbe, *Latin Americans in Texas* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1946); Joseph G. Rayback, *A History of American Labor* (New York: Free Press, 1959); Charles Anthony Hawley, *Life Along the Border; A Personal Narrative of Events and Experiences Along the Mexican Border Between 1905 and 1913* (Spokane, Washington: Shaw and Borden Co., 1965); Manuel Gamio, *Mexican Immigration to the United States* (New York: Arno Press, 1969); Andres A. Tijerina, "History of Mexican Americans in Lubbock Country, Texas" (master's thesis, Texas Tech University, 1979); Matt S. Meier, and Feliciano Rivera.

<sup>35</sup> Tijerina, 25.

turned to permanent residence, and the eventual establishment of a permanent community.<sup>36</sup>

Lubbock's first permanent Mexican American resident, Ventura Flores, literally pitched a tent next to the railroad depot in 1912. A few years later he became the first Mexican American in Lubbock to own property after "trading his wagon and team" for a house in what is now the Guadalupe neighborhood. The neighborhood mostly consisted of tents until the 1920's when other Mexican Americans began to buy property in the area.<sup>37</sup> Mexican Americans did not have the same restrictive city ordinance levied against them as the African American community, but the white community did not embrace them either.

It was during the 1920's, when the city was advertising for laborers that they also recognized that the Mexican American population was no longer migratory. With this realization the Anglo townspeople developed a basic social institution that served the Guadalupe area, which included a "Mexican school" and church services. Initially, Anglo groups entered the barrio as missionary figures, and offered religious services. There were few Catholic churches in the south plains to begin with and only one, *Our Lady of Guadalupe Church* in Amarillo, offered a Spanish language service. The church

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<sup>36</sup> Dionicio Nodin Valdes, *Barrio Nortenos: St. Paul and Midwestern Mexican Communities in the Twentieth Century*, (May 15, 2000); Erasmo Gamboa, *Mexican Labor and World War II: Braceros in the Pacific Northwest, 1942-1947* (Columbia Northwest Classics, October 1, 2000); Jim Norris, *North for the Harvest: Mexican Workers, Growers, and the Sugar Beet Industry*, (January 15, 2009). The historiography discusses how far migrants are willing to travel for work such as to St. Paul Minnesota to work in the beet fields.

<sup>37</sup> Tijerina, 52-53.

served all of west Texas' Spanish speaking residents.<sup>38</sup> To accommodate those who did not live in close proximity to Amarillo, priests travelled to cities throughout the southwest, and out of houses and boxcars offered their service to people of Mexican origin.<sup>39</sup>

When Lubbock gained enough Catholic followers for a church the services were segregated. A letter to the bishop-elect Robert E. Lucey at the St. Anthony's Church in Long Beach California demonstrates the racial division that existed in Lubbock's Catholic community. A member of the white Catholic community in Lubbock wrote that his congregation wanted permission to move forward in establishing a church of their own. At the time Anglo parishioners shared a church building with Mexican Americans where services were segregated. Whites had church service at 8:30am and Mexicans had church service at 10am. The Anglo parishioner described the church as being on the outskirts of town and in an "undesirable" location. The letter went on to describe that there were forty to sixty white families who were "outstanding business

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<sup>38</sup> Regina Foppe, "The Response of the Roman Catholic Church to the Mexican Americans in West Texas, 1839 into Post Vatican II," (master's thesis, Texas Tech University, 1976), 11.

<sup>39</sup> Foppe, 12.

people,” and fixed in the area. The white congregation asked for permission to start establishing a church in an area they identified as a “good” location.<sup>40</sup> Eventually, Lubbock was home to two Catholic parishes, St. Joseph’s which served the Mexican American population and St. Elizabeth’s which served the white population. Construction of St. Elizabeth’s Church was completed in 1935. The existence of two Catholic churches in Lubbock, serving two different racial groups corresponds with the tumultuous relationship Mexican Americans had with the U.S. Catholic church discussed in the historiography. The relationship was filled with racism and discrimination perpetuated by Anglo priests and bishops who kept every aspect of the church segregated. In general Mexican Americans, whose neighborhoods largely revolved around the church were portrayed as not practicing the religion properly, hence the justification for segregation.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Foppe, 90. Source referenced by Foppe is a letter located at the Diocese of Amarillo Archives.

<sup>41</sup> Jay P. Dolan, and Gilberto Hinojosa, *Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church, 1900-1965*, (University of Notre Dame Press, 1997); Richard Edward Martinez, *Padres: The National Chicano Priest Movement*, (University of Texas Press, 2005); Robert Trevino, *The Church in the Barrio*, (The University of North Carolina Press, 2006).



Figure4: Location of St. Joseph's and St. Elizabeth's church. St. Elizabeth's is located down the street from Texas Tech University and St. Joseph's in the Guadalupe area also viewed as the Mexican American neighborhood.<sup>42</sup>

In general members of the Catholic Church were seen as outsiders, which added to the stigma associated with Mexican Americans. Since Catholicism was not the primary religion for Anglos in Lubbock, there was not a lot of money available to construct or expand catholic churches. However, despite the segregationists policies enforced by the white Catholic community, Mexican Americans continued to assist their

<sup>42</sup> Map sketched by author.

religious family by donating \$500 when St. Elizabeth's underwent an expansion.<sup>43</sup> The white community did not reciprocate the generosity.

### **Hard Times, Easy Targets**

In search of low-cost labor, Lubbock posted advertisements in newspapers meant to attract Mexican labor. However, whenever economic hard times hit the nation, the city turned on its Hispanic population. When the nationwide nativist movement reached Lubbock the Anglo population made efforts to deport Mexican population it helped recruit.<sup>44</sup> In 1911, the *A-J* stated Mexican American cotton pickers were not the same race as the rest of Lubbock residents, summing up the social and racial beliefs of Anglos in the area.<sup>45</sup> These beliefs did not change quickly nor did they end in 1955 when the city narrative claims voluntary desegregation occurred with its schools, as evidenced by a barbershop located at University and Auburn which hung a sign reading, "no dogs allowed or Mexicans allowed," until 1968.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>Foppe, 91. The exact year that donations were gathered is not clear in Foppe's thesis, however, the information is located under her chapter listed as "Robert Emmet Lucey, Second Bishop of Amarillo," who served Amarillo from approximately 1934-1941. The sources she lists for the information is, Sister Nellie Rooney, "History of the Diocese of Amarillo," 46, 48.

<sup>44</sup> Tijerina; Carey Williams, *Ill Fares the Land: Migrants and Migratory Labor in the United States* (Boston; Little Brown Co., 1941).

<sup>45</sup> Tijerina, 52-53.

<sup>46</sup> Nephtali DeLeon, interview by Andrew Tijerina, May 17, 1973 located at the Southwest Special Collections Archive at Texas Tech University in Lubbock, TX.



Leonel Galindo experienced this sentiment when he first moved to Lubbock in 1952, after receiving a job offer from the Texas Employment Commission. The first week he arrived in town he rented a small room with a bathroom and heater. He had no kitchen privileges so he ate out. Three blocks away there was a café off of Main Street. He went there for breakfast, lunch and supper. After a couple of days of going there a Mexican American bus boy asked in Spanish if Galindo was Mexican. When Galindo replied yes the bus boy warned him that “they” were going to run him off. It was not clear who “they” were and Galindo told the bus boy he had eaten there the last few days without issue. Yet, the bus boy insisted that if he had not been turned away it was because nobody yet noticed Galindo was Hispanic.<sup>47</sup> Galindo never stated whether or not he was asked to leave the café. However, the bus boy’s belief that it would happen suggests incidents of that nature occurred in the past. Further, his reaction indicates that the city of Lubbock had a deeply imbedded social policy which restricted the daily lives of Mexican American and Africans American.

At work, as a farm placement interviewer who helped place workers with farmers looking for laborers, Galindo encountered laborers who preferred to meet with him over his Anglo colleagues who they did not feel comfortable speaking to. Part of the reason for this was that Galindo was the only bilingual interviewer, but also because Hispanics in the area did not believe Anglos had their best interest in mind.<sup>48</sup> After years of living in Lubbock, Galindo began to recognize discrimination just as many of the Mexican

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<sup>47</sup> Leonel and Arrora Galindo, interview by David G. Zepeda, November 4, 1976, Southwest Collections/ Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX.

<sup>48</sup> Leonel and Arrora Galindo interview.

Americans he first encountered when moving to Lubbock did. When searching for a place to rent for him and his family he encountered landlords who did not want to rent their apartment to a minority, and instead claimed to have already rented the place. Galindo believed the landlords were “too scared to say they don’t rent to Mexicans,” because he was larger in stature than them at 6 feet 2 inches. However, this did not change the fact that Anglo landlords discriminated against him.

Galindo took his newfound awareness and became an active member of LULAC. Galindo and members of the first Lubbock LULAC chapter organized a function at the Hilton hotel to promote the organization, but not every member of the Hispanic population believed the existing social structure would allow the event to take place. Other Mexican Americans expressed concern that the hotel would cancel the reservation once the date of the event drew near.<sup>49</sup> However, the cancellation never came. Even though the hotel did not cancel the reservation many Mexican Americans were conditioned by past experiences to not try and push the racially constructed social boundaries. With a strong dominant narrative that claimed race was a non-issue the racially discriminatory institution in Lubbock had no reason to change. As a result, both Mexican Americans and African Americans found it difficult and at times futile to challenge the system.

The majority of Mexican Americans found themselves residing in the Guadalupe area, or in the other least desirable parts of Lubbock. Lubbock’s white community did not openly accept Hispanics into other parts of the city so many Mexican Americans

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<sup>49</sup> Leonel and Arrora Galindo interview.

found it best to stay east of Ave H, even though there was no restrictive ordinance in place. Since the city of Lubbock did not fully incorporate the Mexican American community into the city Hispanics turned to one another to form their neighborhoods, such as Guadalupe.

The Mexican American community had limited resources, and did not receive adequate attention from the city so housing within the Guadalupe neighborhood was subpar at best.<sup>50</sup> A report taken during the 1950's revealed that thirty-two percent of the households occupied by Hispanics were dilapidated and twenty-five percent housed seven or more people at once. To make matters worse, the city did not secure basic utilities for Hispanic neighborhoods till much later than Anglo neighborhoods. Seventy six percent of residences had no running water and eighty-seven percent did not have an inside toilet even though the city had access to water and sewer service by 1912.<sup>51</sup> The conditions of the barrio were detestable and remained that way until after the cataclysmic tornado of 1970, the subject of the next chapter. Whether it was through social reinforcement or legal ordinances, the city of Lubbock residentially segregated

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<sup>50</sup> Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890: A Social History*, (Aug 30, 1982,), 30-60. The study attempts to understand the ongoing process of the Los Angeles Barrio. In this particular chapter Griswold del Castillo discusses how economic exclusion contributed to instability in the barrio; Dionicio Nodín Valdés, *Barrios Norteños: St. Paul and Midwestern Mexican Communities in the Twentieth Century* ( May 15, 2000)182-184. Valdes touches on Mexican American migration and housing patterns throughout the book but provides an overview of the barrios in chapter five when he discusses the beginnings of urban renewal; David R. Diaz, *Barrio Urbanism: Chicanos, Planning and American Cities*, (June 29, 2005), 80-105. Diaz discusses how the demand for affordable housing sums up the status of the barrio. With a high numbers of renters, and little to no private investment barrios continue to deteriorate; Jorge Iber and Samuel O. Regalado, eds., *Mexican Americans and Sports: A Reader on Athletics and Barrio Life*, ( August 21, 2006), 121-144. In his essay about the Donna Redskins Iber discusses the conditions that Mexican American football players were coming from. Although Donna is not an urban center like Los Angeles it still consisted of a White and Mexican part of town. As Iber points out the young Mexican American men bagged groceries, delivered papers, and worked as migrants to generate income.

<sup>51</sup> Lawrence L. Graves, *A History of Lubbock* (Minneapolis: Lund Press Inc, 1963).

both the Mexican American and African American communities which in turn limited their children's educational options.

### **Lubbock Schools**

In spring of 1891, shortly after the city's founding the county commissioners' court discussed the creation of a school district. In May of that year they created School District No. 2 in the northeastern part of the county. The county directed its efforts to raising funds for the school system, but were not successful in time to open for fall of 1891. At a town meeting, the community decided the jail house would serve as the temporary school (it had already served as an ad hoc church). They selected Miss Minnie Tubbs as the teacher because she had taught the year before in Parker County, despite only being seventeen years old. A few months later, the city constructed a dedicated school building on Main Street. The school year lasted anywhere between four to seven months, and the start time could vary too, from eight in the morning or nine. On average twenty-five students were enrolled in the school, but only about half of them were ever present because many of them worked on their family farms. Those who did attend studied geography, spelling, history, and the three R's.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Lynn Ray Musslewhite, "The Lubbock Public Schools, 1891-1941," (Master's Thesis, Texas Tech University, 1969), 7. According to Musslewhite the Lubbock school system established in 1891 is not linked in any way to the current school district established in 1907.



Figure5: First Lubbock School Building circa 1905.<sup>53</sup>

The 30<sup>th</sup> Texas Legislature authorized the creation of the Lubbock Independent School District, and classes began in fall of 1907.<sup>54</sup> As the Lubbock community grew so did the school system and the number of schools established. However, when it came to the minority community the buildings remained modest, and often served multiple civic purposes. The buildings were specifically categorized as the “Mexican school” and the “Black school,” located in the neighborhoods where each of the groups resided, serving those populations specifically.

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<sup>53</sup> “First Lubbock School Building,” SWCPC 57(I)-E27.1. Located in the Lubbock History Collections at the Southwest/Special Collections Archive at Texas Tech University in Lubbock TX. Reprinted with Southwest/Special Collections Archive permission.

<sup>54</sup> Lawrence L. Graves, *A History of Lubbock*, (West Texas Museum Association, 1962); “A proposal to the XYZ foundation for Msaidia Historical & cultural arts museum.”

In 1922 the city of Lubbock appropriated funds for a small one room building to serve as the “Mexican School.” The school served the growing minority community while maintaining segregationist policies. For the first few years there was only one teacher, and she was not of Mexican origin. Additional teachers hired later were also not of Mexican origin. By 1924 the one room school was overcrowded with thirty one students. It was years before LISD gave them a larger school made of brick. Even more detrimental was the fact that it took decades before one of the students graduated from an LISD high school. Many of the first generation students that attended the Mexican school dropped out for various reasons, including economic hardship and disillusionment. Further, parents made excuses for why their children stopped attending, chalking it up to a phase the child was going through rather than publically confronting the systemic problem with the system’s segregationist policies.<sup>55</sup> The African American experience shared similarities and differences. Gene Blackburn, Anglo resident and graduate of the class of 1941 recalled a fieldtrip to one of the school/churches in east Lubbock as a “real experience to go over there though because I had never been to that side of town.”<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Tijerina, 27. Lubbock Independent School District, *Report on 30 years*, Southwest Collections/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX; Antonio Urtado, interview by Andrew A. Tijerina, March 26, 1973, Southwest Collections/ Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX; Lynn Ray Musslewhite, “The Lubbock Public Schools, 1891-1941,” (master’s thesis, Texas Technological College, 1969), 76.

<sup>55</sup> Guadalupe San Miguel Jr., *Let All of Them Take Heed*, (University of Texas, 1987); Guadalupe San Miguel, *Brown Not White: School Integration and the Chicano Movement in Houston*, (Texas A&M University Press, 2005); Carlos Blanton, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas, 1836-1981*, (Texas A&M University Press, 2007).

<sup>56</sup> Gene Blackburn, interview by Sue Sappington, March 18, 1991, Southwest Collections/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX.

In 1920, African Americans first held schooling in servant quarters. The first African American teacher hired by LISD was Saddle Taylor. In 1921 African American classes were moved to the Mt. Gilead Baptist Church, and Mrs. Butler joined the teaching staff. One year later, the city designated an unnamed school located at 17<sup>th</sup> St and Ave C, where Ella Carruthers taught in a 20'x24' room. In 1923, the city built a permanent structure to accommodate the African American population. The city made additions to the growing school in 1928, and in 1930 there were three teachers that taught at the school, not including the principal E.C. Struggs. As the school system in east Lubbock grew to accommodate the population, LISD assigned the African American community their own high school at Date and 23<sup>rd</sup> Ave, and reassigned the name Dunbar to it. In 1938 the four year school was accredited by the State Department of Education. The school had seven rooms, a library and homemaking room. In 1940 there were 11 teachers and 571 students, growing to 20 teachers and 873 students by 1948. In 1932 the school held its first commencement ceremony as a four year high school. Six students graduated. Two went on to Prairie View University and one went on to Paul Quinn College in Waco, TX.<sup>57</sup>

The 1937 graduating class, which was the first to graduate from the new Dunbar location at Date Ave and 23<sup>rd</sup> included graduate Harris Floyd who went on to become a Lubbock city councilman. Floyd graduated tenth in his class, an achievement he

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<sup>57</sup> Mack Jamison, interview by Robert Foster, April 10, 1969, Southwest Collections/ Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX; Lawrence Rice, *The Negro in Texas, 1874-1900*, (Louisiana State University Press, 1971); Amilcar Shabazz, *Advancing Democracy: African Americans and the Struggle for Access and Equity in Higher Education in Texas*, (University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Dwonna Goldstone, *Integrating the 40 Acres: The Fifty-Year Struggle for Racial Equality at the University of Texas*, (University of Georgia Press, 2006).

indicated pride in during his 1995 interview. Floyd's sense of pride and future accomplishments in the city of Lubbock is an indication that despite the segregation which existed during the 1930's the African American community took pride in its own schools and the courses it taught. Since the school served the African American community the course offerings differed slightly from the other high schools in Lubbock. Students had to take the basics such as algebra, English, chemistry and US history, but they were also expected to take "negro" history.<sup>58</sup> However, prior to 1955 limited college options forced African Americans to leave home in pursuit of higher education. Floyd Harris, encouraged by the Dunbar Principal Struggs, traveled 470 miles to attend Prairie View A&M University.

Attending college was not an easy task for African American students. Texas segregationist laws forbade the integration of schools, to the extent that the state was willing to provide scholarships for African Americans to attend a law school, and or medical school out of state. Before Texas Tech integrated, students had to travel a substantial distance if they wanted to attend college. A popular choice was Huston Tillotson University, over 370 miles away from Lubbock. For many students the distance was hard to overcome. Having grown up in an isolated community where teachers were in regular communication with one's family, many students found themselves lacking a proper support system to make it through. For many young African American Lubbockites seeking higher education was not only an emotional struggle but an economic one as well. Floyd had his brother who was also attending

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<sup>58</sup> Floyd Harris, Interview by Tai Kreidler, Lubbock, TX, July 7, 1995, Southwest Collections/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University in Lubbock, Tx; Katie Parks, ch.9.



Prairie View to help, but despite the emotional comfort of a family member he was only able to attend school for one year before he had to drop out. The brothers attempted to juggle work and class material by splitting the responsibilities between the two of them but it was not enough. Often Harris sent his brother off to class so at least one of them could hear lecture, while he continued to work. Like many other African Americans students, Floyd was victim to a lack of resources. He was only able to attend college for a year because he did not have enough money to continue.<sup>59</sup>

### **Texas Tech Integrates**

Opportunity was on the horizon for Lubbock minorities when in 1961 Texas Tech admitted its first black student, Lucille Graves during the summer semester of that year. Despite the quiet fears that many had about integration no public incidents were reported, which opened the door for eight more students from Dunbar high to attend Tech in the fall of 1961. Additionally, the city's collective memory depicts Tech as having no racial issue, recounting incidents such as drummers from Tech's band refusing to play at the Cotton Bowl in 1962, until its African Americans members were also allowed onto the field.<sup>60</sup> If the city's university could integrate peacefully it could set a standard for the rest of the city and LISD to do the same. However, integration was not as easy as the city's collective memory recalls.

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<sup>59</sup> Floyd Harris, Interview.

<sup>60</sup> Parks, ch.9.

Amongst minorities Texas Tech University was historically considered a dangerous place. African American experiences prior to 1970 led the community to believe Anglo Tech students were “hateful,” and violent. Tech students chased and screamed at African Americans in the area to scare them into thinking that they were going to hurt them. In one case an African American woman had her arms broken by students who chased her.<sup>61</sup> In theory Tech should have promoted racial progress as an institution of higher education, but the reality was that even after integration the university did nothing to challenge racial discrimination in Lubbock, and even further the institution’s white students and administration perpetuated racism in the city.

Student journalism provides insight into the racial divide that existed at Tech, and the city of Lubbock in general. *The Catalyst* was a Texas Tech underground student newspaper that countered the city’s narrative. Both the university and city of Lubbock attempted to shut down the paper because of controversial satire and political statements, such as “it’s a nice school but I wouldn’t want to live here.” However, in 1970 the Channing Club, a student youth group linked to the Unitarian Church filed a lawsuit on behalf of the paper in order to keep it running. The court ruled in favor *The Catalyst*.<sup>62</sup>

The *Catalyst* contained a column called the “People’s view” which was meant to make the Texas Tech community more aware of cultural and ethnic problems. In the

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<sup>61</sup> Ada Grave, interview by Robert Foster, April 8, 1969 located at the Southwest Special Collections Archive at Texas Tech University in Lubbock, TX.

<sup>62</sup> The Channing Club was a campus youth organization of the Unitarian Church. It was the campus sponsor of *The Catalyst*. “announcing the all new Channing Club,” *The Catalyst* (October 1971), Southwest Collections/ Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX; “The *Catalyst* synopsis,” *Southwest Collections/ Special Collections Library* website, accessed November 26, 2014. <http://collections.swco.ttu.edu/handle/10605/121>

summer of 1971 they interviewed James Young, a Lubbock African American appointed to the Student Association's President's cabinet. Young spoke in uninhibited detail over African American student involvement at Texas Tech. He was an activist, rare in Lubbock, according to him. He stated that Anglos at Tech were paranoid about African Americans, when in reality African American students only wanted to pass their classes and graduate. He argued African Americans were the ones who should be paranoid since Anglos were not alone in classes of hundreds of blacks, it was the other way around. This disparity was the reason that African American students did not participate in student affairs. Although Young's interview was intended to demonstrate the need for a Black studies course that he hoped would attract more African Americans to Tech, the opinions provided by Young offer insight into the reality of race relations at Texas Tech. Not only did African American students not feel welcome at Tech, nor did African American professors whose only living options were to move into "low income Black district or an upper class lilly-white district."<sup>63</sup>

Writers for the *Catalyst* were also not apprehensive about crying injustice. In an article titled "who goes to jail and who doesn't," writers of the paper condemned the Texas Tech football team, their coach, and the Lubbock legal system. During the winter of 1970 two young Anglo men broke into a Lubbock bike shop and stole two bikes valued at \$125. It was later discovered that one of the boys was a football player for Tech, and the other was his younger brother. However, when the two were initially

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<sup>63</sup> Tom Downs, "People's View," *The Catalyst*, (Lubbock TX, summer 1971), Southwest Collections/ Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX.

spotted in possession of the stole bikes they unsuccessfully lied and claimed that they purchased them from a ‘Mexican.’ The team’s coach went to speak to the bike shop owner, who interpreted the visit as an intimidation tactic not to press charges. Later the Tech football player went to the shop himself, not to apologize but to collect the rack and kickstand that he purchased for the stolen bike. While there he told the shop owner that theft charges would never stick against him. The DA’s office headed by Blair Cherry refused to take the shop owners signed complaint and instead placed the boys under his personal probation, which amounted to a meaningless slap on the wrist. The shop owners feared the authorities would target them if they pursued charges against the boys, and attempted to go around the DA’s office. *The Catalyst* not only condemned the DA’s office for allowing a football player to get away without punishment but also made the observation that race and economic standing played a role in the incident. The paper ended their piece by writing, “How many young Blacks, Chicanos, and poor Whites are let off so lightly for burglary.”<sup>64</sup>

Other student newspapers that challenged the status quo included *Activist*. In a letter written to the paper, signed “A Black Citizen of the Capitalist White Power U.S.A.-Freedom School-Lubbock,” the term racism was said to be synonymous with Tech’s name. The school’s administrators, instructors and President were all identified as racist. While the letter was an opinion piece the paper’s staff did find discrimination in their examination of the social sororities and fraternities on campus. The paper

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<sup>64</sup> “who goes to jail and who doesn’t,” *The Catalyst*, Lubbock TX, summer 197, located at the Southwest Specials Collection Library at Texas Tech University in Lubbock, TX.

contacted the Tech administration to request a copy of the fraternities and sororities constitutions, but the administration said they did not have copies and the paper's staff was left to contact the officers of each social organization on their own. The majority of Greek organizations responded that the information was not available to the outsiders. Members of the Phi Delt and Fiji essentially told the paper it was none of their "damn business." However, the Sigma Nu did not skirt around the issue of racial discrimination and confirmed that their constitution included a clause that barred African Americans, more specifically, "any person of slave descent."<sup>65</sup>

The social institutions that were supposedly made up of the future generation's brightest up and comers, those that would have influence over the country one day were also the ones that maintained the racist policies embedded in their social organizations. During the 1963-64 school year, a Texas Tech freshman working in the Student Union print shop took notice of the lyrics in a songbook he was instructed to copy for the school's Inter-Fraternity Council. Amongst the lyrics a verse read:

Oh, you can shoot them to the moon,  
But we'll never pledge a coon.  
You can put them on a bus,  
But they'll never ride with us.  
Oh, there will never be a nigger  
In Sigma Phi Naught

After reading the lyrics he refused to print the book. His supervisor sent him to an administrator, who lectured him about his responsibilities and that it was one of his tasks

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<sup>65</sup> David Holoff, "Discrimination?," *The Activist Forum*, Lubbock, TX, May 1968, Southwest Collections/ Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX

to print the song book. The student returned to work and printed a few copies, but sent them to Lubbock's NAACP chapter, who issued a complaint that resulted in an *Avalanche-Journal* story. Shortly after the story ran, everyone on campus knew the student's name. On more than one occasion he was targeted by the "Greeks." They encircled him in the dorm dining room, threw empty beer bottles through his dorm window, made late night prank calls pretending to be Aunt Jemima, and once even broke into his room where they threw his books out the window and set his door on fire. Despite the blatant attacks directed toward the student he received no protection from the school. Rather at the end of the school year he received a bill for the broken window in his room. Tech officials told him it was his own fault for acting so controversial and that if he did not pay the bill he could not re-enroll.<sup>66</sup>

The Tech fraternities and sororities could afford to be bold in their dismissal of minorities because the administration dissuaded anyone who did not fall in line with the

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<sup>66</sup> Dick J. Reavis, "Civil Rites: I had no intention of becoming an activist when I enrolled at Texas Tech in the sixties. But I had no choice," *Texas Monthly*, (Austin, TX, May 2001). It is worth noting that current day examples of Reavis' story exist. As late as March 2015 the national news reported that the University of Oklahoma banished its Sigma Alpha Epsilon (SAE) fraternity branch from the campus after video of its members chanting racist lyrics similar to those in Reavis' story was released. Aboard a bus transporting fraternity members, they chanted, "There will never be a nigger SAE. We'll hang them from a tree..." The 2015 African American student population at the University of Oklahoma makes up approximately five percent of the overall 27,000 student population. National reports indicate that the Greek system is still largely segregated at the University. "New fallout from racist fraternity video," *CBS News*, March 10, 2015, [www.cbsnews.com/news/new-fall-out-from-racist-university-of-oklahoma-fraternity-video/](http://www.cbsnews.com/news/new-fall-out-from-racist-university-of-oklahoma-fraternity-video/)

existing social structure. Rumors about Tech administrators such as at least one of the school's President being a member of the Citizens Council also benefited the organizations and their wayward events.<sup>67</sup> Even the main campus newspaper, *The Toreador* promoted events that had racist roots. A 1948 promotion in the paper read, "Lions Club Minstrels to Feature Student Acts and Colorful Variety." The event was sponsored by the Tech Chamber of Commerce and took place in the Lubbock high school auditorium. Tickets were sold on the Tech campus at various locations, including the administration building.<sup>68</sup> The images in the advertisement below demonstrate that the Lions Club minstrel show continued the tradition of entertaining Anglos through mocking and belittling African Americans. Further the image displays that the show was in its eighth year, conveying that either the majority of Lubbock saw no problem with the show's content or they simply did not care if it offended African Americans.

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<sup>67</sup> The Citizens Council was formed only months after the *Brown v. Board* decision was made. The Council is at times considered an upscale version the KKK. The group dismissed allegations that they sanctioned violence but they worked in opposition of desegregation and many of its members held high positions of authorities such as Mississippi's senator James O. Eastland who sanctioned punishment against African Americans attempting to integrate. Source: Neil R. McMillen, *The Citizen's Council: Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction, 1954-1964*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); John Dittmer, *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi*, (University of Illinois Press, 1994).

<sup>68</sup> "Lions Club Minstrels to Feature Student Acts and Colorful Variety," *The Toreador*, Texas Technological College in Lubbock TX, October 9, 1948.



Figure 6: Advertisement for the Lions Club Minstrel show. The advertisement depicts stereotypical images of African Americans with exaggerated features. The advertisement was printed in and issue of the *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, Lubbock TX, November 10, 1953.<sup>69</sup>

African American sororities and fraternities on the other hand were not afforded the same opportunities to advertise their events. The African American Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority opened a Lubbock charter in 1958. When they approached the *AJ*'s editor about printing their debutant's pictures in the paper he told them, "as long as he lived and ran the paper blacks would never grace the society pages." One of the former sorority members claimed that some things had not changed in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In 2008, an Alpha Kappa Alpha member claimed to have contacted the marketing director of the *AJ* and was given a similar response to the one the group received in the 1950's.<sup>70</sup> Texas

<sup>69</sup> "8<sup>th</sup> Annual Jubilee Minstrels," *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, Lubbock TX, November 10, 1953.

<sup>70</sup> Members of the Eta Delta Omega Chapter of the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, interview by Robert Weaver, February 27, 2012, Southwest Collections/ Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX



Tech “opening its doors to integration” did not mean the university pushed for racial equality, rather the widespread racial discrimination that took place at the university demonstrated that they failed in their role as an institution of higher learning to promote social progress, and if Tech did not dismantle the core of its racial problems then LISD and the city had no reason to either.

### **Concerned Citizens**

Prior to federal intervention, the city of Lubbock experienced limited civil rights mobilization because the city’s narrative combated the idea that it was needed. Lubbock minorities formed an organization called the Concerned Citizens of Lubbock as an attempt to challenge the racial inequality that the city’s narrative ignored. Records indicate that the chairman of the organization in July of 1968 was T.J. Patterson. In the 1980s he went on to be elected as the first African American to hold a spot on the Lubbock City Council after the at large election system was defeated in court, as discussed in chapter 4. Patterson and the organization addressed many of their concerns to the city council and mayor, paying close attention to local statistics, and making arguments that the betterment of the minority community would also benefit Lubbock as a whole. Attached to their letter the organization laid out the numbers for minority citizens employed by the city.

No Minorities	Minorities in some positions (least to greatest)
<p>City Manager All Anglo employees No Vacancies for last two years, so no opportunity for employment</p> <p>Personnel Office 3 secretaries No minority group represented</p> <p>Tax Office 31 employees No Negroes One girl thought to be Puerto Rican</p> <p>City Attorney 2 secretaries No minority group represented Zoning 9 employees No Negroes</p> <p>Fire Department 190 employees No Negro or Mexican American For last 2 years, no application from either</p>	<p>Planning 41 employees 1 draftsman- Negro</p> <p>Finance, Corporation Court, Date Processing 75-80 employees Date Processing – 1 Mexican American Corporation Court – 1 Mexican American No Negroes employed</p> <p>Police Department 190 employees 3 Negro patrolmen (2civil service qualified) 1 Mexican American patrolmen (civil service qualified) No other Negro or Mexican American employees Department stands ready to employ qualified Negroes and Mexican Ams</p> <p>Library 33 1/3 budgeted positions 2 Mexican Americans: 1 clerical, 1 library aide 5 Negroes – building maintenance 1 Negro clerk- typist recently resigned because of marriage</p> <p>Sanitation Department 153 authorized employees – 13 vacancies 1 – Mexican American, clerical staff All supervisors Anglo American All garbage truck drivers- Mexican American, no Negro drivers Pick up men – a few Negro, a few Anglo, but largely Mexican American All tractor and machine operators- Mexican American</p> <p>Parks and Recreation 315 employees 48 part-time Mexican American 28 part-time Negroes 5 full time Mexican Americans 3 full time Negroes No Mexican Americans or Negroes in secretarial positions. Some in leadership positions as life guards and pool managers.</p> <p>Cemetery 3 employees No Mexican Americans or Negroes</p> <p>Lubbock Power and Light and Water 250 employees 40 Mexican Americans 6 Negroes No Mexican Americans or Negroes employed as clerical/meter staff</p>

Figure 7: City of Lubbock employment records.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>71</sup> This chart was created by the author using the information found in source: Concerned Citizens Reference File, Southwest Collections/ Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University in Lubbock, TX.

In their correspondence, the organization made sure to note specific areas of interest to the minority community such as the poor street conditions in minority and ethnic group neighborhoods, health problems, housing problems, inadequate income, and unequal employment opportunities. The group targeted City Council employment practices arguing that they could make a great impact as one of the largest employers in the city, further pointing out that native-born citizens of African or Mexican descent were not hired on the basis that they supposedly lacked proper qualifications for the job. They added that qualified citizens were forced to relocate from Lubbock due to unavailable work opportunities and existing city officials turning them away from open positions. The group asked the mayor and city council to rectify the problems of poor physical environment, public health, social services, and job opportunity by taking a pledge, guaranteeing the city open positions to all qualified applicants regardless of race, religious belief or national origin. Further if the applicant was not technically qualified for the job, the city should take in account their potential for the position and make arrangements for in service training so that the candidate could meet qualifications. Acknowledging the potential expense linked to the in service training, the Concerned Citizens argued that all employers had to spend money to get new hires situated, and that ultimately more qualified minority candidates would apply if they began to see that minorities actually had a chance of getting hired.<sup>72</sup> The ultimate goal was to inspire the private sector to hire more minorities by demonstrating their success in city positions.

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<sup>72</sup> “July 1968 address to the city council and mayor,” Concerned Citizens Reference File located at the Southwest Special Collections Archive at Texas Tech University in Lubbock TX.

The Concerned Citizens urged the city council to conduct a survey over the issues involving equal employment, and argued that minorities who had been turned down for employment should be part of the survey. Finally, the group implored the city council and mayor to draft a city ordinance which created a Human Relations Board or Commission. The board would then report grievances within the minority community to the city council, and provide suggestions on how to rectify the matter.<sup>73</sup> Only months later, in December of that year did a subcommittee of the organization continue to push the city on tackling employment obstacles in the minority community. The committee conducted a study, and submitted a list of recommendations to the Lubbock Independent School District and the Mayor's Human Resources Committee. The group attempted to appeal to the city at large by beginning their report with the following statement, "it is clearly in the public interest, and in the interest of private business as well, that every able bodied adult have the opportunity to be fully employed at a living wage, to develop his potential, and to advance in keeping with his capabilities. Such opportunity would break the cycle of poverty, contribute to our economy, strengthen our institutions, increase human dignity, develop pride in self and community, and give a sense of belonging to the poor of all races whose feeling of alienation now pose a threat to our society."<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> "July 1968 address to the city council and mayor."

<sup>74</sup> "Concerned Citizens of Lubbock: Employment Subcommittee for Lubbock Independent School District" Concerned Citizens reference file, Southwest Collections/ Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University in Lubbock TX

The organization argued that citizens of all races should especially be involved in the public schools. They argued that positive attitudes and a strong relationship with the school district would form if LISD hired more minorities. As a result minority students would not feel so alienated because family members and neighbors would work in the school district they attended. This positive relationship would better motivate students and lead to eventual academic improvement. The organization felt that more minorities needed to be hired all around the city but that LISD should lead the way in this initiative since minority students enrolled in the system had so much to gain.<sup>75</sup>

The group laid out a list of recommendations they believed would improve schools in disadvantaged neighborhoods and encourage employment opportunities. They encouraged the LISD Board of Trustees to increase the minimum wage for established positions. Secondly, they requested on-the-job training positions in every department, which they conceded would be at a lower pay rate than established positions but none the less would provide opportunities otherwise unavailable. Third, they demanded that job openings be advertised in African American and Mexican American presses, multi service centers, and neighborhood centers. Finally, they suggested the creation of teacher aide positions. These positions would create job opportunities for residents of poorer neighborhoods, and assist in the schools with high student-to-teacher ratio.

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<sup>75</sup> “Concerned Citizens of Lubbock: Employment Subcommittee for Lubbock Independent School District” Concerned Citizens reference file, Southwest Collections/ Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University in Lubbock TX; Frank Reissman was a social psychologist who worked with educational programs for minority students, urged the federal government to create new job programs that he argued would be less expensive than unemployment benefits.

The organization's recommendation list not only addressed employment issues but educational issues. The organization based the plan for the teacher's aides positions on the approach for new careers in Frank Riessman's *Blueprint for the Disadvantaged*, published in 1968. According to the blueprint teacher aides had the opportunity to advance through their ability, experience, and part-time or summer university work. Through these steps a teacher's aide could eventually hold the position of teacher.<sup>76</sup> The group spent a lot of time researching and proposing methods for the betterment of the minority community but LISD was not motivated to make changes till an outside source with authority challenged the city's narrative.

### **Federal Intervention**

According to a 1979 study of Lubbock's Mexican American community, LISD integrated in 1955 with little or no problems.<sup>77</sup> However, the late 1960's proved

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<sup>76</sup> "Concerned Citizens of Lubbock: Employment Subcommittee for Lubbock Independent School District"

<sup>77</sup> Tijerina, 52-53.

challenging for Lubbock's dominant narrative as local organizations cried inequality, and federal intervention argued that desegregation in Lubbock was mythical. In 1968 the Office for Civil Rights, Region VII located in Dallas, TX visited Lubbock a second time to evaluate the district's desegregation status. The visit forced LISD's Board of Trustees to evaluate the unequal distribution of their student population throughout the city. As evidenced by the chart in Figure 9 it is clear that particular schools in LISD consisted of a student population where the ethnic minorities of Lubbock, whether Mexican Americans or African Americans, were the majority population within that school. It is also worth mentioning that in a number of LISD schools, minority students made up the majority of a student population when overall they made up less than ten percent student population in LISD during the 1960s.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Current demographics of LISD indicate that the current student population is more than half Mexican American at 57.3%, and 13.5% is African American. Source: "Demographics of Lubbock ISD" ([www.lubbockisd.org/pages/Lubbock\\_ISD\\_\\_TX/Top\\_Navigation-Folders\\_Docs\\_Li/District\\_Information/Demographics\\_of\\_Lubbock\\_ISD\\_-\\_](http://www.lubbockisd.org/pages/Lubbock_ISD__TX/Top_Navigation-Folders_Docs_Li/District_Information/Demographics_of_Lubbock_ISD_-_)), accessed October 20, 2014.

Schools	Professional Personnel Administrators, Regular Classroom & Spec. Educ. Teachers					Pupil Personnel				
	Anglo	Mex	Negro	Other	Total	Anglo	Mex	Negro	Other	Total
Arnett Elem.	14		2		16	366	142			508
Ballenger Spec.	7				7	53	17	10		80
Bayless Elem.*	42				42	1174	12		1	1187
Bean Elem.*	20				20	309	183		1	493
Bowie Elem.	18				18	448				448
Bozeman Elem.	15		6		21	168	165	198		531
Brown Elem.	22				22	455	24	2		481
<b>Carter Elem.*</b>	9.5				9.5	46	<b>150</b>	6		202
Dupre Elem.*	12.5				12.5	218	30	1		249
<b>Guadalupe Elem.*</b>	19	1.5			20.5	2	<b>410</b>			412
Hardwick Elem.	22				22	563	1	1		565
<b>Harwell Elem.*</b>	24				24	208	<b>336</b>	8		552
Haynes Elem.	36		2		38	928	5			933
Hodges Elem.	26				26	627	47	1		675
Hunt Elem.	8.5				8.5	145	22	25		192
<b>Iles Elem.*</b>	5		18		23	4	10	<b>535</b>		549
<b>Jackson Elem.</b>	18	1.5			19.5	109	<b>301</b>	1		411
<b>McWhorter Elem.</b>	28				28	126	<b>509</b>			635
Maedgen Elem.	26				26	627				627
<b>Martin Elem.*</b>	13	1	3.5		17.5	7	<b>146</b>	<b>225</b>		378
<b>North Ave. U Elem</b>	8.5	1			9.5	59	<b>132</b>			191
Overton Elem.	25				25	633	7			640
Parkway Elem.	20				20	285	63	106	5	459
Parsons Elem.	27				27	736	8			744
<b>Posey Elem.*</b>	21		6		27	24	<b>219</b>	<b>420</b>		663
Rush Elem.	21		1		22	601	4			605
<b>Sanders Elem.*</b>	16	1	3.5		20.5	13	<b>327</b>	<b>91</b>		431
<b>Southeast Elem.*</b>	9.5				9.5	74	<b>109</b>	<b>6</b>		189
Steward Elem.	24	1			25	699	3		3	705
Stubbs Elem.	24				24	618	36		1	655
Thompson Elem.*	11		1		12	152	74	7		233
<b>Tubbs Elem.*</b>	17				17	134	<b>247</b>			381
Wester Elem.	18				18	451	11			462
<b>Wheatley Elem.*</b>	6	1	20		27	1		<b>677</b>		678
Wheelock Elem.	28		1		29	671	32	4		707
Wilson Elem.	16				16	408	13	3		424
<b>Wolffarth Elem.</b>	29	3			32	159	<b>540</b>			699
Wright Elem.	10.5				10.5	174	97	1	3	275
Special School	4		1		5	40	19	3		62
<b>Total, Elementary</b>	<b>721</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>65</b>		<b>797</b>	<b>12515</b>	<b>4451</b>	<b>2331</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>19311</b>

Table 1: The table indicates the projected number of students for the 1968-1969 school year. \* Indicates schools with recent boundary changes. Schools in bold represent a student population where the majority of students are an ethnic minority. Not all schools listed on the 1968 demographics are still in existence. Several were closed during the reorganization of schools starting in 1970.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>79</sup> The letter sent by Lubbock Independent School District to the Office for Civil Rights, Region VII does not explain how the students or faculty are labeled as a particular race. Nor does the letter account for the numbers ending in .5; "Distribution of Professional Personnel and Pupils by schools" located in the Reference Files Lubbock, TX: Ecumenical Council on Social Concerns, 1968-1970, at Southwest Collections/ Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX; "Attendance



LISD addressed the disproportionate number of minority students in particular schools by arguing that a number of LISD schools with a majority minority student population were not deliberately segregated, but reflected the residential pattern in their location. Most of the schools with minorities as the majority were located in areas of the city that historically were made up of one ethnic group. As far as LISD and Board of Trustees were concerned they were merely enrolling students in their local neighborhoods, not purposely segregating schools. To further their argument, the Board included statistics on some of the schools whose demographics were shifting from an Anglo majority population to a minority based student population, such as Posey and Bozeman.<sup>80</sup> According to their report in the years 1963-1964 Bozeman consisted of an 86.59% Anglo-American population. The remainder of the student population was Mexican American. However, during the 1965-1966 school year the Anglo-American population dropped by approximately 20%, and the Negro-American population as they have listed went from 0% to just over 7%. Gradually the percentages reached 31% Anglo American, 31% Mexican American, 37% Negro American. Similarly, in a six year span Posey went from an 18.61% Anglo population to a 2% Anglo population as the Negro American population increased to 63.24 percent. The board also pointed out that the Parkway school, adjacent to Bozeman, also went from a 1.57% Negro American population to a 23% one. And in the Martin School the ethnic minority also saw a smaller but mentionable 10% population increase. The board did not point out if the

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Zones, 2007-2008” (<http://www.lubbockisd.org/DistrictInfo/SchoolLocators/AttendanceHS.htm>), accessed October 20, 2014.

<sup>80</sup> Posey is one of the schools closed during reorganization by LISD post 1970. Both schools were located North of 23<sup>rd</sup> Street and East of current day I27.

shift in numbers was because of a growing minority population or because of white flight spurred by minority relocation.

A little over a year later, in November of 1969 Lubbock's claim to have desegregated was challenged by the Civil Rights Office of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). The department questioned whether or not Lubbock was in compliance with the 1964 Civil Rights Act, arguing that segregation still existed in the system. HEW challenged the district's eligibility for federal funding.<sup>81</sup> Lubbock was not the only school district questioned that year. Several of the districts surrounding Lubbock had their policies called into questions, such as Slaton and New Deal.

Residents there and from Lubbock contacted Dr. Hector P. Garcia of the American GI Forum and asked him to inquire on their behalf about the reason students were segregated in these schools, and whether or not he felt they should be concerned. Slaton, TX, located sixteen miles southwest of the Lubbock had a school in their east ward that had all Spanish speaking students. The Slaton school board responded to inquiries by arguing that the reason all students located in their east ward schools were Spanish speaking was because no Anglo students resided in the neighborhood that funneled children into the east ward school. They went on to add that if there were Anglo students living in that area then they would be directed to the east ward school too.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> "Fleet of 82 buses to transport city students," *Avalanche-Journal*, (August 1, 1982).

<sup>82</sup> "Report on the School Question of Slaton, TX," April 15, 1960, located in Slaton Texas School Segregation file of Dr. Hecotr P. Garcia Collection, located at Mary and Jeff Bell Library at Texas A&M Corpus Christi, Corpus Christi, TX.

Similarly, in 1969 the Lubbock parents of a student attending the New Deal Independent School District wrote Dr. Garcia after receiving guidance from the Slaton GI Forum Chairman, Lupe Arellano. The parents of the Mexican American child were not certain if they should be concerned that their child was placed in a class where there were no white students. The school district told the parents that a separate classroom existed for Spanish speaking students to better assist them. The parents spoke to the principal and even visited the classroom themselves, where they observed a teacher explaining a lesson in Spanish to students unable to understand the lesson in English. The parents questioned why this bilingual assistance did not occur in the Head Start and kindergarten classes so that students would not need segregated classes during the first grade. They asked Garcia for his opinion on how they should proceed. The New Deal Independent School wrote Garcia stating that children in the first grade were segregated not because of race but because of language deficiency. Students struggling with English were placed in a bi-lingual class. The administration went on to say that no other class had an all Mexican American group, and that with the introduction of bilingual kindergarten starting in the 1970-71 school year there would be no need for the separate first grade.<sup>83</sup> Cases like New Deal made it difficult to determine when race was the motivating factor for school policies or if it was just a circumstance of

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<sup>83</sup> Lupe Arellano Jr., "Letter to Hector P. Garcia" (September 11, 1969) and David M. Dailey, "Letter from New Deal Independent School to Hector P. Garcia," (October 2, 1969), and Lupe Arellano, "letter to Hector P. Garcia," (September 26, 1969), located in Dr. Hector P. Garcia files 183-39 at Mary and Jeff Bell Library, Texas A&M Corpus Christi; D.G. Coronado, "Letter to Dr. Hector. P. Garcia," (April 15, 1960), located in Dr. Hector P. Garcia files 24. 07 at Mary and Jeff Bell Library at Texas A&M Corpus Christi, Corpus Christi TX.

neighborhood's location and, or language deficiency. However, other cases such as in La Mesa appeared to be much clearer.

Much like Lubbock was investigated by HEW so was La Mesa, however by 1969 La Mesa was submitting its third proposal to HEW and the Mexican American population was growing impatient with the district which had not implemented any of the changes it promised in the past. A combined list of the board's proposals to comply with title VI of the Civil Rights Act included the following items: integrating all first and second graders into one school, integrating all third and fourth graders in another school, relocating fifth grades to V.V. Rogers Elementary, placing sixth, seventh, and eighth graders in their own integrated complex, placing emphasis on the needs of minority students, hiring no less than ten Mexican American bilingual teachers, and building a nine month Head Start for Mexican American children who were burdened in schools because they were not fluent. La Mesa residents argued that the school board had not fulfilled any of its promises, and that Mexican American and "Negro" children were still sharing a single elementary where not a single Anglo student was enrolled, nor was there a Mexican American teacher for the more than three hundred Mexican American students, and thirty four African American students.<sup>84</sup> In 1969 *La Voz*, the bilingual weekly paper out of Lubbock ran on the headline, "School Board refuses to Integrate." The headline referred to the La Mesa school district. The Mexican American population

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<sup>84</sup> "School Board Refuses to Integrate," *La Voz*, December 17, 1969, located in Dr. Hector P. Garcia files 20.15 at Mary and Jeff Bell Library at Texas A&M Corpus Christi, Corpus Christi TX.

in Lubbock and in surrounding towns watched the La Mesa situation closely to see how it might impact their schools.

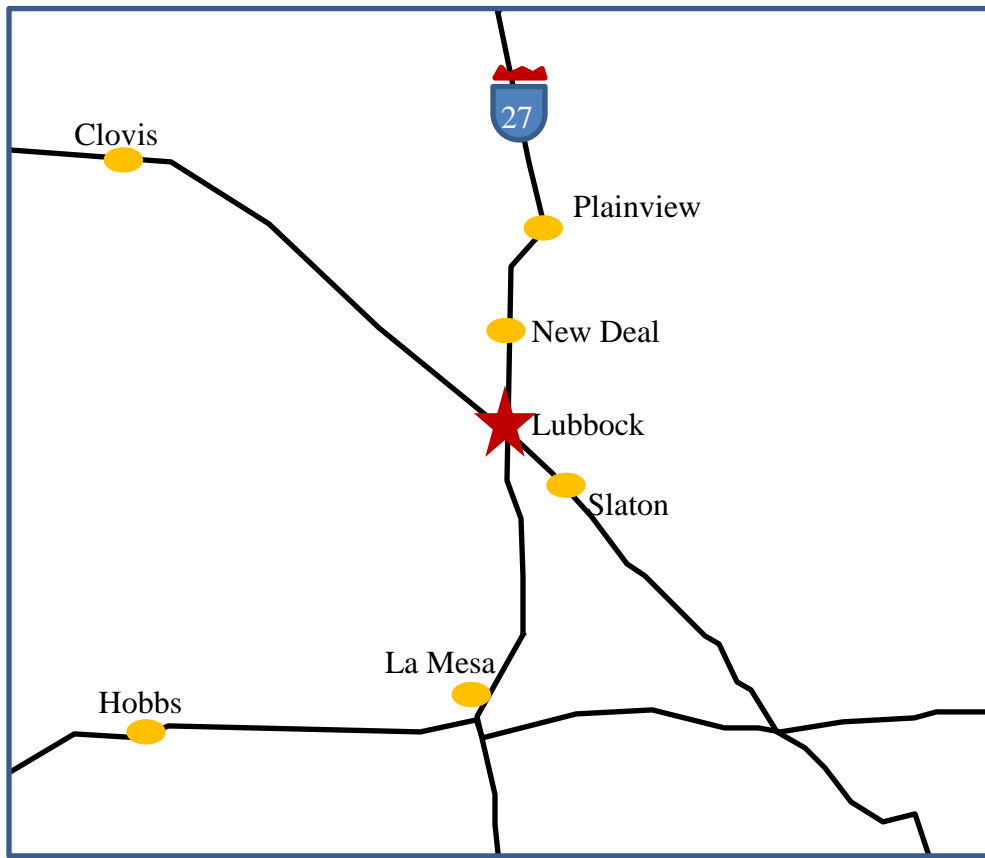


Figure 8: Map of Lubbock and surrounding areas. Location of Slaton (17 miles), New Deal (12 miles), and La Mesa (62 miles) in relation to Lubbock<sup>85</sup>

In 1969 HEW rejected Lubbock’s desegregation plan for failure to indicate that they would eliminate the dual school system. The district claimed that they were in

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<sup>85</sup> “map of Lubbock,” *Google maps*, December 2, 2014, [www.maps.google.com](http://www.maps.google.com); the map has been altered using information from google maps to indicate the proximity of towns surrounding Lubbock that were also undergoing scrutiny for their segregationist policies.

compliance with Title VI and that 4 of their 54 schools were mostly African American because of housing patterns, and not because the school board intentionally placed them in the same school.<sup>86</sup> HEW refused to provide federal funds to Lubbock schools till they came up with an acceptable desegregation plan. A decision over the matter was to come after the New Year.<sup>87</sup> The city's response indicates that they did not see a problem with the residential patterns that led to segregation in schools. Rather the dominant narrative continued to push the idea that race was a non-issue in Lubbock, removing the necessity to address the root of segregation in schools because the narrative argued that there was no problem.

The collective memory formed by the city of Lubbock and its Anglo residents is best represented by the comments of one of its former policeman. George Eubank arrived in Lubbock in 1916 when he was about seventeen years old. In 1937, in his late thirties, he went to work for the Sheriff's department. Due to work Eubank had a lot of contact with African Americans, and during a 1969 interview he stated that the "early day negro" or "nigger" as he alternated between, was quite different from the African American he saw later in life. Eubank was part of the force when African American police men were first hired to watch over east Lubbock and 16<sup>th</sup> St which he referred to as "rat row." In his mind African Americans preferred white policemen to black policemen because white policemen "were less abusive." Similarly, Eubank's selective

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<sup>86</sup> Title VI prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color, and national origin in programs and activities receiving federal financial assistance.

<sup>87</sup> "Civil Rights Plan Asked of School," *San Antonio Express News*, November 1, 1969 in the Dr. Hector P. Garcia files 20.23 at Mary and Jeff Bell Library, Texas A&M Corpus Christi in Corpus Christi, TX.

memory dismissed the notion of African Americans having to avoid the Texas Tech area because of student harassment. Eubank stated that students were not throwing rocks at the “negro” or if it they did it never came to the attention of the Sheriff’s department. Overall, Eubank recalls an idyllic history between African Americans and Anglos in Lubbock. The “negro people back then were very cooperative,” because they knew their place and were okay with segregation.<sup>88</sup> Eubank serves as a representative of the Lubbock Anglo population who felt that the late 1960s minority community asked for too much in their efforts for desegregation. Further, the opinions of Eubank serve as a reminder of the embedded racial ideology that the United States Department of Justice faced in their pursuit of desegregation and integration after 1970.

When cataloguing the experiences of minorities living in Lubbock post 1970, and observing the defacto segregation that still exists in residential patterns, it is clear that the city of Lubbock’s long history of claiming race was a non-issue was an attempt to disarm civil rights activity. It is not that Lubbock did not need a civil rights movement, or that one did not occur, rather it is that the minority community’s struggle for equality has been forgotten due to the domineering city narrative that shaped a mythical post racial collective memory as it did with the tornado of 1970.

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<sup>88</sup> George Eubank, interview by Robert Foster, April 16, 1969, Southwest Collections/ Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX

### CHAPTER III

#### “A BLESSING IN DISGUISE”: MEMORY AND MYTH, LUBBOCK AND THE DESEGREGATING TORNDADO OF 1970

Lubbock’s collective memory depicts a racial history that is tame and nearly non-existent, especially when compared to the national racial events of the 1950’s and 1960’s. However, at the tail-end of the 1960’s, the city of Lubbock and its leading Anglo authorities, those sitting at the helm of the city council and the local major newspaper, found themselves contending with inquiries from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), about segregation in their city.<sup>1</sup> HEW questioned the city’s claim that race and segregation were not serious issues in Lubbock. In 1970, less than a year after the School’s Board of Trustees responded to allegations of segregation, the hub city faced an obstacle of a different kind. Within only a few short months the city was torn apart by two major events, an F5 tornado that struck the city in May, and a lawsuit filed against the Texas Education Agency (TEA) and LISD in August, by the Department of Justice. Yet, the city’s collective memory downplays the LISD lawsuit that placed Lubbock under the federal court’s supervision for twenty years, and tested the racial and social climate of the city. Instead the city used the aftermath of the

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<sup>1</sup> Prior to 1980 the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) encompassed the services of both the U.S. Department of Education (ED) and The United States Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). Currently, the Department of ED establishes policies on federal financial aid for education, collecting data on the country’s schools, focusing national attention on education goals, and ensuring that no student is denied equal access to education. The department of HHS focuses on improving the health, safety and general well- being of America. *Department of Education*, accessed September 1, 2014, <https://answers.ed.gov/link/portal/28022/28025/Article/594/History-of-Department-of-Education>; Department of Health and Human Services, accessed September 1, 2014, <http://www.hhs.gov/about/>.



tornado to reinforce their post racial narrative. The city deemed the tornado “a blessing in disguise” because it supposedly brought all citizens of Lubbock together, and put an end to any remnants of segregation.

Newspaper articles printed after the tornado pressed the idea that the entire Lubbock community was united by the storm. Commemorative issues printed years later still stressed this idea, such as the 1990 headline that read, “Destruction of homes brought end to segregation across city.”<sup>2</sup> However, these positive versions of the city’s triumph over racial injustice through the rebuilding efforts of a massive tornado represent a one-sided view which white washes over the racial divisions that continued decades after the storm passed. Most Mexican Americans who lost their homes were relocated east, where the segregated African American community lived. As late as 2007, Lubbock’s residential patterns remained heavily segregated. Northeast Lubbock consisted of 56% Mexican Americans, 31% Anglos and 9% African Americans. East Lubbock was comprised of 49.2% Hispanics, 28.5% African Americans and 21.4% Anglos. The remaining districts were overwhelmingly occupied by Anglos with percentages ranging from 73.8% to 82.9%.<sup>3</sup>

This chapter demonstrates that the city attempted to quell any potential civil rights activity, including the LISD lawsuit, by forcing the post tornado narrative that said

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<sup>2</sup> Jim Barlow, “20 Years Later: Destruction of homes brought end to segregation across city,” *Avalanche-Journal*, (Lubbock, TX), May 6, 1990.

<sup>3</sup> City of Lubbock, <http://council.ci.lubbock.tx.us/> (accessed April 2007); district information was compiled through maps and general information from various links on the City of Lubbock’s website. Copy of the 2007 district map with numbers is in author’s possession; Rainlilly Elizondo, “The Fallacy of Desegregation: Mexican Americans in Lubbock TX since the Great Tornado, 1970-2008,” (Masters Thesis, Texas Tech University, 2008).

the city was already united, therefore no civil rights activity was needed. By reviewing race relations in the decades following the tragedy, it is evident that tornado did not unify the city to the extent touted by the narrative. The collective memory formed by city officials, the local white population and main newspaper of the city, was more myth than reality.

### **A Familiar Tale**

The story of Lubbock's "blessing in disguise" is both familiar and foreign in the historiography. Minorities in Lubbock endured struggles similar to those that minorities throughout the nation faced, a common yet often overlooked tale of minorities struggling due to displacement, and local city governments, Anglos, and sectors of business resisting integration. However, the story of Lubbock sets itself apart through the city's use of a natural disaster to strengthen a post racial narrative while pursuing redevelopment goals that left de facto segregation in the city unchallenged.

The historiography of urban redevelopment and renewal is limited.<sup>4</sup> Much of the existing literature in the area derives from the field of sociology. Some of the earliest and most prominent studies argue that urban renewal is a failure, arguing that renewal

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<sup>4</sup> During World War II housing construction was put on pause so that resources could be directed to the war effort. After the war the housing market quickly expanded with new construction. This was in part due to the 1944 Veterans Administration home loan program. New housing construction led to the growth of suburban areas which in turn led to an exodus from the urban areas. With urban areas in decline congress passed the Housing Act of 1949. Title I of that act authorized funds towards urban redevelopment and slum clearance. A brief history of the 1949 act can be found at the HUD website: <http://www.hud.gov/offices/adm/about/admguidance/history.cfm>

pushes for re-segregation before complete desegregation occurs. Residents displaced by renewal are often disadvantaged, and unsupported by the media and local government.<sup>5</sup> These same conditions can be ascribed to the displacement of minorities that occurred in Lubbock. They are the same conditions seen in the few historical works that have discussed displacement; such as the case of Chavez Ravine in Los Angeles, where Mexican American families were pushed out of their homes with false promises for better living, yet received little to no compensation as their community was transformed into Dodger Stadium.<sup>6</sup> El Paso, TX's Smelertown residents, who had been informed that the area was contaminated with lead, organized in hopes of reaching a resolution to keep their children safe while holding on to their home community.<sup>7</sup> In both cases, as with Lubbock, the destruction of local communities was justified by the claim that it was for the ultimate good of the minority community, specifically Mexican Americans.

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<sup>5</sup> Herbert J. Gans, *Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans*; (The Free Press: Macmillan Co., Inc., 1982). Sugrue discusses racial and class segregation in the urban decline of Detroit; June Manning Thomas, *Urban Planning and the African American Community: In the Shadows*, (Sage Publications, 1996); *Urban Villagers* analyzes the life of working class, inner city Italian Americans in Boston's West End; Thomas Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*, (Princeton University Press, 2005). *Urban Planning* looks at the racial aspects of urban planning; Lydia Otero, *La Calle: Spatial Conflicts and Urban Renewal in a Southwest City*, (University of Arizona Press, 2010). Otero looks at the displacement of residents in Tucson for a Pueblo Center Redevelopment Project; Tone Huse, *Everyday Life in the Gentrifying City: On Displacement, Ethnic Privileging and the Right to Stay Put*, (Ashgate Pub Co., 2014). Huse looks at the process of gentrification in Oslo and how it affects the areas inhabitants from residents to business owners. In examining this topic he tackles the issue of engaging the ethnic community during the gentrification process;

<sup>6</sup>Ronald William Lopez. "The Battle for Chavez Ravine: Public Policy and Chicano Community Resistance in Post-War Los Angeles, 1945-1962." (doctoral dissertation, UC-Berkeley, 1999).

<sup>7</sup> Monica Perales, "Fighting to stay in Smelertown: Lead Contamination and Environmental Justice in a Mexican American Community." *Western Historical Quarterly* Spring 2008 Volume 39 Issue(1): 41-63

The story of Lubbock's 1970 tornado stands out in natural disaster literature. In recent years, perhaps due to the impact of hurricane Katrina on New Orleans, scholars have focused on the treatment of minorities in a time of natural disaster.<sup>8</sup> Most of the literature is produced by sociologists whose statistical studies show cities rehabilitate minority communities last, and that minorities are disproportionately affected, long term, by natural disasters when compared to Anglo areas of a city. However, historical studies are needed in this area of research to provide insight into how this inequality in a time of disaster came about, and why it is able to persist. Works that describe the effects of urban disasters, whether man-made or natural, barely mention the impact on African Americans and Mexican Americans.<sup>9</sup> Additionally, most studies do not address the use of collective memory to hide and disregard the perpetuation of segregation. The tale of Lubbock, however, entails all of these things, making it a study that expands past west Texas while touching on the documented struggles of minorities throughout the nation.

### **“70 Year Record is Crushed by Tornado”**

In order to comprehend how the storm brought rapid changes to the city's landscape it is important to understand the damage inflicted by the 1970 tornado. The

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<sup>8</sup> Chester Hartman and Gregory D. Squires, *There is no such thing as a natural disaster: Race, Class, and Hurricane Katrina* (Routledge, 2006).

<sup>9</sup> Amy Korwitz, and George J. Sanchez, *Civic Engagement in the Wake of Katrina* (The University of Michigan Press 2009). For more on TX see, Mary Jo O'Rear, *Storm over the Bay: The people of Corpus Christi and their port* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2009); Hugh W. Stephens, *The Texas City Disaster 1947* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1997).

morning of May 11, 1970 was normal as usual. The day progressed and at 6:00pm clouds filled the sky as unexpected rain materialized. A thunderstorm quick developed. City officials headed towards the basement of city hall as reports streamed in of baseball sized hail on Loop 289 and Parkway Drive. Several funnel clouds were spotted between 8:15 and 9:35pm. Shortly thereafter, a tornado touched down on the city.<sup>10</sup>

Twenty-five years after the tornado, in 1995 the Lubbock tornado still ranked third among killer tornadoes in west Texas and twelfth overall in the state.<sup>11</sup> The tornado took so many residents by surprise that the following recounting of that evening sums up most resident's experience: "We had no warning. Electric lights went off. We lay down in the hall. The house just exploded."<sup>12</sup> Although never confirmed there were speculations that multiple tornados formed in Lubbock that day, all following a path that led to their collision right over the Guadalupe neighborhood.<sup>13</sup> The Department of Geophysical Sciences at the University of Chicago reported on the structural analysis of the Lubbock tornado. The study theorized that after seventy years of "immunity", that the city of 170,000 was hit by two tornados. A small one at 8:45pm and a giant one around 9:45pm. The small tornado was first spotted three miles east of the city limits

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<sup>10</sup> "70 year record is crushed by tornado," *Avalanche-Journal*, May 12, 1970.; "Tornado time line," *Avalanche-Journal*, May 1, 1995, sec. B, p. 1.; W. Hershel Sharp, Letter to the Texas Fire Chief's Association, October 26, 1970; Elizondo, 24-52.

<sup>11</sup> "All they could do was pray; 1970 tornado struck swift, deadly blow"; Ruth Nicholson, "The Lubbock Tornado, May 11, 1970" (paper for Atmospheric Science 101, University of Washington, 1981); Elizondo, 24-52.

<sup>12</sup> Minnis, 21.

<sup>13</sup> "One-fourth of Lubbock severely hit," *Avalanche-Journal*, May 13, 1970. "Ten plus a year...," *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, May 11, 1981; Elizondo, 24-52.

but made its way west over U.S. 82 and the Parkway drive interchange. It created “suction spots” strong enough to pull out 109,000 pound beams out from the overpass under construction. The giant tornado struck the downtown area.

At its worst point the tornado that hit Lubbock measured one and a half miles in width.<sup>14</sup> The Fujita Tornado Damage Scale indicates that an F5 tornado is the most dangerous kind, with winds estimated between 261 and 318 miles per hour, leveling frame houses, launching automobiles like missiles through the air, debarking trees, and causing “incredible phenomenon.”<sup>15</sup> A tornado of this magnitude struck central Lubbock, killing 26 people, injuring over a thousand, and causing \$135 million in damage.<sup>16</sup> Analysis of the giant tornado found that all the deaths, except one, due to the tornado were along the path of the suction spots. The study further indicated that, “the pattern of suction swaths of the tornado as it moved over the downtown area consisted of concentric semicircles, suggesting that the storm’s core shrank very rapidly from a diameter of about 2 miles to 0.4 mile.”<sup>17</sup> For residents the suction spots were an experience described as a tornado coming through their windows and exiting through the

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<sup>14</sup> “All they could do was pray; 1970 tornado struck swift, deadly blow,” *Avalanche Journal*, May 11, 1995; Elizondo, 24-52.

<sup>15</sup> [www.spc.noaa.gov](http://www.spc.noaa.gov), (accessed July 15, 2014)

<sup>16</sup> Christy Martinez-Garcia, “26 people die, 11 of which were Latino,” *Latino Lubbock*, October 2007; Christy Martinez-Garcia, “Celebracion de nuestro pasado, Part II,” *Latino Lubbock*, October 2007.

<sup>17</sup> Tetsuya Theodore Fujita, “Lubbock Tornadoes,” *Mesometeorology Project: Department of of the Geophysical Sciences*, (The University of Chicago, July 1970) Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Tx.

roof. The tornado flattened everything sometimes leaving only the water heater standing.<sup>18</sup>

The area worst hit was the northern section of Lubbock which included the downtown area and the Guadalupe neighborhood. The tornado destroyed almost all the houses in Guadalupe and many of the existing businesses in downtown and further north by the country club. Power and over 30,000 phone lines were knocked out. The city mayor and response team quickly established security measures to prevent looting, and distractions from the distribution of aid. The state deployed 431 National Guard troops to help with the crisis. They worked alongside more than a hundred officers from the Department of Public Safety. Five police vehicles and eight National Guardsmen patrolled the country club area. Four police vehicles and ten National Guard men patrolled the Guadalupe area. The city gave the instructions to “shoot to kill” all looters on spot.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Connie Carmona, interview by Daniel Sanchez, Lubbock, Tx, December 20, 1999, Oral History Collection, Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Tx.

<sup>19</sup> Tom Martin, “A brief history of the Lubbock tornado,” 1970. Accessed June 2014, <http://www.lubbocktornado1970.com/docsReports.aspx>; “City of Lubbock: Report to Citizens by Mayor Granberry,” May 15, 1970. Accessed June 2014, <http://www.lubbocktornado1970.com/docsReports.aspx> Note: In my research I did not come across any newspaper articles that mentioned any looters were shot, or arrested. Rather the majority of the newspaper articles focused on a city united which supports the collective memory that city ultimately shaped.

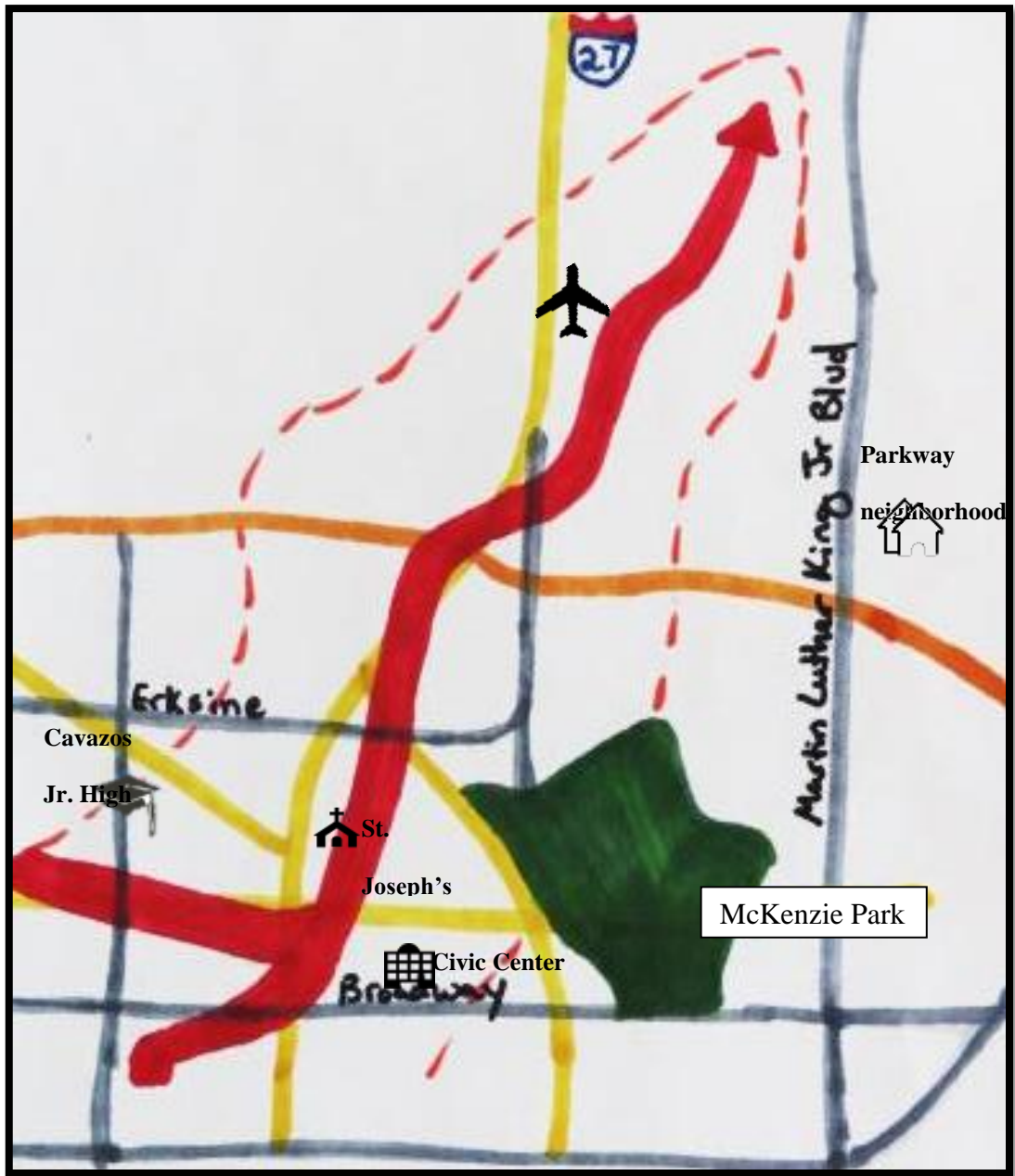


Figure 9: Reported tornado route.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> The image of the tornado route was sketched by the author with information from: Nancy Prater, "Twist of Fate," *Avalanche-Journal*, May 11, 1995.





Figure10: Image of tornado damage.<sup>21</sup> The image highlighted the extreme damage and the document it was printed in “You and your city” push the unity narrative.

### **Susceptible to the Storm**

The Guadalupe *barrio* or Mexican American part of town was vulnerable to the storm levelling the area.<sup>22</sup> Most housing structures would not stand a chance against an

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<sup>21</sup> The image of the Guadalupe neighborhood after the tornado was originally printed in “You and your city,” Lubbock City Manager’s Office Publication, (June 1970) and provided for use courtesy of the Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX. The image demonstrates the coverage the city gave to the tornado.

F5 tornado but the Guadalupe neighborhood was even more susceptible to the storm, because of substandard housing. Prior to the tornado the Guadalupe barrio was filled with substandard housing. The poor living conditions in Guadalupe were well known. In 1964 a group of researchers toured what they considered the slum areas of Lubbock and provided a detailed account of the conditions. Mexican Americans resided in areas across from “negroe” homes, and lower class Anglos who did not have the means to relocate, a situation recreated after the tornado and during the relocation process to neighborhoods further east. In general Mexican American houses were described as larger than African American houses. However, they were crowded because Mexican American families were larger than the average “negroe” family. The houses were small, at 12x15 feet, and made of stucco or wood. Most of the houses were crowded alongside each other and many of them still used outhouses. People tried to spruce up their deteriorating homes by attempting to keep their lawns green but water was too expensive and most yards ended up with broken down cars in them.<sup>23</sup> A local nun who served in the community, Sister Regina Foppe, recalled that much of the housing was dilapidated, and as she described, not suited for human habitation. She stated that many people lived in shacks, and often there were multiple housing units on a lot intended for just one structure.<sup>24</sup> Despite the city’s claims of starting desegregation in 1955, the images of

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<sup>22</sup> Stan Carlson, “Disaster and Attitudinal Change in the Guadalupe Barrio,” (master’s thesis, Texas Tech University, 1971), 25.

<sup>23</sup> Mhyra S. Minnis, “Tornado: The voice of the people in Disaster and after, a study in residential integration.” Texas Tech University, 1971, 16-17; Elizondo, 24-52.

<sup>24</sup> Sister Regina Foppe, interviewed by David Murrah, August 8, 1973, Oral History Collection, Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX; Elizondo, 24-52.

the Guadalupe neighborhood prior to the tornado are indicative of how little the city had actually broken down racial barriers. The experiences of the mostly Hispanic neighborhood before, during, and after the tornado, and their subsequent relocation into east Lubbock, or “Black Lubbock” are significant to understanding the racial and social atmosphere that existed in Lubbock, as well as how the city’s collective memory worked to impede civil rights activity. Like the African American neighborhoods of Lubbock, the city neglected the Mexican American barrio prior to 1970, and as a result, residents found themselves with few shelter options during the tornado.

Many residents had few emergency shelter options, such as Julia Garcia who hid under a table and hoped for the best while her house was torn apart around her.<sup>25</sup> Other residents turned to the local St. Joseph’s Catholic Church for shelter as the storm strengthened. Sister Regina Foppe, who had just returned to the church after spending the day trying to locate a potential home for a local Mexican American family, retreated into the crowded basement, where more than 800 people took shelter. The large number of residents seeking shelter was not unusual during bad weather given the poor living conditions in the area.

Those in the church basement remember the tornados striking around 9:40pm, and as they waited for news coverage on the storm to hit the radio airwaves, twenty minutes went by and there was still no report indicating that the Guadalupe area was hit and needed assistance. Foppe and others in the basement grew frustrated and fearful as

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<sup>25</sup> Julia Segura Garcia, interview by Daniel Sanchez, Lubbock, TX, December 13, 1999, Oral History Collection, Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX.

the news simply repeated itself stating that it looked like Lubbock had been hit by a tornado, and that city hall had its windows blown out. While city hall's broken windows kept receiving coverage, citizens inside St. Joseph's basement suffered from injuries inflicted by shattered glass, and the basement slowly flooding. Foppe placed two candles, one red and one white inside the window sill to alert authorities. Help finally arrived.<sup>26</sup> Sister Foppe's story suggests that the Guadalupe area was an afterthought for local authorities. Even though the Guadalupe neighborhood was one of the worst hit areas, it was one of the last local media reported on, and checked on by emergency personnel.

The tornado injured 200 Guadalupe residents.<sup>27</sup> After the storm, Josephina Solis, who lived at 121 north Ave K, found herself walking amongst rubble that once was her ceiling. Despite the loss of her roof, Solis' neighbor fared far worse, her house reduced to a slab of cement. Despite the material losses, Josephina and her neighbors had little time to reflect as they sought medical assistance for a young girl who sustained abdominal injuries from a fallen tree. They feared not only the visible damage the tree caused but potential internal injuries. Medical assistance was absent so Josephina and several neighbors piled into her car, its windows also blown out. The group slowly navigated streets covered by fallen telephone wires in search of medical assistance.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Sister Regina Foppe, interview; Elizondo, 24-52.

<sup>27</sup> "Damages run into millions; national guard is called."; "The Lubbock, Texas, Tornado: A report to the Administrator," *Natural Disaster Survey Report 70-1*, (U.S. Department of Commerce: Environmental Science Services Administration publication, July 1970).

<sup>28</sup> Josephina Solis, interview by Author, Lubbock, TX, May 20, 2008.; Elizondo, 24-52.

“Local Mexican American Lubbockite, Roberto Lugo worked with the Red Cross the night of the tornado. He recalled the first communities checked on and delivered aid were affluent Anglo neighborhoods. Lugo asked that his team visit the Guadalupe area. Upon their arrival they found victims asking for water. Local Anglo volunteers with the Red Cross were uncertain how to interact with the minority population in the barrio. They were unaccustomed to dealing with residents outside the Anglo community and were impeded by the language barrier.<sup>29</sup> Lugo’s account of that night’s events indicates that response time took longer for minority communities.

It looked like another world standing in what less than twenty four hours before was one of the Southwest’s most bustling cities. One could look in every direction and see nothing but ruins.”<sup>30</sup> The devastation rendered many residents of the Guadalupe neighborhood and adjacent areas homeless. They did later receive some aid. Three thousand people were fed and relocated to the Municipal Coliseum for shelter while the injured eventually received free medical service at nearby hospitals.<sup>31</sup> However, the story of Sister Foppe and the residents seeking shelter in the church basement, and waiting for assistance to arrive serves as an example of the social inequalities that existed in Lubbock due to race. Although, the chaos that takes place after a natural disaster can account for some of the city’s slow response time to the barrio it does not

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<sup>29</sup> Roberto Lugo, Interviewed by David G. Zepeda, Lubbock, January 26, 1977, Texas Tech University Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library, Lubbock, TX. Note: during his interview Lugo generally associated “affluent” with the white part of town, particularly West Lubbock.; Elizondo, 24-52.

<sup>30</sup> Jay Harris, “Lubbock Brought to its Knees,” *Avalanche-Journal*, May 12, 1970.

<sup>31</sup> Minnis, 4; Elizondo, 24-52.

justify why the worst hit area received attention last. That historical detail is an indication that race played a role in the handling of the 1970 tornado. A racially based social divide existed amongst geographic locations and resources throughout the city of Lubbock, and the response of local authorities to minorities after the storm is indicative of that hierarchy. It also adds to our understanding of how other historical disasters were handled by local governments, and even presents the somber reality that they may still be handled with racial bias.



Figure11: Guadalupe neighborhood after the tornado. <sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> “Guadalupe neighborhood after the tornado” photo provided for use courtesy of the Bidal Aguero Collection, Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX.

## **After the Stormy Night**

Although the Guadalupe neighborhood was centrally located in Lubbock, the mostly Mexican American neighborhood was isolated from the greater city much like the African American community in East Lubbock. In addition to societal restrictions, language served as a factor in the creation of Guadalupe as a *barrio*. In 1968 a study led by a Texas Tech University sociologist, researchers examined the high school dropout rate amongst Guadalupe residents and discovered that over fifty percent of those interviewed only spoke Spanish.<sup>33</sup> Their language was a factor in how far from home they ventured. Many Mexican Americans stayed within the neighborhood because nearby business owners were partially bilingual making it easier for residents to complete daily tasks. Similar to most barrios described in the historiography, the Guadalupe neighborhood was a close knit community. Most residents depended on one another for language and cultural reinforcement since the Anglo community historically kept them isolated through geographic segregation. Despite Lubbock's claim of desegregating its schools fifteen years earlier, the reaction of many Mexican Americans after the tornado indicates that the group still felt segregated from the Anglo community.

As a result of this ongoing racial divide, many minorities displaced by the tornado were not quick to trust assistance provided by the city government. When Sister Foppe drove several Guadalupe residents to the Texas Tech University dormitory for shelter, one teenage girl confided to the sister that she wanted to go home, to what was

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<sup>33</sup> Minnis, 83.

probably a pile of rubble, because she was scared to stay at the dormitories.<sup>34</sup> In the minds of many Mexican Americans, the resources provided during the tornado aftermath were closely linked to the Anglo population, since they made up the majority of Lubbock's public offices. Fear and the racially constructed boundaries enforced for decades, left minority tornado victims reluctant to trust city assistance.

Eventually, aid workers drove supplies into the Guadalupe neighborhood because many people refused to enter the shelters where the supplies were initially made available. The city dispatched bilingual operators into the Guadalupe area, and broadcasted continuously on bull-horns. A week after the tornado mobile catering trucks continued to serve 2,300 in the area.<sup>35</sup> The dominant newspaper, *The Avalanche-Journal*, which helped build Lubbock's post racial narrative, attempted to explain away Mexican American's fears by publishing articles that claimed residents were just too shy to enter shelters for help. Having grown accustomed to looking inward for assistance, residents moved in with friends, and there were at least two reported cases of where families went to the extent of staying in their cellar rather than going to a shelter they associated with the Anglo population, whom they did not trust.<sup>36</sup>

A sociological study done after the tornado questioned 71 of 83 families remaining in the Guadalupe neighborhood over their attitudes toward city government and other public institutions. The study looked at attitudes before the tornado, a week

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<sup>34</sup> Sister Regina Foppe interview

<sup>35</sup> "City of Lubbock: Report to Citizens."

<sup>36</sup> "Community centers busy places as Homeless arrive for help," *Avalanche-Journal*, May 15, 1970.



after the tornado and three months after the tornado. The attitude of families before the tornado is important because it serves as an indicator of why people may have reacted the way they did in the aftermath. The study found that before the tornado only 11.5% looked favorably at the city government, 40.8% had no opinion and 47.9% looked unfavorably at the city government. Mexican Americans went from distrusting the city to briefly trusting it after the tornado. However, three months after the tornado the numbers reverted and reflected that Mexican Americans once again distrusted the city.<sup>37</sup> The number of families questioned represented only as a small percentage when considering all the families who were relocated out of the neighborhood after the tornado, but the survey nonetheless provided insight into the relationship between minorities and city offices of Lubbock. An unfavorable view of the city government would explain why some families refused assistance and shelter after the tornado. It is possible that aspects of reconstruction, such as relocation, contributed to the unfavorable attitudes of residents. Additionally, the study indicates that the city's narrative about having a positive relationship with all its residents was inaccurate.

The response displayed by residents of the Guadalupe neighborhood is indicative of more than shyness and suggests that there was fear and distrust fostered over decades of segregation. Since its establishment in the 1920s, the barrio was viewed by Anglos as a separate segment of Lubbock. When the Anglo community realized the barrio was no longer a temporary camp that came and went with the need for field labor, they began to

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<sup>37</sup> Stan Carlson "Disaster and Attitudinal Change in the Guadalupe Barrio." master's thesis, Texas Tech University, 1971, 54.

establish basic social institutions within the barrio, including a school and church services. This meant that Mexican Americans would not have to leave their segment of Lubbock in search of these services. Anglos entered the barrio as missionaries, like they were travelling to an impoverished foreign nation rather than the northern part of the city. Viewed as outsiders by white Lubbockites, the Mexican American community was vulnerable to nativist reactions when the economy was doing badly or during war time. Many of the early Mexican American residents found themselves in Lubbock because they travelled there for work with the railroad companies or because Anglo farmers recruited them for cheap labor. However, this fact did not protect them from possible deportation which was a goal of nativist movements across the country. As a result residents of the barrio learned to depend on one another and to be wary of Anglos, who could feasibly turn their backs on them at a moment's notice, such as during redevelopment.<sup>38</sup>

### **Redeveloping the City**

Thirty-six hours after the “surprise tornado and hurricane force winds,” President Richard Nixon officially declared Lubbock a disaster zone. This official designation granted federal funds to reimburse local government expenses in debris removal, unemployment compensation, and aid for displaced victims, including temporary

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<sup>38</sup> Tijerina, 17.

housing.<sup>39</sup> Shortly after the announcement, the city government called a meeting to discuss rebuilding. In particular, they sought to redevelop entirely those areas of the city they felt were beyond rehabilitation. Rebuilding conveyed the possibility of residents returning to their neighborhoods, but redevelopment translated to eventual displacement and relocation for many minorities. Roberto Lugo recalled a city hall meeting where he heard the city council considering a plan to redevelop devastated areas into locations for apartment complexes. Lugo stated, “People weren’t even buried and they were already taking their homes away.”<sup>40</sup> For local minorities the construction of apartment complexes threatened their ideals of home ownership and maintaining a neighborhood culture they had spent decades building such as the urban renewal process that dislocated African Americans in east Lubbock. The city hall discussions for redevelopment foreshadowed the future displacement of Mexican Americans.

After the tornado, many community leaders, including the mayor, claimed that “as tragic as it was, it has become an opportunity for us.”<sup>41</sup> The mayor was referring to the opportunity that the city had to rebuild. In some cases rebuilding led to the betterment of a community. For instance the Guadalupe area saw a revival during the rebuilding process, and those that were able to abide and afford the new building codes found themselves living in a new and improved neighborhood. However, the process

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<sup>39</sup> “Federal Disaster News Center Press Release,” *Office of Emergency Preparedness*, May 25, 1970. PDF accessible at <http://www.lubbocktornado1970.com>; Carlson, 54

<sup>40</sup> Roberto Lugo, interview.

<sup>41</sup> “Empty 20-story building reminder of Lubbock storm,” *Plainview Daily Herald*, May 9, 1971.

was not quick because hastily proposed clean-up plans paved the way for private interests to utilize the tornado damage as means of easy profit.

For example, builders benefited from quick contracts given out by the city. Some of the hasty building resulted in bad construction, much of which had to be repaired again at a later date.<sup>42</sup> Landowners also took advantage of the aftermath with regard to disputed property ownership. Many people in the northern areas of Lubbock, such as the Guadalupe barrio, rented or thought they were buying their homes through payments that were not even enough to cover the monthly interest. The first generation of Mexican Americans who decided to settle the barrio were interested in quickly acquiring land, and more importantly a clear land title. Land ownership and proof of it was a source of pride and offered a form of security. The following generations, however, took a different approach in their purchase agreements with sellers and landowners. It is not clear if the later generations were not as concerned with land titles or whether they were unsure of the title's importance, but most of the residents post 1940 made financial arrangements with sellers that focused on low payments rather than quickly acquiring a land title. The arrangement consisted of low monthly payments that in many cases did not even cover the monthly interest, and meant residents would likely never see a title. Tornado struck "home owners" found out that without a clear title they were left with nothing, and that Anglo land sellers living outside of the barrio benefited from the financial relief aid provided after the tornado.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid

<sup>43</sup> Tijerina, 42; Records; Adam J. Collier, Interviewed by Andres A. Tijerina, Lubock, May 18, 1973, Texas Tech University Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library, Lubbock, TX.

Anglos owning and controlling the properties where only minorities resided was not unusual. In 1958, during a prior urban renewal process, east Lubbock properties were opened up for purchase and resulted in residents from south and west Lubbock purchasing much of the property. Absentee Anglo ownership of African American residences led to deteriorating and substandard housing in the east. Similarly, much of the property damaged in the substandard neighborhoods, such as Guadalupe, was owned by Anglos who did not live in the barrio.<sup>44</sup> For tornado victims this proved problematic because about half “of the Mexican American tornado victims stated that they had either owned or were buying their homes when the storm came, several instances of mistaken, misunderstood, or legally incorrect house titles were discovered.”<sup>45</sup> Many of the title holders had not given out receipts and people living in the north who had been making payments had no way of proving how much they had paid.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid; Julius Amin, “Black Lubbock: 1965 to the Present,” *West Texas Historical Association Year Book*, 24-35.

<sup>45</sup> Minnis, 144-145.

<sup>46</sup> Roberto Lugo

Other property disputes resulted because families renting or buying did not understand legal procedures. At least two documented cases showed intentional deceit by the seller. One case involved a semi-literate Mexican American couple who migrated to the United States as part of the Bracero program.<sup>47</sup> By 1958 the family managed to save a down payment of fifty dollars which they gave to a broker who claimed to be the owner of the house. Over seven thousand dollars later, the tornado struck and destroyed the house. The couple found out that they did not own the house nor could they collect the insurance money because the real title was still with the actual owner of the house.<sup>48</sup> The situation was unfortunate but not a one-time occurrence. Legalities over property disputes were still ongoing in 1977. Property disputes brought to light that white landowners were taking advantage of barrio residents for years, but the residents saw no relief. Further, amongst the guise of property redevelopment, city officials and businesses benefited from the tornado's destruction while permanently displacing many tornado victims.

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<sup>47</sup> Many of the Mexican American residents who migrated to Lubbock were Spanish native speakers, with limited or no understanding of English. This is part of why so many residents shopped within the barrio because the community's businesses often catered to the Spanish only speaking population.

<sup>48</sup> Minnis, 144-145



Figure 12: Location of the Memorial Civic Center. Image shows center in correlation to the Guadalupe neighborhood, and areas of relocation.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Map sketched by author.

## **Like a Phoenix Rising From the Ashes**

In 1967, three years before the tornado, city officials proposed the construction of a civic center. However, the proposal was voted down as supporters of the center wanted to build it in the area between Avenue Q and K, north of 9<sup>th</sup> street, where occupied neighborhoods existed.<sup>50</sup> Shortly after the tornado struck one of the proposals for rebuilding the city included the construction of the civic center. The re-proposal of a civic center even targeted the same location for construction. Most of the neighborhoods damaged in the tornado were eventually rebuilt, however “city officials did not see the same options existing for the neighborhood where the civic center district now lies. The 45 acre area which was adjacent to Guadalupe was filled with old, deteriorating houses that were more than an eyesore—many were substandard.”<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> “The Tornado—Lessons on which to build,” *Avalanche-Journal*, May 6, 1990; The current Memorial Civic Center is located at 1501 MacDavis Ln, north of 9<sup>th</sup>St, between Ave O and Ave L.

<sup>51</sup> “Twist of Fate: Looking back 25 years to the May 11 tornado” *Avalanche-Journal*, 11 May 1995, sec. B, p.1.



When the civic center project reappeared it was quickly labeled as a “memorial” to those who died in the tornado. The process was quick, with the support of the *Avalanche-Journal* printing stories that read, “just four days after 25 square miles of their city had been ravaged, citizens committees started planning redevelopment projects that would serve as a memorial to the 26 who died.”<sup>52</sup> As the anniversary edition of the *A-J* printed, the process for planning development was so quick that the supporters of the center did not even know for certain how many tornado victims they were dedicating the building to. It took days to realize the number of fatalities, victims ranging in age from nine months to eighty eight years old. The fatally wounded victims died due to injuries sustained from flying debris. The majority were found in the area north of 10<sup>th</sup> street, which included the Guadalupe and Mesa Neighborhoods.<sup>53</sup> City officials were able to garner support for the previously rejected plan by using the term *memorial* which tugged at the heart strings of citizens who felt that they were not just agreeing to a civic center but a tribute to the people who died due to the tornado’s rampage.

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<sup>52</sup> “Tornado’s 5<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Finds Recovery Progressing,” *Avalanche-Journal*, 11 May 1975, sec. A, pg1.

<sup>53</sup> Golding; “Tornado Anniversary Marked as City Residents Remember,” *Avalanche-Journal*, May 11, 1979; “Lubbock pauses today to recall 1970’s Tornado,” *Avalanche-Journal*, May 11, 1980; “Name revealed,” *Avalanche-Journal- Morning Edition*, May 13, 1970; “Rise from destruction complete” *City of Lubbock*. Civic Center Reference File, Southwest Collection/ Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX.

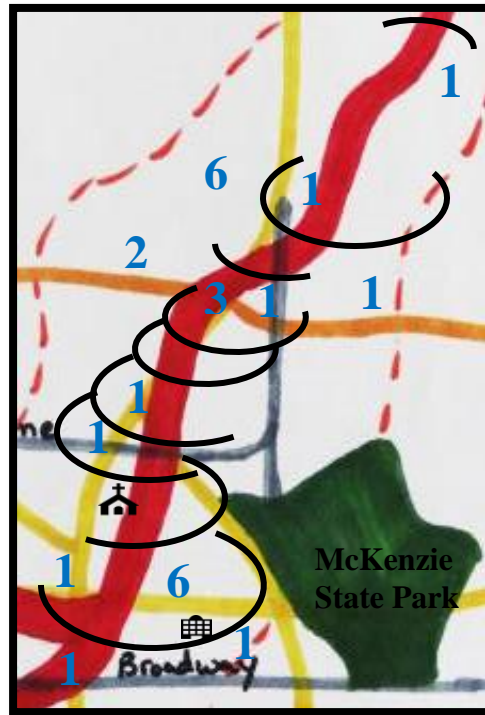


Figure13: A count and approximate location of the deceased found along the tornado’s main route suction spots. The deceased include: Jose Aguilar, age 75, at 221 North Avenue M.; Helen Machado Alafa, age 30, struck by flying debris on 4th Street and died at West Texas Hospital; Johnny Hobbs Butts, 56, at 1902 10th St.; Frank Moreno Canales, Jr., 33, and Thomas Andrew Cook, 29 truck drivers from Uvalde, Texas died near Loop 289 and U.S. 87; John Stephen Cox, 26 was killed while taking refuge outside his car on Clovis Highway near Avenue Q; Joseph Glenn Garrett, 29, at 1102 Marlboro Street; Shelbey Curtis Glenn, 52, of Idalou, Texas; Otilia Gonzales, 46, at 201 North Avenue L; Dora Bertie Graves, 49, thrown from her car on Loop 289 near U.S. 87; Ola Belle Hatch, 77, at 2101 Cypress Road; Ruth Knight, 63, at 2201 Mesa Road; Jose Luz Leyva, 13, was the son of a migrant farm worker traveling to Nebraska. He was pulled from the car while parked at the intersection of Erskine and U.S. 87.; Pedro Lopez, 56, 1st Street and Avenue M.; Salvadore Jack Lopez, 57, at 208 North Avenue L.; Dale McClintock, 39, died trying to open a cellar door for his family, near 2121 Cypress Road; Kenneth Medlin, 23; Mary Medlin, 22; Alan Medlin, 3; Dustin Medlin, 9 months; Angela Marie Mora, 9, at 1311 Jarvis Street; Estefana Guajardo Paez, crushed by a falling truck near a home at 201 North Avenue O; Frances Rogers, 88, thrown from her home at 2105 Cypress Road; Aurora J. Salazar, 68, at 108 North Avenue L.; Lillie Amanda Short, 72, struck by debris at 512 East Stanford; Pauline Zarazua, 39, at Loop 289 near U.S. 87.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>54</sup> The image was assembled using information and sketches from the following sources: Jack Golding, “The Victims how and where they died,” *The Lubbock Tornado*, Tornado Reference File, Texas

In need of funds for the proposal, civic center supporters aggressively pushed it as part of a “\$13,600,000 Disaster Recovery Package of Bond issues.”<sup>55</sup> The package consisted of four bond issues: “\$7.8 million for the Memorial Civic Center Complex, \$2.8 million for the Canyon Lakes project, \$1.8 million for parks development and \$1.2 million for the Mahon Library.”<sup>56</sup> During the unstable and emotional period after the tornado the recovery package stood out as the only option available for rebuilding Lubbock, a notion reasserted by a city-sponsored pamphlet that read, “the cost will be little-only about \$1 per month on a \$15,000 home-a small price to pay for the rebuilding of our home town.” Three months after the tornado, August 1970, the fear of being left with nothing and what can be presumed as an emotional obligation to remember the tornado victims, led citizens to approve construction in the area that once housed three hundred families and one hundred businesses.<sup>57</sup> People were led to believe that the recovery package was the only way to help rebuild devastated neighborhoods but as more and more Mexican Americans were displaced during the process it became clear

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Tech University Southwest Collections/ Special Collections Library, Lubbock Tx; Tetsuya Theodore Fujita, “Lubbock Tornadoes,” *Mesometeorology Project: Department of of the Geophysical Sciences*, (The University of Chicago, July 1970) Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX.

<sup>55</sup> City of Lubbock, “Vote 4 All” [ca.1970]. Civic Center Reference File, Southwest Collection/ Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University. Lubbock, TX.

<sup>56</sup> “The Tornado—Lessons on which to build;” The library was named for George H. Mahon, a United States House Representative for twenty-two year. He served his times as representative out of Lubbock which was the based for the 19<sup>th</sup> congressional district to which he was elected. Among other things he is linked to the establishment of Reese Air Force Base and the development of Interstate 27; Handbook of Texas Online, Lawrence L. Graves, “Mahon, George Herman,” accessed March 06, 2016, <http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fmacv>.

<sup>57</sup> “Twist of Fate: Looking back 25 years to the May 11 tornado.”

that redevelopment was not the same as rebuilding the old neighborhood, and it certainly did not benefit everyone.<sup>58</sup>

The approval of the recovery package led to the acquisition of various properties damaged by the storm and began a massive urban renewal project in those areas struck hardest by the storm.<sup>59</sup> The project resulted in the use of \$15.4 million to acquire 865 parcels of land, the construction of 237 new homes, the rehabilitation of 530 dwelling units, and demolition of 750 substandard structures.<sup>60</sup> Real estate agencies, landlords, and construction companies did not have to live with the day to day reminders of the tornado like residents who managed to stay in the neighborhood. Unfortunately for those residents, the process of urban renewal brought along several negatives such as the slow process of clean up, drug out by companies who were incentivized to take longer in performing their work. As detailed in a local newspaper article, a year after the tornado, debris from the tornado was still visible and not cleaned up because an unnamed real estate company and insurance company disagreed about the terms of rebuilding apartment houses. The real estate company claimed that the insurance dispute prevented the removal of debris. Others land owners simply stated that they chose not to rebuild because they thought urban renewal would acquire their property quickly. For example, Lubbockite Floyd Halbert said he would have rebuilt his structure had he known the

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<sup>58</sup> City of Lubbock, "Vote 4 All."

<sup>59</sup> "Building Projects Cover Scars" *Avalanche-Journal*, May 11, 1979.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid

urban renewal effort was going to take so long because “he lost money not having a tenant there.”

Residents of the neighborhoods were eager to clean and rebuild the neighborhoods they resided in but the actual landowners were not motivated since they lived outside the devastated neighborhood. By May of 1971 Urban Renewal Chief Orville Alderson said that the acquisition of property in Guadalupe was more than half completed, and that they would clear the area by the end of summer 1971. As for the other areas still not acquired and covered with debris he commented “we’ll let a contract for clearance as soon as we get enough properties together to make it worth bidding on.”<sup>61</sup> Insurance disputes and the urban renewal process meant many residents in what was largely minority communities were faced with living amongst debris, more than a year after the tornado had passed, with little to no assistance from the city. It also forced those who no longer had a home standing to find other accommodations.

### **Temporary Housing Turned Permanent**

On the twentieth anniversary of the tornado, the *Avalanche-Journal* printed a special edition that looked back at the events of May 1970. One of the articles reported that “many of the displaced Hispanics moved to Parkway, others close to the Arnett-Benson and Overton areas.”<sup>62</sup> These neighborhoods were adjacent to Guadalupe or

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<sup>61</sup> “Debris from year-ago storm still seen,” *Avalanche-Journal*, May 10, 1971.

<sup>62</sup> “Destruction of homes brought end to segregation across city,” *Avalanche-Journal*, May 6, 1990.

further east in the city. The Overton and Arnett-Benson areas, in decline due to neglect before the tornado, served as eventual relocation options for those who could afford to move into the area after redevelopment such as in the case of the Guadalupe neighborhood.<sup>63</sup> However, the major factor contributing to present day residences was the location of temporary housing given to tornado victims in the neighborhoods, Parkway and Cherry Point,. The two areas initially housed white citizens of Lubbock, but were mostly abandoned by 1970 when Anglos quickly moved out of the area to avoid integration, a process known as white flight.<sup>64</sup>

The Parkway neighborhood is in northern Lubbock, east of the Guadalupe neighborhood and Mackenzie State Park. Parkway had a difficult beginning even before the tornado struck Lubbock. A study printed in 1971 provides details of the neighborhood's history. The Parkway area saw the construction of over a thousand homes across an eighty block area. According to Howard Maddera, the Executive Director of the South Plains Community Action Association, the area was developed for the construction of houses ranging from \$10,000-15,000. The area was near the central business district and McKenzie Park. The city granted the area commercial zoning, made plans to build a modern school, and churches also bought up property in the area. By 1962 thirty percent of the area was developed. However, the housing market was oversaturated with homes in this price range. Remaining contracts to build in the area were quickly abandoned, lending agencies foreclosed, and the FHA took possession of

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<sup>63</sup> "Communities Rebuilt: 1970 tornado leaves neighborhoods forever changed," *Avalanche-Journal*, May 8, 1995.

<sup>64</sup> Roberto Lugo interview.

property in the area. Additionally, Anglos initially populated the neighborhood, but when African American families began moving into the area in 1966, “white flight” led to the vacancy of several houses in the area. By the late 1960s, most considered the community an African American neighborhood.<sup>65</sup> However, that was also short lived as several African American residents overestimated what they could pay on a monthly basis had their homes foreclosed on and they reverted back under the control of the FHA. Some of the abandoned homes were vandalized and rumors circulated before the tornado that the homes might be torn down.<sup>66</sup> The abandoned neighborhood was reutilized once the tornado hit. The vacant homes were used as temporary housing for tornado victims and the local newspaper depicted the event as a win-win for everyone, writing that the neighborhood was “once more alive and cared for” because FHA “opened their arms to shelter lost and homeless victims of nature’s fury.”<sup>67</sup>

Initially, the neighborhood’s isolated location further north east forced residents to enter the city center for basic shopping. After the relocation of tornado victims, several businesses established themselves in the area. Residents no longer needed to enter the city center. Although the construction of businesses on the north east part of town was convenient, the process removed tornado victims from interacting with the rest

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<sup>65</sup> Sister Regina Foppe interview; Minnis, 30-33; see school student population chart in chapter 2 for the transition from tri-ethnic school to mostly African American students.

<sup>66</sup> Sister Regina Foppe.interview

<sup>67</sup> “Clothes, key Ingredients of New Life,” *Avalanche-Journal*, May 17, 1970.

of Lubbock and maintained their historic isolation and social invisibility of minorities in the city.<sup>68</sup>

The use of vacant Parkway homes as temporary homes ultimately impacted the current day residential patterns of Lubbock, which houses most of its minority citizens in the north east and east quadrants of the city. The process slowly occurred with the FHA passing out more than six hundred keys for homes in northeast Lubbock, each for a ninety day use; the FHA placed victims in domiciles not far from where they previously resided.<sup>69</sup> Many minorities believe that the placement of hundreds of tornado victims into northeast residences was not solely due to the availability of the Parkway neighborhood but because the urban renewal director wanted to keep minorities from moving into the west and south Lubbock. Some residents even felt that real estate agencies steered them away from properties in the southern and southwestern parts of Lubbock when they looked for a house to buy.<sup>70</sup>

In addition to keeping minorities out of other areas in Lubbock the placement of tornado victims into north eastern neighborhoods helped the FHA. The FHA stood to benefit from the long term relocation of people into the abandoned north eastern neighborhoods. These abandoned and sometimes vandalized homes provided no income revenue. People who relocated into temporary housing had free rent till August of

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<sup>68</sup> Minnis, 30-32.

<sup>69</sup> “Clothes, Key Ingredients of New Life.”

<sup>70</sup> Roberto Lugo interview.



1970.<sup>71</sup> After that period of time passed, families had to pay rent, ranging from forty-five to sixty dollars a month. They could only rent until May 12, 1971, when they then had to make arrangements to purchase the house or move out.<sup>72</sup> Many tornado victims stayed in the homes where they received temporary housing or relocated to other low cost options, because there was no way of going back to their old homes after the city redeveloped the area.

### **Moving East**

Many residents housed in Parkway made it known that they wanted to return to Guadalupe, but it was difficult and unachievable task for most. There were several complications when it came to rebuilding in Guadalupe. For some people there were property disputes. People also had problems rebuilding because the city required that debts in the form of past taxes or utility payments be paid before commencing, during a time when money was already scarce. In addition, redevelopment led to new city ordinances that required lots be a minimum size and regulated the types of materials that could be used in the process. This served to benefit the neighborhood aesthetically in the long term but it was a financially difficult choice for poorer residents.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> “Families to be given extra time in homes,” *Avalanche-Journal*, May 22, 1970.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>73</sup> Minnis, 144-146.

Before May 1970 the Guadalupe neighborhood was overfilled with people and structures. Most of the lots were meant for one residential structure but crammed multiple shacks on each lot. Most of the substandard structures did not survive. Only 83 households did not move out of Guadalupe because their homes were not completely destroyed. Rebuilding the Guadalupe neighborhood served as part of the city's restructuring plan. The city acquired 365 heavily damaged homes in the Guadalupe neighborhood. Houses not blown apart during the storm were demolished and the parcels of land were re-platted to meet city standards, and resold to families who could afford to return. The rebuilding of the Guadalupe neighborhood does not account for the placement of all the families displaced by the tornado, because not all could afford to return. Only about 30% of the redeveloped lots were sold back to people who resided in the neighborhood prior to the tornado.<sup>74</sup>

The displacement of Guadalupe residents occurred due to a combination of circumstances: property owners displaced renters by selling to developers rather than rebuilding, and homeowners who lived in the neighborhood could not afford the rebuilding process. Further, urban renewal demolished seven hundred fifty damaged structures, and replaced them with only two hundred thirty-seven new homes. Not enough homes were built to accommodate the residents that lived in the area prior to the tornado. The tornado destroyed or damaged 949 houses, leaving 1,800 people in need of emergency shelter, and over 11,000 in need of hot meals, provided by the Red Cross.

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<sup>74</sup> Sister Regina Foppe interview; Stan Carlson, 20; "Twist of Fate: Looking back 25 years to the May 11 tornado;" Minnis; Elizondo, 24-52; "Memorial Civic Center rose out of massive pile of debris," *Avalanche-Journal*, May 6, 1970.

After the tornado, city officials reported that 3,500 people were left homeless and 30,000 people had their homes heavily damaged. Some of the homes required new walls and roofs, while others were leveled to the ground.<sup>75</sup> The Federal Housing Administration provided at least 450 repossessed houses in Northeast Lubbock for temporary housing.<sup>76</sup>

Nine months after the tornado the U.S. Congress passed a \$2.5 million federal disaster bill for tornado victims. The legislation provided grant money up to the amount of \$5,000 for people whose homes had been damaged or destroyed during the tornado along with \$2,000 if urban renewal purchased their lot. The grant varied based on previous property values and the cost of rebuilding a house up to zoning requirements. To qualify residents had to have owned their home before the tornado.<sup>77</sup> Some people such as Connie Carmona were lucky enough to benefit from the grant, providing her with at least some of the money needed to purchase a new home.<sup>78</sup> Despite the bill's passage, rebuilding remained a difficult task because the value of most destroyed homes surpassed the amounts allotted in grants. In addition, rebuilding in Guadalupe usually required the purchase of an additional lot to meet zoning requirements.<sup>79</sup> The demand for lots increased property values making it even more difficult for families to return to their

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<sup>75</sup> "Recovery Methods Get City Attention: study shows 3,500 left homeless; tour of stricken area due Sunday" *Avalanche-Journal*, May 16, 1970; "Tornado Added Twist to New Mayor's Life," *Los Angeles Times*, July 26, 1970; Elizondo, 24-52.

<sup>76</sup>"Building Projects Cover Scars;" "City of Lubbock: Report to Citizens."

<sup>77</sup> Minnis, 47.

<sup>78</sup> Connie Carmona, interview by Daniel Sanchez, Lubbock, Tx, December 20, 1999, Oral History Collection, Texas Tech University Southwest Collection/ Special Collections Library, Lubbock, Tx.

<sup>79</sup> Minnis, 150.

neighborhood. The new city ordinances created a situation where families who hoped to reside in the Guadalupe area had to acquire more land than they previously owned which in turn displaced other residents of the neighborhood. In addition the acquisition of land by urban renewal allowed them to raise property costs when people struggled to move back into the neighborhood. It is also reasonable to conclude that the adjacent location of the civic center served as a source in driving up property costs. The tax base tripled in the forty five acre block surrounding the Civic Center, in part due to the construction of large businesses like the La Quinta Inn, an IBM building, West Texas Hospital and other office buildings.<sup>80</sup> This led to many families to stay in north eastern communities of Lubbock or finding another reasonable form of housing which was likely located in east Lubbock.

Mexican Americans affected by the tornado underwent a process that Lubbock's African Americans were forced to face in 1958 with urban renewal. The outcome of the urban renewal process was the construction of "low income apartments" many of which were still too expensive for residents of east Lubbock, traditionally African American, to afford. Urban renewal, also nicknamed "Nigger Removal" by the residents it affected, wiped out homes and businesses that its residents had invested in.<sup>81</sup> The process forced many of the African Americans to leave the area just like many people who had previously resided in Guadalupe were forced to relocate. The effects of Lubbock's urban renewal process on both its African American and Mexican American population

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<sup>80</sup> "Memorial Civic Center rose out of massive pile of debris."

<sup>81</sup> Amin.

mirrors the racial and economic segregationist system that persisted in urban renewals in large cities across the country.<sup>82</sup> After temporary housing options ran out, Mexican Americans unable to return to Guadalupe found themselves permanently living adjacent to “Black Lubbock,” which prior to the tornado was considered worse off than the barrio.

In August of 1970, only a few months after the tornado, East Lubbock residents of the Green Fair Manor Apartment Complex complained that the apartment complex grounds resembled a dumping ground. The *West Texas Times*, an African American newspaper, printed the story and featured a picture of a water-filled alley courtesy of a broken sewer pipe, which had been in need of repair for weeks. Additionally, the photos revealed that the complex was adjacent to the railroad tracks and overgrown with weeds that were the size of bushes. Residents also complained to city officials about old industrial buildings surrounding the apartment complex. Rather than demolishing the buildings the city stated that due to a “grandfather clause” in zoning laws they were unable to do so. This meant that old, dilapidated, abandoned industrial buildings stayed next to an apartment complex that housed families with young children.<sup>83</sup> The urban renewal director in 1990, Orville Alderson claimed the most striking aspect of the rebuilding process after the tornado “was the unity it created in Lubbock.”<sup>84</sup> Despite city officials parading the idea that the tornado was an opportunity to modernize the city and

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<sup>82</sup> See footnote 5 for examples of the urban renewal process and its role in perpetuating racial and economic segregation.

<sup>83</sup> “Something must be done now,” *West Texas Times* August 6, 1970.

<sup>84</sup> “Memorial Civic Center rose out of massive pile of debris.”

bring citizens closer together, “Black Lubbock,” which was out of the tornado’s direct path, remained neglected during the city’s rebuilding process. The city told residents of east Lubbock that there was nothing they could do to improve the area. The city’s actions suggest that when they spoke of unifying Lubbock, they did not really mean equal treatment for all of its citizens. As a result east Lubbock residents which consisted of African Americans and relocated Mexican Americans were still divided from the rest of the city. The city’s actions before and after the tornado demonstrate that they were not concerned with the well-being of all its residents, namely minorities, as their narrative claimed.

By reviewing information over the displacement and relocation of tornado victims after the tornado it is clear that certain injustices took place as part of Lubbock’s redevelopment. However, the city continues to portray the aftermath of the tornado as beneficial to the Lubbock community. In a pamphlet printed for the civic center grand opening one section read,

The Complex is truly a unique monument designed and erected in memory of those who were in the path of the May 11, 1970 tornado. Out of the rubble was born a bond in community effort that has since become Lubbock’s most outstanding mark of distinction. Out of chaos, an All American city became the home of one of the liveliest and most active civic center spirits in our land. The Lubbock Memorial Civic Center became a true ‘People Place’.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Civic center grand opening pamphlet, Civic Center Reference File, Southwest Collections/ Special Collections at Texas Tech University Library. Lubbock, Tx.

## Conclusion

In examining the claims portrayed by the Lubbock city government and the local newspaper, it must first be restated that the current residents of the Guadalupe did benefit from the reconstruction of the city in that their current houses no longer resemble the shacks once described in accounts. However, it seems farfetched to claim that desegregation occurred due to the tornado. While many people came together to help one another in the immediate aftermath of the tornado, the effects were not long lasting.

A study conducted a few months after the tornado looked at the attitudes of people residing in the temporary housing of Parkway which provided insight on the perceptions that each ethnic group held about one another. When asking non-Mexican Americans about Mexican Americans, one of the statements repeatedly recorded by one of the writers was “why don’t they send them back to Mexico.”<sup>86</sup> Not all reactions were as extreme. Many of the negative reactions towards Mexican Americans in particular came during Lubbock’s “blessing,” when forced integration took place in the Parkway neighborhood. Some of the negative attitudes and prejudices developed against Mexican Americans who relocated to the Parkway neighborhood because of a language barrier. Most Anglo residents could not understand Spanish. Other prejudices derived from factors concerning social standing. Many Anglo residents who remained in the Parkway neighborhood attempted to hide their dissatisfaction with the

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<sup>86</sup> Minnis, 54.

integration forced by the tornado. In reality most resented the situation because they felt that living in close to proximity to minorities placed them in the same social standing.<sup>87</sup> The previous examples are not representative of all attitudes within the Lubbock community but they serve as evidence that integration was not as simple as Lubbock's collective memory dictates, and in most cases it was only temporary. The same study that recorded Anglo attitudes reported some people left the area when they found out tornado victims were allowed to stay in the neighborhood for a fraction of what they were paying.

After the tornado, the displacement of Mexican Americans did not lead to long term desegregation and better circumstances for all those displaced, as one is led to believe by reading city publications and tornado anniversary editions of the *Avalanche-Journal*. Instead the aftermath of the tornado served as an opportunity to push through previously failed redevelopment plans such as the Civic Center. Redeveloping the city permanently relocated displaced minorities into neighborhoods further north and east in Lubbock. Overall the city of Lubbock managed to spin the tornado as a "blessing in disguise" while making it a struggle for the minorities who were displaced.

Any community bonding that took place after the tornado was temporary at best, making claims of desegregation a distortion of the truth. The forced integration of Parkway did not spread to other parts of the city and was not idyllic itself. Segregation continued after May 1970, counter to the city's dominant narrative. At its least destructive, segregation was seen in the inequalities of facilities and upkeep of local

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<sup>87</sup> Minnis, 110, 118.



areas, such as parks, predominantly serving the minority community.<sup>88</sup> However at its worst, segregation enveloped many areas of life, including city representation. After 1970, both Mexican Americans and African Americans were underrepresented in city offices. This was largely due to the at large election system that Lubbock employed.<sup>89</sup>

As of today the Guadalupe neighborhood is predominantly Mexican American while most eastern Lubbock communities consist of both Mexican American and African American neighborhoods. Current residential divisions reflect that the Lubbock community did not desegregate in the time it took a tornado to raze the Guadalupe neighborhood, as the city and local newspaper portrayed in the years following the storm. Rather de facto segregation thrived in the decades after the tornado, a fact pointed out by the DOJ's presence in Lubbock for two decades, following the storm. Although the city of Lubbock claimed that the tornado brought desegregation and forged a closer-knit community, the reality was very different. The collective memory formed around desegregation in the city's public school system, the topic of the next chapter, operates in much the same way. The city's collective memory white washes over the significance of the DOJ's lawsuit against LISD while perpetuating a post racial narrative through annual commemorations of the storm, arguing that such a destructive and deadly natural disaster was really "a blessing in disguise."

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<sup>88</sup> Linda DeLeon, interview by author, Lubbock Texas, October 23, 2006.

<sup>89</sup> An at large election system is not divided into voting districts for representation, therefore all representatives are selected by the majority population. In the case of Lubbock, the Anglo population.

## CHAPTER IV

### TWENTY YEARS UNDER THE COURT'S EYE 1970-1990

During the aftermath of the 1970 tornado, the city was struck by a storm of another kind. Lubbock had barely commenced rebuilding the city when the United States Department of Justice (DOJ) launched mass lawsuits against educational systems across the south, including the Texas Education Agency (TEA), and the Lubbock Independent School District (LISD). The suit was a response to the failure of implementing the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* decision. Despite claims of voluntary desegregation LISD's schools were not actually integrated. Schools located in historically Mexican American or African American neighborhoods, such as Dunbar High School still maintained a predominantly African American student population. Yet, Lubbock's growing collective memory revolved around a narrative that claimed race was a non-issue in the city.

This chapter will track the process of litigation in LISD between the years of 1970-1990. The attempt to integrate LISD was long and slow going. It required various strategies such as faculty integration, busing students across town, and creating magnet programs. Despite LISD's claims of compliance it is evident that they attempted to stagger the integration process, and that the system carried a racial bias during the construction of new facilities and the upkeep of older ones. Further, this study explores the existence of racial discrimination in the city of Lubbock as a whole through the experiences of the minority faculty and citizens who petitioned the court to join the

lawsuit against LISD. The DOJ's intervention challenged the city's collective memory which argued that full desegregation occurred after the 1970 tornado. Not even mother-nature could undo what the courts attempted in 1954 with *Brown*, and make Lubbock a racially blind society.

## **Background**

Prior to 1954, Lubbock operated under the doctrine of separate but equal.<sup>1</sup> During the growth of the city, the racial segregation of facilities extended to Lubbock's schools as discussed in chapter two. The city constructed brick public school buildings for white children, and established separate, often dilapidated schools for Negro and Mexican children. However, separate schools were challenged by long term legal efforts led by minority organizations such as LULAC and the NAACP, which attempted to reaffirm equal protection under the fourteenth amendment. The efforts eventually culminated in *Brown v. Board* which found that segregation not only violated the fourteenth amendment but was detrimental to children who were subjected to it.

Anglos across the nation who were accustomed to segregation were potentially surprised by the court's ruling but the reasons behind the decision were not a new revelation. Minorities as well as the general white American population knew that despite the phrase "separate but equal," the facilities minorities had access to were never equal to that of whites, and the reason for the separation of the facilities was because

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<sup>1</sup>Halbert O. Woodward, Interviewed by Lawrence Graves, January 13, 1988; see chapter 2 for examples of the inequalities between Anglo and minority schools in Lubbock.

whites believed minorities were inferior. This was evident in Lubbock just as it was in Deep South states such as Mississippi and Alabama. The judgement read by the courts in *Brown v Board* simply admitted to what everybody already knew. Given how quickly the *Plessy* decision infiltrated various aspects of life the court's declaration in *Brown* should have brought equality to all students, but historians have shown that this transition was neither easy nor immediate. As previously mentioned surprise over the decision did not equate to surprise over the inequalities that existed, rather surprise existed because it marked a transition in the social climate. Minorities used the decision to further their goals for equality, and openly challenged communities that defied the court's rulings with freedom rides and lunch counter sit ins. Pro-segregationists could push back, often did so violently, but with the *Brown* decision in place their actions were in the wrong legally and would eventually become socially unacceptable as well, altering the social climate throughout most of the nation. At least, that was the hope.

### **Historiography**

Legal histories written during the latter half of the nineteenth century began the process of connecting changes in the law to changes in society, arguing that the law not only influenced society but that society influenced the law. In his 1981 article, Harry Scheiber discussed how the "new" legal history written in the latter half of the Twentieth Century had shifted away from constitutional history by addressing the impact that

society had on the courts.<sup>2</sup> Many scholars emphasized this by looking at the history of the first half of the Nineteenth Century, particularly segregation in the south. Legal historians such as James Hurst, Michal Belknap, and Morton Keller demonstrated through their work that law was often torn between the old values and the demands of a changing society, and changed only after great struggle and loss. Typically federal intervention was required to remedy where local government had failed such as in Lubbock.<sup>3</sup> However, many of the histories continued to view civil rights cases as linear, tracking the legal strategy and process of litigation, with the court decision marking an end to the matter. For instance, growing dissatisfaction with inequalities in segregated schools led the NAACP to push for integration, their legal strategy eventually led to the *Brown v Board decision*, and because *Brown* overturned the *Plessy* decision segregation

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<sup>2</sup> Harry N. Scheiber, "American Constitutional History and the New Legal History: Complementary Themes in Two Modes" *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 68, No. 2 (Sep., 1981), pp.337-350.; Traditional legal history is often referred to as Constitutional history, indicating the emphasis that it placed on how law was shaped within the courts rather than recognizing how law is also influenced from the outside.

<sup>3</sup> James Willard Hurst, *Law and the Conditions of Freedom in the Nineteenth Century United States* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1956); Morton Keller, *Affairs of the State: public Life in Late Nineteenth Century America* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard university Press, 1977); Michal R. Belknap, *Federal Law and Southern Order: Racial Violence and Constitutional Conflict in the Post Brown South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987); Michael J. Klarman, *Brown v. Board of Education and the Civil Rights Movement* (Oxford University Press, 2007). Utilizing manuscripts and printed records in addition to court reports Hurst focused on how economic conditions shaped American law. His work generally tried to understand what the law meant for every day working people, and how it was shaped by their vision and goals. Twenty years later Keller's examination of how American attitudes of racism, laissez-faire, and localism were fostered by the legacies of the Civil War provided a basis for understanding how the *Plessy* decision was met despite the potential infractions legal segregation posed to the 14<sup>th</sup> amendment. Belknap added to that area of work by exploring violations of the 14 amendment through an examination violence in the south. He points out that it took tragedies like the murders of civil rights workers in Mississippi which included two whites, and the murder of Col. Lemuel Penn who was shot on the interstate while leaving active duty at Fort Benning to gain national attention. Further it was the failure of the state level government to prosecute that forced the federal government to intervene. This is further explored by Klarman who argued that violence witnessed by whites ultimately changed opinions and led to a change in the law.

was over. By making the court decision the end game, the struggle to enforce desegregation, and even more to integrate was overlooked or downplayed.<sup>4</sup>

In the 1970s a group of scholars began questioning the triumphant histories of the court cases and civil rights legislation of the 1950s and 1960s. The gains of *Brown* and civil rights legislation had stalled. As observed in Lubbock ISD, true integration had not occurred. The city claimed to have voluntarily desegregated after *Brown*, but due to residential patterns that had been created long ago with city ordinances and red lining, the historically African American schools were still majority African American schools in 1970. Critical race theorist who emerged during the 1970s recognized the existence of defacto segregation, and challenged misconceptions that the United States was a post racial society due to *Brown* and the civil rights legislation.<sup>5</sup>

The field of critical race theory (CRT) continued to grow after 1970, including branching off into several subgroups specific to peoples of different races, gender, and sexuality. In general scholars in the field say that CRT “questions the very foundations of the liberal order, including equality theory, legal reasoning, enlightenment rationalism, and neutral principles of constitutional law.”<sup>6</sup> In short, legal studies have

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<sup>4</sup> Additional legal histories of import to civil rights and education history include: Tony A. Freyer, *The Little Rock Crisis: A Constitutional Interpretation* (Greenwood Pub Group, 1984); Steven H. Wilson, “Brown over ‘Other White’: Mexican Americans’ Legal Arguments and Litigation Strategy in School Desegregation Lawsuits,” *Law and History Review*, Vol. 21. No. 1, Spring 2003, 145-194. Mark V. Tushnet, *The NAACP’s Legal Strategy against Segregated Education, 1925-1950*. (The University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

<sup>5</sup> *Critical Race Theory*, second edition, eds. Richard Delgado, and Jean Stefancic (New York University Press, 2012).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, 3.

failed to identify that the legal system itself is not always neutral and therefore issues of race cannot be resolved with one case regardless of its status as “landmark.”

The work of Derrick Bell helps explain how LISD remained segregated post *Brown*. Bell critiqued the NAACP for their pursuit of integration, arguing that integration did not lead to better education. Therefore, the pursuit should have been a higher quality education rather than integration. He comes to this conclusion by delving into the triumphant legacy which surrounds *Brown*, and those who sought it out in court. Americans in general recognize *Brown* as a marker for race blindness. However, the court’s ruling fell short and did not actually enforce desegregation for another fifteen years. Additionally, he argues that many of the civil rights acts that Americans view as an example of a post racial society were motivated in part by the violence inflicted on peaceful protestors. White Americans who sat idly by were motivated to demand change because they were appalled by the violence brought into their homes on the nightly news.

Mary Dudziak builds on the idea behind white motivations by arguing that the goal to beat out communism during the Cold War motivated civil rights legislation because the nation was concerned with how other countries perceived it.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, it was not a belief that African Americans were equal to whites that motivated the courts and legislation, and without that belief it is not possible to live in a racially blind society.

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid; Neil Gotanda, “A Critique of ‘Our Constitution is Color-Blind,’” *Critical Race the Cutting Edge*, eds. Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, (Temple University Press, 2000). Gotanda also argues that the pursuit of racially blind legislation failed to dismantle the social hierarchy where whites were supreme; Mary Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*, (Princeton University Press, 2001); Derrick Bell, *Silent Covenants: Brown V. Board of Education and the Unfulfilled Hopes for Racial Reform*, Oxford University Press, 2004).

This is truth is evident in Lubbock. The city of Lubbock, LISD, and its white citizens were okay with desegregating schools because they knew that existing social norms and residential patterns meant integration would never come. Yet, they could still add voluntary desegregation to their city narrative and continue claiming that race was a non-issue. Further, any changes that did occur between 1970-1990 were because the DOJ's presence presented minority's with an opportunity to challenge Lubbock's electoral system, not because Anglos in the city wanted to change the system.

In addition to CRT, which questions the gains of *Brown*, the subcategory of whiteness is significant to Lubbock's history because of its Mexican American population. Scholars such as Ian F. Haney Lopez, argue that "race" is a socially constructed term, and therefore its meaning is altered and dependent on the political atmosphere of the time.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, understanding the creation of whiteness is important to moving past the idea that racial issues fall along a racially white and racially "black" line.<sup>9</sup> Lopez's work is particularly relevant to the status of Mexican Americans who were once legally considered "white." Lopez explains that the creation of the term "white person" was first determined by the state and federal courts attempting to identify "non-whites." The method used to reach a conclusion was based off of a mixture of questionable science and what was deemed common knowledge. The author details the

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<sup>8</sup> Ian F. Haney Lopez, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (New York: New York University Press) 1996; David Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White: The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs*, (Basic Books, 2006). The social construction of race is visible in David Roediger's work who tracks the process of varying European groups who eventually become labeled white.

<sup>9</sup> *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge*, eds. Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, (Temple University Press, 2000).



technicalities of legal cases involving issues of race, arguing that “race” is largely a creation of legal institutions and societal practices.<sup>10</sup> The social and legal construction of race does not always coincide with one another, such as in the case of Mexican Americans. Although legally white they were not treated so socially. Therefore, legal whiteness could work against Mexican Americans in places such as the courtroom where the jury was all racially white and still considered to be a jury of peers; or in the classroom where they were integrated with African American students so that racially white students would not have to.

Critical race theory has brought to light that racism and discrimination remained post *Brown*, not only in schools but also entrenched in residential patterns, the workplace, and the legal system. This is evident in the wave of lawsuits that emerged in 1970 because the *Brown* judgement was vague. The judgement issued by the court, May 31, 1955 stated that admittance to public schools should be done on a “racially nondiscriminatory basis,” but it did not set a deadline for undoing the segregation that had existed for over half a century. This left maneuvering room for resisters by placing district federal judges over the implementation process, and stating it be done so “with all deliberate speed.”<sup>11</sup> In most cases, implementation was met with resistance. Some incidents gained national attention such as the attempt to desegregate schools in Little

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid; Haney Lopez.

<sup>11</sup> “*Brown v Board* 1955 judgement,” National Archives and Records Administration, Records of the Supreme Court, Record Group 267, National Archives Identifier: 301669.; Additional studies that have examined the impact of *Brown v. Board* and the role that “all deliberate speed” played in its implementation include: Norman I. Silber, *With all Deliberate Speed: The Life of Philip Elman*, (University of Michigan Press, 2004).

Rock, Arkansas but many others quietly and subtly avoided desegregation to a small extent and integration to a larger extent. As a result racial divisions in cities throughout the country were visible decades after *Brown*, such as in Lubbock.

Many civil rights and legal studies about the impact of *Brown* on schools throughout the nation, and education in general, document similarities to the process of integration that eventually took place in Lubbock such as stair stepping, busing, and the use of magnet programs. Further, CRT studies have demonstrated why there was a need for the 1970s lawsuits after *Brown*. However, few if any studies have looked at the impact of *Brown* on a city's collective memory. *Brown* led to the *Department of Justice v TEA, et al* case which was more than a challenge to Lubbock's educational system, it was a challenge to the city's entire identity which hinged on a collective memory forged through the years and said race was a non-issue. If the DOJ proved that Lubbock's schools were not desegregated in the 1950s then other parts of the city's narrative such as the so called desegregation tornado of 1970 were also at risk of being challenged by those looking to break down racial boundaries within the city.

### **Hopes for Integration**

The racial divisions in Lubbock exemplified the national struggle to implement *Brown*. Today the racially influenced differences in Lubbock schools are no longer as obvious as they were in 1970, but prior to the federal intervention minority residents argued that their children's schools were inferior to Anglo schools. This belief had to do

with the quality of teaching and facilities, encouragement towards college, availability of academic programs, and even teaching supplies.<sup>12</sup> In 1930 missionary nuns assigned to St. Joseph reportedly registered some of the first civil rights complaints against the Lubbock school board. They reported that Mexican American children attended school in an unsanitary shack. Later that year, after filing their complaints, funds were set aside to build a three room brick school.<sup>13</sup>

Former LISD students in the system prior to 1970 describe their educational experience as filled with hand me downs. While Anglo schools received new schools supplies, minority schools had no textbooks or received old, used texts from the white schools. One former LISD minority student went as far as to say that they received already-dissected frogs for their science class.<sup>14</sup> In addition to inferior supplies, Mexican American children attending LISD during the 1950's were taunted by both students and teachers because of their poor English pronunciations, or for speaking Spanish.<sup>15</sup>

The negative experience left Mexican American students feeling alienated from school. Connie Carmona, born in 1926, attended Carol Thompson Elementary as a child. During her time enrolled in LISD, classrooms were small and filled with twelve to fourteen students. Normally, small classrooms are considered a positive thing in

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<sup>12</sup> Olga Aguero, interview by author, November 14, 2006, Lubbock, Tx.

<sup>13</sup> Bidal Aguero, "Numerous Hispanics have been key players in the growth of city," *Avalanche-Journal*, May 1999.

<sup>14</sup> Linda DeLeon, interview by author, Lubbock, TX, May 27, 2008.

<sup>15</sup> Tijerina, 52-53.

education but for Hispanic students who had trouble speaking English, a smaller class meant it was easier for a teacher to spot a student speaking Spanish. In her interview she recalled that students were punished for speaking Spanish but did not detail what kind of punishment was dealt out. However, her experiences left her feeling that school was a scary place, and she eventually missed more days than she attended. The isolation of Mexican American students only furthered segregation in the school system.<sup>16</sup>

According to the sources, African American students fared better in how they were treated at school because they had their own schools staffed by teachers from their communities. However, their facilities and supplies remained inferior.

As discussed in chapter one, LISD reported that it had integrated in 1955 with little or no problems. However, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) challenged LISD's eligibility for federal funding, revealing that there was a problem, even if white people within the city could not, or would not see it.<sup>17</sup> HEW's challenge to LISD's funding was unsuccessful, but it revealed that the city's rosy outlook was flawed. The dominant post-racial city narrative was wrong. The growing minority community also lacked representation on the school board. Just as school districts across the state and around the nation, Houston and Dallas included, white flight and enrollment in private schools kept desegregation from turning into integration in

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<sup>16</sup> Connie Carmona, interview by Daniel Sanchez, Lubbock, Tx, December 20, 1999, Oral History Collection, Southwest Collection/ Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Tx.

<sup>17</sup> "Fleet of 82 buses to transport city students," *Avalanche-Journal*, August 1, 1982.

Lubbock.<sup>18</sup> Further the schools in Lubbock that remained minority central were documented as having inferior facilities and resources, the same could be said about their geographical location within the town and the resources extended to them after the 1970 tornado.

### **The DOJ and Federal Judge Woodward**

In August of 1970 the U.S. Department of Justice filed a lawsuit against the Texas Education Agency and the school districts of Lubbock, Garland, Richardson, San Angelo, Wichita Falls, and Ferris. The Department of Justice (DOJ) filed in pursuant of Section 407 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment of the US Constitution.<sup>19</sup> The DOJ accused LISD and the aforementioned of discriminating against African American and Mexican American students and faculty by assigning them to schools which were historically segregated, creating all African American, and all Mexican American Schools with no white students.<sup>20</sup> The *US v TEA, et al Lubbock*

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<sup>18</sup> See footnotes 66 and 67 in chapter 1.

<sup>19</sup> Section 407 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 states that the Attorney General may file suit after receiving a written complaint by an individual who is a parent of a child being discriminated against or deprived by a school board, notifying the school board and providing time for the board to rectify the situation. The Section goes on to states that the United States may take civil action, “when such person or persons are unable, either directly or through other interested persons or organizations, to bear the expense of the litigation or to obtain effective legal representation; or whenever he is satisfied that the institution of such litigation would jeopardize the personal safety, employment, or economic standing of such person or persons, their families, or their property;” The 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment states: “No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States.”

<sup>20</sup> “Summary of litigation,” located in Lane, Nancy and Arthur Collection, Southwest Collections/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University in Lubbock TX.

case fell under the jurisdiction of Federal Judge Halbert O. Woodward, who presided over the case until its end in 1991.

When the DOJ served suits against districts throughout the state, Woodward held the title of Senior Federal Judge of Northern Texas. Growing up in west Texas he was familiar with districts such as Lubbock. His family moved to Lubbock in 1923 when he was just a boy, and around the same time Texas Tech was established to offer a closer college option to the greater west Texas area.<sup>21</sup> Woodward, due to his father's legal career, his education, and his own legal career found himself living in various areas of Texas such as Big Springs, Amarillo, and even the state capital, Austin. Despite his travels, Woodward maintained a connection with west Texas and believed the area held strong political strength with figures such as Lyndon B. Johnson, and George H. Mahon as part of its history.<sup>22</sup> Further, he observed that Lubbock was a metro area that influenced the surrounding communities.

During a 1988 interview Woodward commented on the influence that Lubbock had in regard to voting rights suits filed in the south plains area. Once a case had been established in Lubbock, similar cases spread throughout the area.<sup>23</sup> Based on Woodward's observation of Lubbock influencing surrounding areas in voting rights it is likely that the case against Lubbock ISD also influenced surrounding areas. Further, the

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<sup>21</sup> Halbert O. Woodward, Interviewed by Lawrence Graves, January 13, 1988.

<sup>22</sup> George H. Mahon, originally from Mitchell County Texas served as a United States Congressman for forty-four years between 1935 and 1978. Lyndon B. Johnson, born in Stonewall, rose through the political ranks as a Representative, Senator and eventual thirty-sixth President of the United States.

<sup>23</sup> Woodward interview, 1988.

actions or inactions taken by Lubbock during the decades of court supervision influenced surrounding areas by setting a standard for what cities and towns in the west could feasibly get around. Not only was the desegregation strategy put in place influential, but eventually, so to was the memory formed around the process. Although race was an issue in all of the cases filed across the south and in west Texas, the way in which Lubbock handled the lawsuit, and portrayed their city before and after, is representative of the quietness surrounding the topic of desegregation in west Texas. It is not that federal mandated desegregation did not occur it is simply that cities such as Lubbock approached the matter in such a way that it was almost like the suit was never a part of their local history, or at least not a necessary part. This maintained a racial blindness as part of their collective memory.

### **DOJ Strategy: The Push for Immediate Integration**

The DOJ filed their case specifically against Lubbock ISD on August 19, 1970. They alleged that Lubbock's School Board was responsible for founding and maintaining a segregated school system despite its violation of the law, and impediment of constitutional rights for its minority students. The case was similar to many of the suits filed in other southern states, such as *Alexander v. Holmes County Bd. of Ed.* (Mississippi) in 1969, *Carter v. West Feliciana Parish* (Louisiana) in 1970, and *Singleton v. Jackson* (Mississippi) in 1970. Drawing from previous experience the DOJ hoped that in west Texas they could successfully push for school districts to go from a

dual system to a unitary system prior to the start of the 1970-71 school year. However, the school districts listed in the suit against the TEA stated in their August 18, 1970 appeal that there was not enough time to transition to a unitary system prior to the start of the school year.<sup>24</sup> Unable to achieve unitary status throughout the district before the 1970-71 school year, the DOJ requested that the recommendations made by the Title IV team be implemented at the elementary level so the process of desegregation and eventual integration could begin.<sup>25</sup>

The team's recommendations honed in on student's residences since this was the justification given for why there were minority schools, and all white schools. The team recommended revising attendance zones so that "neighborhood" schools were not so race specific. Examples of neighborhood schools that exacerbated racial segregation in the system included Dunbar High School and Struggs Junior High, both considered historically "black schools." They were prime examples of the dual school system that the DOJ argued was in existence in LISD, and ultimately the court ordered their integration.<sup>26</sup> Dunbar in particular saw signs of integration that very year with the

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<sup>24</sup> *United States of America v. Texas Education Agency et al.*, No. 30368, United States Court of Appeals, Fifth Circuit, August 18, 1970.

<sup>25</sup> The implementation of the DOJ's recommendations beginning at the elementary level is indicative of the stair stepping process witnessed in the literature about desegregation. When bussing eventually begins in Lubbock it will utilize the stair stepping program. However, the courts order to immediately desegregate the historically African American schools does not keep in line with the stair stepping process, as seen with Dunbar high school.

<sup>26</sup> 600 F. 2d 518, *United States of America v. Texas Education Agency (Lubbock Independent School District)*, No. 78-2525, United States Court of Appeals, Fifth Circuit, August, 9<sup>th</sup> 1979; The Attorney General of Texas Office, "letter detailing TEA reports," January 15, 1976, Box 71, Jose A. Cardenas Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, Austin, TX.



westward expansion of its attendance zone to include areas up to Avenue Q.<sup>27</sup>

However, integration throughout the district moved slowly.

After the DOJ and school board presented their respective sides, Woodward ordered that attendance zones be redrawn as a method for pushing desegregation forward. However, the impact was minimal given the great divide in residential segregation.<sup>28</sup> Additionally, Woodward denied the attorneys, representing the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, Jessica Silver and Mark Gross' additional requests for relief in the desegregation process.<sup>29</sup> Initially, when the DOJ filed their lawsuit against the TEA and Lubbock I.S.D. they anticipated the immediate integration of the district's faculty based on federal guidelines established by the Supreme Court during *the Singleton vs. Jackson* case which ordered that each school in the district have the same ratio of black to white teachers based on the total employment of teachers by the district. Instead of immediate desegregation Federal Judge Woodward stated 'As it appears to the court that immediate reassignment of faculty members at this time would be disruptive of the educational program and would certainly not develop the kind of atmosphere necessary to promote harmonious desegregation in the school system, the court will not require absolute compliance with mandate of the Singleton case until

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<sup>27</sup> "Schools open-Dunbar, Struggs lines moved," *West Texas Times*, August 27, 1970.

<sup>28</sup> "Class of '72 Remembers," *Avalanche Journal*, 1991. The only schools that appeared to witness signs of integration prior to bussing were the schools with African American majorities. By widening their attendance zone, schools such as Dunbar saw the addition of a few white students that same year. However, alumni remember students stuck together based on race, white, African American, and Hispanic.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid

September 1971.’<sup>30</sup> Woodward’s decision judicially stalled the process of integration in Lubbock, and integration at the student or faculty level would not see progress till the 1971 school year at the earliest.

Although not the immediate integration the DOJ had hoped for, Woodward did assign the school district a deadline of June 1971 to submit a plan for desegregating the faculty. LISD had one year to put together not only a plan to desegregate, but a plan to begin integrating its students and faculty. The DOJ, the federal court and the promise of integration all came during the recent aftermath of the tornado which had only struck the town three months earlier. The city not only had to worry about rebuilding but it had to worry about the dismantling of its post racial narrative. The city that claimed the tornado brought them closer together and ended segregation now had one year to prove it to the federal court, and the rest of west Texas.

### **Bond Election 1971**

Despite the city’s claims of racial harmony, many minorities in Lubbock often felt they were underrepresented and took whatever opportunities they had to express themselves in attempt to have the city take them seriously. In April of 1971, after studying enrollment estimates the board members of the LISD decided to hold a bond election for \$5.6 million to cover facility and instructional needs that they required for

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<sup>30</sup> “Judge Woodward Grants Delay for Schools,” *West Texas Times*, April 8, 1971 Volume X, Number 15

the next few years. Public meetings were scheduled for the community to express their concerns about the school conditions. One of the public meetings held at E.C Struggs Junior High, located in east Lubbock, demonstrated that the African American community had a lot to say about the facilities in their children's schools. Despite their small population size in the city, the African American community hoped that their strong interest in the election would benefit their side of town.

African Americans argued that the bond package was not equitable to all groups in Lubbock. The components of the package promoted a kindergarten program to serve all five year olds, addressing the substandard buildings of North Avenue U and Southeast Elementary, portable buildings aged twenty plus years old, overcrowded schools, aged instructional technology, and physical education facilities. The proposal also suggested the purchase of new land sites for future schools. However, none of the potential newly built schools were slated for east Lubbock. Instead the proposal addressed the aging conditions in that part of the city by replacing old portable buildings with steel buildings that they described as re-locatable. When prompted by African Americans, school district officials said they would not build new schools in east Lubbock because they believed enrollment was declining in the area, and that new schools should be constructed in south-west, and west Lubbock where they saw the population growth.<sup>31</sup> Coincidentally, these were also the neighborhoods with large white populations. LISD failed to acknowledge that the situation had anything to do with race,

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<sup>31</sup> "Lubbock to Vote on School Bonds Tuesday," *West Texas Times* April 1, 1971 Volume X, Number 14

and with the dominant narrative claiming racial blindness the district did not find a reason to question the decision. The process was frustrating for residents that lived a reality different from the city's narrative. They believed their children were slighted by the system once again, an issue that was brought to Woodward during his evaluation of the district a few years later.

### **Slow Progress**

Although small attempts at desegregation were made when the DOJ first filed their suit, movement towards integration took a few years. In 1970 much of the relief requested by the DOJ was denied. The district was ordered to integrate Dunbar and Struggs, but no significant judicial action occurred till 1977 when the school district wanted to move forward with a construction plan funded in part by the bond election. The plaintiff, however, challenged the district's plans because they believed the 1970 court order to desegregate had not been fulfilled.

During the 1977-78 school year Judge Woodward re-evaluated the status of LISD. It was found that the district consisted of 32,125 students, 60.18% white, 27.27% Mexican American, and 12.55% African American. Growth in minority percentages were visible in comparison to the 1969-70 enrollment records with a student population of 33,213, 67.51% white, 20.84% Mexican American, and 11.50% African American.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> "Excerpt from summary and order regarding school desegregation issued by Federal Judge Halbert O. Woodward, Chief Judge Northern District of Texas," circa 1977, located in the L.O.O.K. file at the Texas Tech University Southwest Collection/ Special Collections Library, Lubbock, Tx.

However, it is not clear if the minority percentages went up due to growth or because of a decline in white percentages due to relocation out of Lubbock, or enrollment in one of the local private schools. It is also not clear if the decrease in white percentages are due to early efforts of desegregation, because integration efforts such as busing did not take place till after 1976.<sup>33</sup>

The court identified twenty two schools in LISD as racially minority schools, with over 70% of the students labeled as a racial minority. However, the court concluded that only nine of the schools, such as Mahon elementary were labeled minority schools because of discriminatory acts or the intent to segregate, violating the fourteenth amendment, and countering the city's narrative. Woodward noted that the schools listed were the same schools brought to the court's attention in 1970. The defendants argued that previous attempts to desegregate these schools were thwarted by shifting populations such as the Mexican American population, partially relocating southwest in the city. However, LISD did not provide a number for this population shift and considering current day residential patterns, and the comments of Mexican Americans who said that real estate agents deterred them from residences in west and south Lubbock as discussed in chapter three, it is unlikely that the population shifts LISD claimed were the sole cause of why schools had not been desegregated. However, Woodward addressed LISD's claims of shifting populations by ordering them to take special care in their plan for integration. He also ordered LISD to make sure that no

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<sup>33</sup> "Lubbock Independent School District Plan of Desegregation," circa 1977, located in the L.O.O.K. file Southwest Collection/ Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Tx.

school dropped below the normal enrollment of five hundred students because he argued, it would lead to inferior education. The defendants were ordered to submit a plan to the court by April 1, 1978 which would eradicate segregation from Dunbar High School and Struggs Junior High, and Wheatley, Iles, Martin, Posey, Sanders, Guadalupe, and Mahon elementary schools.

Although Woodward made it clear that it was the responsibility of the school district to decide on a plan, the judge provided general guidelines for consideration: pairing/clustering schools, changing attendance boundaries, utilizing under enrolled schools, and the potential closing of schools. Woodward directed LISD to take caution in writing out their plan so that a disproportionate burden would not be placed on any particular race. Additionally, a starting point for determining if the district was integrated was an evaluation on whether or not enrollment in a school reflected the racial make-up of students in the entire district.<sup>34</sup> Since desegregation did not achieve the mixed percentages of students that the DOJ or court wanted to see, a multi-pronged integration plan was put into place. Integration occurred at the early stages with faculty, then busing of students, and the utilization of magnet programs.

### **Faculty Integration**

The integration process began with the reassignment of faculty members. Attempting to ease the integration process African American teachers and principals

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid

were plucked out of schools in east Lubbock and assigned to schools where the majority was considered white. White teachers and principals were assigned to schools in east Lubbock. The DOJ composed and circulated a document that addressed responses typically observed from school personnel undergoing the integration process. The document stated that many faculty members respond as if though they were under attack, quickly arguing that they are not a racist and that they will continue to conduct class the way they always have. In circulating this document the DOJ attempted to address the concerns of personnel, stating that they were not calling anyone a racist but that it was irresponsible for them to overlook the tensions that were in existence. It went on to say, “a positive effort to overcome years of negativism and distorted media coverage must be attempted.”<sup>35</sup> This was particularly important considering that many white residents defended the city’s collective memory that claimed to be post-racial. The DOJ’s comments also further demonstrate the power a city’s dominant narrative can have in ignoring racial problems, in Lubbock and across the nation.

Counter to the city’s narrative the coalition Lubbock Opportunity for Our Kids (LOOK) felt it necessary to provide personnel, white faculty especially, with a packet informing them of what to expect from their minority students. LOOK identified themselves as a non-profit, volunteer coalition, which was organized by the Lubbock city council, parents and teachers, the league of women voters of Lubbock, and the Lubbock chamber of commerce. The packet they circulated explained African

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<sup>35</sup> William Briggs, “Moving from isolation to integration building an experience of equality in the classroom,” released by the Community Relations Service, U.S. Department of Justice, July 7, 1978, located in the L.O.O.K. file, Southwest Collection/ Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Tx.

American students by discussing everything from their language, dialect, socio-economic status to commonly used expressions. According to the packet the dialects of the African American community not only differed from the white community, but were different amongst lower, middle, and upper class, noting that “not all black children will speak...what may be called ‘the ghetto.’” Teachers were warned that children from a low socio-economic class were less capable of speaking more than one dialect, and would default to the dialect of their community which would be difficult for teachers to understand. The implication being that white teachers were so far removed from their lower class African American students that they could not have a simple conversation with one another without translation. Although educators were encouraged to teach students the proper usage of the English language they were told that they should be familiar with their African American student’s expressions. However, it was not necessary that educators, “speak ‘jive talk’ themselves. Such an attempt would probably appear unnatural and awkward. It noted, children can be very quick to notice someone trying to ‘act black’.”<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Packet describing what to expect from African American and Mexican American students, title unknown, in the L.O.O.K. file, Southwest Collection/ Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Tx.



Some examples of the expressions highlighted include:

Bad --Substitute verb for am, is, are, will, etc. (I be leaving. We be good.)

Bright--A black with light coloring

Corn rows, plaits-- Braids of Afro hair style

“Give me five!”-- Slapping hands as a handshake

A gold-- A gold tooth, which is in fashion

Jivin’ --Playing (Sorry, I was just jivin’.)

Oreo, uncle tom --A black person who is not proud to be Black, who may imitate Anglo ways

Rake --A long-pronged comb to lift Afro hair; hair is usually brittle, so specialized oil is used.

Son, boy --Put-down statement to male if use to address or label him<sup>37</sup>

A separate section of the packet discussed what to expect when dealing with “Spanish surname students.” The section indicated that most teachers were not bilingual nor did they need to be fluent in Spanish in order to be a good teacher. However, it was stressed that correct pronunciation of a Spanish surnamed student was crucial to the development of a positive relationship between the student and teacher. Teachers were encouraged to study their student’s names and meet with someone who was bilingual if they needed help with the names. Additionally, the packet included sample names, and a pronunciation guide. For example, “Pronounce all vowels distinctly. There are (almost) no silent vowels in Spanish, and there is no uh sound. When gu is followed by another vowel the u is silent as Aguilar and Arguelles.”<sup>38</sup> Teachers were provided with a list of Spanish surnames from A to Z, listing the proper spelling and a spelling to help sound out the name such as Saucedo, is pronounced Sah–oo-say-tho. Further, just as the

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid. The examples listed are written, just as they were in the packet.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid

African American section of the packet included slang and expressions, so too did the Mexican American section. Examples include:<sup>39</sup>

<u>Slang</u>	<u>Correct Way</u>	<u>English</u>
Bato	joven	lad
Ése	hola	hey guy, hey there
¡horále!	¡cuidado!	Watch it!
<u>Expression</u>	<u>Correct Way</u>	<u>English</u>
“chivo el que se raje	tener miedo	to dare, chicken out
“estar dioquis”	no estar empleado	unemployed
“le hicieron de chivo los tamales”	Engañado	to two-time or deceive someone

Although the purpose of the document was to prepare educators so that they were aware when dealing with students it demonstrates that minorities were foreign to whites in the community. This reality countered the post racial society touted by the city’s collective memory. The packet further affirms this point by finding it necessary to include a section on cultural difference and how they can lead to misunderstandings, especially amongst Mexican American children, who for example are taught to use tortillas instead of silverware, whereas white children are taught to eat with silverware and not their hands. It is not clear who was consulted when deciding what to put in the packet, but the content listed in the packet provides insight about how the Mexican American and African American community were viewed. The terms, and expressions they chose to include, such as the “unemployed” phrase in the Mexican American section is one out of only six expressions included, and conveys that whites expected Mexican Americans to be unemployed. Additionally, it appears that white teachers

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid

required the most educating about their future students, whereas minority teachers did not see extensive explanations for dealing with white children, suggesting that the actions of white children were normal, whereas those of minority children were abnormal.

Whereas white teachers faced the task of learning more about their future students, minority teachers faced obstacles of a different kind. Mr. and Mrs. Priestly of east Lubbock worked for LISD during the time of integration. Prior to integration Mr. Priestly, a teacher later principal, recalled that African American administrators had to work harder than white administrators because they had to host a variety of programs to aid students, and they did so without an assistant principal. He noted that the white principals had assistants, whereas African American principals made up for the lack of an assistant with longer hours and working through the summer. Despite the differences they both believed that the schools in east Lubbock did well with what they had. Teachers and administrators were supported by parents because they all came from the same community.<sup>40</sup>

The feeling was different when integration was enforced. Both husband and wife, principal and teacher were relocated to different schools across town. Despite years of experience, neither one of them was prepared for what to expect from the children they were going to oversee. Mr. Priestly experienced a young boy running out of the school building and up a tree. The boy stayed up the tree for most of the day till his father came and picked him up. The young boy was unhappy with the rearrangement

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<sup>40</sup> Clarence and Ruth Priestly, interviewed by author, Lubbock, TX. June 26, 2012.

in staff, and it was decided that he would not return to the school where Mr. Priestly was now the principal. However, the boy was an exception rather than the norm since the children they dealt with were at the elementary level. Typically, it was not the children who gave the reassigned faculty trouble but it was the parents.<sup>41</sup>

During his first week at his new school assignment, a white parent told Mr. Priestly that she believed he was going to discriminate against her child, and Mrs. Priestly had a white parent come into the classroom during her lunch hour and accuse her of stealing her son's lunch money. Mrs. Priestly told the boy's mother that she had not taken her son's money and that she should check his desk because children often forgot things there. Just as she believed, the boy had left his money in his desk. The boy's mother did not apologize.<sup>42</sup> Minority teachers had to work to earn the trust of white parents, who implicitly trusted white teachers. The Priestlys' experiences were a reminder that racism in Lubbock still existed. With white parents reacting negatively to new faculty and staff it was no wonder that busing was seen as a problem rather than a solution.

### **The Problem with Busing**

When integration of the students was finally marked to occur, coalitions such as LOOK sought to promote a smooth transition. The organization circulated pamphlets

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid

<sup>42</sup> Ibid

informing Lubbock citizens about the process, noting the coalition was neither endorsing nor opposing the integration plan. According to the documents circulated by the coalition the court ordered plan was to, “eradicate vestiges of segregation at Dunbar, Wheatley, Iles, Martin, Posey, Sanders, Guadalupe, and Mahon schools.”<sup>43</sup> All schools which were historically considered Mexican American or African American schools.

By the 1977-78 school year the integration plan was in effect through elementary schools, grades 1-6, and some junior high schools. Students who once attended Struggs were to attend Atkins/ grade 7, Hutchinson/grade 8, and Slaton/ grade 9. The high schools continued to avoid integration by turning Dunbar, into the Dunbar-Struggs complex which offered magnet programs in hopes of voluntarily attracting students from throughout the district. The elementary schools on the other hand dealt with the logistical nightmare of fully integrating their schools.

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<sup>43</sup> L.O.O.K, “way to go, Lubbock” pamphlet, located in the L.O.O.K. file, Southwest Collection/ Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Tx.

School re-assignments at the elementary level can be seen in the chart:

Majority School	Grades Sent	Receiving School
Bowie Overton Stubbs R. Wilson	2&6 1 4 3&5	Guadalupe
Bayless Brown Wester	2&4 1 3&5	Posey
Dupre Parsons Wheelock	5 3&4 2&6	Martin
Haynes Hodges Murfee	2&4 1&3 5&6	Wheatley
Hardwick Maedgen Rush	6 3 2&5	Mahon
Iles	1-6	Wheelock
Mahon	1-6	Hardwick
Martin	1-6	Maedgen
Posey	1-6	Stubbs
Wheatley	1-6	Overton
Guadalupe	1-6	Stewart
Schools that were closed included: Sanders (students assigned to Guadalupe) Southeast (students assigned to Brown)		

Table 2: Busing assignments for the 1978-79 school year, grades 1-6.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> The information in the chart was assembled using information that went out to the parents prior to the school year start. L.O.O.K, “way to go, Lubbock” pamphlet, located in the L.O.O.K. file, Southwest Collection/ Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Tx.

Students in the majority schools with the last names A-L were transported to the receiving school for the first semester, and those with the last names M through Z were transported the last semester of the school year. Students in minority schools were transported a little differently. Rather than by the time of year, they were assigned grades based on last names. Students with last names A-L were sent to another school if they were in grades 1, 3, and 5. Students in grades 2, 4, and 6 were sent to another school if their last names were M-Z.<sup>45</sup> In the case of students attending majority schools it is not clear why they were only bussed for one semester. Based on oral histories from Lubbockites who lived through the integration period, it appears that the 4 ½ month time frame was meant to appease parents of children enrolled at the majority schools who were not comfortable with sending their students across town. Logistically, the school district could have eased the process by alternating students yearly rather than half way through the year, but the city was resistant to actualizing race unification. Even though switching half way through the year was difficult on students who were just settling into a class routine at the four month mark the district waited about two years before transitioning to the yearly schedule.<sup>46</sup>

By August of 1982 a tri-school integration plan was put in effect in attempt to desegregate, Evans, Matthews, and Mackenzie junior high. The Lubbock *Avalanche*

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<sup>45</sup> L.O.O.K, “way to go, Lubbock” pamphlet, located in the L.O.O.K. file, Southwest Collection/ Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Tx.

<sup>46</sup> Clarence and Ruth Priestly; it is worth noting that faculty and administrators recognized that the semester busing schedule was very difficult logistically and on the students. However, administrators such as Mr. Priestly pointed out that it took time for the parents of white students to realize that schools in east Lubbock could be just as good as the schools in west Lubbock. .

*Journal* reported with the headline, “Day goes smoothly for integration plan.” The article contained comments from Matthew’s then principal, Jesse Garza, stating that the biggest obstacle was getting students assigned to the correct bus, and making sure everyone had a locker. Matthews was a mostly Mexican American junior high. While the logistics of the day appeared to run smoothly, students bussed to Matthews as part of the desegregation effort complained that the school did not have cokes, that they had to wait in line at the cafeteria, and that the building was hot. No incidents were reported that day but the student’s minor complaints may be indicative of the inequalities that existed between minority and white schools. Only through forced busing were students from outside the Matthews district exposed to Mexican schools.<sup>47</sup>

During a 1988 interview, Federal Judge Woodward commented on several of the cases he oversaw, including the suit concerning Lubbock. He remarked that when he first came to the bench people believed in segregation and resented the idea of desegregation but as time went on he believed that it was not desegregation itself that people resented but the methods used to desegregate. Busing was one of those processes, and as Woodward stated during his interview, “nobody has discovered how to do it without busing, and no one likes busing.”<sup>48</sup>

During the 1979 school year 2,500 of 30,500 of the district’s students were bussed.<sup>49</sup> With the district busing thousands of students each year the process was a

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<sup>47</sup> “Day Goes Smoothly for Integration Plan,” *Avalanche-Journal*, Sect C, p.16, August, 26, 1982.

<sup>48</sup> Halbert O. Woodward, Interviewed by Larry Graves, January 13, 1988.

<sup>49</sup> “School Trustees deny being soft on bussing,” *Avalanche-Journal* March 19, 1979.



large undertaking, financially and logistically. Each bus carried a price tag of \$17,800, and the district estimated that they needed forty busses at capacity of seventy people each. Bus drivers had to receive special training and licenses for driving the vehicles, and the district need to determine the shortest routes between schools. Additionally, the district had to field questions from parents about where students would receive breakfast, if children could participate in after school activities, and of course if they were safe on the bus.<sup>50</sup> The district attempted to assure Anglo parents that every precaution was taken to protect their child's safety including placing two way radios on every bus to keep communications constant. However, many Anglo parents were not convinced of the system and many did not want their children bussed out of their neighborhood school either because they believed it was inconvenient or because they did not want their children attending school with minorities.

Freedonia Paschall, a former LISD student recalled the offer a family friend made to her parents so that she could avoid integration. The family friend lived outside of the neighborhood that was busing students to historically African American schools, and she offered to let Freedonia live with her during the school year so that she could avoid the LISD busing her to the "black school." Freedonia herself did not object to the integration process. The process was a bigger deal to the adults than it was to her.<sup>51</sup> Freedonia's experience gives credence to the argument that local private schools received numerous calls after the integration plan was revealed because white parents

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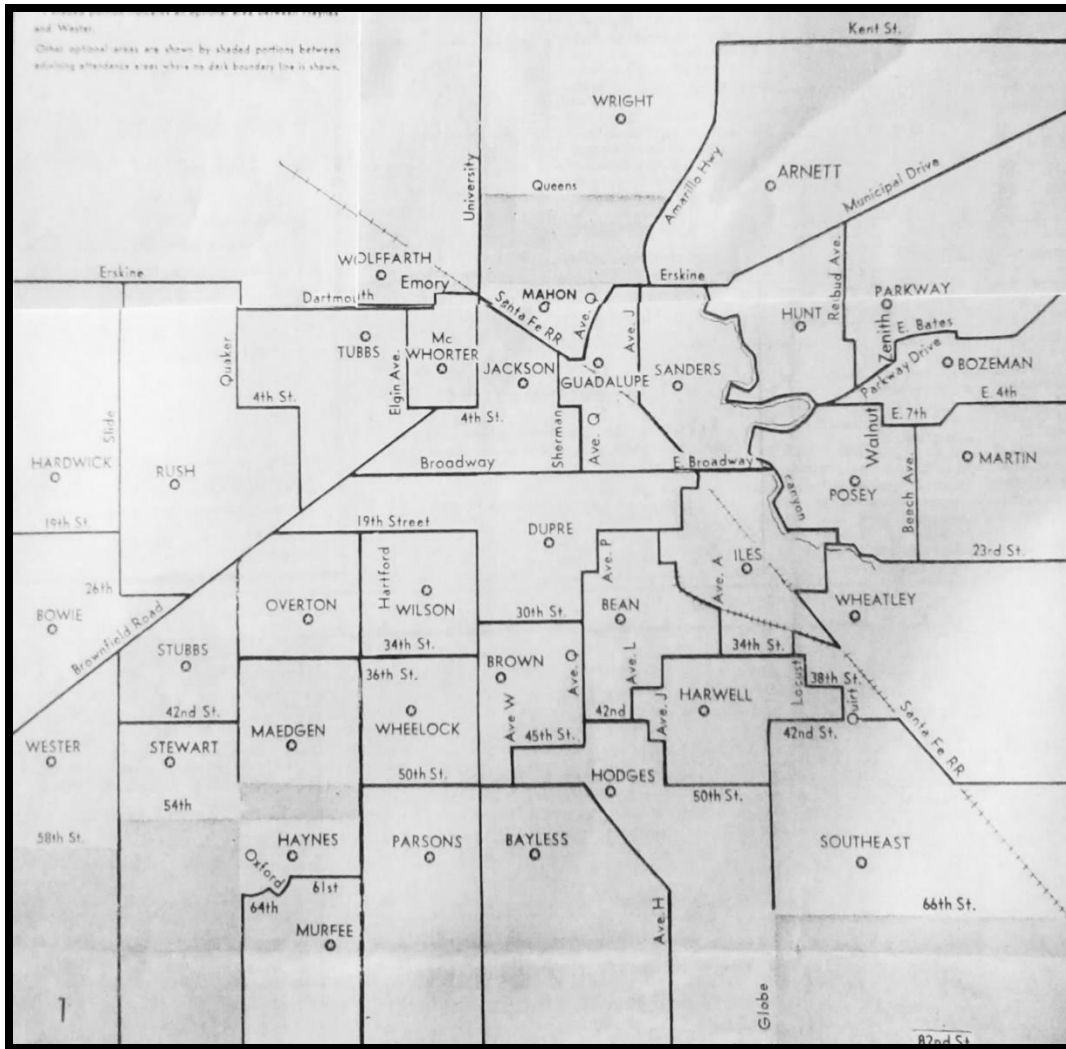
<sup>50</sup> "Desegregation questions most frequently asked and answers," located in the L.O.O.K. file, Southwest Collection/ Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Tx.

<sup>51</sup> Freedonia Paschall, interview by author, June 22, 2012, Lubbock, TX.

did not want their children attending school with minorities. For instance St. Elizabeth's Catholic school, All Saints Episcopal school, and Christ the King Catholic school all reported a surge in interest from areas affected by busing. Christ the King in particular reported a constant stream of phone calls about enrolling new students. In response, the principal of St. Elizabeth's told local newspapers reporting on the issue that religious schools were there to teach and not just to avoid integration.<sup>52</sup> In addition to private school enrollment, the furthest parts of south and west Lubbock continued to grow further south and further west, pushing for the construction of their own schools buildings and making it more difficult to bus students to the minority schools in north and east Lubbock. Although busing was meant to eliminate excuses against integration local whites found various ways around it, leaving minorities to question the reality of race relations. Whereas the city narrative denied racial prejudice minorities felt that the system was still biased against them.

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<sup>52</sup> "Private Schools Brace for Busing 'Scare'," *West Texas Times*, April 15, 1977.



**Figure 14:** Lubbock elementary school boundaries, 1974-75 school year. The boundaries were printed in the *Avalanche Journal* in preparation for the upcoming school year.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>53</sup> The image depicting Elementary School boundaries was printed in “Lubbock Public Schools Attendance Zones,” *Avalanche Journal*, August 11, 1974. The image provides information on which schools were assigned to minority neighborhoods and as a result those being overlooked by the court.

## **Magnet Programs**

Despite the problems with busing under court supervision the district continued to use forced busing as a means of desegregating. The process was unpopular and seen as an inconvenience to those who held the burden. From nearly the start of the integration program the district attempted to utilize magnet programs in hopes that they could eventually eliminate the need for busing. The concept of the magnet program was that certain schools within the district offered programs and lesson plans geared to students with a particular career already in mind. For instance, prior to the 1978-79 school year LISD slated Iles elementary to be a magnet program that worked in conjunction with the College of Education at Texas Tech University. Students received the basic curriculum along with emphasis on fine arts, creative and expressive arts, health education, physical education, personal hygiene, human development, computational and productive technology, philosophy and creative problem solving.<sup>54</sup> LISD assigned majority students, or students not considered Black and Mexican American to magnet programs based on their application to the program. Magnet programs were best utilized if placed within a minority school, drawing in students from majority schools voluntarily. At least that was the goal. However, the success of magnet programs hinged on the willingness of students in majority schools, and more importantly their parents to overlook any problems they might have with integration.

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<sup>54</sup> L.O.O.K, "way to go, Lubbock" pamphlet, located in the L.O.O.K. file, Southwest Collection/ Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX.

At the high school level only magnet programs were utilized in the first stages of integration.<sup>55</sup> The Dunbar-Struggs complex, located in East Lubbock offered various programs meant to attract students from all over the district. Individual course offering included Electronics Technology and Computer Science. Cooperative Programs included, Distributive Educations for those interested in sales and distributions; industrial cooperative training for those interested in carpentry, plumbing, and other related fields; cooperative health education for future dental assistants, lab workers, and other related jobs; and home economics cooperative education which was designed for those geared at entering food service, child care, hotel specialties and so on. Students who enrolled in one of the vocational cooperative classes were assigned to Dunbar for the full day. All other students signing up for one individual course not offered by their home school were bussed for only part of the school day.<sup>56</sup> As time went on and protests to busing continued from both sides the magnet program was extended to future schools.

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<sup>55</sup> This strategy falls in line with the literature in the field that discusses stair stepping in the integration process. Forced integration through busing is relegated to the elementary level because in theory they will be less resistant to integration, whereas the students at the junior high and high school level in particular may be more resistant because they are accustomed to their schools, or were influenced by existing social norms which discriminate.

<sup>56</sup> "Lubbock Independent School District Plan of Desegregation," circa 1977, located in the L.O.O.K. file Southwest Collection/ Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX.

## New Construction

During the 1970s, at the peak of busing three thousand students were transported to and from their schools.<sup>57</sup> Minorities, Mexican Americans in particular felt that the burden of busing was on them. Mexican American students were bussed to schools in south Lubbock rather than east Lubbock so that the district could achieve larger numbers of integration with whites. However, this process led to an influx of students in the south Lubbock schools, leading to overcrowding. Yet, rather than sending more white students to already existing schools in north central Lubbock such as Thompson Junior High, the district closed the school in 1981 due to low enrollment. That same year LISD filed an amended desegregation plan in the courts for approval of new construction.

The court approved the plan which included the construction and operation of three schools south of Loop 289.<sup>58</sup> The district justified their construction plans by claiming that the area's growth necessitated the construction, but their proposal did not take into account that the schools were in all white areas which only impeded long term desegregation. Further, as the DOJ briefly pointed out, the overall school district population had decreased by a thousand students, and many of the minority heavy

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<sup>57</sup> Mike Lee, "LISD closes chapter on forced busing," *Avalanche-Journal*, March 10, 1995.

<sup>58</sup> Civil Docket, "*United States of America v The Texas Education Agency, et al (Lubbock Independent School District)*," 1970-1994, Box 36, Federal Records Center A2707724, Record Group 21, National Archives and Records Administration at Fort Worth, Tx. As of 2010 the court records for this case had not been returned to the Federal Records Center in Fort Worth and were being stored in the Lubbock, TX court house.

schools at all grade levels were only averaging half capacity.<sup>59</sup> Despite the plan's discrepancies it was approved by the court and without further protest from the plaintiff. Mexican Americans found it unjust that LISD was going to construct new schools in white neighborhoods, and shut down one of the few schools in their area.

As a result three Mexican American Lubbockites secured legal counsel and petitioned the court to intervene. In 1986, Olga Riojas, Felipa Nettie Gloria, and Maria Chavez Richardson were granted status as intervenors in a case that had been in process for sixteen years at that point.<sup>60</sup> Additionally, Linda DeLeon who had petitioned the court on her own up to that point was added to the list of intervenors in 1987.<sup>61</sup> They argued that schools in the Mexican American community were targeted for closure due to low enrollment which resulted from the district busing their children to schools in south Lubbock. Although busing affected more than Mexican Americans, they felt vulnerable to the system more than any other groups. Despite low enrollment in east Lubbock schools no immediate plans were made for closures like in the north central Lubbock. And south Lubbock was not losing schools but getting new ones. The four women challenged LISD in court by claiming Mexican Americans carried the burden of

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<sup>59</sup> "A Brief History of Desegregation Proceedings," located in Lane, Nancy and Arthur Collection, Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX.

<sup>60</sup> In legal proceedings intervenor status refers to a third party who joins an existing lawsuit. They can either join the plaintiff or defendant. In most cases they join the plaintiff such as in the lawsuit against LISD, because they feel they can either add something to the lawsuit or represent a group/cause that the current plaintiff has overlooked such as the number of schools in Lubbock's Mexican American neighborhoods.

<sup>61</sup> Civil Docket. "*United States of America v The Texas Education Agency, et al (Lubbock Independent School Distric.*"

busing, and attempting to create doubt over the need for schools in south Lubbock when schools like Thompson Junior High could reopen.

However, in 1987 their efforts fell short when LISD struck a deal with the DOJ in order to maintain the same numbers of students bussed, and close Thompson permanently. First, LISD agreed to develop a computer science magnet program at Estacado and to rid all other schools of similar programs; second, Alderson Jr. High was to see improvement through a lower pupil teacher ratio and extension of the school day to seven periods; third, Tubbs would have magnet programs for non-minority students created while programs for minority students would begin at Wilson; fifth, the district was to hire more teachers and specialist to improve programs at Parkway, Jackson, Wolfforth, Harwell, and Hunt elementary schools; and sixth, the district would complete all additions at Jackson, Tubbs and at either Hunt or Parkway Elementary.<sup>62</sup> The plan continued busing, but worked to lower the number of student forced to bus by creating more magnet programs. Believing that the burden of busing was still on their community, and upset that LISD chose to shut down one of their community schools, the four intervenors filed an injunction to stop the construction of a new facility in south Lubbock.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Philip Parker, "School Integration Dispute Resolved," *Avalanche Journal*, October 25, 1983.

<sup>63</sup> Linda Deleon Interview, 2006.



## **The Effort to Equalize Construction**

Many in the Mexican American community felt the same way as the four case intervenors did. They even spoke out to try and keep Thompson open, but they were not willing to put their name in print and join the case against LISD. Wary of the response that they might receive from the white Lubbock community most of the Mexican American community was hesitant to officially involve themselves.<sup>64</sup> Individuals who contributed funds for legal fees asked to stay anonymous. Only established organizations and known activists made themselves public. For instance, Olga Riojas was not just the mother of four children, three of which were enrolled in the school district, but she worked with the newspaper *El Editor*. The newspaper was known for its vocalization of injustices against the Mexican American community and challenged the city's version of race relations. Olga eventually married the paper's editor Bidal Aguero who was part of the single member district lawsuit against Lubbock city. The other two mothers involved in the initial petition for intervention had also been a long-time activist, Maria Richardson, went on to be the local LULAC chapter president. The fourth intervenor Linda DeLeon, started as a concerned mother for her children's well-being in the LISD system, to school board member and then city council member. She held local offices for well over a decade.

Despite these four women leading the charge it was difficult to get other members of the community to publicly come forward. Members of the community were

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<sup>64</sup> Olga Aguero Interview.

fearful of repercussions so they gave private donations and passed along information that might be valuable to the women's attorneys. Similar to the fears within the Mexican American community, many attorneys in the area did not want to "step on anybody's toes," which is why DeLeon felt the need to secure an attorney from the San Antonio area.<sup>65</sup> The legal scene in Lubbock and west Texas was not considered cut throat by those who operated in it regularly. Woodward's legal secretary described it as more of a community where things were done by agreement.<sup>66</sup> The community of friends made it difficult to find an attorney who would risk their friendly relationships, and it created an environment where the attorneys of Lubbock were complicit in prolonging segregation even if they did not directly defend LISD in the courts.

After DeLeon and her attorney filed an injunction to stop the construction of present day Irons Jr. High, the white community was quick to react negatively. The city's main newspaper the *Avalanche-Journal* depicted the four Mexican American women as villains keeping students from their new school, and wasting LISD's time and money.<sup>67</sup> The women were a threat to city's narrative.

Although LISD would have rather circumvented the women all together they needed to recommence construction on the new school in south Lubbock, but they had no intent on re-opening the schools they had shut down in north central Lubbock. In 1987 the district made several small proposals to the four cross plaintiffs in hopes that

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Coretta Kerr, interview by Gene Preus, July 10, 1998, Southwest Collections/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University in Lubbock TX

<sup>67</sup> "Hispanic Mothers offer settlement," *El Editor*, February 11 thru 17, 1988.

they would drop the injunction. However, the four women believed that nothing LISD proposed bettered the situation of their children. Mexican American children attending new schools in south Lubbock meant more busing for minority children. The four women also believed that LISD failed to recognize the need for maintenance in the existing minority schools. Alderson for example had bare concrete floors, and LISD's failure to improve the situation equated legally segregated schools, and the possibility of having to shut down yet another one of their neighborhood schools in the future.<sup>68</sup>

By February of 1988 the cross plaintiffs countered with their own ideas for a settlement package. Their plans included the construction of a new junior high in north central Lubbock once it was determined that five hundred students lived in the area of future construction. They wanted a better maintenance schedule for minority schools and the installation of air conditioning in those schools. They pushed the district to keep remedial magnet programs out of the junior highs in southwest Lubbock. They feared that offering these programs was simply a way of trying to get more minority students southwest, and lowering the enrollment in north central schools which could lead to shut downs. Additionally, the cross plaintiffs asked for the expansion of the Ramirez Elementary School property, additional parking at Lubbock high school, a crosswalk on 19<sup>th</sup> street for Lubbock High students, equal facilities and services for all students in the future, a twenty to one pupil teacher ratio, legal language that made the settlement valid in court, their appeals costs paid for by LISD, and the submission of their legal fees to judge Woodward so that he could determine whether LISD should pay those costs.

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<sup>68</sup> Bidal Agüero, "Mothers Refuse 'Crumbs'," *El Editor*, October 27, 1987.

LISD countered the extensive list by offering to build the junior high in north central Lubbock. Initially, the four women refused the settlement.<sup>69</sup> Eventually a consent decree was reached and opposition to the south Lubbock school was dropped in return for the construction of a new school in north central Lubbock.<sup>70</sup> This decree appeared to be a sign of progress but it was the start of a new battle. LISD attempted to change the terms of the agreement shortly after, raising the number of students required to build the school. Woodward ordered in 1990 that the number stay at five hundred.<sup>71</sup> All that was left was for the cross plaintiffs to count up students in the vicinity of their future school.

The recommencement of Ed Irons school construction did little to calm the anger that had already built up within the Anglo community. Although all four cross plaintiffs were blamed, Linda DeLeon held local office and was viewed as the ring leader, a trouble maker who just wanted to spend tax dollars. Not only did the *A-J* attempt to assassinate her character but she received threatening letters. Many of the letters warned the native Lubbockite to return to her “home land of Mexico,” a prime example of the racism still present in Lubbock post 1970. One letter went as far as to say that if she did not resign her office and leave back to Mexico that she needed to “watch her back” because “they were gonna get,” her. DeLeon’s husband, a police officer, forwarded the

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<sup>69</sup> James Ricketts, “LISD counteroffer rejected; group attacks closed meeting,” *Avalanche-Journal*, February 19, 1988.

<sup>70</sup> Amy Guess, “Cavazos Junior High becomes reality after long battle,” *Avalanche-Journal*, August 15, 1993.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid*

letter to the FBI and escorted her around town, always armed.<sup>72</sup> Despite the city's claims of unification after the 1970 tornado, white Lubbock citizens quickly turned against the Mexican American group whom they believed was a threat to their schools and way of living. Even more telling about Lubbock's true racial situation is the content of the letters written to DeLeon, and the escalation towards violence over the halting of a school's construction. The safety of a person was at risk because of the construction of a building.

As anticipated by the minority community, the other three cross plaintiffs also received hostile treatment. They were called names and glared at by people who disagreed with their involvement. The white community took the once innocent description of their role as mothers in the Mexican American community, and began referring to them as "the mothers." Tone was enough to convey what dissenters meant in their usage of the phrase.<sup>73</sup> Much of the hostility the women faced was expressed in the media. The main local newspaper and radio shows talked badly about the group and their efforts. Some of the intervenors chose not to listen while others called in whenever they had a chance and tried contesting the comments made about them.<sup>74</sup> *El Editor*, which served as a venue for oppositional views had trouble procuring advertisements. White owned businesses boycotted advertising in the paper as an effort to silence it, and

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<sup>72</sup> Civil Docket, "*United States of America v The Texas Education Agency, et al (Lubbock Independent School District)*," "*United States of America v The Texas Education Agency, et al (Lubbock Independent School District)*,"; Linda DeLeon, 2006.

<sup>73</sup> Olga Agüero.

<sup>74</sup> Linda DeLeon, 2006.

businesses owned by minorities had reason to worry that they might be harassed if they advertised in the paper which supported the cross plaintiffs.<sup>75</sup> Hostility from the Anglo community was present throughout the entire process, justifying the fears that so many in minority community had about getting involved. The reality was the antithesis of Lubbock's long touted narrative. Lubbock was still divided by race. What benefited the white community trumped what the minority community needed, and the struggle over school construction during this case exemplified that.

It is worth noting that even though individuals did not openly support the four women they did receive support from organizations such as the Tri-Ethnic Coalition Steering Committee. According to a letter addressed to LULAC and dated August 13, 1987 the coalition was in the process of the trying to raise \$10,000 to help pay the legal fees incurred by the "three Hispanic mothers, and Linda de Leon."<sup>76</sup> The organization was not solely concerned with the construction of a new school in south Lubbock. Rather, as an organization that represented the entire minority community they were concerned with the LISD's plan to file for unitary status. In 1987 LISD applied for unitary status in an attempt to get out from under the court's rulings. Local minorities feared that if the school district's application was accepted then all progress with race

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<sup>75</sup> Olga Agüero.

<sup>76</sup> Letter to LULAC from Tri-Ethnic Coalition, August 13, 1987, located in Tri-Ethnic Commission file, Southwest Collections/ Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX

relations would stop.<sup>77</sup> As described in the letter to LULAC the Tri-Ethnic Coalition points out that approval of unitary status would imply that LISD was successful in erasing all vestiges of discrimination and inequality, which was something that most in the minority community agreed was not true. The coalition argued that there was still a high rate of minority dropouts, low achievement, segregated schools, and limited implementation of a bilingual program. They urged LULAC members to contribute at least ten dollars each and to help promote the fundraising activities that they had scheduled for the upcoming month. The coalition believed that it was important for the four intervenors to continue in the suit against LISD, hoping contesting unitary status would keep the case open.

### **The Race to 500**

In accordance with the court order the four cross plaintiffs organized an effort to count all the students at junior high level living in north central Lubbock so that they could demonstrate that there were five hundred or more. However, the first attempt at counting came up a few students short. Further, in 1988 the school district came out with their own numbers, claiming that only 474 students in grades sixth through eighth lived in the bounded area of Bluefield Street, 19<sup>th</sup> street, University Avenue and Avenue

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<sup>77</sup> "LISD submits pact to Judge; Minorities fear," *El Editor*, June 23<sup>rd</sup>-July 29, 1987. Located in Comerciantes Organizados Mexico Americano (COMA) file, Southwest Collections/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX.

A/I-27.<sup>78</sup> The following year the cross plaintiff made an even larger effort to count students, trying to make sure nobody was overlooked. The women went door to door collecting signatures for households with eligible children.<sup>79</sup> It was through these means that the women discovered the actual numbers did not match up to those reported by LISD.

Parents from the area began approaching the four women and reporting to them the quick changes that LISD was making. For instance, some reported that LISD skipped their children a grade, despite the fact that their children were struggling to keep up with their current grade level. If the district skipped a child a grade level the child no longer counted towards the five hundred mark since they were out of the junior high category. The methods employed by LISD not only attempted to maneuver out of building a school in north central Lubbock, but it threw underprepared minority children into high school where drop-out rates were already high.<sup>80</sup>

After hearing from several parents the four women double checked the numbers and names provided by the district because they believed they had been purposely altered. After recounting, the women determined that LISD left at least nineteen students off the count towards five hundred.<sup>81</sup> The four cross plaintiffs took their claims to court, citing that LISD had altered numbers by skipping students without enough

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<sup>78</sup> Philip Parker, "DeLeon says LISD omitted students," *Avalanche-Journal*, July 20, 1989.

<sup>79</sup> Olga Agüero.

<sup>80</sup> DeLeon interview.2008

<sup>81</sup> Philip Parker, "DeLeon says LISD omitted students."



credits to high school, listing incorrect addresses, or counting only one eligible student out of every family. LISD countered by claiming the uncounted children had not been living in the area at the time of the district's count. Uncovering the truth required bringing in parents and students to testify about where they lived and for how long.<sup>82</sup> After testimony and evaluating the numbers the judge ruled in favor of the cross plaintiffs. The court ordered the district to construct a new school in north central Lubbock that was equally comparable to the one they were constructing in south Lubbock.

### **Equally Comparable**

Although the struggle for a new school in north central Lubbock began with the DOJ's case to dismantle segregation, the struggle to make schools equal in Lubbock was still ongoing nearly twenty years later. As the DOJ focused the case on meeting integration through busing and magnet programs the locals were focusing their attention on the two new schools. Minorities in particular wanted to make sure that the new school constructed in north central Lubbock was equal in quality to the one in south Lubbock.

After Judge Woodward approved construction, LISD held a bond election to raise funds for the new school. To save money, the district tried to change the terms of the existing agreement, such as by moving the school location out of a residential area

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<sup>82</sup> DeLeon interview, 2006.

and placing it next to a six lane highway, and industrial area.<sup>83</sup> They argued that the newly suggested location would cost less to purchase than property in a residential area. Although, the district was probably correct in their determination about price difference they did not consider building the school in south Lubbock next to a highway, leaving the minority community feeling like LISD once again was trying to cheat their students out of an equal educational experience.

The district only made things worse by suggesting that rather than purchasing new land for new construction that they simply renovate an older school. The district said they could “pretty up” an older school by painting it and adding new carpet. They even attempted to appeal to DeLeon’s political career, she recounts, by telling her that if she agreed to their suggestions that she would look like a hero because she saved the district money. They implied that she would get support during the next election from white constituents and white members on the board. Despite LISD and the school board’s attempts, DeLeon and the other cross plaintiffs continued to point out that the school had to be equally comparable to the school that was built on the south side, corners could not be cut. DeLeon, on the school board at the time, was targeted by other members, and word spread throughout the community that DeLeon and her co-plaintiffs were only interested in spending money.<sup>84</sup>

Additional attempts to undermine the original agreement continued. For instance, rather than building the athletic facilities next to the school, the board proposed

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<sup>83</sup> Charlie Milling, “Linda DeLeon: Fighting for education,” *Lubbock Magazine*, Summer 2000.

<sup>84</sup> DeLeon interview, 2006.

to build them across the street, University Avenue. It was a wide, heavily trafficked thoroughfare. The district saw the construction of the north central school as a drain on their accounts, not as an opportunity for students in the area. The school board was only concerned with how little money they could get away with spending on the project, even if it meant the school's future students had to make a few concessions.<sup>85</sup> However, students in south Lubbock, where the majority population was white, were not asked to make those same concessions.

The four cross plaintiffs and their supporters in the minority community encountered numerous obstacles during their attempts to construct a comparably equal facility in north central Lubbock. The community even debated over what to name the schools. The Mexican American community wanted a Mexican American selected, arguing that it should be someone who understood the struggle that their community experienced. A faction of the community petitioned the school board to name the building after DeLeon, but that prospect was highly unlikely. There was a conflict with her being on the school board, and the majority white community made no attempts at hiding their distaste for her. The board made an attempt to appease the Mexican American community and named the school after Dr. Lauro F. Cavazos. He had his undergraduate degree from Tech and was the school's first Hispanic president. He had also served as Ronald Reagan's Secretary of Education.<sup>86</sup> He was considered a reasonable middle ground, not too radical for the white population to accept, but still

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<sup>85</sup> DeLeon interview, 2006; DeLeon interview, 2008; Oglá Agüero

<sup>86</sup> DeLeon interview, 2006.

representative of the progress the Mexican American community had made. Finally, in 1993 Cavazos Junior High School was completed. The 126,800 square foot building was constructed in the one of the originally agreed upon locations, 210 N. University Avenue. At the time of its completion the school housed two hundred sixteen computers, video equipment and modern science labs that allowed the school to offer a high tech magnet program, which attracted students from across the city.<sup>87</sup>

### **Never Truly Equal**

The *US v Lubbock* case emphasized student numbers, and the percentages of white to minority students, and it worked in the sense that students of different backgrounds were going to the same schools. However, inequality remained throughout the district. During the battle for Cavazos Jr. High the four cross plaintiffs pointed out the inequality in facilities themselves. Theoretically, busing white students to minority schools should have motivated the school board to update the minority-centric facilities but they still were not receiving the same amount of care that schools in the south side were, and as the case dragged the minority community argued that LISD was busing more students out of their neighborhoods.

It was clear that north and east Lubbock contained all the older schools, and they were poorly maintained and lacked air conditioning. Minority schools had less money

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<sup>87</sup> Amy Guess, "Cavazos Junior High becomes a reality after long battle," *Avalanche-Journal*, August 15, 1993.

for maintenance than white schools.<sup>88</sup> As a school board member DeLeon made an effort to walk the schools where she frequently found old carpet patched with duct tape. An attempt to permanently repair damage in the schools was only made after she and other made calls to the superintendent, something that district did not want since they were continuously pushing for approval of unitary status.

Challengers of the district's maintenance program brought in the Marriott Corporation to conduct independent surveys of maintenance facilities. The group evaluated the conditions of schools throughout the district and indicated that there was a gap between the minority, and majority schools. Minority schools were reported as lacking proper maintenance. Not wanting to add to the existing lawsuit, LISD agreed to make the repairs on their own before the DOJ could use it against their bid for unitary status. The money for the repairs came in part from the bond election held for Cavazos Junior High. Included in the bond's purpose was the installation of air conditioning, and building gymnasiums outside of all elementary schools.<sup>89</sup>

Initially the editorial board of the city's main newspaper, the *Avalanche-Journal* was against the bond election raising funds for air conditioning. They claimed that it was not necessary for minority schools to have them. However, schools in south Lubbock were newer with air conditioning. In response to their dissent, DeLeon invited the board at the *Avalanche-Journal* to spend some time in the non-air conditioned schools so that they could experience how hard it was for teachers to teach, and students

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<sup>88</sup> DeLeon interview, 2008.

<sup>89</sup> DeLeon interview, 2006.

to learn in overheated rooms. The visitors, who claimed if they did not grow up with air conditioning then so could these students, arrived to the older school in suits and ties. Not even ten minutes into the tour the men began removing their jackets because they felt warm. By the time they left the building their shirts were soaked through. Before the bond election was held the board wrote an editorial stating that air conditioning was necessary, adding that during their visit they found the conditions to be unbearable. In this case the white community received a glimpse of the reality within minority schools, but it did not make them okay with minorities running what they viewed as their school district.<sup>90</sup>

### **Minority Employment**

Minorities, and Mexican Americans in particular believed that they were lacking representation in the schools. Whereas, most of the schools in east Lubbock started with African American teachers and administrators from their neighborhood, the same was not the case for schools in the Mexican American neighborhoods. One of the first Hispanic teachers, Socorro Rangel did not appear until the mid-1960s, Anita Carmona and Maria Rangel followed shortly thereafter.<sup>91</sup> Any other Mexican American employees were only hired as food service personnel and janitors.<sup>92</sup> In 1970 Lubbock's

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<sup>90</sup> DeLeon interview, 2008.

<sup>91</sup> Bidal Agüero, "Numerous Hispanics have been key players in the growth of city," *Avalanche-Journal*, May 1999.

<sup>92</sup> Tijerina, 52-53.

faculty was 90% Anglo, 9.8% African American, 0.2 Hispanic.<sup>93</sup> During the 1980's a TEA report lowered the school district's accreditation indicating that for the 1986-87 school year only 14.4 percent of the district's employees were minorities while minorities made up 49% of the students.<sup>94</sup> The percentages did not live up to claims of a racially blind city. Further, the number of Hispanic teachers and administrators did not match the rapid growth of the Hispanic student population. With the existing lawsuit in place, the DOJ was informed that Hispanics were often passed over for positions such as principal despite their impeccable qualifications, suggesting that it was race related. The DOJ contacted the superintendent and expressed their concerns over the information they had received. Shortly thereafter, the next administrative position that opened up was given to a female Hispanic who had previously been passed over for the same position.<sup>95</sup> Incidents such as these indicate that the lawsuit against LISD lasted for so long because without supervision the district was prone to favoring white students and employees over minority ones.

Despite the oversight of the federal government the highest position in the district still seemed out of reach for minorities. In the final round of a 1989 job search for superintendent three candidates were listed, including Dr. Miguel Angel de los Santos. In an editorial for *El Editor* he was described as the superior candidate, and was endorsed by "the largest teacher organization," the Lubbock Educator's Association

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<sup>93</sup> "City School Report Set for Judge," *Avalanche-Journal*, October 2, 1970.

<sup>94</sup> Linda DeLeon, "Education for the Chosen Ones," *El Editor*. 1989

<sup>95</sup> DeLeon interview, 2006.

(LEA). However, Dr. Santos was passed over for the position. According to the editorial an unnamed school board member received a phone call from a former principal who indicated that even if Dr. Santos was the best candidate Lubbock did not want nor would they stand by and allow a Mexican American to run their schools.<sup>96</sup> Dr. Santos was not hired as superintendent and instead Dr. Mike Moses was granted the position.<sup>97</sup>

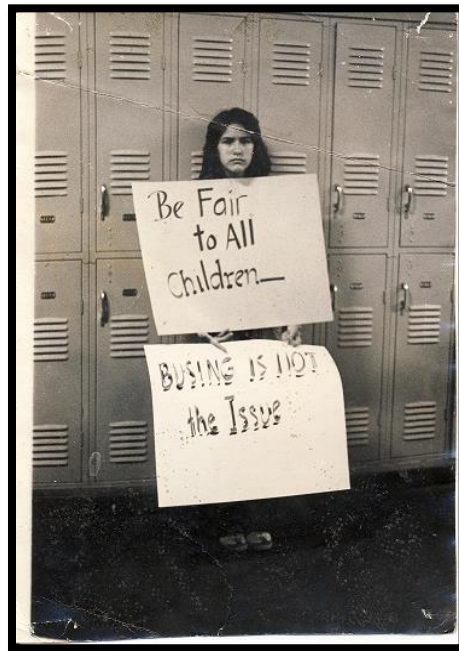


Figure 15: Student protesting discrimination in the busing system.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> "Education for the Chosen Ones."

<sup>97</sup> Dr. Mike Moses later served as Texas' Commissioner of Education from 1995-1999, and as Deputy Chancellor for System Operations for the Texas Tech University System from 1999-2001, and General Superintendent of the Dallas Independent School District from 2001-2004 which at that time was at the tail end of its desegregation litigation. Source: University of North Texas College of Education, <https://www.coe.unt.edu/facultystaff-department/mike-moses>

<sup>98</sup> Student protesting. Photo provided for use courtesy of the Bidal Agüero Collection, Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX.



## **End of Court Supervision**

In 1990 LISD attempted to redraw the attendance lines as a means of moving forward their request for unitary status. Superintendent Mike Moses and the school board brought in Dennis Harner, an Austin demographer, to help redraw the attendance boundaries so that they integration could naturally occur rather than through busing. After evaluating the city layout Harner remarked that while every large city has recognizable ethnic distributions, Lubbock's distributions were very distinct as southwest and east Lubbock were completely different from one another in terms of ethnic makeup. Harner said it was "really very pronounced".<sup>99</sup> While he did not say so directly, Harner witnessed what Dr. Herman S. Garcia, director and assistant professor of Texas Tech's Bilingual Education program did in 1983. In a letter to Dr. Jose A. Cardenas wrote, "Lubbock Independent School District not only has a system of inequality of educational opportunity, but it fosters such a system."<sup>100</sup> Unfortunately, Harner's observations about residential patterns exemplified how the community of Lubbock as a whole was still physically segregated in 1990, counter to its narrative, leaving little hope that the school system would remain desegregated without court supervision.

In February of 1991 LISD trustees presented Judge Woodward with a reorganization plan for his approval. According to the plan, first, second and sixth

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<sup>99</sup> Hank Murphy, "LISD faces delicate balancing act in reorganization," *Avalanche-Journal*, August 5, 1990.

<sup>100</sup> Dr. Herman S. Garcia, "letter to Dr. Jose A. Cardenas," December 8, 1983, Texas Tech folder, Box 31, Jose A. Cardenas Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, Austin, TX.

graders would no longer be bussed. African American and Mexican American students would be bussed for one year instead of two. Anglo students were still to only bus one year. Bayless, Overton, Stubbs, Wester, Wheelock and Williams would stop busing their students. Bowie, Hardwick, Haynes, Honey, Maedgen, Murfee, Parsons, Rush, Smith, Stewart, Waters and Whiteside where to continue busing their third, fourth and fifth graders, which were predominantly white. Cavazos junior high would be a magnet school when it opened in 1993. Dunbar-Struggs would change from a high school to a junior high magnet school in 1993, in an attempt to attract white students. Matthews, a seventh grade learning center would be converted to an adult learning center. All junior high schools would offer algebra and geometry classes. The boundaries to Irons Junior High would be moved from 50<sup>th</sup> street to Loop 289. Those affected by the new boundary were assigned to Wilson Junior High. Two-thirds of the Dunbar students would be reassigned to Estacado, and the remaining third to Monterey. Estacado would implement a professional careers magnet program that offered programs in law enforcement, restaurant management and health careers. Finally, all high schools would offer computer courses and advanced placement courses.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> "Approved reorganization plan," *Avalanche Journal*, September 12, 1991.

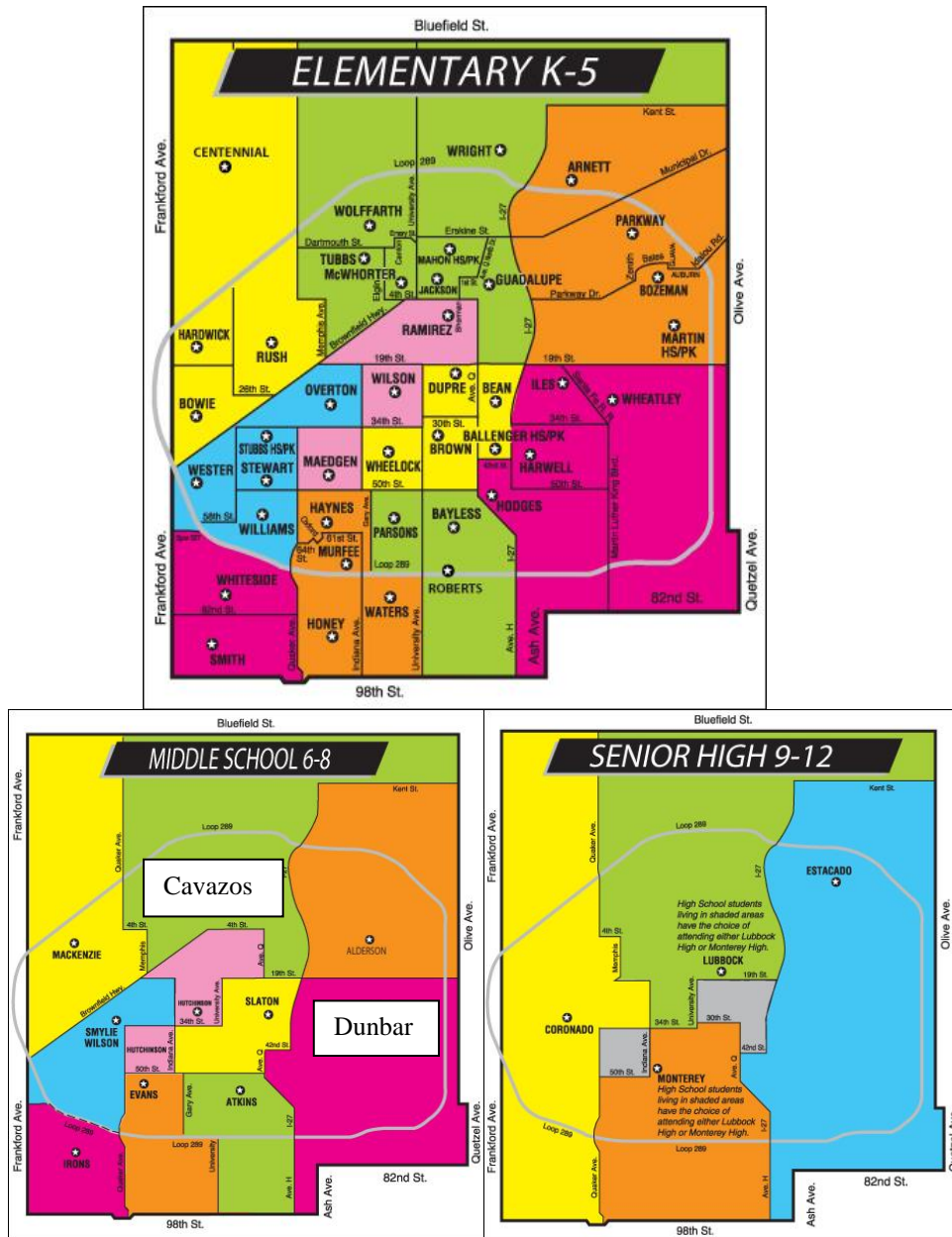


Figure 16: Map of LISD Schools and their attendance zones in 2007-2008. Schools of historical import to Lubbock’s desegregation process include present day middle schools, Dunbar and Cavazos. It can be observed through the district’s maps that school options are limited in minority centric neighborhoods, particularly as the grade number goes up.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>102</sup> The school district maps were acquired from the Lubbock Independent School District website where they are posted for public use and dissemination. “Attendance Zones, 2007-2008,” accessed May 2008. <http://www.lubbockisd.org/DistrictInfo/SchoolLocators/AttendanceHS.htm>

Unhappy with the reorganization plan, in March of 1991 five residents stated that LISD's plan perpetuated discrimination against minorities and attempted to add themselves as intervenors to the ongoing suit against LISD.<sup>103</sup> In June of that year Woodward rejected the group's request claiming that the DOJ adequately represented their concerns in the suit. A few months later in September, twenty-one years after the U.S. Department of Justice first began their suit against LISD, Judge Woodward dismissed the case.<sup>104</sup> His decision was controversial. Before making his decision Woodward heard from both sides once more. Franz Marshall who was the attorney for the DOJ argued that the district failed in desegregating the school district and that the reorganization plan would only further segregation within the system. In order to prove his point he referred to Dunbar which under the reorganization plan would be converted from a High School to a Jr. High. A large factor in the minority community's dissent toward the plan since Dunbar was viewed as historic symbol for the east community. Under the plan, Dunbar would reopen as a predominantly African American and Mexican American junior high school. Additionally, Marshall claimed that the only reason LISD was converting Dunbar was because they allowed the school's numbers to dwindle, furthering segregation as they allowed overcrowding at Coronado High School. Rather than send students to Dunbar, LISD provided mobile classrooms at Coronado. Marshall argued that by doing this, LISD was directly resisting complete

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<sup>103</sup> Jean Pagel, "Judge opposes request by LISD foes," *Avalanche-Journal*, May 15, 1991.

<sup>104</sup> "A History of Lubbock's school desegregation," *Avalanche-Journal*, September 12, 1991.

desegregation.<sup>105</sup> Despite Marshall's arguments Woodward dismissed the case and approved the reorganization plan. One of the residents who opposed the plan, Kathyl Anderson on September 12, 1991 was quoted in the *Avalanche-Journal*, "it just goes to prove that this is a very prejudiced, very segregated school system that we run in Lubbock, Texas....Justice in our court system is not for minorities." While LISD could claim that they were desegregated, people in the community were outraged and once again oppressed by the city's narrative.

Even after twenty years of litigation, equality in the LISD system was not available to minorities. In 1981 the overall dropout rate was 26.7% and in 1987 it was 22.7%. Amongst individual groups in 1987 African Americans were dropping out at a rate of 22.9%, Hispanics at 37.5% and Anglos at 15.5%.<sup>106</sup> In 2004 the San Antonio based organization Intercultural Development Research Association reported that seventeen percent of Lubbock County's high school students did not graduate the 2003-2004. Once they broke the number down by ethnic and racial groups it revealed that

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<sup>105</sup> Jean Pagel, "Ruling launches new LISD era" *Avalanche-Journal*, September 12, 1991.

<sup>106</sup> "Chicanos dropout still twice Anglo," *El Editor*, July 30 thru August 5, 1987.

Anglos accounted for two percent, African Americans for nineteen percent and Hispanics accounted for the largest percent and thirty four percent. Further, as recently as 2014 the organization reported that in Texas as a whole, Hispanic and African American students were twice as likely to drop out before graduation.<sup>107</sup>

The city claimed that the 1970 tornado desegregated Lubbock but it was merely an exaggeration of the displacement that Mother Nature forced. The numerous battles minorities had with the LISD system over their children's education conveys that race was very much an issue in Lubbock, regardless of what the city's dominant narrative claimed. Although, the *US v Lubbock* case did not fully desegregate LISD the federal government's presence did give credence to the minority community's beliefs that race was problem in Lubbock city. The case challenged the city's claims that they had desegregated schools after *Brown*, and that the 1970 tornado desegregated the rest of the city, providing minorities with an opportunity to challenge segregation in other areas of the city, the subject of chapter 5.

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<sup>107</sup> John Reynolds, "County rate of dropouts below state's," *Avalanche-Journal*, November 18, 2004; "Report: Texas Public School Attrition Study, 2013-14," Intercultural Development Research Association website, accessed June 22, 2015.  
[http://www.idra.org/images/stories/IDRA\\_Attrition\\_Study\\_2014.pdf](http://www.idra.org/images/stories/IDRA_Attrition_Study_2014.pdf)

## CHAPTER V

### AWAKENING THE DREAMER: REACTION TO THE DOJ

The period between 1970 and 1990 presented numerous obstacles for Lubbock's collective memory and its claim that race was a non-issue in the city. The DOJ's presence provided a haven for civil rights activity, and minorities who once shied away from public protest were awakened to do so by racial violence. As Søren Kierkegaard said, "...then comes affliction to awaken the dreamer."<sup>1</sup> The minority community undoubtedly dreamt about an equitable system in Lubbock since their establishment in the city, but it was only after the affliction of racial violence that they acted on pursuing that dream in full force. With the assistance of the DOJ's presence, Lubbock's minority community marched, rioted, and participated in lawsuits that challenged the city's narrative which formerly kept civil rights activity at bay.

Within the existing civil rights literature there are a few histories that demonstrate an outside presence, typically federal, spurring civil rights activity in the city where it was present. For instance, William Clayson's work conveys that the Community Action Program under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 helped realize the promises made by the Civil Rights Act of 1964.<sup>2</sup> Wesley Phelps focuses on local activists in Houston who used the official local War on Poverty agency and Community Action Program to highlight inequalities in minority neighborhoods such as

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<sup>1</sup> Søren Kierkegaard, *Christian Discourses, etc.,*, translated by Walter Lowrie, Princeton University Press, 1940.

<sup>2</sup> William S. Clayson, *Freedom Is Not Enough*, (University of Texas Press, 2010).

the Settegast community which lacked basic services such as safe drinking water.<sup>3</sup> In both studies the Community Action Program served as a system of practical methods to enforce the intent of the Civil Rights Act. As the *Brown* decision proved, it took more than a broad declaration to end the racial inequality.<sup>4</sup>

The DOJ served as system of practical methods for tackling racial inequality in Lubbock. In taking on LISD's segregationist policies the DOJ demonstrated how Lubbock's minority communities could challenge the city's narrative. After a series of incidents involving racial violence, both the African American and Mexican American communities began directly and publicly contesting the city's dominant narrative. As seen in Phelps's work, the minority community protested Houston's inequitable residential system after a pregnant woman experienced police brutality, while being evicted. The community's immediate reaction led to protest against police brutality but in the long term their mobilization challenged the racially inequitable conditions that fostered the brutality. The affliction of racial violence spurred an increase in civil rights activity, which was in turn strengthened by the presence of the Community Action Program. It is a scenario similar to that of Lubbock. The details and source of federal intervention may be different but the result was the same. The DOJ's case gave credence to discrimination in Lubbock, but it was the affliction of racial violence, and feelings that underrepresentation made these incidents worse that forced minorities to challenge elements of the city's system. With that affliction came a twenty year period

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<sup>3</sup> Wesley G. Phelps, *A People's War on Poverty: Urban Politics and Grassroots Activists in Houston*, (University of Georgia Press, 2014).

<sup>4</sup> Derick Bell, *Silent Covenants: Brown V. Board of Education and the Unfulfilled Hopes for Racial Reform*, Oxford University Press, 2004).



where the minority community marched, rioted, and participated in litigation aimed at the betterment of their community. Their actions in turn challenged the city's collective memory.

The city made post racial claims as early as 1955 when LISD proclaimed self-imposed desegregation as seen in chapter two. The act did not do much to change the student makeup at each school because attendance zones were drawn to correlate with segregated residential patterns. Consequently, the act did not affect the city's majority white population and the racial beliefs the city was founded on. Yet the city still touted that it desegregated peacefully which in turn allowed it to promote the image that Lubbock had no significant racial issues. In comparison to the racial violence occurring in the Deep South, Lubbock's proclamation made the city look at worst, not that bad and at best, progressive. Further, their claim of desegregation helped the city avoid any negative attention that might force it to actually address racial inequality.

Prior to 1970, the post racial narrative quickly entrenched the city because it benefited the city's long term narrative that depicted Lubbock as a "Hub." Months before the DOJ's arrival, the narrative grew in strength with claims that the tornado finished desegregating the city as seen in chapter three. The positive spin on a natural disaster that tore through the city was nearly impossible to condemn even though the tornado's aftermath highlighted residential inequalities in the minority community. It can be likened to speaking ill of the dead at their funeral. With a persistent narrative, as long as the majority white population in Lubbock supported the post racial claims and

the minority population lacked strength to challenge them, there was no reason for the city to change.

As an outside source the DOJ was not susceptible to the same challenges Lubbock's minority community faced in challenging the city's narrative. With its federal backing, the DOJ challenged the city's narrative that claimed LISD desegregated in 1955. Further, they demonstrated that segregation still existed in LISD. The DOJ and continuing racial tensions challenged the city's image but rather than address them, the city continued to push a narrative that ignored racial inequalities. In discussing the construction of imagined communities such as nations, Benedict Anderson argues, the more a community is imagined the more the constructed memory becomes essential to that identity. Lubbock's post racial society was fully imagined thus the city worked endlessly to construct a narrative that did not contest that identity. This is further explained by the Halbwachian model which dictates if a collective wants to personify a certain level of integrity then they will construct an identity that does not challenge that integrity.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, the collective selects what details go into the construction of that identity. Similarly as discussed in Benedict Anderson's work, the collective deciding what to leave out is just as important as what they choose to leave in the narrative. Prior to 1970 the city's narrative kept civil rights activity at bay by promoting self-imposed desegregation in LISD as seen in chapter two. The argument then being that if LISD desegregated on its own there was no reason for civil rights activity. However,

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<sup>5</sup> The "collective" in Lubbock is largely made up of Lubbock's city officials, and the main newspaper the *Avalanche-Journal*. The "identity" translates to Lubbock's city memory and ultimately its image as a city; Jeffrey Olick, Seroussi, Levy, eds., *The Collective Memory Reader*, 18.

segregationist policies and racial inequality still remained, and with the assistance of the DOJ's presence the minority community ultimately challenged them. Yet after 1970 the city's collective memory continued to wash over those actions because they did not fit the city's desired image.<sup>6</sup>

Through the years the collective in Lubbock has selected which pieces of information to insert in the city's narrative, molding a particular image that is released to the rest of the world. For example, when recalling the LISD case and single member district lawsuit post 1970, the city emphasizes the positive changes that occurred afterwards while the factors that led to the activity are largely ignored. These recollections continue to suggest to Lubbock's residents and the outside world that race relations in Lubbock were not that bad. As a result those who did not personally experience the racial inequality have already forgotten the significant activity it sparked. Without delving into the details of the city's history, Lubbock is lumped together with west Texas where historians have described civil rights activity, specifically the Chicano movement, as a "whimper." This is largely because activity in that region appears minor in comparison to the activity that took place around the state.<sup>7</sup> Lubbock's activity did not change the political power structure the way it did in many south Texas towns where the majority population was Hispanic, nor did it garner national attention like in the

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<sup>6</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (Verso, 1998); Jeffrey Olick, Seroussi, Levy, eds., *The Collective Memory Reader*, (Oxford University Press, 2011), 18; Allan Megill, "From 'History, Memory, Identity,'" in *The Collective Memory Reader*, eds. Jeffrey Olick, Seroussi, Levy (Oxford University Press, 2011), 195; For more information on collective memory see chapter one of this study, pages 10-15.

<sup>7</sup> Arnolde De Leon, "The Tejano Experience in Six Texas Regions, *West Texas historical Association Year Book*, vol. 65 (1989): 36.

Deep South. However, it is no less significant. Lubbock's civil rights activity sheds light on how collective memory may be studied to demonstrate its impact on race relations. Further, by challenging the city's narrative the minority community conveyed the message that race issues plagued Lubbock just as they did across the nation.

### **The Affliction of Violence**

During the summer of 1971 Lubbock's Hispanic community challenged the city's post racial narrative by marching in demonstration against police brutality. "La Marcha de Fe" or the March of Faith culminated out of frustrations with long standing racial inequality and recent acts of violence that the community viewed as racially motivated. To make matters worse, the Mexican American community blamed the local police department for the racial violence inflicted on them. Despite the city's claims about race being a non-issue, minorities in Lubbock felt that their daily experiences proved otherwise. Motivated by the affliction of racial violence, the Mexican American community began to publicly protest the city's inaction.

Minorities circulated stories of racial violence within their communities, even if they did not publically see the light of day. For instance, the community recalls that local police broke the arm of a Hispanic boy attempting to enter the Guadalupe neighborhood shortly after the 1970 tornado. The city narrative argues the tornado was unifying but the violence inflicted by police counters that. The boy's broken arm was not an isolated incident. The Mexican American community in general believed that the

local police targeted them because they were not racially white. Members of the local LULAC chapter filed repeated complaints about police brutality with the city to no avail. This allowed racial violence to go unchallenged. In 1971 the local police pulled Ernesto Nerios over for reportedly speeding. The routine traffic stop somehow escalated to his death. The details of Nerio's death are unknown but the Hispanic community believed that Nerios was killed by police for no other reason than his race. They held the city responsible for his death as evidenced by the request for the city council to pay for Nerios burial expenses. Rather than acknowledge that a racial problem existed in the police department, the racially white city council told the Mexican American community to pass their concerns over to the District Attorney.<sup>8</sup>

Demanding recognition for their struggle, Lubbock's Hispanic community held several small protests which eventually led to "La Marcha de Fe." Organizers of the march included local activist Nephtali DeLeon, the local LULAC chapter, the American GI Forum and local religious leaders. The community marched peacefully throughout the streets. However, the local police felt the need to stand nearby, observing the march while armed.<sup>9</sup> The armed police were an intimidating force but the Mexican American community continued to march. The actions of both parties refute the city's post racial

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<sup>8</sup> Tijerina, 66. "Lubbock City Council Minutes," September 9, 1971. A copy of the minutes are in the author's possession.

<sup>9</sup> Tijerina, 66; The Mexican American community made a list of demands to the city council as part of their march. Demands included more Mexican American police, teachers, etc. most of which were reportedly met within a year. However, after evaluating the 1970 tornado aftermath and the desegregation process within LISD it is evident that the march may have resulted in small changes but did not change the overall status and treatment of Mexican Americans in the city. If significant change had occurred then the DOJ would not have needed to file the *US v Lubbock* case, nor would the minority communities file the single member district lawsuit.

narrative. The Mexican American community would not have marched if they believed racial equality existed in the city. Further, city officials responsible for shaping the narrative would not have seen a need for armed police to oversee the march if they believed there were no racial tensions in the city. Rather, the police reaction conveys that city officials and the majority white population of Lubbock feared a disturbance in the status quo. Additionally, the overzealous reaction to a peaceful protest demonstrates that the city's post racial narrative did not correspond with reality.

The affliction of racial violence served as trigger for the protest, awakening long term civil rights activity which was strengthened by the DOJ's presence. The timing of the march furthers the argument that the actions of local minorities increased in part because of the federal government's presence. Even though the march did not receive national coverage the DOJ's efforts to gather evidence of discrimination in LISD reassured the minority community that someone was listening to their complaints about racial inequality. Although "La Marcha de Fe" was led by the Mexican American community it was an important step for the entire minority community in challenging the city's narrative. The African American community took another step a few months later when tensions between minorities and whites reached a peak once again clearly showcasing that race divided Lubbock.

## **The Dunbar Shooting**

On September 9, 1971 a racial murder at Dunbar High School shook the entire city to its core. That day fifteen year old white student, Jeff Carl Carver, shot a sixteen year old African American student named Willie Ray Collier to death. The African American community responded with three days of rioting where they loudly vocalized their frustrations with Lubbock's racial inequality. The details of the shooting and the actions of the African American community following the murder all indicate that racial violence and long standing tensions led to the riots. Yet, the murder was never publically linked to racial issues, and the city's collective memory overlooks the murder but focuses on the rioting. The Dunbar shooting and the events following demonstrate that Lubbock was not the racially progressive city it claimed. Further, the incident serves as another example of how collective memory impacts race relations.

The city had no motivation to preserve a record of the September 1971 events because they did not correspond with the post racial narrative. Information on the riots and especially the murder are scarce, mentioned as one of the last items on the city council minutes for that month, and with limited newspaper coverage in the *Avalanche-Journal*, a major constructor of the city's narrative. Many of the articles this study used to reconstruct events of that night come from one of Texas Tech's student papers, and newspaper articles from out of state. Reconstructing the events required a combination of newspaper articles, legal documents, city council minutes and oral histories. Further, the source information available either ignores or refutes that the murder was

racially motivated. Additionally, most of the sources emphasize the riots. This detail is important because whereas the murder inflicted racial violence on the African American community, the riots are depicted as African Americans inflicting damage on the community. By focusing on the riots and not the murder, the city shaped a collective memory that not only downplayed racial issues but removed the responsibility for any acknowledged racial tensions from the white community. The city accomplished this in part through the main newspaper in Lubbock.

The *AJ* primarily focused on the damage caused by the riot, the actions of the African American community, and not the horrible hate crime that sparked it all. Machine-like, Lubbock's collective memory shapers quickly went to work after the shooting, spreading the story that the shooting was not a race related issue. Even the minority newspapers reflexively repeated the story. They wrote their articles based on the superintendent's comments who said the shooting was not racially motivated. It bears reminding that LISD was already under watch by the DOJ and the federal court. A racial shooting on one of their first campuses attempting integration did not send a positive message to the court. As seen in chapter four, LISD's wanted the court to rule that the district reached unitary status. Therefore, it benefited the district to push the narrative that the murder of Willie Collier was about something other than race. However, a basic reading of the available historical record leaves one with the



assessment that it is difficult to fathom how it had nothing to do with race or the still relatively new enforcement of integration at Dunbar.<sup>10</sup>

The inconsistency between the riot's motivation and the collective memory of the events is best explained by looking at the African American community's actions prior to the murder. Prior to the riots the African American community shied away from public demonstrations that contested the city's post racial narrative, although they believe it was false having personally experienced some form of racial discrimination residentially, socially, or educationally. Their experiences left them with an unfiltered view of Lubbock's historical treatment towards minorities. With that history in mind, minorities had no reason to believe that they could speak freely and without repercussions. This is evident in conducting oral histories with residents of each minority community, and listening to the oral histories conducted by others before. Although well-known activists spoke freely at the start of interviews, most minority interviewees started out by saying that race relations in Lubbock were not that bad. In many cases it was over thirty minutes before the interviewee shared any stories of racial discrimination if they shared any at all. Historically, the minority community demonstrated caution in their comments about the city of Lubbock. However, they briefly swept aside that caution when news about Willie Ray Collier's murder spread.

In order to understand how collective memory influences race relations it is necessary to examine the events of September 1971. It is only then that the historical

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<sup>10</sup> "Dunbar grads recall start of integration," *AJ*, circa 1991. Located in the Dunbar file at Texas Tech University Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library, Lubbock, Tx.; Thomas Johnson, interviewed by Fred Allison, October 30, 1998. Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Tx.

facts can be separated from the selective collective memory. The 1970-1971 Dunbar school year book recorded the principal on the first day stating, ‘we don’t intend to be a black school or a white school. We intend to be a school.’<sup>11</sup> Since Judge Woodward ordered immediate action for the historically “black” schools Dunbar was one of the first schools in LISD to see actual integration and not just desegregation. The attendance lines were expanded shortly before the school year leading to a 334 African American, 209 Anglo, and 120 Hispanic students. Most of the integration occurred at the sophomore and junior levels since seniors were excluded from the integration plan that year. By all accounts, the integration at Dunbar saw little formal, organized resistance. Small frustrations played out in minor squabbles like shoving in the cafeteria line but nothing alarming. The first year of integration at Dunbar appeared to go well.

The start of the following school year did not go as smoothly. The murder of Willie Collier challenged the reportedly peaceful integration process. At the time of the murder, Carver had only been at Dunbar for two days. Although Dunbar expanded its attendance lines the previous year to include Carver’s residential area, the teenager continued to attend Lubbock High School. It was only after the start of the 1971-72 school year that LISD took notice and instructed Carver to begin attending Dunbar. Initial reports for the murder’s motives were unclear, but the non-racial narrative that emerged in Lubbock claimed that the shooting occurred because the two boys argued

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid

over cigarettes. News coverage outside the area reported the shooting and riots which followed had racial overtones.<sup>12</sup>

In general, the minority community did not publicly contest that shooting was non-racial. As discussed earlier, the minority community and particularly the older generation used caution when dealing with the city. Although they may have believed it was a racial murder, they did not publically say so. Some even publically denounced the idea that the shooting was race related. Others did not want to believe the shooting was race related. A racial killing in the schools was a frightening notion, particularly for parents. A race related killing raised questions about the safety of their children in the pursuit of integration and equality. Understandably, no parent wants to endanger their children. Even if parents believed the shooting was racially motivated they did not publically say so, and some even continued to hope that at worst the shooting was drug related.<sup>13</sup> This benefited Lubbock's narrative as did the statements of Lubbock county officials.

Lubbock's county attorney at the time, Tom Purdom, ignored racial motivations for the murder and described the incident as if it was a simple disagreement, stating that two boys had words with one another during a PE class. Juvenile division officers added

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<sup>12</sup> "Curfew set in Lubbock racial upset," *Chicago Tribune*, (Chicago, IL), September 10, 1971. "Dunbar shooting touches off march, disturbance: State of emergency declared," *University Daily*, September 10, 1971; "Student killed at Texas High School," *The Times News*, (Henderson, N.C.), September 10, 1971; "30 arrested in Texas riot after black slain in school shooting," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, (Milwaukee, WI), September 11, 1971; "Weekend causes tense weekend," *The University Daily*, September 13, 1971; "Blacks debate the reasons why," *The University Daily*, September 15, 1971; Ron Givens, interview by Daniel Sanchez, March 18, 1999, located at Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX.

<sup>13</sup> Mr. and Mrs. Priestly

to the county attorney's account of events by addressing Carver's motivation.

According to the officers Carver claimed the two boys argued over cigarettes and Collier threatened to kill him after slashing his arm. Carver then went home and got his father's 22 caliber pistol. However, Carver did not just keep the pistol on hand for protection. He went back to the school in search of Collier to shoot him. Carver went around the hallways unable to find Collier and returned to his car where he waited for the next class period. Carver hoped to find Collier during the class change. When he finally found Collier, Carver shot him three times. He did this out in the open in front of everyone around.<sup>14</sup> The narrative that emerged after the murder claimed that it was not racially motivated but that is unlikely given the nature of the shooting. The shooting was pre-meditated. Carver may have not woken up that morning planning to kill Collier, but he had a few class periods between the argument and the murder itself to decide that he was going to shoot Collier. Further, he did not just shoot Collier once but he shot him multiple times ensuring Collier's death. Shortly after the disagreement in class Carver even told two of his friends that he planned on killing Collier.<sup>15</sup> The act cannot reasonably be considered a crime of passion or self-defense. If Collier threatened Carver's life as dictated in the narrative, then in the time he took to get his father's pistol and search for Collier he could have gone to the police or at the very least reported the

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<sup>14</sup> Mr. and Mrs. Priestly; Tom Purdom, Interviewed by Fred Allison, June 8&11, 1998, Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX.; Mike Warden, "Preliminary hearing testimony of shooting heard in Carver murder-with-malice trial," *The University Daily*, Lubbock TX, November 1, 1972.

<sup>15</sup> Mike Warden, "Preliminary hearing testimony of shooting heard in Carver murder-with-malice trial," *The University Daily*, Lubbock TX, November 1, 1972.

incident to his school. Instead Carver made a public display of the shooting as if to make an example out of Collier. Hence, the murder was about more than a disagreement over cigarettes.

This study is not contesting that a disagreement did occur over cigarettes or even that Collier slashed Carver's arm, but rather that this was not the sole motivation for the murder as the narrative claims. The newspapers did not write much about Jeff Carver other than that he was the shooter. No effort was made to provide insight into the murderer or his beliefs. However, more than twenty years after the murder, Purdom described Jeff Carver's father as prejudiced and someone who "just did not care for blacks."<sup>16</sup> Purdom did not publicly make this connection during his 1998 interview or after the 1971 shooting, but it is not unreasonable to venture that Jeff Carver shared his father's views about African Americans. This explains how an argument over cigarettes escalated to murder, and it further links the crime to racial tensions.

Additional evidence of racial tension can be seen in the riots that erupted after the murder. In recalling the events following the shooting, Purdom remembered finding out about the murder from probation officer, John Clinton. After explaining the situation Clinton asked Purdom what he should do. The then county attorney told Clinton to arrest Carver. Even though Purdom never labeled the murder a racial killing, the implication in his recollection of events was that Clinton needed to arrest Carver for his own protection. His concern for Carver came from the fact that the African American community quickly gathered around the corner of Dunbar trying to figure out

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<sup>16</sup> Purdom interview

what happened.<sup>17</sup> Purdom's actions did not match the narrative that denies race was a factor in the shooting. The actions of the African American community that followed also did not match the post racial narrative.

After news of the murder spread throughout the community, a large group of African Americans, mostly high school age, marched down to the police station to make sure Carver had been arrested. The leader of the group was Quincy Roberts. Roberts reportedly witnessed the shooting and wanted to make sure the police arrested the right boy. In addition to viewing Carver, Roberts and the other marchers demanded to talk to Purdom, Mayor Jim Granberry, and Chief of Police J.T. Alley. Despite the city's post racial narrative, the marcher's actions indicate that they did not believe the city would charge a white person with the murder of an African American. They wanted assurances that the city charged Carver with murder with malice. The city and county representatives allowed Roberts and other representatives of the group, under guard, to view Carver in custody. They also told Roberts that the charges against Carver were murder with malice. After that point Roberts went out and told the crowd to disperse and go home.<sup>18</sup> The crowd began dispersing but not all of them made it home peacefully.

Despite the assurances given to the group at the police station, pent up racial tensions reached a peak and escalated to rioting. Even if the marchers did not say the murder was racially motivated their actions certainly implied that is what they believed.

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<sup>17</sup> Purdom interview

<sup>18</sup> Purdom interview; "Blacks debate the reasons why," *The University Daily*, September 15, 1971, "Student killed at Texas High School," *The Times News*, (Henderson, N.C.), September 10, 1971.

The police reaction to the marchers suggests that as well. There was no reason for the police force to gather in large numbers around the marchers unless they feared that the African American community believed the shooting was race related and were worried that the community would retaliate. That fear indicates the mostly white police force and city officials thought the murder was race related, even if they were not willing to publicly say so. The existing city narrative does not acknowledge this.

The collective memory instead emphasizes that African Americans rioted causing damage, but it does not spend time on the reason for the riots. As a result, the suggestion is that the African American community is to blame for the riots. However, in 1971 the African American marchers blamed police for escalating the peaceful march into a riot. This is not unlike the Mexican American community who earlier that year accused the local police of using excessive force on minorities. In a newspaper article following the riots, Quincy White, one of the spokespersons for the marchers stated that a policeman jumped one of the boys in the crowd for no apparent reason. The crowd instinctually rushed to the boy's aid. White went on to say that he attempted to maintain peace by speaking to the police officer in charge and explaining that they were peacefully marching and about to go home. White thought that they had reached an agreement but shortly thereafter, the canine unit arrived. One of the policeman in the unit let his dog's leash loose and the dog bit a marcher, at which point the peaceful protest escalated. The head of the canine unit contested White's version of the story and said things escalated because a "black" threw a 2x4 board at a police car and then walked directly into a dog. However, it is worth noting that the sergeant was not

actually at the scene and had come by his information second hand from those that were present.<sup>19</sup>

Regardless of the exact trigger, the peaceful march to verify Carver's arrest quickly turned into a violent riot. Newspaper articles described the rioters as a group of "angry, screaming blacks." The number of rioters varied from newspaper to newspaper, claiming there were anywhere from 150-300 rioters. The articles described havoc in the streets stating that rioters broke windows, threw rocks, flipped over a car, set things on fire, and injured at least one policeman. Lubbock's mayor issued a state of emergency and the city council issued a 10:30pm to sunrise curfew during an emergency meeting that took place less than two hours after the marchers went to the police station. After midnight, shots reportedly broke out against police and the state police along with Lubbock policeman in an armored vehicle carrier were called in. A peaceful march quickly escalated to a riot which resulted in a memory that describes a war zone filled with tanks and helicopters.<sup>20</sup>

The city wide curfew lasted two days but many in the African American community only remember the police enforcing the curfew on the east side of Lubbock.

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<sup>19</sup> "Blacks debate the reasons why," *The University Daily*, September 15, 1971.

<sup>20</sup> Amin; Purdom interview; Mr. and Mrs. Priestly interview; "Curfew set in Lubbock racial upset," *Chicago Tribune*, (Chicago, IL), September 10, 1971. "Dunbar shooting touches off march, disturbance: State of emergency declared," *University Daily*, September 10, 1971; "Student killed at Texas High School," *The Times News*, (Henderson, N.C.), September 10, 1971; "30 arrested in Texas riot after black slain in school shooting," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, (Milwaukee, WI), September 11, 1971.; "Council lifts curfew here," *Avalanche Journal*, September 12, 1971. It bears clarification that the tank like vehicle used in the riots was not a US military tank. Rather it was an armored carrier vehicle belonging to the Lubbock police that patrolled the streets of east Lubbock. Residents found these vehicles large and intimidating. To the African American community these large vehicles that carried armed policeman were no different from tanks and viewed as an act of aggression by the city.



As a result, the curfew caused more animosity between city officials and the African American community.<sup>21</sup> Further, reports of the policeman injured during the riot indicate that a sniper shot him in the neck and hit an artery. He survived and three African American males were promptly arrested for the crime. The *A-J* gave the incident front page coverage with a headline reading, “Policeman Shot by Sniper.” The paper gave more coverage to the shot policeman than they did to Willie Collier’s murder. The minority community’s frustration grew. Not only was Willie Collier murdered, but main media sources continued to emphasize the riots and wrong doings of the African American community.



Figure 17: Armored carrier vehicle. The vehicle above was moved throughout east Lubbock during the riot.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Amin, 28; “Dunbar shooting touches off march, disturbance: State of emergency declared.” “Council lifts curfew here,” *Avalanche-Journal*, September 12, 1971.



Figure 18: Lubbock police arresting rioters. The image depicts mostly African Americans being arrested.<sup>23</sup>

Despite claims that the shooting or riots had no racial overtones, minorities around the city reacted as though they did. For example, after the shooting Texas Tech minority organizations aired their long time grievances to Tech officials.<sup>24</sup> Incidents reported in the Texas Tech newspaper, *The University Daily*, highlighted that tensions between the African American and white community were real. One such incident entails African American students threw a rock at the car of two their journalists visiting Dunbar. Although these Tech students had nothing to do with the shooting, they were

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<sup>22</sup> The photo was printed in “Dunbar shooting touches off march, disturbance: State of emergency declared,” *University Daily*, September 10, 1971. The images highlighted in the newspaper article depict the extremity the city took in dealing with the east Lubbock riot.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid

<sup>24</sup> “Weekend causes tense weekend,”; “Preliminary hearing testimony of shooting heard in Carver murder-with malice trial.” *University Daily*, November 1, 1972; “30 arrested in Texas riot after black slain in school shooting,” *Milwaukee Sentinel*, September 11, 1971; “Dunbar students see new hope,” *Avalanche Journal*, September 22, 1971.

white, suggesting that directly after the shooting African Americans expressed open hostility towards members of the white community.<sup>25</sup>

After the riots came to an end, president of the local NAACP chapter commented to the media that the \$100,000 bond placed on each of the three men accused of shooting the policeman during the riots was excessive. He further questioned whether or not a similar bond was placed on Jeff Carver. The county attorney responded by saying bonds were not placed on juvenile cases and that until the Lubbock County Juvenile Court waived jurisdiction Carver would remain in custody.<sup>26</sup> Approximately a month later, Carver was certified by the court to stand trial as an adult.<sup>27</sup> A year later in October of 1972, a jury of six white women and six white men, between the ages of 22 through 59, were selected for the jury. The trial was held in Judge Howard Davison's 99<sup>th</sup> District court. District attorney Blair Cherry tried the case.<sup>28</sup> Witnesses for both sides testified. For the prosecution, witnesses focused on the events of the shooting, identifying Carver as the shooter. Witnesses for the defense on the other hand, attempted to testify to Carver's character, and to the claim that Carver shot Collier only after his life was threatened. According to Carver and the witnesses on his behalf Collier was the

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<sup>25</sup> "Dunbar shooting touches off march, disturbance: State of emergency declared," *University Daily*, September 10, 1971.

<sup>26</sup> "Blacks debate the reasons why," *The University Daily*, September 15, 1971.

<sup>27</sup> "Carver certified for adult trial," *The University Daily*, (Lubbock, TX), October 18, 1971.

<sup>28</sup> "Jury selection completed in Carver murder trial," *The University Daily*, October 31, 1972; "Carver's Defense Attorneys Resume Efforts for Change of Venue Thursday," *Avalanche-Journal*, July 19, 1972.

aggressor. With all the testimony, and even Carver's account of what happened that day it was absolutely clear that Carver purposely shot Collier.

Although the jury could not find Carver innocent they took into consideration his frame of mind. A year before the jury's decision city officials told marchers that they would charge Carver with murder and malice but he was ultimately convicted of murder without malice, a lesser charge. He was sentenced to five years of confinement in the Department of Corrections.<sup>29</sup> Records submitted for an appeal in 1974 reveal that during the original trial, a psychologist testified Carver was evaluated seven months prior to the alleged offense, and he displayed characteristics of a "a very scared and very frightened child' of fifteen years old who was emotionally immature and who, because of his size, was expected to act older and more mature."<sup>30</sup> The psychologist's testimony was undoubtedly integral to the defense's argument that the shooting did not occur with malice. Yet psychological examination before the trial helped determine that Carver was fit to stand trial as an adult. The court denied Carver's petition for a re-hearing. Despite his sentence Carver supposedly spent little time amongst the general population in the penitentiary. Purdom accredited this to Carver being a "real smart kid" who kept books for the place.<sup>31</sup> In forgetting the victim's names but speaking positively of Carver, the

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<sup>29</sup> *JEFF EARL CARVER v. STATE TEXAS*, May 1, 1974, located at <http://law.justia.com/cases/texas/court-of-criminal-appeals/1974/47770-3.html>

<sup>30</sup> *JEFF EARL CARVER v. STATE TEXAS*, May 1, 1974, located at [http://tx.findacase.com/research/wfrmDocViewer.aspx/xq/fac.19740501\\_0040715.TX.htm/qx](http://tx.findacase.com/research/wfrmDocViewer.aspx/xq/fac.19740501_0040715.TX.htm/qx); it is not clear from the documents why Carver was evaluated by a psychologist in the first place.

<sup>31</sup> "Carver certified for adult trial," *The University Daily*, (Lubbock, TX), October 18, 1971; "Judge refused Habeas Corpus for Carver," *Avalanche-Journal*, (Lubbock, TX), July 16, 1974; Tom Purdom, Interviewed by Fred Allison, June 8&11, 1998, Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX Jeff Carver's obituary indicates that after prison he lived out his

former county attorney's comments reveal his personal racial biases in the Collier murder,

Tragically, Collier's role in the city's collective memory is best summed up by the former county attorney who represents the city officials that shaped Lubbock's memory. Years after the murder he recalled the riots, and the name of the murderer but not the victim. As he said, the victim was rather "insignificant" in the whole scheme of things. The Dunbar shooting as it is referred to by Lubbockites, and the riots that followed epitomize how Lubbock's collective memory of race relations does not match the city's historical reality. The actions that followed the murder do not support the city's denial that the murder was non-racial. However, the city's narrative was so persistent that the murder and riots have almost disappeared from the collective memory entirely. The murder of Willie Collier did not fit Lubbock's larger narrative so the city left it out. Those who do recall or know of the events consider them a scary incident in the city's history, where a police officer was shot by "blacks" and the "real smart kid" Carver went to jail, overlooking the "black" student murdered. As a result, the city's practice of racial inequality is alleviated of any blame in the memory. Examples such as Lubbock, demonstrate how collective memory in general makes it possible for a city to continue racial discrimination post *Brown* and Civil Rights legislation. Racial inequality in Lubbock continued as the city's dominant narrative touted it was a post racial society, with support from city officials and the main local newspaper.

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life in Allen, TX working as an auto mechanic, and became a medical systems business analyst and computer programmer with a wife and children. "Jeff Earl Carver Obituary," *Avalanche- Journal*, May 31, 2015.

## **Fighting the Mainstream**

Prior to 1970, the minority community had few venues to express their concerns about the city's social injustices, silencing their contestation of the city's narrative. As seen earlier in the chapter, local branches of national organizations such as the NAACP and LULAC existed but they were seldom listened to by city officials. Even the small newspapers geared towards each minority community were restricted in what they wrote because they depended on sponsors to keep printing the paper. As a result of the overwhelming imbalance in power prior to 1970, these venues for social reform primarily highlighted the poor conditions of their neighborhoods suggesting racial inequality but they did not outright cry racial injustice. The DOJ's arrival provided minorities with an opportunity to change that. Mexican Americans and African Americans were motivated to challenge the city's narrative and one of the main sources that promoted it, the *AJ* because of the affliction of racial violence that they suffered.

The African American community began challenging the city's narrative shortly after the riots that followed Collier's murder. The local NAACP chapter organized a rally where the NAACP's state president, Gillepsie Wilson, condemned Lubbock's mishandling of the march turned riot that followed Collier's murder. "Lubbock's a racist city" he told to the 200 people that reportedly attended. Confirming the beliefs of Lubbock's African American community, Gillepsie articulated the community's disdain for the *AJ*'s depiction of the minority group as violent and destructive. He highlighted

the *AJ*'s role in helping the city avoid Lubbock's social problems while focusing on negative depictions of the African American community instead.<sup>32</sup>

As the newspaper itself proudly touts, the *AJ* has served as an influential source in the city. Publishers of the paper believed it was their duty to help guide the city thus making their social preferences well known.<sup>33</sup> Consequently, the paper assisted in the development of the city's narrative and its position on race relations. The *AJ* began as a weekly paper simply known as the *Avalanche*.<sup>34</sup> The paper went through several owners who were influential in the community.<sup>35</sup> For instance the area viewed James L. Dow of the paper's morning edition, as one of the area's first boosters because he promoted agriculture in the area and the idea that Lubbock could serve as an industrial and distribution regional hub. Dow also engaged in the effort to bring the Santa Fe Railroad to Lubbock. In similar fashion the publisher from 1926-72, Charles A. Guy was described by the *AJ* as a man who "used the editorial pages, his clout, influence and

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<sup>32</sup> "Lubbock's a racist city says NAACP officials," *West Texas Times*, September 30, 1971; Amin 29.

<sup>33</sup> Doug Hensley, "AJ's civic commitment passes test of time: Publishers have made sure newspaper maintained highly visible role," *Avalanche-Journal*, January 20, 2000.

<sup>34</sup> "Lubbock Avalanche," *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, located at the Library of Congress website, September 18, 2014, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/essays/564/>; Diana J. Kleiner, "Lubbock Avalanche-Journal," *Handbook of Texas Online*, September 18, 2014, <http://www.tshaonline.org/online/articles/eel08>.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* Attorney John J. Dillard and speculator Thad Tubbs first owned and published the paper. James L. Dow purchased it in 1908. During that time Dow expanded the circulation to semi-weekly, and eventually to a daily. Between 1920 and 1940 the paper had a morning, evening, and Sunday edition, due in part to its consolidation with the *Lubbock Plains Journal*. It was not till 1959 that the Lubbock *Morning Avalanche* and Lubbock *Evening Journal* combined and simply became the Lubbock *Avalanche-Journal*.

good judgment to promote a myriad of worthy causes.”<sup>36</sup> However, the articles released under the watch of each of these men relegated minorities to positions of domestic labor or a problem that had to be dealt with. As evidenced in a 1911 article discussing the benefits of the Price-Campbell cotton picker, the *AJ* explains that the machinery will make farming better organized, profitable, and efficient. The article even argued of social benefits stating, the new machinery “will make available for domestic service the negro woman,” putting an end to white southern ladies acting as their own servants.<sup>37</sup>

Under its various owners the paper publically expressed racial prejudice influencing the beliefs of the community it served. One 1911 article in particular argued that the “slave negro” was better off than the “free negro” because as slaves their lives were of more value.<sup>38</sup> Additionally, the paper perpetuated derogatory terms and images. A 1909 article condemning enfranchising the “negro” stated, “it has been one of the deepest disgraces that ever rested over this nation, the extension of the right to vote, to a kinky headed coon, that the Lord made for no other purpose save to be a servant of mankind.”<sup>39</sup> In later years, as the city supposedly became more inclusive of its minority populations the paper continued to demonstrate the existence of racial prejudice in the city. A few examples include the paper advertising the Lions Club minstrel show, and

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<sup>36</sup> Doug Hensley, “AJ’s civic commitment passes test of time: Publishers have made sure newspaper maintained highly visible role,” *Avalanche Journal*, January 20, 2000.

<sup>37</sup> “Price-Campbell Cotton Picker, *The Lubbock Avalanche*, October 19, 1911, located at The Portal to Texas history, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metaph287853/>.

<sup>38</sup> “The Texas Negro,” *The Lubbock Avalanche*, July 20, 1911, located at The Portal to Texas History, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/667531/>

<sup>39</sup> “To Disfranchise Negro,” *The Lubbock Avalanche*, November 18, 1909, located at The Portal to Texas history, <http://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/>



articles that belittled the actions of the cross plaintiffs in the *US v TEA, et al, Lubbock* case.<sup>40</sup>

Throughout its history the *AJ* not only depicted minorities as inferior and in a negative way, but the paper's owner's also made an attempt to silence the minority community. Attempting to paint their community's youth in a positive light, the former members of Texas Tech's African American Eta Delta Omega chapter of the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority recall trying to get the *AJ* to run pictures of their debutants. Charles Guy refused stating that "as long as he lived and ran that paper blacks would never grace the society pages."<sup>41</sup> As the paper itself claims, it did influence the city of Lubbock, but it was not always for the better. The conservative southern slant that dominated the paper for decades negatively impacted the minority community. As a result, the newspaper played a significant role in creating the dominant narrative which claimed Lubbock did not have a race problem. Not only did it perpetuate that falsehood, but it targeted anyone who challenged that notion labeling them as a problem. Through this process the paper helped subjugate the minority community. In its early years it institutionalized negative depictions about the minority community and made segregation justifiable in the minds of Lubbock's white citizens. Post 1970, the paper helped maintain the racial status quo by ignoring the racial injustice that existed in the city.

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<sup>40</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> Annual Jubilee Minstrels," *Lubbock Morning Avalanche*, Lubbock TX, November 10, 1953.

<sup>41</sup> Eta Delta Omega Chapter of the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, interviewed by Robert Weaver, February 27<sup>th</sup>, 2002. Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX.

Without a voice in the city's main newspaper, the minority community began printing their own newspapers. In addition to requiring a venue where they could discuss their social concerns, the Hispanic community needed a newspaper that its entire community could read, not just the English speaking residents. Correspondingly, many of the early Hispanic papers were bilingual or entirely Spanish. Many of these early newspapers no longer operate. Editions of them are hard to find and most of them are not on microfilm but bound together as a book and stored in special collections. Articles printed in newspapers post 1970 are a little easier to come by but are still limited as the minority papers were not daily prints. The newspapers that oversaw the DOJ's influence include the Hispanic paper *El Editor*, and the African American community papers the *West Texas Times*, and the *Southwest Digest*.

Minority papers printed local news, but emphasized topics that were relevant to their community. *El Editor*, printed bilingually so that everyone in the community could have access to it. In any given issue, almost half the stories were in Spanish. The paper covered everything from the Texas Tech Rodeo to former CIA director, William Colby's 1978 comments in *Playboy* magazine about "Mexicans." The article about Colby's comments emphasized that "Mexicans" were seen as a threat, arguing that government policy of the 1970s had shifted from targeting leftist and African American organizations to targeting the "Chicano" community. The paper attempted to bring light to issues that the editor and writers believed impacted the Mexican American community. This included, ads for Mexican Americans running for local office such as

the paper's editor Bidal Aguero when he ran for county commissioner.<sup>42</sup> In their struggle to give the Mexican American community a voice the paper never shied away from pointing out their misgivings about city decisions such as when LISD applied for unitary status. On occasion, the paper also served as a venue for school board member Linda DeLeon to speak out against what she viewed as inequality in the school system. It is important to note that many of the newspaper articles that challenged inequality in the minority neighborhoods and schools came after 1970. The DOJ's presence provided a haven for the newspapers to speak more openly about their concerns in the city. Yet they still exercised caution as evidenced by Willie Collier's murder and the reluctance to label it racial.

Although, the paper itself did not call Collier's murder racial or directly link the riots and actions of the police to racial inequality they highlighted the words of someone who did. This is conspicuous in the *Southwest Digest's* coverage of Gillepsie's speech. As an outsider the NAACP state president quickly pointed out that Lubbock, and west Texas as a whole continued to operate under a system where there were different rules for "Blacks," "Browns," "poor whites," and "the affluent." Lubbock in particular he stated operated on, "old democracy, no pressure, no push" system where the city lacked minorities in high ranking jobs, and only "tokens" existed in lower "menial" positions.

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<sup>42</sup> *El Editor*, Oct19-25, 1978; Bidal Aguero, interviewed by Daniel Sanchez, November 24, 1998, located at Texas Tech University Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library, Lubbock, Tx; It is worth noting that by reputation Bidal Aguero was considered to be a radical, and outspoken member of the Mexican American community. Documents in the "Bidal Aguero" collection at the Southwest Collection at Texas Tech included copies of the US v LISD case, and the single member district lawsuit. Aguero was part of the lawsuit brought against LISD to switch to single member districts. He also played a role in Lubbock's Hispanic Chamber of Commerce. Additionally, the filed contained documents indicating that Bidal Aguero had requested that the FBI turn over copies of any of the information they had gathered on him. No FBI file was in the collection itself.

He urged the community to be more active in the wake of the latest events, pointing out that even Mississippi had a “black” running for governor when Lubbock’s “blacks” were not running for anything.<sup>43</sup> Gillepsie’s speech reinforces the argument that the city had no reason to address race relations as long as they could tout that the 1970 tornado finished desegregating the city, and without adequate representation the minority community could not directly challenge the city’s narrative.

### **Single Member District Lawsuit**

The social protest that followed acts of racial violence brought attention to racial inequality in the city. But no minorities served as city officials so the city responded to protest with fear and force as seen after the Dunbar murder. Further, without representatives pushing to fix the institutional problems that led to such protests the city only made minimal changes to appease the minority community. After the riots, the African American community demanded that the city address a long list of their concerns such as segregated visitation at the county jail, lack of employment by the fire department, the narrow road on Quirt Avenue, and no park east of Greenfair Manor.<sup>44</sup> However, they first required more equitable political representation in order to see progress on the issues that mattered to them. Gillepsie was correct in stating that involvement in local politics was essential if the minority community wanted to improve

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<sup>43</sup> “Lubbock’s a racist city says NAACP officials,” *West Texas Times*, September 30, 1971.

<sup>44</sup> Amin, 29.

their conditions in Lubbock. Lubbock's African American activists furthered this point by arguing that the riots would not have gotten so out of hand if minorities had adequate representation on the city council. They believed the all racially white city council overreacted to the marchers, escalating the situation. Racial violence awakened the community but the DOJ's case against LISD provided the minority community with an opportunity to challenge the system legally. With the presence of the DOJ, they could do more than socially protest, they could feasibly win a lawsuit against the city's at-large election system.

In May of 1976 the *AJ* quoted then Mayor James Granberry reiterating the tale that the tornado unified Lubbock. The former mayor even said the tornado was a "blessing in disguise," a phrase that quickly made it into the city's collective memory. Realistically the tornado did not end segregation as the narrative claimed. Rather it benefited those hoping to distract the minority community from the need to run for political office. Before 1970, minorities in political office were nearly non-existent. Running for office was not really an option. Although there was one Hispanic on the school board, some in the community described him as hesitant to challenge the status quo and, thus, acceptable to the remainder of the white board members.<sup>45</sup> Minorities running for office needed the support of the Anglo community if they wanted a chance at winning the election. This translated to a candidate willing to cater to the white population and not to the minority community. Even then, some believed that only a very conservative and well to do Hispanics stood a chance of winning office, especially

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<sup>45</sup> DeLeon interview, 2006

since African Americans in the community believed voting precincts were not always available to them.<sup>46</sup> Both Mexican Americans and African Americans had little luck in running for political office during this period.

Despite claims of desegregation, the lack of minorities in political office served as a holdover from the legal segregationist policies that existed prior to the 1960s. Direct racial segregation characterized this period. Several of the restaurants had signs indicating that Mexicans were not allowed, and African American residences were relegated to only one section of the city. Movie theaters separated Mexicans from Anglos by requiring them to sit up in the balcony area. Mackenzie Park was divided even though all Lubbock tax payers funded it.<sup>47</sup> African Americans used facilities located in east Lubbock, where “everybody thought” they “were satisfied in” their “own little world.”<sup>48</sup> Hispanic men who were citizens feared law enforcement would detain and deport them so they carried around proof of citizenship. Future school board and city council member, Linda De Leon’s father was one of those unfortunate men. During the 1950s while shopping on Broadway with his family, police arrested DeLeon’s father for not providing proof that he was legally in the US on the spot. DeLeon’s mother had to return home with her young children to retrieve her husband’s green card and take it to the police station before the police released him.

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<sup>46</sup> Bidal Agüero; Oscar Mathew Iles, interviewed by Robert Foster, March 24, 1969. Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX.

<sup>47</sup> Lisa Paikowski, “Local Minorities Find Last Barriers Toughest,” *Avalanche-Journal*, September 4, 1983.

<sup>48</sup> Mary Jo Wilson, interview by Daniel Sanchez, August 19, 1999. Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX.

Several of the city's facilities remained formally segregated in Lubbock till the late 1960s.<sup>49</sup> The elimination of the poll tax in the 1960s made it possible for more minorities to participate in elections, but most still did not dare question the existing political system.<sup>50</sup> Minorities found it easier to abide by existing social customs than to confront trouble. African Americans, for example, avoided Texas Tech prior to the 1960s. They described white students there as "hateful," chasing and screaming at African Americans, and even allegedly breaking the arm of a young lady.<sup>51</sup> However, these incidents were left out of the city's narrative incidents as indicated by a white former Lubbock policeman who said, "that never come to our attention if it did" happen.<sup>52</sup>

Prior to the arrival of the DOJ, Lubbock's minority communities had great difficulty challenging the city's dominant narrative on their own. Some civil rights activity did occur before 1970 as discussed in chapter 2, but openly public resistance was limited in scope and participants. This is particularly evident in the Mexican American community where many of the social protests before 1970 were organized by people such as Sister Regina Foppe, who worked out of St. Joseph's church. As observed during the events of the tornado and the aftermath, Foppe worked closely with the

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<sup>49</sup> Amin, 24-35.

<sup>50</sup> Lisa Paikowski, "Local Minorities Find Last Barriers Toughest;" R. Volney Riser, *Defying Disfranchisement: Black Voting Rights Activism in the Jim Crow South, 1890-1908*, (LSU Press, 2013).

<sup>51</sup> Ada Graves, interview by Robert Foster, April 8, 1969. Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Tx.

<sup>52</sup> Eubank interview.

Mexican American population in Lubbock. Foppe vocalized that the city needed to improve conditions in the Hispanic neighborhoods, and treat its residents better. At a time when many minorities in the city were still too intimidated to challenge the existing power structure Foppe, an Anglo affiliated with the church, did not shy away from issues of racial inequality that the city tried to sweep over. And due to her popularity with the community, she could gather large numbers of Hispanic residents to participate in her events. One of the marches she led had approximately one thousand participants. They walked from St. Joseph's church to city hall. Once there she addressed the mayor directly in front of the crowd.<sup>53</sup> Under the direction of Foppe, Hispanics in Lubbock had a voice, but if they ever hoped to speak for themselves they needed to hold political office and so did the African American community.

The lawsuit against LISD, and the city's mishandling of the riots provided local attorney Gene Gaines with a solid basis for asking the court to dismantle the city's at-large election system which deterred minorities from running for office in the first place. In April of 1976, Gene Gaines who years earlier sued to desegregate the local cemetery, filed a lawsuit against the city's at-large election system. Gaines argued that the system violated the fifteenth amendment and voting rights act of 1965 by watering down the votes of African Americans.<sup>54</sup> Under the at-large system minorities and African Americans especially did not have a chance of winning local office due to their smaller population. Gaines argued that the majority of Lubbock's residents were white, and if

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<sup>53</sup> DeLeon interview, 2008.

<sup>54</sup> Amin, 24-35.



the city used the majority vote to determine all city council positions, then the election results would always favor a white resident. Unfortunately, Gaines' efforts faced objections from within his own community. Some simply did not like Gaines personally while others thought the suit was fruitless. However, the local attorney carried on and slowly won over naysayers. By the time the case went to court in 1977, the Mexican American community joined the suit, making it a case of Lubbock's minority against the city's at-large system.<sup>55</sup>

Not long after the case went to trial, Gene Gaines removed himself from the suit, as plaintiff and attorney. The reasons for this are unclear. All that is recorded in previous histories is that other attorneys had an interest in the case and took over.<sup>56</sup> The *A. Gene Gaines, et al. v. The city of Lubbock, and the mayor and city council of Lubbock, et al.* became *Rev. Roy Jones et al v. The city of Lubbock*. In 1977, the case went to trial and the plaintiffs argued that the at-large system utilized violated the rights of minorities in the city. The plaintiffs argued that the existence of the at-large system led to consequential miscommunications as seen by the police's overreaction to marchers following Collier's murder. Additionally, the plaintiffs highlighted how political underrepresentation led to displacement during urban renewal, or what future city councilman T.J. Patterson called "Nigger Removal." The redevelopment of areas in east Lubbock consisted of tearing down existing housing before building new apartment

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<sup>55</sup> "City Minorities to get status report on suit," *Avalanche-Journal*, April 23, 1981; Amin, 30.

<sup>56</sup> Amin, 24-35. Gene Gaines eventually moved away from Lubbock and out of state. Employees at Texas Tech's Southwest Special Collections Library believe that he is now deceased making it impossible to interview him about the reasons he withdrew from the suit.

complexes. The process left many without a place to go in Lubbock and so they relocated out of city. Other grievances included areas of the neighborhood that the city never maintained such as parks with no grass, an unsafe overpass between 26<sup>th</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> which was considered half as narrow as it should be, unable to get fire insurance because there was no fire department in the area, enforcing the curfew during the riots only in east Lubbock, and so on.<sup>57</sup> Much of the preliminary information gathered to convey that underrepresentation in an at-large system negatively affected minorities, highlighted inequities in east Lubbock. However, as a whole, the minority community argued that they could better address the grievances in their community if a single member district system existed because they could elect a representative from their own community.

Despite the information gathered by the community, in the summer of 1979 U.S. District Judge Halbert O. Woodward ruled against the plaintiffs. While the plaintiffs regrouped to appeal Woodward's decision, the case motivated minorities to run for political office. Eliseo Solis moved to the South Plains only a couple years prior, but in the early 1980s he ran for the position of city commissioner. Solis claimed he technically received the most votes but he did not receive fifty-one percent of the votes automatically triggering a runoff election. In the runoff, Solis lost to his Anglo opponent by 140 votes. Solis and his supporters decided to study the voter turnout and came to the conclusion that illegal voting took place. Solis challenged the election results in court and the judge ruled to throw out 82 of the votes, changing Solis' loss from one 140 votes

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<sup>57</sup> Copies of legal documents, testimonies, and information gathered for the single member district suit, Box 4, Nancy and Arthur Lance papers collection, Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX.

to less than 60 votes.<sup>58</sup> Solis lost the election that year but the process reaffirmed minority's beliefs that the larger Lubbock community conspired to actively keep them from holding office. Additionally, it demonstrated to the court that minorities were at a disadvantage under the at-large election system.

The plaintiffs appealed the judge's ruling in the single member district case to the New Orleans court. In 1981 the fifth circuit court of appeals sent the case back to Woodward for reconsideration in light of a supreme court ruling which "held that discriminatory intent must be proven before an election system violates the equal protection clause of the 14 amendment of the U.S. Constitution."<sup>59</sup> When the case reappeared before Judge Woodward for a second time, members of each community in Lubbock made a reappearance to testify against the discrimination they saw in the election system. They explained the differences between their communities and the Anglo community. They felt their communities had poorer facilities. They argued that the LISD lawsuit proved racial discrimination in the schools. And those attempting to enter political office such as Tomas Garza stated that private clubs excluded minorities from meetings meant to foster successful candidacies for public office.<sup>60</sup>

Just as minorities testified, so did members of the Anglo community. As expected, many in Lubbock's white community did not see a need for the suit, including

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<sup>58</sup> Eliseo Solis, interview by author, Lubbock, TX, May20, 2008.

<sup>59</sup> "City Minorities to Get Status Report on Suit," *Lubbock Avalanche-Journal*, April 23, 1981.

<sup>60</sup> "Single Member District case updated by Eddie Richardson and T.J. Patterson," *Southwest Digest*, January 20, 1983. Box 4, Nancy and Arthur Lance papers collection, Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Tx.

Charles A. Guy, retired editor of the *AJ*. The *Southwest Digest* reported that Guy testified “blacks” were never barred from running for political office despite his acknowledgement that the KKK had a presence in Lubbock during the 1920s.<sup>61</sup> Guy, who once edited the city’s main newspaper, served as a representative of the majority population, and his ideas about race summed up Lubbock’s narrative which denied race problems. Even though segregation had legally come to an end by the time of the single member district case, the majority in Lubbock had not adjusted their actions to reflect so. T.J. Patterson summed this up in his description of the relationship between minorities and the city council that he provided to the plaintiffs gathering evidence. He said that minorities had difficulty communicating with an all-white city council because the inequities within their communities were linked to racial discrimination and many of them feared pointing that out. Taking into account how the city’s persistent narrative ignored discriminatory practices, it is likely that the city council members who endorsed the narrative also ignored discriminatory practice. Therefore, it was futile to approach the city council about change. Patterson inadvertently described the negative impact of Lubbock’s collective memory when he said African Americans in his community had a history of not trying to change things because they had been conditioned to believe nothing would change.<sup>62</sup>

Prior to 1970, Lubbock’s narrative worked to condition minorities to not try for change because the white city council would reflexively shoot down their requests. That

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<sup>61</sup> “KKK’s were here in the 1920’s,” *Southwest Digest*, January 13, 1983.

<sup>62</sup> Copies of legal documents, testimonies, and information gathered for the single member district suit, Box 4, Nancy and Arthur Lance papers collection. Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Tx.

conditioning stuck with the minority community, and not until the arrival of the DOJ did more minorities believe they could successfully challenge the existing system. Even when their first attempt at eliminating the at-large system failed they continued to push, partially because of their experience participating in the LISD lawsuit, and because the racial violence they endured made the inequities in their daily lives crystal clear. Their efforts eventually led to a victory in 1983. Woodward ordered the single member district election system to take effect April, 1984. Six geographical districts made up the electorate from that point on.<sup>63</sup>

The suit was influential not only to surrounding areas, but also to and even possible out- of-state contexts. For instance, in Pecos, Texas, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) filed suit against the school district due to their at-large election system, stating that “their very structure discourages the Mexican-American vote and therefore makes the election of Hispanics unlikely and ultimately results in unequal representation of Mexican-Americans.” After watching Judge Woodward rule that the at-large system in Lubbock discriminated against African Americans and Mexican Americans in city elections, noting that no single African American had yet been elected to the council, MALDEF hoped they could force Pecos’ school board to convert to single member district elections. Additionally the NAACP watched the suit in Lubbock, and other similar ones in Texas to decide if they should file similar lawsuits in New Mexico.<sup>64</sup> Many of the voting rights related cases which were

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<sup>63</sup> “Judge Rules Six Member Council,” *Southwest Digest*, March 10<sup>th</sup>, 1983.

<sup>64</sup> Bob Tieuel, “Ringing the Bell,” *Southwest Digest*, May 5,

linked to at-large election systems occurred during the 1980's, particularly in the plains area. This occurred after the DOJ filed suits against schools districts, demonstrating a correlation between the two.<sup>65</sup>

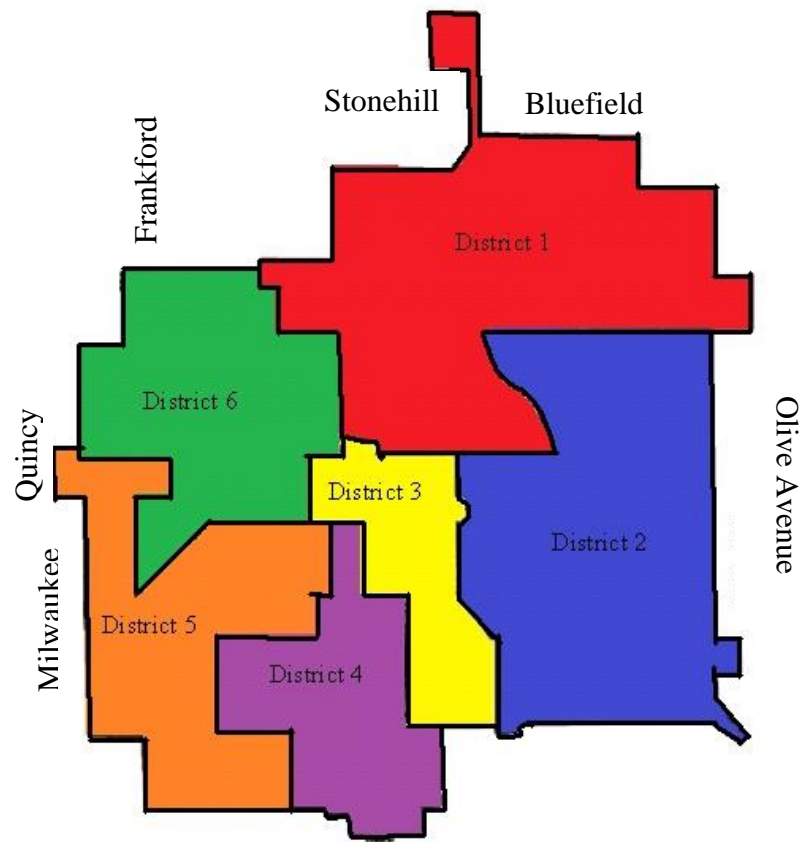


Figure 19: Original six single member districts. The map above outlines the original configuration of the six single member districts after Woodward's ruling. District one and two represent the sections of the city with large minority populations. It can be compared to the district map from 2007 on page 267.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Thomas Johnson, interviewed by Fred Allison, October 30, 1998. Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX; Halbert Woodward

<sup>66</sup> "Judge rules six member council," *Southwest Digest*, March 10-16, 1983. The district map originally published in the newspaper was color coded and outlined by the author to make the districts distinguishable.

Lubbock's city council did not accept the decision and submitted an appeal in March 1984. They petitioned the United States Court of Appeals, fifth circuit, arguing that did not violate the 15<sup>th</sup> amendment, and questioned the constitutionality of congress' action in upholding section two of the voting rights which the city was accused of violating. Further, the city appealed on the grounds that the district court's ruling in 1983 created disproportionate minority representation by inflating their voting strength.<sup>67</sup> In other words the city thought it was unfair that African Americans and Mexican Americans could be elected even though they were the minority population in the city. Even before the city officialy filed its appeal, the entire minority community expressed its displeasure with the city council about its decision. The decision affected both minority groups, but the African American community was smaller in comparison to the Hispanic community and it was unlikely they would ever see a city representative in an at-large election. The African American community expressed outrage in their newspaper, making general comments about how the appeal was a waste of taxpayer money to more specific statements such as "let them know we're going to bury them", and "now we know!"<sup>68</sup> Now they knew indeed. The actions of the city council verified that inferior conditions in the minority communities stemmed from racial prejudices regardless of the claims made by the city's narrative.

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<sup>67</sup> "Rev. Roy Jones, et al., v. The City of Lubbock, et al." 727 F.2d 364 (5thCir. 1984), located at *Open Jurist*, accessed July 12, 2015, <http://openjurist.org/727/f2d/364>

<sup>68</sup> "Black Citizens Very Upset," *Southwest Digest*, April 7, 1983.

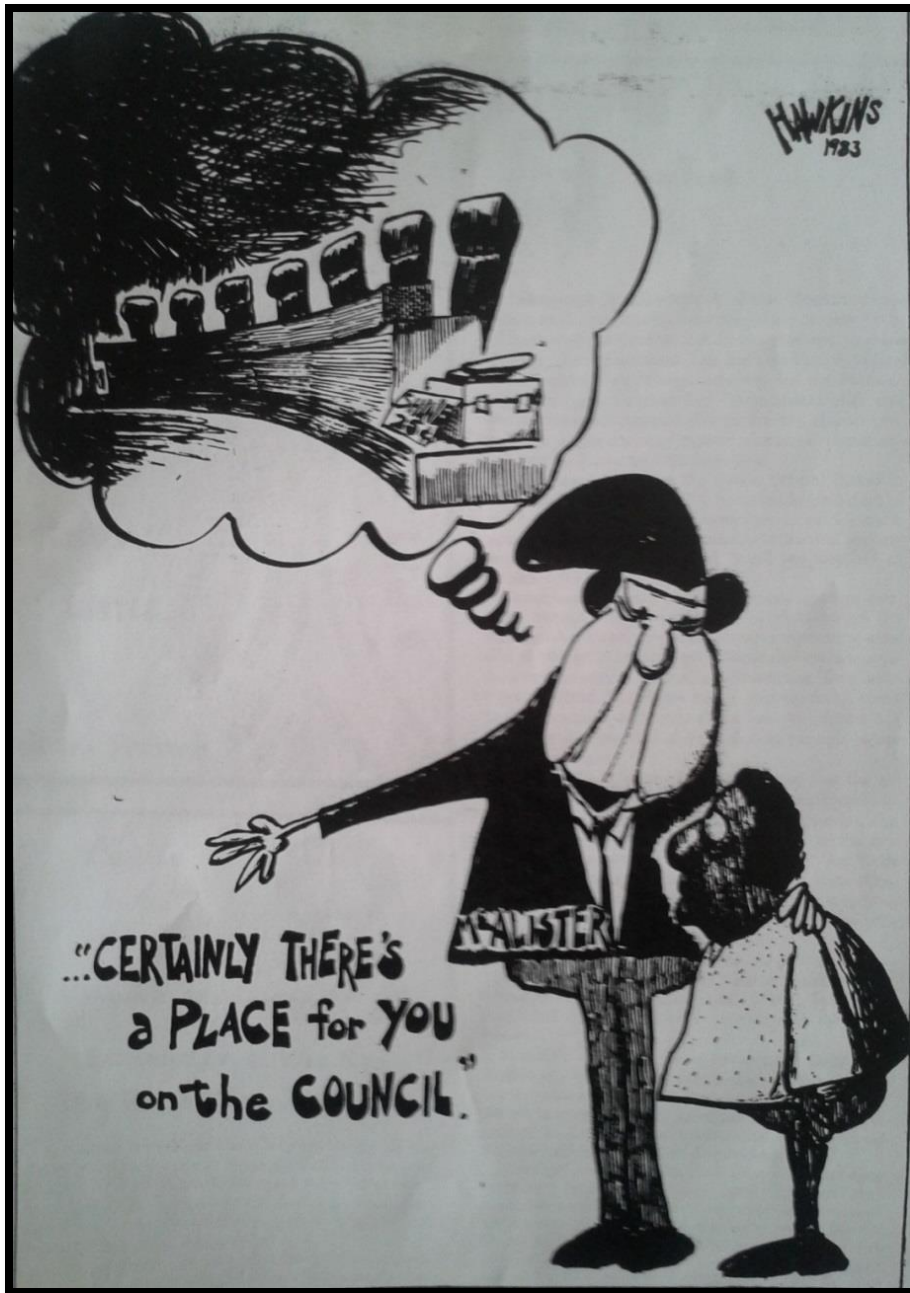


Figure 20: Cartoon depicting limited opportunities for African Americans. The above cartoon was first printed in *The University Daily*, April 25, 1983. Shortly thereafter the *Southwest Digest* reprinted it and directed a question to the city mayor, asking if the image correctly depicted how things operated in the city.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> University cartoon, *Southwest Digest*, April 28, 1983.



The fifth circuit court denied the city a rehearing in April of 1984, and the first single member district elections in Lubbock took place that very month, as scheduled. Candidate requirements for each of the six geographical districts included residence in the district when filing for office, and during their time in office if elected.<sup>70</sup> The election reportedly spurred a record number of candidates. The election promised to have as many as two minority council people with district one encompassing north-east / north-central Lubbock, and district two, east central / southeast having mixed Hispanic and African American populations. In 1980, the Hispanic population was larger than the African American population, 32,791 to 14,204, respectively.<sup>71</sup> In 1984, under the new single member district elections two minority members were elected to city council, Maggie Trejo representing the Hispanic community, and T.J. Patterson representing the African American community. The minority community built upon this victory and tried to expand it to other offices.

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<sup>70</sup> “Judge Rules Six Member Council,” *Southwest Digest*, March 10<sup>th</sup>, 1983.

<sup>71</sup> “Lubbock’s First Single Member District Election,” *The University Daily*, April 6, 1984.



Figure 21: 1984 Lubbock City Council Members. City council members are listed as follows: Maggie Trejo (far left), T.J. Patterson (4<sup>th</sup> from the left).<sup>72</sup>

### **Filling the Role**

With the at-large election system dissolved, minorities worked to assert themselves in other areas of the city. For instance, Bidal Agüero launched a lawsuit against LISD to implement a single member district election system in selecting school board trustees. Agüero and others had attempted to do so a few years earlier but decided to wait till the case against the city was resolved. After the minority communities won in the city case, Agüero filed a lawsuit against LISD's at-large election system. LISD

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<sup>72</sup> 1984 Lubbock City Council Members. Photo provided courtesy of Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX.

briefly considered going to court because in their history they had two minority school board members. The members included Joan Ervin, an African American elected for the first of two times in 1970, and Jose Ramirez, a Hispanic who served twelve years after first being elected in 1974. Even with these two representatives in LISD's history, minorities did not feel they had adequate representation and pushed forward. Ultimately, LISD settled the case out of court and agreed to a 5-2 configuration for single member districts. The new arrangement meant filling five positions with single member district elections and two positions with at-large elections.<sup>73</sup>

With the new election system in place the minority community elected Hispanic Linda DeLeon and African American Billie Caviel to the school board in 1986. Additionally, Eliseo Solis finally won the County Commissioner position in 1985 and served through 1992. During his time in office, Solis said he conducted a search for minority elected officials within the city and approximately a three hundred mile radius. In his search he found only five minorities in elected positions, which included the two members on the school board, the two on the city council and himself.<sup>74</sup> The positions they held represented a triumph for the minority community but they needed to hold more positions, and they needed to make change in the positions they did hold.

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<sup>73</sup> "A change for the better," *AJ*, located at <http://www.lubbockcentennial.com/AJremembers/070608>; Bidal Aguero; During an article over Rose Wilson she mentions her father in law Rev. A.W. Wilson who is listed on the lawsuit against the city. She said he was the first African American to run for city council before the single member district elections but that the city was not ready for an African American, hence the lawsuit.; "Wilson says being active in community important," *AJ*, May 16, 1999. Additionally, the minorities who won positions prior to the at large election lawsuit won through a plurality election system so they did not need a majority to win.

<sup>74</sup> "A change for the better;" Linda De Leon; "A Mexican American perspective of Lubbock's history," *Latino Lubbock* Monthly Magazine, Vol 1, Issue 11, November 2007.

However, the newly elected minorities had little to no experience with the agenda and laws associated with their positions, and they believed white elected officials tried to use this to their advantage.<sup>75</sup>

Newly elected minorities believed that their white colleagues resented them for being elected in a single member district system. That resentment manifested in the unwillingness of colleagues to assist and inform minority elected officials about the rules and regulations pertaining to their position. De Leon described her early years on the school board as constantly being bullied, especially in times where she disagreed with the majority. Part of the mistreatment she withstood stemmed from her involvement in the *US v TEA* case.<sup>76</sup> De Leon, however, was not alone in the hostility that she faced whenever she spoke out against the existing system. County Commissioner Eliseo Solis recalled the *AJ* attacking him due to his efforts to raise awareness about the lack of positions held by minorities. Both De Leon and Solis read regular editorials condemning them for making waves. The same newspaper that proudly claimed desegregation occurred in May of 1970, the *AJ*, printed those editorials. For example, an *AJ* article printed in May 2000 reported that the school board did not elect Linda DeLeon as President or Vice President and editorialized that she lost because in past years she did not act like a “team player.” The article went on to say that because of her past actions, she should have expected that her peers would not place her in “a position of

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<sup>75</sup> T.J. Patterson, interviewed by Daniel Sanchez, June 16, 1999. Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, TX.; Linda DeLeon 2006 and 2008.

<sup>76</sup> DeLeon interview, 2008.

status.”<sup>77</sup> The paper never broke away from the city’s dominant narrative, not considering that De Leon’s race played a role in the board not selecting her for “a position of status.”

Like De Leon, Solis’s past actions played a role in how the city’s main newspaper portrayed him. Prior to holding the county commissioner seat, Solis threatened to sue the city after applying for a job he did not get, but believed he was more than qualified for with a Master’s degree.<sup>78</sup> African American office holders also faced similar problems in their newly elected positions. T.J. Patterson recalled white city council members offering to brief him on topics when they were actually trying to take advantage of his limited knowledge on the topic and sway his vote.<sup>79</sup> Winning an election only served as part of the struggle. While in office minorities also had to figure out how to successfully commence institutional change. The struggle itself is indicative of how the city overly credited the tornado with unifying the city. It stands to reason that if the city had achieved true desegregation through the tornado then the lawsuits during the 1970s and 1980’s would not have been necessary, a detail that Lubbock’s persistent collective memory has ignored.

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<sup>77</sup> “De Leon: No Surprise,” *Avalanche-Journal*, May, 2000.

<sup>78</sup> DeLeon interview, 2008; Solis interview.

<sup>79</sup> T.J. Patterson, interviewed by Daniel Sanchez, June 16, 1999. Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library at Texas Tech University, Lubbock, Tx.

## Local Activity

The odds of electing a minority to a local office had increased due to litigation, but long term change required the entire community to build on that momentum and get involved. Up to the mid-1980s, the activity in the minority communities came from the same people who filed the various lawsuits in Lubbock such as Gene Gaines, Linda DeLeon, Rose Wilson, Bidal Aguero, T.J. Patterson, Eliseo Solis and so on. They are the ones who took on the responsibility of steering their communities. For instance, in January of 1977, Gene Gaines attempted to increase the NAACP membership in Lubbock by installing a new slate of officers. Gene Gaines himself held the position of President, Floyd Perry Vice President, and Harold Chatman the second Vice President.<sup>80</sup> The organization itself showed an interest in the *US v TEA* case even if they were not listed as an official plaintiff, and members such as Gene Gaines had been a professional and civil rights leader in their community for years.

The minority community needed more than just a few leaders if they ever hoped of moving forward, and during the 1980's, amidst the litigation to desegregate LISD, organizations and civil rights efforts became more active. The Lubbock LULAC chapter, council 263, has to date existed over fifty years. The chapter was initially confined to only men but as witnessed in the LISD suit, there were several females in the Hispanic community that took the lead on civil rights issues. As the chapter exited the 1980's, women played a larger role in the organization, including the role of chapter

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<sup>80</sup> "NAACP Officer installed here" January 12, 1977

president. As litigation in Lubbock died down, the organization turned its attention to raising scholarship money for students in their community. They hoped that their efforts would increase Hispanic professionals, benefitting their community as a whole.<sup>81</sup>

Lubbock's Mexican American community also saw a push for further involvement with the Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project during the 1980's.<sup>82</sup> Residents participated in the Mexican American Democrats organization with the help of Maria Luisa Mercado, an attorney that went on to serve on the Legal Services Corporation Board.<sup>83</sup> One of the chapter's primary goals was to increase voter registration. Whenever a Hispanic candidate ran for election, the organization mobilized to gather support for them. They accomplished this by speaking on local radio stations and reminding people to vote. Putting together such get out the vote radio spots averaged \$2,500 during one election period. The effort worked but to a limited extent since most of Lubbock's minority community still primarily reside in only two districts, leaving little chance of a minority being elected in a third district. The limited opportunity to hold more positions in the city did not dissuade the Mexican American

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<sup>81</sup> Alice Lozada, interview by author, May 23, 2008, Lubbock, Tx

<sup>82</sup> "William C. Velásquez was the founder of the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project in 1974. He enlisted the aid of Community organizers, together they launched hundreds of voter registration and get-the-vote-out (GOTV) campaigns throughout the southwest. The legacy of Velásquez is apparent-since its inception, SVREP has cultivated 50,000 community leaders, successfully litigated 85 voting rights law suits and has conducted 2,300 non-partisan, voter registration and GOTV campaigns. Consequently, voter registration has grown over the years from 2.4 million registered Latinos in 1974 to 7 million nationwide in 1998." William C. Velasquez Institute, <http://www.wcvi.org/wcvbio.htm> (accessed May 2008).

<sup>83</sup> "LSC Nominees a break with the past," *The Lawyer's Magazine*, November 1993.; The Legal Services Corporation Board, LSC was created in 1974 and served the economically poor in civil litigation.; Mercado is currently the Chair of the Texas's State Bar Poverty Law Section, Located at: [http://www.povertylawsection.com/?page\\_id=36](http://www.povertylawsection.com/?page_id=36)

from participating at the state level.<sup>84</sup> In 1990 Alice Lozada, future LULAC chapter president, served as Lubbock's Hispanic Coordinator for Anne Richards successful campaign for governor. Neighborhood association leaders in Arnett Benson and Guadalupe went door to door and conducted phone banks making sure everyone in their community registered to vote for the upcoming election.<sup>85</sup> The Mexican American community made it their responsibility to improve their representation in the city.

Similarly, the African American community stepped up their efforts to change their relationship with the city. The local NAACP chapter challenged race relations between police and the African American community, and co-sponsored forums for congressional candidates to come and speak.<sup>86</sup> Similar to the Mexican American community, women or at least one woman in particular, continued to push the African American community forward after some of the former male leaders moved or passed away. Rose Wilson served as the president of the NAACP and eventually went on to serve on the board of the Legal Aid of North-West Texas, and the Texas Equal Access to Justice Foundation.<sup>87</sup> Rose Wilson represented state wide participation for the African American community; they too had achieved a level of participation that was impressive.

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<sup>84</sup> Lozada interview.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid

<sup>86</sup> "Wilson to speak at ACLU forum," *Avalanche-Journal*, May 21, 1999; "NAACP to co-sponsor candidate forum," *Avalanche-Journal*, April 23, 2003.

<sup>87</sup> Business Bulletin Board," *Avalanche-Journal*, November 12, 2006.



## Conclusion

The false desegregation claims in the city's narrative prior to 1970 representation attempt to impede civil rights activity. However, the LISD case awakened minorities to new opportunities and the affliction of racial violence motivated them to demand change. Even though the city's collective memory post 1970 white-washed Lubbock's racist past, the lawsuits that took place between 1970 and 1990 are undoubtedly significant evidence that the civil rights movement happened in Lubbock and was greatly needed. The LISD case helped fuel the at-large election lawsuit which in turned influenced similar litigation in areas surrounding Lubbock as well as out of state. Approximately seventy lawsuits throughout the area between Midland, Odessa and Amarillo, filed against the school board, city council, and justice of the peace. Each one encountered resistance as the minorities behind them challenged a city's segregationist past and unwillingness to dismantle remnants of racially biased systems. Yet most of the lawsuits were successful through the courts or through settlements, many gaining an advantage due to the lessons learned in the original LISD suit.<sup>88</sup> These legal cases sparked further civil and voting rights activity in each of Lubbock's minority communities.

The civil rights activity in Lubbock steadily improved conditions for minorities during the decades that the LISD lawsuit took place. However, the city's post racial narrative remained persistent. The LISD lawsuit may have revealed that the city did not

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<sup>88</sup> Solis interview.

truly desegregate its schools in 1955, but that did not matter since the city had a better narrative which tugged at the heart strings of its residents. It claimed the destructive 1970 tornado was a blessing in disguise by desegregating Lubbock. Residents were able to refute this narrative during the DOJ's presence, but once LISD received unitary status, the DOJ left while the city's narrative remained.

By the year 2000, progress for Lubbock's minority community stalled just as it did after the *Brown* decision. Unlike the national civil rights movement that followed *Brown*, Lubbock has yet to see a movement to reinvigorate the minority community. After the main legal cases came to an end, many of the veteran minority civil rights leaders stepped down from leadership positions, moved out of the Lubbock area, or passed away. They became symbols for what the minority community accomplished during the last few decades, but that did not translate to the eradication of racial inequality in Lubbock. It also did not lead to a younger generation of civil rights leaders ready to take the reins.

From the perspective of the older generation, the minority youth at worst lacked interest, and at best were complacent. In 2008 the local LULAC President reported the chapter was having trouble attracting younger members, and former city council member T.J. Patterson lamented that only about 25% of the African American community regularly turned out to vote.<sup>89</sup> From their perspective, people stopped caring once LISD achieved unitary status. While it is true that court's decision to grant unitary status to LISD was deflating to the minority community, civil rights activity did not completely

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<sup>89</sup> Lozada interview; Patterson interview.

come to halt. It simply became even more difficult to challenge segregation after the courts had essentially ruled that LISD removed it from its system. The court's decision did not mean a segregation free city or even school district for that matter, rather Woodward's decision served as an indicator that the courts were limited in their power to remove discrimination from social situations. De facto segregation remained obvious in Lubbock after the LISD lawsuit because the city's narrative never acknowledged it had a race problem, hence there was nothing to fix. As the slowing progress of Lubbock's minority community reveals, a city's collective memory can greatly affect its race relations.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION: LIMITED SUCCESSES

When the court granted LISD unitary status they inadvertently legitimized the city's post racial narrative, strengthening the carefully constructed collective memory that denied that racial divisions existed in Lubbock. However, the city had not removed all vestiges of segregation, a point the minority community clearly expressed in their public disappointment of the court's decision. Yet, those Lubbockites that spun the city's narrative ignored the reality that racial divisions still plagued the city. Much like the influential white Lubbockites who commenced the city's narrative as a Hub, and those who used the 1970 tornado to claim desegregation had been completed by Mother Nature, Lubbock officials used the LISD court decision to white wash the city's past discriminatory acts, such as the murder of Willie Collier. Yet the reality of Lubbock's racial issues do not fit this particular collective memory, a fact demonstrated by the wrongful conviction of African American, Timothy Brian Cole and his eventual posthumous exoneration.

#### **Timothy Cole**

In 1985, Cole was a twenty six old Army veteran studying at the Texas Tech business school. He was charged with the sexual assault of a white female Tech student, Michelle Mallin. Mallin described her attacker as an African American male, a smoker,

who wore a yellow shirt and sandals. The police believed Mallin was a victim of a serial rapist, targeting women near campus. After the attack, police began conducting surveillance in and around the campus. Two weeks later, a female detective spoke with Cole outside of a pizzeria, and a few blocks from the crime scene. She declared Cole a suspect based on that conversation, and police went to his home to take a polaroid photo of him. Mallin pointed to Cole as her attacker during a photograph lineup that included the polaroid of Cole. The other photos in the lineup were all profile mugshots, as a result Cole's photo stood out. In 1986, after six hours of deliberation, a jury convicted Cole of the crime. Cole's skin color, and Mallin's identification of him appear to be the only evidence the all-white jury considered because Cole had an alibi for the night of the attack, and the tests based on Mallin's rape kit were inclusive. Additionally, Cole was not a smoker, an important detail in Mallin's initial report. Cole's attorney attempted to enter this fact into evidence, arguing that Mallin's attacker could not have been Cole because he suffered from asthma. Yet, the judge denied this request. Further, similar attacks continued after Cole's arrest but the judge would not allow that detail into evidence either. After his conviction, different judges in the Lubbock Court system denied multiple appeals. The system offered little opportunity for Cole to exonerate himself.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Time Cole's father sows up and wants half of his late son's \$1.1 million estate," *Avalanche Journal*, December 23, 2011; Sarah Rafique, "Time Cole statue unveiled after state leaders praise first Texan Posthumously exonerated," *Avalanche Journal*, September 17, 2014; "Statue of Tim Cole dedicated in Lubbock," *Star-Telegram* (Forth worth, TX), September 17, 2014; Stephanie Gallman, "Lubbock, Texas, unveiling statue of man who wouldn't take 'freedom on the cheap,'" *CNN*, September 17, 2014. accessed November 1, 2015. [www.cnn.com](http://www.cnn.com); Rick Jervis, "Man wrongly imprisoned for rape gets statue in Texas," *USA TODAY*, September 18, 2014. Accessed October 1, 2015. [www.usatoday.com](http://www.usatoday.com); "Timothy Cole", *Innocence project*, accessed October 1, 2015. <http://www.innocenceproject.org/cases-false->

In 1995 Jerry Wayne Johnson tried to confess to the 1985 rape of Mallin. Johnson decided to confess as the statute of limitations for the crime had already run out, and he was already serving a sentence for two other sexual assaults. However, the Lubbock Police, Lubbock Prosecutors, and more than one Lubbock judge ignored his multiple attempts to confess. Neither Cole nor his family were ever informed of Johnson's confession. Lubbock did not acknowledge his confession until after his letters reached the Texas Innocence Project in 2006, and Johnson sent a letter to the home of Cole's mother. Even after The Innocence Project of Texas obtained a signed confession the Lubbock court denied Cole's family a trial to clear his name. In 2008, the Texas Innocence Project pushed for DNA testing, clearing Cole as the attacker. And a year later, using a provision in Texas' constitution known as "court of inquiry" the organization took the case outside of Lubbock's jurisdiction to Austin, where District Court Judge Charles Baird exonerated Cole. Governor Rick Perry pardoned Cole in 2010. Cole never saw his name cleared, having died in prison from asthma complications in 1999.<sup>2</sup>

Lubbock officials who ignored Johnson's confessions never provided a reasonable justification why. However, based off of Lubbock's history and the investment in its post-racial narrative it is reasonable to assert that accepting Johnson's confessions would have admitted that Lubbock's police force, the city, and even the county were wrong in the conviction of an African American male and arrested him

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imprisonment/timothy-cole.; "Timothy Cole: A Tragic Story Begets Hope for the Future," *Innocence Project of Texas*, accessed November 1, 2015. [www.ipoftexas.org](http://www.ipoftexas.org)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

because of the color of his skin. Cole's defense even mentioned Johnson by name when trying to make the case that Mallin's assault was similar to that of two other women were Johnson was the suspect. Yet, Cole was convicted by an all-white jury. The actions of the Lubbock police and legal system during the case smack of the kind of prejudice that does not fall in line with the city's post racial narrative. Lubbock's narrative benefited from casting Johnson's confession aside and continuing to blame Cole for the crime. Cole's case helps to illustrate how even after the DOJ's presence and the civil rights activity that followed, Lubbock's racial divisions were not fully dismantled.

### **Shaping a Narrative**

For the first half of the twentieth century Lubbock's city representatives and influential business owners worked diligently to create an image of the city as the South Plain's "Hub." As a result the city became home to a railway line, Texas Tech University, Mackenzie State Park, a small airport, a growing medical center, and is adjacent to nearby Reese Air Force Base.<sup>3</sup> Minorities played a significant role in that growth, serving as the backbone of the city's agricultural economy and then the city's railroads. African American and Hispanic communities went on to establish neighborhoods and businesses of their own within the city. They developed their own

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<sup>3</sup> See page 47 of chapter 1

separate portions of the city. However, despite their contributions, prior to 1970 minorities were never truly incorporated into the city.

As the city of Lubbock grew the national mood towards race relations and specifically segregation began to change. Racial discrimination and de facto segregation were still present but legal segregation was gone after *Brown*. The cities and states that challenged this reality used racial violence to do so. Nationally, they were eventually condemned. Cities like Lubbock, hoping to progress, grow and serve as a major commercial hub benefited from distancing themselves from massive resistance. The works of Halbwach, Anderson, Assmann, Casey, and others as discussed in chapter one, have provided insight into how a collective memory is formed and becomes essential to an identity. Lubbock serves as prime example of the relationship between collective memory and identity. In Lubbock the early collective imagined a “hub.” They in turn constructed a narrative to realize that identity. For instance the railroad came to Lubbock in 1909 after a decade of attempts to attract a railroad company. Promoters spread rumors about possible railroad lines coming to Lubbock and in 1908, motivated in part by those rumors, the Santa Fe railroad extended its line between Amarillo and Plainview to Lubbock.<sup>4</sup> The railroad’s operation in Lubbock helped the city further its vision as a “Hub.” Similarly, the *Brown* decision forced Lubbock to face segregationist practices and the city chose a narrative that spared them negative publicity.

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<sup>4</sup> *Lubbock and the South Plains*, (Windsor Publications, 1989); Bob Burton, “First Spoke,” *The Cyclone*, Volume XVII, Issue 1 (Spring 2010): 1-2.; “Railroad coming to Lubbock!” *Avalanche-Journal Lubbock Centennial*, accessed March 9, 2015, [http://www.lubbockcentennial.com/Section/1909\\_1933/SantaFeRR.shtml](http://www.lubbockcentennial.com/Section/1909_1933/SantaFeRR.shtml); Paul H. Carlson, *The Centennial History of Lubbock: Hub City of the Plain*, (Donning Company, 2008).



As seen throughout this study de facto segregation was alive and well in Lubbock when the DOJ came to town but that fact is ignored by the city's collective memory. Instead the city's narrative emphasizes that Lubbock declared self-imposed legal desegregation in 1955, and that the tornado of 1970 led to social desegregation. By claiming self-imposed desegregation Lubbock attempted to create a post racial identity. This argument not only conveys that race relations were not bad in Lubbock but it makes the suggestion that the city was progressive in terms of race relations. The narrative ignored racial inequality rather than addressing it.

The reality for minorities in Lubbock does not fit the claims made in the narrative, but through reinforcement of the narrative the city managed to keep large scale civil rights activity at bay prior to 1970. This is partly due to African American and Hispanic populations being minorities in Lubbock. They could not easily challenge the narrative entrenched in the city, one that created a positive memory out of a natural disaster that tore through the city. But as an external entity the 1970 Federal intervention did challenge that narrative. The DOJ's presence, and racial violence triggered civil rights activity.

This study is not a complete history of Lubbock or either of its minority communities, and it is not meant to be. It is rather a history of Lubbock's collective memory and its impact on race relations in the city. According to historian Peter Burke, memories are "affected by the social organization of transmission and the different

media employed.”<sup>5</sup> Based on Burke’s theory, writing and print are not powerful enough to stop the spread of myths of this kind. In other words this study will likely not break the collective memory that has held in Lubbock for decades. However, by examining the formation of Lubbock’s collective memory the study can illuminate how the narrative was used throughout the decades to deny the minority community access to equal opportunities and facilities, and explain why it has been so difficult for African Americans and Mexican Americans to overcome those inequalities in a seemingly post racial society. The collective memory of Lubbock or any city across the nation is significant because it affects the resident’s daily lives. In the case of Lubbock’s minority population the narrative attached to the city’s collective memory emphasized a post racial society after *Brown* and the narrative was so strong that any inequalities that remained within the city were difficult to dismantle. Even though the minority community did not believe Lubbock was post racial, they did not publicly denounce the city’s narrative because it was so instilled that for many protest seemed futile. Collective memory played a role in the continued oppression of Hispanics and African Americans.

However, the broader historiography which discusses minority groups and race relations does not include much discussion of collective memory and its effect on minorities. As discussed in the introduction there are many histories which have provided an overview of the struggles and successes of Mexican American and African

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<sup>5</sup> Peter Burke, “From ‘History as Social Memory’, ” in *The Collective Memory Reader*, eds. Jeffrey Olick, Seroussi, Levy (Oxford University Press, 2011), 189.

Americans in areas such as education, civil rights, and legal efforts. Historians have portrayed them as victims, and as active agents in their own history. Further, comparative race studies and specifically those dealing with civil rights have concluded that African Americans and Mexican Americans did not really work together. Scholars have built on these studies by adding conclusions that argue whiteness played a role in that separation. However, the existing educational, civil rights, legal, comparative race, and whiteness studies have not evaluated how collective memory has influenced the efforts and struggles of minorities, or how it has impacted their relationship with one another.<sup>6</sup>

### **A Reflection on Black-Brown Relations**

One can gain perspective on the relationship between the two minority groups by looking at how both were impacted by Lubbock's collective memory. During lawsuits against LISD and the city council over the at large election system, African Americans and Hispanics worked together as plaintiffs in the cases. However, outside of the courtroom the two groups had a minimal relationship. One of the reasons for this is observed in the LISD desegregation case. The challenges that both groups experienced were not exactly the same and this led to notions that one group had it harder than the other.

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<sup>6</sup> See pages 15-38 for more information on the historiography referenced in this paragraph.

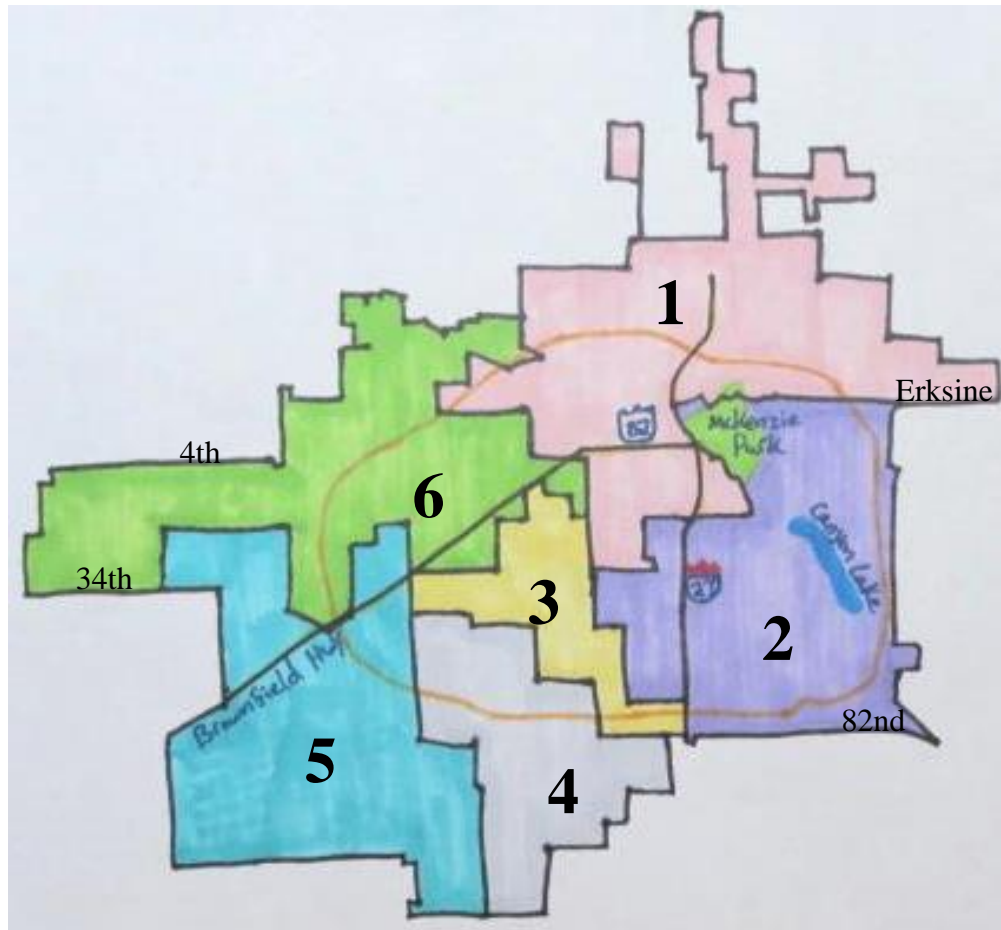
African Americans believed they had it worse than Mexican Americans because of the 1923 ordinance that restricted them to east Lubbock, a fact that was still obvious in their schools even after the ordinance was no longer in affect. This idea was further exacerbated by Hispanics' legal classification as white. During a series of interviews conducted with Dunbar High School alumni, whenever the topic of integration came up African American students speaking to their Hispanic interviewer pointed out that Hispanics were legally white, implying that the struggles that the Hispanic community experienced were less as a result. Mexican American residents of Lubbock felt that they had it just as hard if not harder than African Americans because they entered the classroom with racially white students, where they endured abuse from educators and classmates. From the Hispanic perspective, African American students had it easier because their classmates and teachers were all from their community. The reality is not that either group had it harder, but different experiences that are difficult to quantifiably compare, leading to misunderstanding and conflict.

Both African Americans and Hispanics shared tribulations in dealing with the city, but the differences in their struggles often placed the two groups at odds with one another. In 2005, the city council was set to vote on a redistricting plan. The larger Hispanic community benefited from the plan at the expense of the smaller African American community. The plan increased the Hispanic population in the historically

African American district, which in turn removing the city's largest African American population precinct. City Councilman Victor Hernandez condemned the attempts of African Americans to stop the redistricting, claiming that the African American city council member was trying to lock the Hispanic community out of "effective representation." Additionally, he said leaders of the African American community were guilty of writing and printing anti-Hispanic propaganda through the *Southwest Digest*. He even accused the local NAACP chapter president of saying Hispanics, "breed like rabbits."<sup>7</sup> When examining the situation it is evident that maintaining a district where African Americans were the majority decreased the opportunity for Hispanics to hold more elected positions, but redrawing lines so that Hispanics could feasibly win two districts reduced the chances of having even one African American elected official. Both groups wanted the same thing, more representation, but they worked against one another as they were unable to expand their chances of representation to districts in south and west Lubbock.

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<sup>7</sup> John Fuquay, "Racial cloud fails to derail redistricting," *Avalanche-Journal*, October 5, 2001.



District	Population	Anglo	Hispanic	African American
1	32,000	31%	56%	9%
2	32,800	21.4%	49.2%	28.5%
3	32,519	82.9%	12.1%	2.7%
4	34,000	82.9%	12.1%	2.7%
5	33,364	82%	11.7%	3.1%
6	34,679	73.8%	18.1%	4.8%

Figure 22: 2007 residential patterns. Lubbock City Council District Lines, under the single member district election system in 2007. The majority of Lubbock’s minority community resides in district one and district two just as they did prior to the lawsuit. Hispanics are also the majority in both districts. It is worth noting that prior to 1970 district one and two also contained a concentration of Lubbock’s tuberculosis cases, syphilis cases, and neonatal/ post-neonatal infant deaths.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Figure put together with information from City Council webpage, City of Lubbock website, <http://council.ci.lubbock.tx.us/> (Accessed April 2007).; Copies of legal documents, testimonies, and

The city's collective memory added to the division between the groups. Although each individual group may have not bought into the city's narrative in respect to their own group, it does not mean that they did not believe it for the other group. For instance before integration the city's narrative depicted African Americans as happy on their own side of the city because they had their own schools, churches, public pools, parks, etc. whereas Mexican American children struggled in school because they had white teachers who did not understand or want students to speak Spanish. The Mexican American community saw inequality daily in the way their children were treated in comparison to the white children. However, they did not see the inequality that existed between the facilities of white children and African American children. African Americans only saw Mexican Americans going to school with whites, not recognizing the struggle they experienced within the classroom. There was no reason for either group to challenge the city's narrative unless it pertained to them, and even then challenging it seemed like an insurmountable task. As seen in chapters four and five it took outside intervention to provide an opportunity and venue for the two groups to work together. Although the specific goals of the African American and Mexican American community may have differed, the ultimate goal in the LISD case was to better the education of their children. The two communities were able to work together at that larger level and build upon it in other legal cases. The minority community

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information gathered for the single member district suit, Box 4, Nancy and Arthur Lance papers collection. Located at Texas Tech University Southwest Collection/Special Collections Library, Lubbock, Tx.

experienced progress during the years 1970 to 1990 as a result, such as Cavazos Jr. High and representation on the city council and schools board.

### **Collective Memory in National Race Relations**

On June 17, 2015 nine members of the historic Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in South Carolina were murdered during a weekly bible study session. The shooter was a young white supremacist, and all the victims were African American. In the months leading up to the shooting he was photographed holding symbols tied to his beliefs, such as the confederate flag. The mass shooting, the affliction of racial violence, triggered an immediate reaction in South Carolina and around the nation to remove the confederate flag from the state's capital.<sup>9</sup> National attention focused on the debate over whether the flag did or did not symbolize racism, but the larger issue at hand was that the United States was not a post racial society. American thoughts shifted to questioning how far the nation had progressed since the *Brown* decision and the national civil rights movement. The *Brown* decision and the civil rights movement did not eradicate racial inequality, and regardless of what some Americans have argued nor did the election of an African American president.

In the weeks following the shooting President Barack Obama stated that the United States was not cured of racism. This was not a new statement from him. Throughout most of his presidency he questioned the notion that the United States was

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<sup>9</sup> "Deadly shooting at S.C. Black Church leaves many unanswered questions," *National Public Radio*, June 22, 2015.



post racial simply because an African American was in office. His blunt language in reiterating the point garnered the attention of many across the nation this time. He stated, "...it's not just a matter of it not being polite to say nigger in public. That's not the measure of whether racism still exists or not."<sup>10</sup> President Obama's comments pointed out the bleak truth that many Americans were misguided in their belief that the nation was post racial because segregation was illegal, or because they believed things were not as bad for minorities as they once were. Although the post racial America argument is flawed it poses the interesting and complicated question: why do some Americans believe the United States is a post racial society? This is where this study may shed some light on civil rights and race studies at the national level.

This study has refuted the post racial claims made by Lubbock's collective memory, and demonstrated that Lubbock shared the national problem of poor race relations. This study has attempted to explore the relationship between collective memory and race relations in Lubbock, and how a community's narrative can deviate from reality. The general argument behind the study can be applied nationally. For instance, states have the option of whether or not to report hate crimes to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). As a result when the FBI presents information about hate crimes to the public, the number is incomplete and underrepresents hate crimes, because some states, like South Carolina, under report racially motivated crimes.<sup>11</sup> With an

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<sup>10</sup> Marc Maron, "Episode 613," *WTF Podcast*, June 22, 2015; Tamara Keith, "Obama speaks candidly on gun control, race in podcast appearance," National Public Radio, June 22, 2015.

<sup>11</sup> "Are hate crimes in American underreported?" CBS Evening News, June 18, 2015.

inaccurate view of the racial violence that still exist within the country a highly plastic national collective memory downplays the existence of racial inequality and further promotes the idea of a post racial society.

As seen in Lubbock a community's collective memory does not always represent the views of everyone in the community. However, the stronger the narrative the harder it is to contest even if you do not agree with it. Change generally requires some type of trigger. In South Carolina the shooting was the catalyst for finally removing the confederate flag from the capital's grounds, just as the violence inflicted on civil rights advocates helped push forth legislation in the 1960s, and although events in Lubbock did not garner national attention they to fought a post racial narrative to trigger change.

### **Ongoing Race Relations**

In some ways things have not changed in Lubbock since the legal and civil rights activity discussed in this study: the number of minority officials on the school board and city council has not increased since the implementation of single member district and the remnants of residential segregation remain. Those residing in east Lubbock were even further segregated from the rest of the city with the construction of Interstate 27, which cut through the area. Even though the Hispanic population has increased, their voting power remains in the same district in where it started. As for the African American community their numbers have plateaued. Some believe that race plays an issue in why

their college educated children cannot find work in Lubbock, forcing them to leave the city. Further, the high-school drop-out rate remains high in the minority community.<sup>12</sup>

Despite the ongoing racial problems, minorities in Lubbock continue to make strides. In addition to minority residents moving into southern and western portions of Lubbock there is an effort to record their stories so that that the minority perspective is preserved. There is also less tolerance for public racial discrimination. In spring 2003 Superintendent Jack Clemmons submitted a retirement notice after racist comments were found in his e-mail correspondence. One e-mail read, “I use to say when we lived in East Texas that I wished I could be fat, black, and happy. That was because there were a lot of country dumb backwoods black folks sitting on their porches when you drove by their houses but they always seemed to be real happy even though they knew nothing and had nothing.”<sup>13</sup> Additionally, the minority community has expanded its civil rights activity beyond the issues affecting just Lubbockites. For instance in 2006 thousands in Lubbock marched on behalf of comprehensive immigration reform, and supporters of Cole’s posthumous exoneration pushed for the Texas Legislature to pass House Bill 498,

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<sup>12</sup> “Chicanos dropout still twice Anglo,” *El Editor*, July 30 thru August 5, 1987; Darvyn Spagnolly, “Highway for the Hub,” *The Texas Observer*, March 14, 1995; Eta Delta Omega Chapter of the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, interview by Robert Weaver, February 2012; John Reynolds, “County rate of dropouts below state’s,” *Avalanche-Journal*, November 18, 2004; “Report: Texas Public School Attrition Study, 2013-14,” Intercultural Development Research Association website, accessed June 22, 2015. [http://www.idra.org/images/stories/IDRA\\_Attrition\\_Study\\_2014.pdf](http://www.idra.org/images/stories/IDRA_Attrition_Study_2014.pdf)

<sup>13</sup> “Rumors in hallways; shock in LISD boardroom,” *Avalanche Journal*, October 12, 2003.

which now provides those exonerated with \$80,000 for each year they were wrongfully incarcerated.<sup>14</sup>

Although, Lubbock is not a post racial society and the dominant narrative continues to ignore racial inequalities of the past and present, the minority community has at times successfully challenged the narrative even if it has not fully dismantled it. In September 2014, twenty eight years after Cole was convicted, his family's efforts led to the unveiling of a memorial statue in his honor. The statue is located at the intersection of 19<sup>th</sup> street and University Avenue, his torso directed towards the parking lot where Mallin was abducted while his face peers towards the Texas Tech Law School. With the words "Lest we forget" etched on the books he holds, the statue not only represents the wrong doings of the city and county during the 1980s but it serves as a physical reminder of the power a community's narrative holds, providing cover for the racial oppression and persecution of its minority community.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> "A day without immigrants, thousands march in protest on Lubbock streets," *KCBD*, July 12, 2015. <http://www.kcbd.com/story/4844536/a-day-without-immigrants-thousands-march-in-protest-on-lubbock-streets>

<sup>15</sup> "Time Cole statue unveiled after state leaders praise first Texan Posthumously exonerated;" "Statue of Tim Cole dedicated in Lubbock;" "Lubbock, Texas, unveiling statue of man who wouldn't take 'freedom on the cheap;" "Man wrongly imprisoned for rape gets statue in Texas;" "Timothy Cole;" "Timothy Cole: A Tragic Story Begets Hope for the Future."

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