“FOUNDATIONAL INEQUALITIES OF “THE GREAT EQUALIZER” IN TEXAS: AN EDUCATION CASE STUDY OF SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS, 1850-1900”

A Thesis

by

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ABSTRACT

The essay that follows explores how the institution of education bred social hierarchy, access to citizenship, and engineered generations-long racism through a case study in San Antonio, Bexar County, Texas. Using Molina's *racial scripts,* the essay will look at the three largest demographics in San Antonio—Latino, African American, and Anglo communities focusing on their racial relationships with state and local policies, practices, and textbooks in education from early education initiatives—the 1850s through 1900. To conclude the essay, a look at where the Texas education system began, a look at what has changed and what still needs to change to ensure a better and more equitable education for future generations.

DEDICATION

To my husband Luis Vegerano and our three children Carmela, Lyndon, and Ofelia, you all are my greatest treasures.

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I would like to acknowledge those who have been my biggest supporters through my educational journey, along with those who have provided me assistance in the archives and academic support. First, my husband, who pushed me to pursue my love for history and education, and my children though young, have provided me with love and support. They have been my biggest drive and cheerleaders through my graduate program here at Texas A&M University.

To the diligent and dedicated librarians and staff at the many archives and libraries who have assisted and guided me in my search for sources. Nat Norton at San Antonio Municipal Archives and Records. Mary Kenney and Lisa Finney have supported my journey not only professionally but personally and to Brother Earl Leistikow for his dedicated translation work, all at the National Archives Marianist Province of the United States at San Antonio. Staff at San Antonio Public Library in the Texana Room. Staff at Lorenzo de Zavala State Archives and Library with their outstanding assistance during the COVID-19 pandemic.

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All other work conducted for the thesis was completed by the student independently.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Horace Mann believed education could be the great equalizer. In 1848 Mann stated, "Education, then, beyond all other divides of human origin, is a great equalizer of conditions of men—the balance wheel of the social machinery."[1] The belief that education acts as an equalizer in society by providing children from different socioeconomic and racial backgrounds the same access to quality education is sadly false. Analyzing the foundations of education in Texas identifies how race and its relationship to policy, practice, and growth created an institution that holds race at its core. The early state laws of Texas created space for racism to become institutionalized in its education system.

Thomas Jefferson argued that a nation could not survive if its citizens are free but ignorant. The nation's success would falter and fail without education. Jefferson proposed free public education for the citizens of Virginia. Though who counted as a citizen? Were the enslaved citizens of the newly formed United States? Certainly not.[2] The legality of educating those in bondage was not called into question until the early 1800s out of fear of revolts. From the early 1800s through 1835, many southern states

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[1] Horace Mann as quoted in, Roslin Growe and Paula S. Montgomery, "Educational Equity in America: Is Education the Great Equalizer?," *The Professional Educator,* vol. XXV, no. 2, Spring 2003, accessed February 2021, https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ842412.pdf, 23.
[2] James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935,* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 1.

created legislation to make it a "crime to teach enslaved children how to read and write."[3]

After the Civil War the once enslaved postured themselves to take charge of their education and their children's education. However, the laws and policies put in place after the Civil War, commonly known as the Black Codes, only continued the practice of subjugation transforming the education system for African Americans. The early education laws created a second-class education and a second citizen. African Americans pushed for their education to build schoolhouses, supply the students, and push for an education for themselves and their children.[4] Racism is bedrock to the institution of education.

One area the historiography of Texas education lacks is its depth of a relational study of the policies and practices between Anglos, African Americans, and Latinos. I argue that educational policies, practices, and textbooks established during the late nineteenth century created a racialized education system based on social hierarchy, access to citizenship, and engineered generations-long racism. Through a case study in San Antonio, Texas, observations of practices based on students' race determined their access to equality in society's education system and citizenship. The use of textbooks further racialized the students consuming knowledge acting as a vehicle to further the narrative of the "other."

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[3] Anderson, 2.
[4] Anderson, 4-10.

The relationship between race, laws and textbook development determined the level of influence on the education each race received. The structure of education taught how each race learned their place and access in society. Understanding how the relationships between racialized groups affect society and educational development in Texas offers a better understanding of how education has remained institutionally racialized. Race is a "mutually constitutive and socially constructed process."[5] Education gives the power to establish how race is socially constructed and accepted in society. The institution of education adds to society's race-making by effecting what is learned, how it is learned, and who gets to learn.

The relationship between whites, Latinos, and African Americans established how educational laws would be applied to each of them. The term *racial scripts,* coined by Natalia Molina, highlights how racialized ideas and policies affect groups throughout history, or as Molina states, "linked across time and space."[6] Molina coined *counterscript* to frame how each community pushed back against the barriers put in their way to gain agency. Throughout the history of Texas education, racialized groups have affected policy, practices, textbooks, and social hierarchy. African Americans and Latinos push back through creating their own scripts within the institution of education through the agency over their education.

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[5] Natalia Molina, "Understanding Race as a Relational Concept," *Modern American History,* no. 1 (2018):101-105, doi:10.1017/mah.2017.14, 101-02.
[6] Natalia Molina, *How Race is Made in America: Immigration, citizenship, and the historical Power of Racial Scripts,* (Berkley: University of California Press, 2014), 6.

Though the history of education for the nation and regions can fill shelves upon shelves, Texas has fallen behind in its accounts of educational histories. Less than ten historians have published books on the history of Texas education in one hundred and eighteen years. Only a few historians have produced knowledge on the histories of Latino and African American communities and their history with education. Many have focused on policies and laws surrounding education without much attention to how policies and laws affected these communities.

J.J. Lane and Frederick Eby were the earliest writers of education in Texas. Lane provided a government press published in 1903, *History of Education in Texas,* recounting the earlier laws and education policies.[7] Eby, a professor of education in Texas, wrote several analytical works on Texas education.[8] It would be nearly thirty years before Cecil Evans' book, *The Story of Texas Schools* would be published (1955).[9] Evans writes with a pro-educator and pro-Texas look at the great work Texas has done in education. Evans vaguely discussed the tensions of civil rights and education in Texas during the 1950s. It would not be until the late 1980s until historians begin tackling Texas education and the significant disparities between Latinos, African Americans, and Anglos.

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[7] John J. Lane, *History of Education in Texas,* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903).
[8] Frederick Eby, *The Development of Education in Texas,* (New York: The McMillian Company, 1925). Frederick Eby, *Education in Texas: Source Material Compiled by Frederick Eby*, (Austin: University of Texas, 1912).
[9] Cecil Eugene Evans, *The Story of Texas Schools,* (Austin: The Steck Company, 1955).

Guadalupe San Miguel Jr. was one of the first historians to add the forgotten and often overlooked voices in Latinos' education history. His work in 1987, *"Let Them All Take Heed:" Mexican Americans and the Campaign for Educational Equality in Texas, 1910*-1981, gave agency to the Latino community by providing a history to their struggle and achievements for education in Texas.[10] Carlos K. Blanton published his work, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas, 1836- 1981,* seventeen years later.[11] Blanton's work looks at language and its relationship in Texas education while focusing on several language communities and their educational struggle for equality and place.

Five years later, Gene B. Preuss published a comprehensive study of Texas education policies and laws focusing on the mid-twentieth century's Gilmer-Aikin laws.[12] Another eleven years would pass before another work would be published focusing on Texas education. Philis M. Barragán Goetz published *Reading, Writing, and Revolution: Escuelitas and the Emergence of a Mexican American Identity in Texas* in 2020.*[13]* Her work focuses on the Mexican American communities' agency, which held tight to their educational wishes and struggles against Texas educational policies of racial discrimination. Goetz's work is groundbreaking on the importance of escuelitas in the Mexican American and Spanish-speaking communities. The escuelitas provided

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[10] Guadalupe San Miguel Jr., *"Let All of Them Take Heed:" Mexican Americans and the Campaign for Educational Equality in Texas, 1910-1981,* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1987).
[11] Carlos Kevin Blanton, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas, 1836-1925,* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004).
[12] Gene B Preuss, *To Get a Better School System: One Hundred Years of Education Reform in Texas,* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2009).
[13] Philis M. Barragán Goetz, *Reading, Writing, and Revolution: Escuelitas and the Emergence of a Mexican American Identity in Texas,* (Austin: University of Texas, 2020).

education for the children while keeping their culture alive when Americanization heavily weighed on the community. These books provide the foundation for future researchers to begin a journey to add to Texas education's historiography.

There are countless theses, dissertations, and articles on the subject, though the interest in education seemed to flow in and out of importance over the past century. The historiography of education in Texas is not finished. There are many more nuances to write on and research to aid in providing the consumers of Texas history a rounded understanding of the struggles and triumphs of the communities that reside here in Texas. There are many stories yet to be written and heard.[14]

The thesis will include five chapters looking at the whole of the Texas education system from 1850 through 1900. Chapter One will introduce Mexican American identity in San Antonio and introduce the importance of San Antonio as a case study, including a short historiographical review. Chapter Two will look at the decentralized school system and the brief development of a centralized system during Reconstruction through its end in 1877. Through the lens of racial scripts, readers will understand how the policies in education and local practices impacted the students based on their race. Two maps to show the growth of Anglo schoolhouses and lack of growth African American

[14] Evans Library at Texas A&M University holds printed theses and dissertations pertaining to education in Texas. Also accessible is the ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global and TAMU Theses and Dissertations (OAKTrust) databases that hold many electronic and searchable sources that are available through the "Get it for me" option for students. A simple search through these databases provides reference to the statement made about the many theses, dissertations, and articles on Texas education. A look at the publication dates shows trend of the history of Texas education going in and out of trend over the last one hundred years.

schoolhouses in San Antonio. Graphs included will a look at census data regarding the demographic makeup of the schoolhouses in Bexar County.

Chapter Three will look at the decentralization of the education system post-Reconstruction to the eventual semi-centralized education system by 1900. By looking at the socioeconomic struggles of private and public education and the racial makeup affected by state and local practice, the reader will understand how the racialization of education supported the idea of access to equal education and citizenship. The 1889 map will show the most current collection of schoolhouse locations and dwelling information. Several spatial analyses were performed to give place and agency to Mexican Americans in early San Antonio education. The map, spatial analyses, and graphs offer a look at the growth and lack of growth in education, access, and space in San Antonio. The chapter will also include student populations and curricula for the three demographics.

Chapter Four will address the role textbooks have in social engineering generations-long racism, with an analysis of textbooks used in the schoolhouses in the 1890s and a relational comparison of the current state of a Texas textbook. Chapter Five will look back at the first four chapters in conclusion by comparing the progress made in Texas education and San Antonio with segregation in the city. The chapter will argue that while there has been progress made in education, San Antonio and Texas need to continue to strive for a better system without race oppression.

San Antonio As a Case Study

The fluidity of the Southern border offered a unique opportunity to the development of San Antonio as a major city without the existence of a railroad to

transport people and goods. Trade routes between Mexico and San Antonio existed before Texas' annexation into the United States—this added to the city's demographic makeup. As San Antonio grew, the demographic makeup created a multi-ethnic, multi-racial city contributing to the city's development in education. Some may have assumed that once the Republic of Texas established itself San Antonio became an Anglo city, though this was not the case until the 1860s and later.

Tejanos made up much of the population in San Antonio. During the 1840s and 1850s, Tejanos held prominent positions in the political sphere of the city. Bexareños continued to hold most positions on the San Antonio city council after the Mexican American war. Elite Tejanos intermarried with Anglo-Texans combining their social and political futures. Raúl Ramos explains the intermarriage allowed for Anglo-Texans to entrench themselves into a position of power in San Antonio.[15] The political landscape began changing to Anglo dominance in local politics.

After the Mexican American War and establishing the United States Army post, a surge in migration began to change the city's demographics. Before the 1860 federal census, Tejanos composed nearly half of San Antonio's population at forty-seven

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[15] Raúl A. Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo: Forging the Mexican Ethnicity in San Antonio, 1821-1861*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 203. Bexareño is a term coined by Ramos to identify families who have remained in Bexár County from Spanish rule through annexation of Texas to the United States. Tejano is a term used to identify individuals who have remained within the Texas border From Spanish rule through the annexation of Texas to the United States.
Terms used within this text will include the following: *Mexican* and *Mexican American* for the years before the twenty-first century for the identification of the Latin American and Spanish-speaking communities. *Tejano* and *Latino* terms were not used in any records found or used in this study. *Colored* while only be used in direct quotes from individuals and texts in the records used in this study. Outside of the primary sources the addressment of racial identities will be socially normative language and respectful of those who have suffered from oppression.

percent to forty-eight percent Anglo. After annexation to the United States, Texas experienced a surge in migration at one hundred and thirty-six percent, seemingly the highest in the nineteenth century. By the 1860 federal census, the Tejano population decreased to only thirty-six percent of the city's population, and Anglos increased to sixty-three percent.[16] The dramatic decrease in numbers meant decreased political influence for Bexareños and Tejanos and increased political influence for Anglos. Those with Spanish surnames began losing not only their majority but their political power as well, diminishing their ability to influence policy in San Antonio.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 provided protection to Mexicans living in Texas and granted citizenship to those who wished to remain. The treaty's verbiage helps account for some of the "white" students enrolled in Bexar County's schools. Cart Wars in San Antonio and Governor Pease's involvement influenced the relationship of citizenship and Mexican Americans from San Antonio and in the greater Texas landscape.

The San Antonio paper, *The Herald* published an anonym letter which identified the Tejanos impacted by the violence by Anglos against Tejano cart drivers, as "citizens."[17] The use of "citizen" in describing Tejanos connected them to the rights afforded by any United States citizen without the distinction of color. The individual wrote, "The citizens who were born on this soil without the distinction of color, and are not touched by the late decision of the Supreme Court of the United States—that they are

[16] Ramos, 207. Ramos based numbers of Spanish surnames.
[17] Ramos, 225.

citizens, as good as their rights under the law are involved, and that we are bound to respect them, if we value our own."[18] By describing Tejanos without the distinction of color the individual separated Tejanos from African Americans pushing them closer the "white" identity prescribed to them through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Violence continued against Tejano families and Mexican cart drivers though Governor Pease placed a patrol force to protect the drivers from Anglo violence.

The continued violence showed that though there were political forces in favor of the Tejano and Mexican community in Texas to the greater Anglo population Tejanos and Mexicans would not be equal to them racially. The identity of the Mexican American population and Tejanos morphed and changed dramatically in the twenty years following the Mexican American War. The political strength and influence the Tejano community once held in San Antonio diminished further placing the community as second-class citizens.

San Antonio offers a unique look at how the education system developed before and after slavery for not only the freed African Americans but also for the Latino community. Looking to San Antonio as a borderland because of its unique geographic position, demographic makeup, and history of schooling, the city provides a roadmap of how education developed among Mexican and Mexican Americans, African Americans, and Anglos. Bexar county enrolled thirty-four percent Anglo and ten percent African

[18] Ramos, 225.

American.[19] While the population of enrolled African Americans seems low, Bexar County had the highest enrollment west of the famous cattle Chisolm Trail. The trail began in San Antonio and essentially split the state between the west and east.

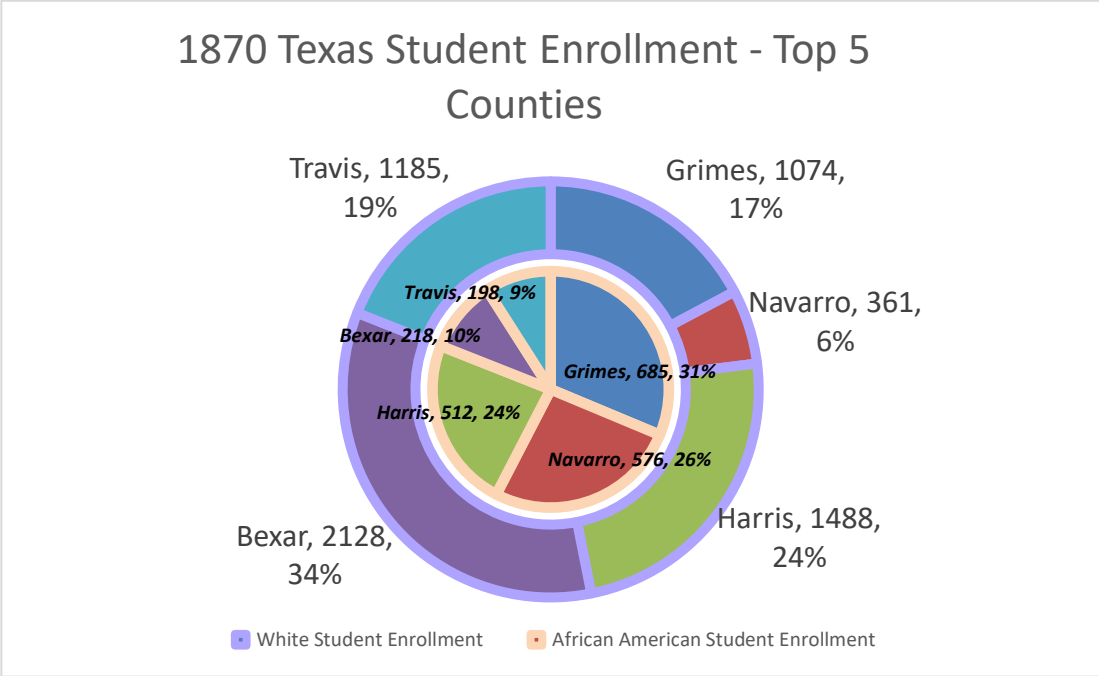

Figure 1: 1870 Student Enrollment- Top Five Counties. Numbers provided can be found in the 1870 United States Federal Census, pages 429-431. https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-40.pdf?#

Moving further west, African Americans' enrollment decreases, as does Anglo students' enrollment. Figure 1 above provides the enrollment numbers and percentage of scholastic children's population with the highest enrollment in Texas. The pale purple ring shows Anglo students (the outermost ring). The peach ring shows African American Students (the innermost ring). The divisions of counties and the colors assigned illustrate

[19] U.S. Census Bureau, "School Attendance and Illiteracy, Table X—State of Texas," *1870 Census: A Compendium of the Ninth Census (June 1, 1870*, Accessed March 10, 2020, https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1872/dec/1870e.html.

the comparison to Anglo and African American students. Bexar and Travis County are located west of the Chisolm Trail. The trail provides a geographical marker between the more fertile lands of the east which provided optimal growing conditions for some of Texas' primary agriculture in the nineteenth century.[20] To the west of the trail, the lands were more suited for cattle and smaller agriculture demands of the three largest demographics in Bexar County, where San Antonio is located.

Heavy labor needs, climate, and growing conditions kept most enslaved African Americans near Texas's eastern border. Figure 2 illustrates the density of the enslaved population taken from the 1860 Federal Slave Schedules for Texas. The deeper the purple represents the density of enslaved in that particular county in Texas. East of the Chisolm Trail the deeper the purple as the color saturation changes so does the population of enslaved. West of the Chisolm Trail the map turns a pale khaki color indicating the lowest amount of enslaved.

[20] Similar argument made by Prescott Webb and the 98th Meridian, however, the Chisolm Trail sits east of the 98th. The Trail offers a geographical marker to identify the climate conditions changing from wet and fertile lands promoting cotton, tobacco, sugar, rice, and other agriculture farming that relied heavily on the backs of the enslaved. While to the west of the trail the climate becomes more arid and hotter the further west you go not providing good farming conditions. If you would like to explore this more, please explore "The Seed of Texas: An Interactive Exploration of Bexar County," the largest digital collection of Bexar County history. I assisted in producing interactive maps and agriculture data sets for the project under the instruction and guidance of Dr. John Reynolds and Dr. Jessica Nowlin from the University of Texas at San Antonio.

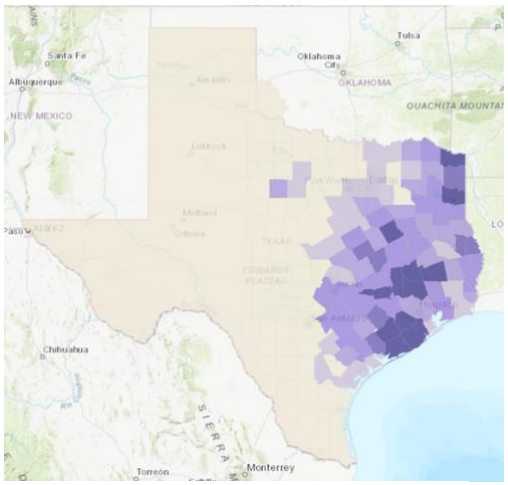

Figure 2: 1860 Enslaved Population of Texas. The data used to compile the information on the map came from the 1860 Federal Census. ArcGIS mapping software was used to create the map. United States, Census Office. "Population of the United States in 1860." (Washington, D. C.: 1864): 484-86.

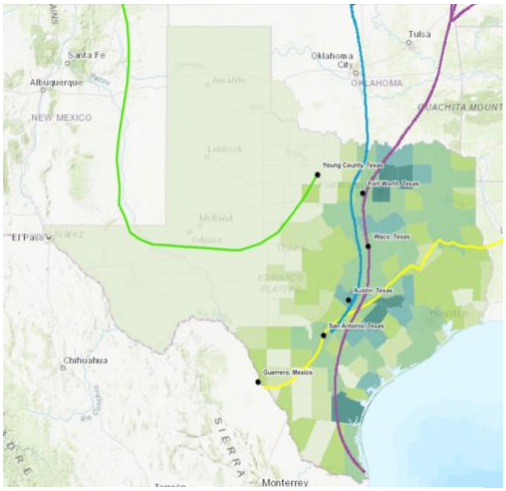

Figure 3: 1860 Livestock and Trail Map. The data used to compile the information on the map came from the 1860 Agriculture Federal Census. ArcGIS mapping software was used to create the map. United States, Census Office, "Agriculture," (Washington, D. C.: 1864): 484-86.

Figure 3, the 1860 Livestock and Trails map illustrates the geographical marker from east to west Texas. The Chisolm Trail is the blue line which follows to the east of the 98th meridian. The enslaved population sits to the left of the Chisolm Trail and the Shawnee Trail represented in purple.

Mexican and Mexican Americans were not identified in the United States Federal Census until the early 1900s; looking at the municipal records provides a record of San Antonio's Mexican and Mexican American community. Records often found the muted voices the Latino community because of the application of laws and identity forms over the decades.

Prior to the Civil War the education system resembled something close to the community system which loosely structured how and where schoolhouses existed. Many schoolhouses opened when a teacher moved into the area or when a part of the community petitioned the city's council members to open a schoolhouse. The school

system operated under a decentralized system allowing the counties and local governments to erect and fund schools for the local communities. A decentralized approach offers reason for the failure behind enforcement of the language laws and funding issues because the lack of oversight many county judges left the duties unattended. Outside of San Antonio's schools few schools existed in Bexar County and other rural areas of the state.

During the Reconstruction Era the typical school systems established consisted of the district system and the county system. County schools also referred to as common schools often struggled with funding because of the sparse population of the more rural areas in a county further from the urban areas. The county judge often acted as the superintendent or hired an individual as the superintendent. The district systems were permanent like the schoolhouses within them, while they lacked local control, they were afforded local election of trustees and board members and funded by state taxes and funds from the federal government.

Not many of the early schoolhouses lasted long and closed due to a lack of resources. In 1871, Jacob C. De Grass took office as the first superintendent in Texas, a German immigrant, determined that "teachers shall be permitted to teach the German, French, and Spanish languages in the Public Schools of this state, provided the time so occupied shall not exceed two hours each day."[21] De Grass believed that teaching bilingualism in the classroom supported the growth of public schools in Texas. In part

[21] Blanton, 19.

the large German and Spanish immigrants and descendants accounted for De Grass's position on a bilingual education. While prior to Reconstruction bilingualism in the classroom was written out of school law, De Grass wrote it into law and encouraged in the classroom. At the close of Reconstruction much of the centralized laws crumbled under the democrats rule with the 1875 state constitution.

Once the Redeemer Democrats took back the state government, they abolished the centralized school system established by Republicans during Reconstruction. Local governments and county judges had full authoritative power over education. The Redeemer Democrats established the community system by way of the new 1876 Constitution. Many of the Redeemer Democrats claimed the school laws established by the Republicans restricted control of local governments while claiming them to be "too radical." One scholar claimed, "the Constitution of 1876 went to the other extreme and virtually destroyed public schools."[22] The community system often only required a group of parents or community members to request a school be opened for the local students.

Community schools consisted of one-room and resided anywhere that could house students for example church basements, an empty building, stores, or public buildings.[23] The schoolhouses did not exist permanently nor were there any districts. Constitutionally, the schools could not tax and required state funds to operate. Those

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[22] John Stricklen Spratt, *The road to Spindletop: Economic Change in Texas. 1875-1901,* (Austin: University of Texas, 1970), 13.
[23] Blanton, 45.

supporting bilingual education and African Americans often relied on the community system because of the autonomy it gave parents to create and educate their children instead of relying on the district system's the mostly white school trustees and boards to provide adequate spaces for their children to learn.

The demographics of San Antonio during the latter half of the eighteenth century offer a unique look to see how the racialization of educational policy embedded race into its institution. The Progressive Education movement gained ground in Texas and the bilingual education lost footing and eventually died out after 1900. The Progressive movement in education mandated English-only instruction and teacher certifications while eliminating the ability for local communities to have autonomy over their schools' curriculum. The push for nativism gained more ground near the end of the nineteenth century eliminating the acceptance of other than English instruction and pedagogical instructions. Looking at how the system developed between the three demographics in San Antonio we can better understand the struggles that face state and local education in hopes to provide a better and more equitable education removing the driving forces of generation long racism.

CHAPTER II

EARLY EDUCATION THROUGH RECONSTRUCTION

San Antonio is one of the oldest Spanish settlements in Texas and provides a strong roadmap for historians and educational enthusiasts to learn the foundations of education. Mexico, the Republic of Texas, and the United States all addressed the need for education in the constitutions and declarations of independence. The need to educate the masses rested in the minds of the leaders but who was deserving of education? The Republic of Texas believed education existed for Anglo residents given the many who settled in Tejas while under Mexico's rule and brought the institution of slavery with them. Texas entered the Union as a slave state keeping the right of education for Anglo Texans. While Tejanos benefitted from education many families sought education through a religious institution.

Traditionally, missions were erected to Christianize and educate Native Americans. San Antonio de Valero mission established by the Franciscans in 1718 with a civilian settlement of Villa de Bexár.[24] The first civil settlement charted in Texas, San Fernando de Bexár in 1731, was meant to lessen the financial impacts of a "purely military settlement."[25] A publicly funded schoolhouse existed in San Antonio outside of

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[24] Susan Prendergast Schoelwer, "San Antonio de Valero Mission," accessed March 5, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/san-antonio-de-valero-mission,
Jesús F. de la Teja, "San Fernando de Bexár," *Texas State Historical Association,* accessed March 5, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/san-fernando-de-bexar.

[25] Jesús F. de la Teja

the Mission's school for the new settlement but did not last long during Mexico's fight for independence from Spain.[26]

After Mexico gained independence the responsibility to establish a school system fell to the newly formed Mexican government. According to the 1824 Constitution of Mexico, the responsibility of establishing a public education system fell to each individual state meaning the state of Coahuila and Tejas.[27] In 1827 the state of Coahuila and Tejas established a loose mandate for education stating, "the method of teaching shall be uniform in throughout the state" and that "Congress shall form a general plan of public education and regulate by means of statutes and laws all that pertains to this most important subject."[28] While the requirement by law to establish a public education system existed, many Anglo Texans felt the Mexican government failed the people of Mexico. The state did not establish a source to fund public schoolhouses leaving many families without an option for public education. The failure to erect a public education system in the Coahuila and Tejas state caused Anglo Texans to list education as a grievance against the Mexican government.[29]

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[26] Frederick Eby, "Section II Schools for the Spanish Children," *The Development of Education in Texas,* (New York: The McMillian Company, 1925) 60-64. The schoolhouse while publicly funded families who could afford tuition paid for school and those families that could not pay received free education.
[27] "Title III, section 5, Article 5," *Constitutions of Texas 1824-1876,* Tarlton Law Library University of Texas, https://tarlton.law.utexas.edu/c.php?g=813224&p=5802559#art50.
[28] Carlos Kevin Blanton, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas, 1836-1981,* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004), 13.
[29] *The Unanimous Declaration of Independence made by the Delegates of the People of Texas in General Convention at the Town of Washington on the 2nd day of March 1836,* Texas State Library and Archive Commission, https://www.tsl.texas.gov/treasures/republic/declaration.html. The Republic of Texas did very little to establish a functioning education system after independence even though the need and want for education was listed as a grievance to the Mexican government.

Education existed as a quasi-functioning institution in Texas never fully supported financially but always supported through empty legislation. Decentralized education began before Texas became a state. It started with the Republic of Texas. During the Republic of Texas, public education faltered and failed due the lack of enforceable funding. In 1837, President Sam Houston signed an act that incorporated three municipalities and gave legal authority to establish publicly funded schools, including San Antonio. However, in the years that followed, San Antonio did not establish public schoolhouses due to Mexico's occupation.[30] Initiatives for education continued through the time of the Republic, but all failed and fell short. Again in 1838 and 1839 President Mirabeau B. Lamar wrote two bills that included creating the legal and financial structure for local public schools.[31] While creating revenue by taxation, funded public education, the enforcement of the laws fell short and impotent when put to the test.

The Constitution of 1845 discussed the needs for education in the newly annexed Texas, including the requirement to make provisions to maintain and support public schoolhouses. Noting, "a general diffusion of knowledge being essential to the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people, it shall be the duty of the legislature of this State to make suitable provisions for the support and maintenance of public

[30] Blanton, 16. Twice in 1842 San Antonio was occupied militarily by Mexican forces under the order of Mexico's new president Antonio de López de Santa Anna. The occupation halted any attempts to establish schools in the newly incorporated municipality.
[31] Blanton, 17.

schools."[32] The School Fund established under the constitution diverted property tax monies and part of federal funds to support and maintain the public schools in Texas. The constitution stipulated that, "…no law shall ever be made diverting said fund to any other use…."[33] Education at state level existed in words. Still, the implementation of education at local level failed in every way. Public schoolhouses never existed for long and failed due to lack of funds.

Education in Texas has long been plagued by empty mandates, laws, and political promises before Governor Elisha Pease. The School Law of 1854 opened the door to provide state funding for public schooling, an initiative of Governor Elisha Pease. The School Fund relied on an allocated $2 million from a federal government bond and one-tenth of state collected tax revenue. The law did not require the segregation of Anglos and Mexican and Mexican American students. However, in San Antonio, the practice of segregation often happened due to *de facto* reasons.[34]

The free African American families did not have opportunity for public education because state laws and initiatives left them out of educational movement. While slavery existed throughout Texas, free African Americans lived with strict restrictions in their daily lives. If one-eighth African American blood the individuals

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[32] John Sayles, *The Constitutions of the State of Texas, With the Reconstruction Acts of Congress, the Constitution of the Confederate States, and of the United States,* 4th ed. (St. Louis: The Gilbert Book Company, 1893) accessed February 23, 2021, HathiTrust, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.35112203453677&view=1up&seq=221&q1=Constitution%201845, 251.

[33] Sayles, 251.

[34] *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention Which Met at Austin, Texas, June 1, A. D., 1868*, (Austin: Tracey, Siemering & Co., Printers, 1870), accessed March 27, 2018, HathiTrust: http//hdl.handle.net/2027/uiug.3011206384428, 66.

were stripped of any right to citizenship, right to interracial marriages, loss of property rights, among other oppressive and restrictive living conditions during the Republic of Texas. After annexation, the unjust and abusive nature of slave-holding states enacted harsher laws against free African Americans, often including punishments reserved for enslaved African Americans.[35]

The question of language in public schools changed with the rule of Texas. Before independence Mexico's language policy in education, or more the lack of one, became interpreted as tolerance for other languages. During the Republic, the official language in education became English without a truly enforceable law. Many schools taught to the community and teachers' tongue. After annexation, Texas began to create exclusive language laws restricting the funds and abilities of communities and teachers. The state laws of 1856 and 1858 School Laws attempted to clarify the role language would play in the schoolhouse. The law required that the curriculum include English as an instructional language although unenforceable. Without the ability to enforce the language requirement, community schools, district schools, and private schools continued to speak the languages best suited for the teacher and students. Two years later the legislation again addressed language in the schoolhouses across Texas. The 1856 School Law required the English language to be taught in public schoolhouses. [36]

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[35] Douglas Hayles, "Free Blacks," accessed May 31, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/free-blacks.
[36] Blanton, 16-18.

As the education system established itself throughout Texas, the need to adequately fund the system fell short. Many of the laws passed in the 1850s addressed scholastic age, moving the required age from six to sixteen in the early 1850s to six to eighteen by increasing the ages required to attend school allowed for an increase in the pool of children accounted in each county for an extensive tax base. Low returns from tax revenues from participating counties could not sustain the School Fund's crippling finances to support education.

In hopes to support the School Fund, Texas included the opportunity for railroad companies to take loans out against the Fund. The State believed that the interest paid back by the railroad companies would add financial gains, and sustainability. The legislation set the amount of interest to six percent annually and up to $6,000 per mile. In the six years after the 1854 School Law establishing the fund and provision for railroad companies to borrow against the fund Texas allowed three companies to borrow nearly $1 million against the school fund. The debt accrued before the Civil War devastated the education system's ability to sustain schools during the conflict. When Texas seceded from the United States, the state lost the federal funds it relied on for education support as well as other state needs outside of education.[37]

In 1861 when the Civil War erupted, the development of public schools across Texas ceased due to diverted funds for the war effort. Schoolhouses across the state felt

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[37] *The Texas Almanac, for 1860*, (Galveston: Richardson & Co., 1860), HathiTrust http://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101013381684.

the full force of the war when their doors closed, and the development of education ended. In 1862, a state Treasurer reported the School Fund became insecure, citing the "repudiation of the United States bonds" ending the needed financial support for the school system.[38] Schools across the state lost revenue due to the diverted funds for the war effort. Evidence of an operational schoolhouse exists in *Council Journal Book C* stating requests for superintendent and teacher pay in 1863 and rent for a schoolhouse in 1864. The book also referenced one schoolhouse on Market Street after the Civil War ended in 1865.[39] A year earlier, during the Civil War, a request by Sam Newton for reimbursement for repairs he made to a public school shows that a schoolhouse did exist before and during the Civil War.[40] The two requests for reimbursement changes a prior believed fact that no schoolhouses existed during the Civil War to the existence of at least one schoolhouse in San Antonio during the war.[41]

As Anglos came into political power, Tejanos lost their place to politically demand a policy protecting their educational wishes. Texas state laws that moved to eliminate Spanish and languages other than English from instructional languages used in public schoolhouses threatened whole communities' cultures. Early reports from the

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[38] *The Texas Almanac for 1862,* (Galveston: Richardson & Co., 1862), accessed March 18, 2018, HathiTrust, https://hdl.handle.net/2027njp.3210107464867, 46.
[39] *Council Journal Book E, 1879-1884, City of San Antonio,* Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through K Minutes, San Antonio Municipal Archives and Records in San Antonio, Texas, 422, 440, and 462. This evidence reverses the claim that public schoolhouses did not operate in San Antonio during the Civil War.
[40] *Council Journal Book C, 1856-1870, San Antonio*, Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through K Minutes, San Antonio Municipal Archives and Records in San Antonio, Texas.
[41] Frederick Eby stated that the schoolhouses in San Antonio dissolved during the Civil War though the Council Book C indicates a running schoolhouse in 1863 (422) and in 1864 (440). Eby, Frederick. *The Development of Education in Texas.* New York: The McMillian Company, 1925, 127.

state Superintendents contained negative and pessimistic opinions towards the education of non-English speakers.[42] In San Antonio the Inspector Reports for St. Mary's Institute described the *Mexican class* as disorderly.[43] However, this description did not truly represent the beliefs and wishes the community had for education. Many lacked the access to public education in rural areas across Texas.

The development of education laws and policies in Texas added to the racial formation of Mexican and Mexican Americans. The laws regarding education racialized Spanish-speaking communities throughout Texas and San Antonio. By penalizing the use of Spanish as an instructional language and cementing English as the language of instruction, the Texas government racialized Mexican Americans in public education. Many communities created a *counterscript* to challenge Anglo oppression through private schools that instruct in their native language. State laws regarding instructional language and the penalties that followed were deemed unenforceable until the end of the century. The lack of enforcement aided Spanish-speaking communities to continue to school the students that best suited them.

Texas built an education system based not only on the race of the students but the state populace. The state gave highest level of access and support to Anglos through English-only laws, funding prioritizing Anglo schoolhouses over others, and creating

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[42] Philis M. Barragán Goetz, *Reading, Writing, and Revolution: Escuelitas and the Emergence of a Mexican American Identity in Texas*, (Austin: University of Texas, 2020), 16.

[43] "Inspector Report St. Mary's College," AMR/SLP—San Antonio—St. Mary's College Inspector's Reports—1887-1907, Physical collection: National Archives of the Marianist Province of the United States San Antonio, TX. Translations by Brother Earl Leistikow, S. M.

laws to benefit the education of Anglos over others. While education was meant to be the great equalizer in society Texas and local education practices created a stagnant environment for African Americans and Mexican Americans with little progress towards educational standards for over a century. The segregation in education policy and practice throughout Reconstruction laid the foundation to embed race into the institution of education again and again.

Figure 4 looks at the enrollment based on the 1870s federal census according to the reported demographic makeup of Bexar County, Texas, where San Antonio is located. The federal census did not allow for true, accurate counts of the county's actual demographics due to the ambiguity surrounding Mexican American identity of the nineteenth century. A closer look at local records allows researchers to tease out the Mexican American community in the county and city.

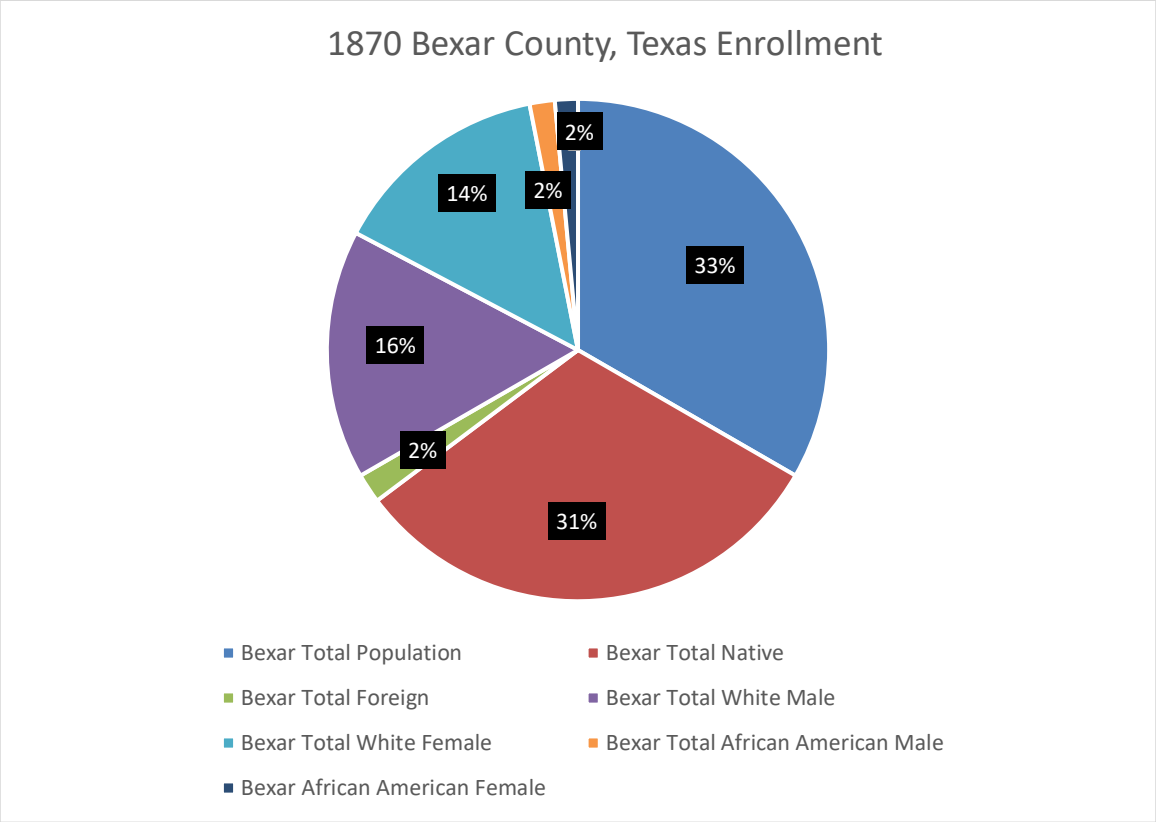

Figure 4: 1870 Bexar County, Texas Enrollment. Numbers provided can be found in the 1870 United States Federal Census, pages 429-431. https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1870/population/1870a-40.pdf?#

Enumerators collecting information for the federal census relied on responses given by the households. Bexar County enumerators inquired if anyone in the household attended school within the last year. They also identified the household as either "B" for African Americans and those who appeared to be African Americans, "W" for Anglos and those who appeared to be Anglos, "M" for mulatto, "I" for Native Americans, "C" for Chinese.[44] Native and foreign refers to the individuals place of birth; if the individual

[44] "History, 1870," *United States Census Bureau,* accessed March 18, 2021, https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/index_of_questions/1870_1.html. For more information on how race was identified for the 1870s federal census please see the above information.

was born outside of the United States and its territories, they would identify as foreign, and native would refer to those born within the United States or territories.

As Bexar County's makeup is broken down, four percent make up enrolled African American students with two hundred and twenty-eight students—one hundred and fourteen males and one hundred and two females. Though an earlier record for 1867 when the first African American schoolhouse in San Antonio opened, owned and operated by the Freedmen Bureau, one hundred and fifty-nine students received education.[45]

Mexican Americans did not exist in federal records as a separate category for race until the 1930s census.[46] The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 gave those living in Texas and other areas in the southwest United States the option for citizenship if they remained or pronounced themselves loyal to the country. Enumerators marked Mexican Americans as "white" because there was no other option to identify them as another community. The number of "white" students did not include only Anglo students; it included Mexican American and what twentieth century individuals would identify as first or second generation Mexican American, German, Czech, French, and

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[45] "Records to the Superintendent of Education for the State of Texas, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1870," *National Archives Microfilm Publications*, Microfilm Publication M822 Roll 2: Registers of Letters Received Volume 1 (14), Volume 2 (3), November 1866-Dec 1870, Texana Room Central Library, San Antonio, TX. Volume 1, May 16, 1867. The letters in this collection do not correspond by page number only by date of letter. References made to this collection will have corresponding dates to the letters within the collection.

[46] "History, 1930," *United States Census Bureau,* accessed May 31, 2021, https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/index_of_questions/1930_1.html. "About: About Hispanic Origin," accessed May 31, 2021, https://www.census.gov/topics/population/hispanic-origin/about.html.

other individuals from places outside of the traditional United States borders. Thirty percent or 2,128 "white" identified students included Anglo *and* Mexican American students from San Antonio and the surrounding area making up Bexar County.

Another demographic that established a school in San Antonio consisted of forty families of German descent or German immigrants established a school to help keep their schooling traditions afloat. While supporting the diverse community by providing others not of German descent to receive an education. The school opened its door in 1859 with eighty students in the Kleeper Hotel until it moved to its permanent location on South Alamo Street. The following year the enrollment nearly doubles with one hundred and forty students and by 1870 two hundred and sixty were enrolled. The private school operated until 1903 when it closed due to struggle with funding.[47]

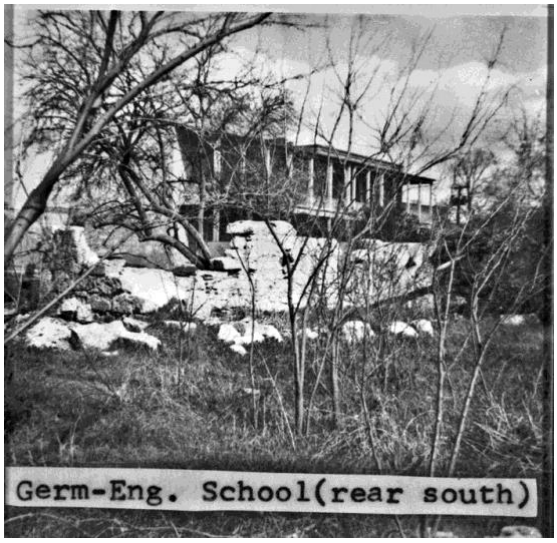

Figure 5: German-English School South Alamo Street. Circa 1966. University of Texas San Antonio, UTSA Digital Libraries Special Collections Digital Collections. https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p9020coll008/id/9083

[47] The information on the German-English School was provided by Dr. Walter Kamphoefner at Texas A&M University from his presentation at SGAS in San Antonio, Texas in 2016.

According to local records, during the 1860s, San Antonio had three public schoolhouses two Anglo schoolhouses owned and operated by the city and one African American schoolhouse owned and operated by the Freedmen's Bureau. The city also had three private schoolhouses, two established for the education of Mexican and Mexican American students and supported elite Anglo families (St. Mary's Institute and Ursuline Academy). St. Mary's Institute for males and the Ursuline Academy for female students with the same demographics of St. Mary's Institute.[48] The German-English school was the third private schoolhouse located in San Antonio and operated until 1903, when the school closed.[49]

The map below is an archived image of a hand-drawn rendition of San Antonio city in 1868. Using ArcGIS Pro, the archived image has been georeferenced to a current map of San Antonio using historical reference points of the Military Plaza, Main Plaza, Plaza de Alamo, and common points of the San Antonio River and San Pedro Creek. The only school not accounted for on the map is the Ursuline Academy due to its location north of Martin Street which was not included in the archived hand-drawn map.

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[48] Paula Allen, "Ursuline Academy had a long, rich history," *My San Antonio*, October 4, 2013, Accessed May 31, 2021, https://www.mysanantonio.com/life/life_columnists/paula_allen/article/Ursuline-Academy-had-a-long-rich-history-4866915.php.

[49] Frances Donecker, "German-English School," Accessed May 31, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/german-english-school. The German-English school provided education to Spanish speaking and Anglo children, but barred African Americans from receiving an education from their institution.

Map of Public and Private Schools, San Antonio, Texas, 1868

Source: Council Journal and Minute Books C through K 1853-1895 Collection: physical Council Journal Books, San Antonio Municipal Archives, and Records in San Antonio, Texas. "Detailed Chronology of San Antonio Education 1789-1973." Map of San Antonio, Texas State Library and Archives Commission AC# 01896.

Cartographer: Sarah Vegerano
Date December 8, 2020

Projection: WGS 1984 Web Mercator
Datum: NAD 1983

Esri, NASA, NGA, USGS, FEMA, Esri Community Maps Contributors, BCAD, Texas Parks & Wildlife, Esri, HERE, Garmin, SafeGraph, INCREMENT P, METI/NASA, USGS, EPA, NPS, US Census Bureau, USDA

Figure 6: Map of Public and Private Schools, San Antonio, Texas, 1868.

A significant portion of school funds came from land given and sold during Mexican rule to San Antonio missions and eventually the city.[50] Anglo students gained access to public schoolhouses while Mexican and Mexican American students tended to congregated at St. Mary's School (1852) then St. Mary's Institute (1854).[51] African Americans were barred from public education until Reconstruction.[52] St. Mary's Institute provided tuition-based private education for the wealthy Mexican and Mexican Americans while also providing education to pauper and orphaned children. Even within the private education of Mexican and Mexican American students' socioeconomics impacted the level of education accessed against their Anglo counterparts.

Early Latino Education

Mexican and Mexican American students had opportunity for education in San Antonio through St. Mary's Institute, but their access to public schoolhouses remained obscure until possibly the late 1870s. San Antonio's council records show that the education of Mexican and Mexican American children was never directly addressed in public schoolhouses. Traditionally, Spanish-speaking families sought a religious or

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[50] Stephen B. Thomas and Billy Don Walker, "Texas Public School Finance," *Journal of Education School Finance*, vol. 8, no 2 (1982), accessed November 12, 2019, https://www.jstor.org/stable/40703363, 227.
[51] Joseph W. Schmitz S. M., *The Beginnings of the Society of Mary in Texas, 1852-1866*, San Antonio: Naylor Company, National Archives of the Marianist Province of the United States San Antonio, TX.
[52] Hayles, Douglas, "Free Blacks," accessed May 31, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/free-blacks.

sectarian education for their children.[53] Records regarding the St. Mary's Institute reflect high enrollments of Mexican and Mexican American children.

Bishop Odin advocated to the Marianists and Ursuline Sisters to erect two private schools in San Antonio to support the education of the Mexican and Mexican American population.[54] The Ursuline Academy provided education for females and St. Mary's Institute supported the education for males in bilingual classrooms. St. Mary's Institute did not actively segregate *Mexican* students from Anglo students until the Institute established the San Fernando school in 1888 for Mexican and Mexican American students and economically segregated the poor and orphaned boys regardless of ethnicity.

Bishop Odin's wishes that the Mexican and Mexican American population be given access to education through their institution did not act exclusively with this population. San Antonio's population was and still is a diverse population both ethnically and religiously. Students of all backgrounds from non-Catholic to Catholic and Mexican to German received education from the Brothers.[55] St. Mary's School only operated for one year before moving locations from Military Plaza to College Street near the San Antonio River. St. Mary's Institute operated on a tuition-based enrollment with day students and boarding students. The first year of operation, twelve male scholars attended, within a year, more than one hundred males enrolled the following academic

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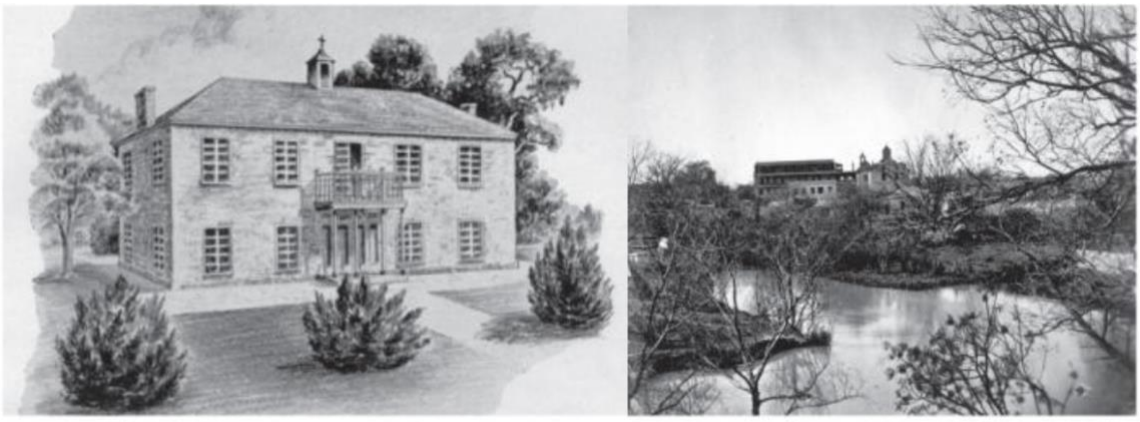
[53] Arnoldo De Leon, *The Tejano Community, 1836-1900*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 187.
[54] Sister Ignatius Miller O.S.U., "Ursuline Academy, San Antonio," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed May 331, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/ursuline-academy-san-antonio.
[55] Joseph W. Schmitz, S. M., 16.

year.[56] Pauper and orphaned students relied on the tuition and support from the Marianist to attend school. Many of the Spanish-speaking students who enrolled as borders came from elite families from Mexico.



Renowned Artist Theodore Gentilz's painting of St. Mary's Institute. Gentilz would teach art at St. Mary's from 1864 to 1894.

Looking upstream on the San Antonio River from Losoya Street, St. Mary's Institute can be seen in the distance.

Figure 7: Early Renditions of St. Mary's Institute from https://e.issuu.com/embed.html#3727083/3015511

During the Civil War, St. Mary's Institute continued to operate with decreased monetary support due to the difficulty to send requests from San Antonio. St. Mary's suffered little from the Civil War aside from shortages in paper materials and writing. One prominent Brother, Brother Edel, a teacher to the young scholars expressed fierce support for the Confederacy and dislike for "Black Republicans." Brother Edel criticized African American Republicans, believing them hypocrites and liars as he commented on the bloody war, "long life to the Southern Confederacy."[57]

[56] "St. Mary's University's Historical Timeline," (St. Mary's University, 2013), https://issuu.com/stmarysu/docs/stlouishall_timeline_issuu.
[57]Joseph W. Schmitz, S. M., 18.

During Reconstruction, St. Mary's Institute remained untouched in changes made to education by the Republican government, given their status as a private institution. The Mexican American students received a secular education through the Marinists and did not become segregated until the 1880s. The earliest Inspector Reports from the Institute discussing student curriculum and observations on the Brothers who taught began in the 1880s. According to a historian researching the history of Latinos at St. Mary's College, the population of students with Spanish surnames ranges from twenty to thirty percent over the first fifty years of operation.[58] The language restrictions put in place by both the Democratic and Republican school laws shielded the Institution from compliance allowed the Brothers to teach in whatever language they preferred.

Early African American Education

Reconstruction began shortly after the Civil War ended, and as a condition for Southern states for readmittance to the United States, the establishment of schoolhouses for African Americans was required. Though a requirement to establish a system of education for African Americans existed, Texas instituted restrictions on access like many other southern states. The use of tax dollars collected by the state to supply financial support for the school system raised fears among Anglos in Texas that African American families and individuals would benefit over the Anglo families.[59]

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[58] Dr. Gerald E. Poyo at St. Mary's University in San Antonio, Texas. Dr. Poyo is involved in ongoing and unpublished research pertaining to the history of the University and was gracious enough to discuss notes to support this research. Dr. Poyo's research on Spanish-surnames of the student enrollments estimated the possible range of twenty to thirty percent of the student body having a Spanish surname.
[59] Camille Walsh, *Racial Taxation: schools, segregation, and taxpayer's citizenship, 1869-1973*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 4.

Common among southern states were Black Codes meant to contain the new freedoms granted to African Americans. The 1866 state Constitution, a new School Fund, addressed the fears of the Anglo community "… said [School] fund, and the income derived therefrom, shall be a perpetual fund exclusively for the education of all the white scholastic inhabitants of this State…"[60] While the state of Texas did not legally exclude African Americans from education Texas, it did nothing to support access, build or maintain schools for African Americans.

The tax appropriation for African American communities led to dismal funding for the maintenance and erection of new schoolhouses. San Antonio did not build or open a school for African Americans until the 1890s. Throughout much of the South, including Texas, the African American community often raised and used their own funds to build the community's schoolhouses built with little aid from local authorities.[61] Through Texas's school laws, the continued racialization of educational led to the continued oppression of African Americans, placing them as second-class citizens within its institution. A popular antitax slogan during late 1800s, "the white pay the taxes and the Negroes go to school."[62] At the time, a widespread perception of whites believed white children had a greater entitlement to more significant funds for education than African Americans across the South. Many school boards, superintendents, and local

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[60] Sayles, 328.
[61] James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935,* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 170-71.
[62] Walsh, 18.

councils were predominantly white, which supported and authorized more funds to white schools over African American schools.

When the Republican government took control of southern states' government, the education system in Texas became centralized. The Constitution of Texas 1869 changed the scholastic age to six to eighteen, which increased the required tax base in hopes to fund the public school system.[63] The 1869 Constitution ended many of the established practices of the Black Codes established in Texas from the 1866 Constitutional Convention of Texas, most notably the end of the exclusion of African Americans from education. The new Constitution moved from only allowing Anglo students to benefit from state collected tax dollars to allow for equal distribution to the entirety of the scholastic population.[64] The 1869 Constitution ended the earlier 1866 provision, which excluded the use of school funds for African American students.

The Freedman Bureau and the members of the Republican party, appalled by Texas's continued oppression of African Americans, established schools across Texas to aid in education. In January 1867, the Freedman Bureau established the Lincoln school for African American students in San Antonio.[65] African American teachers received pay of seventy-five dollars, the same as Anglo schoolteachers, though, by the fall of 1867, Anglo teachers petitioned to have their pay increased to hundred dollars.[66] Anglo

63 Sayles, 440.
64 Sayles, 443.
65 "Records to the Superintendent of Education for the State of Texas, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1870," vol 1, January 28, 1867.
66 *Council Journal Book C, 1856-1870, San Antonio,* Collection: Physical Council Journal Books C through E Minutes, San Antonio Municipal Archives in San Antonio, Texas, 619 and 622

teachers moved forward to remove this seemingly equal pay to petition for higher pay at the sign of equal pay between the races than African American teachers.

The efforts made by the Freedmen Bureau noted a large increase of students during the first year of operation at one hundred, and fifty-nine scholars enrolled.[67] Teachers at the Lincoln school continued their fight for better quality and access to facilities to serve their community in San Antonio. Within the council minutes, African American teachers' requests state that inadequate space caused by overcrowding showed a need for a larger schoolhouse. African American communities created a counterscript by their determination to create a space to provide their children with an education.

By 1868 San Antonio had four established schoolhouses for Anglo students. The city had not made efforts to establish a schoolhouse for the African American community. The Lincoln school served the community to educate the young and old by offering day and night school. The African American school named for the man who signed the Emancipation Proclamation giving hope to African Americans across the country did not sit well with Anglo Council members prompting them to change the name. Four years later, the local government took over the financial and physical maintenance of the Lincoln School, renaming it the Rincon St. School.[68] Instead, *Rincon,* which translates to "inside the corner," was deemed fit for the school, removing any

[67] "Records to the Superintendent of Education for the State of Texas, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1870," May 16, 1867.
[68] Raymond Kreysha, "A History of Douglass Academy," (San Antonio ISD, 2008), accessed March 5, 2021, https://schools.saisd.net/upload/page/9922/docs/A_History_of_Douglass_Academy.pdf, 2.

remembrance of Lincoln. Another push by the Anglo council to further separate and isolate a community from the newly gained rights.

Throughout the records, the African American community submitted petition upon petition for nearly twenty years to open a second schoolhouse for their children. In show of desperate wishes to support the African American community's wishes for a better education, teacher Nace Duval from the Freedmen's Bureau continually requested permission to pay the rent of Rincon Street school from 1868 through 1875, four years after the Bureau handed over the schoolhouse.[69] The first mention to fund and establish a second schoolhouse for African Americans was entered in 1875, authorizing the funds to erect a second schoolhouse.[70] Though these funds passed, the search to begin construction never took place, and the African American students continued to suffer from an inadequate schoolhouse. Two years later, the African American community submitted another petition citing overcrowding and inadequate space to fund and build a second schoolhouse—this motion was again approved, but no actions were taken.

By the end of Reconstruction, the African American community continued to push their *counterscript* by submitting numerous petitions and requests to establish a second schoolhouse for their children. The narrative that African Americans simply did not care about education is crippling and false. The community pushed forward through the decades ahead. They fought by petitioning the city for an adequate space to provide

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[69] *Council Book C* and *D* hold multiple recorded entries of Nace Duval requesting to pay the forty dollars rent for the schoolhouse and requests to pay the other teachers' wages.
[70] *Council Journal Book D, 1870-1879, Pg 135-265, City of San Antonio,* Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through E Minutes, San Antonio Municipal Archives and Records in San Antonio, Texas, 185.

their children the education they deserved through the rights they gained by citizenship. Though, many times, petitions passed, and funds approved, the funds never materialized to build a second schoolhouse.[71] The African American community would not see new schools until the mid-1880s. Through the local policy and practices, institutional racism grew as a foundation in education.

Early Anglo Education

San Antonio organized the first free school in Texas in 1853, one for Anglo males and the other for Anglo females.[72] The push for local taxation for public schoolhouses ended in a stalemate in San Antonio. According to records, the Civil War impacted the city's schoolhouses; only one school was in operation during and after the Civil War. Evidence of an operational schoolhouse exists in *Council Journal Book C* stating requests for superintendent and teacher pay in 1863 and rent for a schoolhouse in 1864. Again in 1865 the book referenced one schoolhouse on Market Street after the

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[71] *Council Journal Book C, 1856-1870, San Antonio*, Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through K Minutes, San Antonio Municipal Archives and Records in San Antonio, Texas, 580, 590, 665. *Council Journal Book D, 1870-1879, Pg 135-265, City of San Antonio.* Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through K Minutes. San Antonio Municipal Archives and Records in San Antonio, Texas, 183. *Council Journal Book D, 1870-1879, Pg 265-400,* Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through K Minutes. San Antonio Municipal Archives and Records in San Antonio, Texas, 300, 301-02. *Council Journal Book E, 1879-1884, City of San Antonio,* Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through K Minutes, San Antonio Municipal Archives and Records in San Antonio, Texas, 78-81, 266. *Council Journal and Minutes, Book F: 1884-1886, City of San Antonio,* Collection: physical Council Journal Books, San Antonio Municipal Archives, and Records in San Antonio, Texas, 44, 48. *Council Journal and Minutes, Book G: 1886-1888 City of San Antonio,* Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through K Minutes, San Antonio Municipal Archives, and Records in San Antonio, Texas, 418.

[72] Fredrick Eby, *The Development of Education in Texas*, (New York: The McMillian Company, 1925), 127. J.J. Lane, *History of Education in Texas.* (Washington: Government Printing Press, 1903), 27.

Civil War ended in 1865.[73] The Confederate government reverted state treasuries to support the war efforts against the Union. In absence of state government instructions, the city council established positions of education that functioned for San Antonio—Superintendent, Committee of Education, teaching assistants, and School Trustees. As Reconstruction began in 1865, the San Antonio records described their hopes in a "harmonious" relationship with the United States military that occupied the city.[74]

A private, nonsectarian German-English school opened in 1858 and survived the Civil War. Today, the school's approach to language would be labeled as a "dual-language bilingual education" primarily focused on German and English with Spanish being added later.[75] The hope of the German-English school rested on the belief that if students learned both English and German, they would be not be divided on nationality.[76] However, this cohesive approach to differences in societies did not exist in many schools during the nineteenth century, an exception for all intents and purposes but by no means the typical approach.

Figure 8, titled "Map of Public and Private Schools, San Antonio, Texas 1873" is an archived image of a hand-drawn rendition of San Antonio city in 1873, four years before the end of Reconstruction in the South. Using ArcGIS Pro, the archived image

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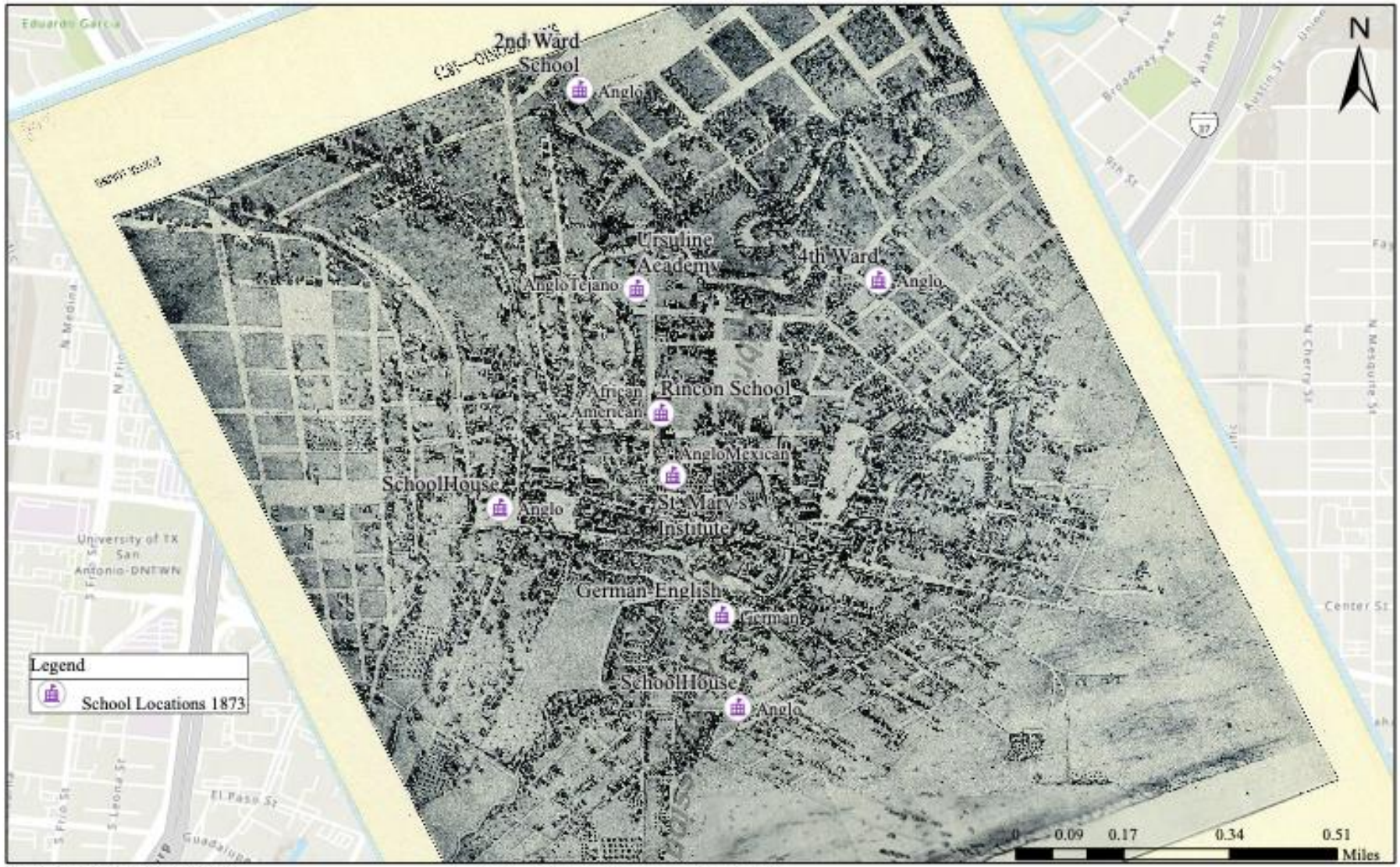
[73] *Council Journal Book E, 1879-1884, City of San Antonio,* Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through K Minutes, San Antonio Municipal Archives and Records in San Antonio, Texas, 422, 440, and 462. This evidence reverses the claim that public schoolhouses did not operate in San Antonio during the Civil War.
[74] *Council Journal Book C, 1856-1810, San Antonio,* Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through E Minutes, San Antonio Municipal Archives and Records in San Antonio, Texas, 500.
[75] Blanton, 37.
76 Blanton, 36-7.

has been georeferenced to a current map of San Antonio using historical reference points of the Military Plaza, Main Plaza, Alamo Plaza, Travis Plaza, and common points of the San Antonio River and San Pedro Creek. Looking closely at Figure 8, one can observe, the archived image needed to be rotated and reserved so that the street names appear backward due to how the cartographer in 1873 drew the San Antonio map.

The council records do not provide the exact dates of operation for the schoolhouses established during the late nineteenth century. The locations of the schoolhouses and exact dates of establishment are ambiguous due to incomplete and missing historical records. The lack of clear records explains the seemed error in naming according to "Map of Public and Private Schools, San Antonio, Texas 1873" compared to "Map of Public and Private Schools, San Antonio, Texas, 1868." While the two schoolhouses established in the 1850s did not receive a name change until after 1873, while the Second Ward and Fourth Ward schoolhouses established after 1873 are represented on the map because no better representation exists for the city and schoolhouses. By 1890 the nomenclature of the schoolhouses changes again due to the ward divisions and city population growth patterns during the latter half of the century. Changing the name to roads, schoolhouses, and buildings are common events in any city's development, and San Antonio is no stranger to these growing pains.

Map of Public and Private Schools, San Antonio, Texas, 1873



Cartographer: Sarah Vegerano
Date: December 8, 2020

Projection: WGS 1984 Web Mercado
Datum: NAD 1983

Source: Council Journal and Minute Books C through K 1853-1895 Collection: physical Council Journal Books, San Antonio Municipal Archives, and Records in San Antonio, Texas. "Detailed Chronology of San Antonio Education 1789-1973." Map of San Antonio, Texas State Library and Archives Commission AC# 06368.

Figure 8: Map of Public and Private Schools, San Antonio, Texas, 1873.

In Figure 8, Rincon Street Schoolhouse located east of a sharp bend in the San Antonio River. St. Mary's Institute located on College Street and the San Antonio River. South of St. Mary's Institute, the German-English School located, is located in the square block of Presa Street and Martinez Street. The Ursuline Academy located on Water Street on the banks of the San Antonio River. The schoolhouses without ward designation were established during the 1850s and were not renamed until the next decade. Second Ward Schoolhouse located at the Public Square in the far north edge of the map. Forth Ward Schoolhouse located at Fourth Street and Avenue C.

In 1875 the Committee on Public Schools in San Antonio proposed a change to the city's schoolhouses and requested to establish and maintain six public schoolhouses in their associated ward—four for Anglo children and two for African Americans one on the east bank and one on the west bank of the San Antonio River.[77] The records indicate the request approved, but the second African American schoolhouse never materialized. As the population grew in San Antonio, the city split into four wards. The council continued to serve the Anglo population as first-class citizens while continually placing the educational needs of the African American community in second place.

Governor Richard Coke, elected in 1874, ended the centralized education system in Texas. By decentralizing the school system, he removed the use of state funds to be used for education and shifted the burden to local governments. The lack of state support from the School Fund led to mismanagement of funds putting many cities across Texas

[77] *Council Journal Book D,* 183.

in debt against their local funds. Once the Redeemer Democrats took back the state government, they abolished the centralized school system established by Republicans during Reconstruction. Local governments and county judges had full authoritative power over education. At the close of Reconstruction, much of the centralized laws crumbled under the Democrats' rule with the 1875 state constitution.

In San Antonio, Mayor French feared of having to close the schoolhouses in 1876. During the uncertainty of schoolhouse closures, the local newspaper, *San Antonio Express*, wrote a scathing response to the restructuring of school funds by the Governor. "There never was a State so betrayed by an administration as Texas has been by the present one; there never was a party so betrayed and disgraced by a favorite politician as the Democratic party of Texas has been by Gov. Coke." "There is no crime in connection with the public money greater than the robbery of the Permanente School Fund by the present administration of Texas." "Such high-handed robbery and oppression cannot and will not go unpunished."[78] The Op-ed responded to the change in constitution by the removal of the state's obligation to levy, collect, or set apart tax revenue collected for the support of Texas schools. Mayor French feared the stoppage of states funds in 1876 would end with schoolhouses shutting down across the city.

Mayor French requested help through the Peabody Fund, a fund to support education for African American poor and rural communities across the South. A

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[78] "What is our remedy against the robbery of the school fund?" *San Antonio Express*, July 28, 1876, accessed April 2018, https://access-newspaperarchive-com.libweb.lib.utsa.edu/us/texas/san-antonio/san-antonio-express/1876/07-28/page-2?tag=education+school+teacher&rtserp=tags/education-school-teacher?pr=30&psb=dateasc&pc=25699&psi=94&pci=7&pt=10775&pd=1&ndt=bd&pe=31&pem=12&py=1865&pm=1&pey=1877&search=.

provision in the San Antonio Charter of 1870 worded that any funds received be used for the entire scholastic population regardless of race.[79] The wording of the city's charter allowed Mayor French to use the $2,000 received from the Peabody Fund to keep the four Anglo schoolhouses and one African American schoolhouse afloat.[80] Mayor French could have used some of the Fund to build a second schoolhouse for the African American community but used the funds to further Anglo schoolhouses.

The Peabody Fund supported struggling free school across the South at the end of the war. George Peabody, a northern philanthropist, created a fund to assist in bringing education to African Americans in the South, believing this community to be the next largest group of voters. This fund supported the intellectual, moral, and industrial education of African Americans.

> Having for generations been held in slavery they had no opportunity of obtaining education, of acquiring property, or of qualifying themselves for the intelligent discharge of the duties of citizenship. They are not responsible for their ignorance. They have had no teachers to instruct them in even the rudiments of knowledge, and their parents were ignorant themselves.[81]

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[79] *Council Journal Book D, 1870-1879, Pg 265-400,* Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through E Minutes, San Antonio Municipal Archives and Records in San Antonio, Texas, 287.
[80] *Council Journal Book D, 1870-1879, Pg 265-400,* 298.
[81] *Memorial of the Trustees of the Peabody Fund: with the report of their committee on the subject of the education of the colored population of the southern states. 19 February 1880,* (Cambridge: University Press: J. Wilson & Son, 1880), 17.

The Peabody Fund pushed for and supported the educational efforts of African Americans through large donations believing it to be their duty to assist. In contrast, the paternalistic support of African Americans in the South by the Peabody Fund did not always mean the belief that African Americans were equal and capable individuals. Many northern philanthropists like George Peabody held the view that African Americans were "children in mental capacity."[82]

The Trustees of the Peabody Fund stated that African Americans were incapable of providing an education for their children because they never received a formal education themselves due to their enslavement.[83] While the fund was meant for the education of African Americans at the Rincon Street schoolhouse, Anglo students benefitted greatly from the $2,000 donation to the city.[84] The evidence that Anglo schools benefitted greatly was that fourteen days after the funds received by the Peabody Fund, the requests for furniture, books, and other miscellaneous supplies were approved for Anglo schools by the City Council and nothing for Rincon.[85]

The *San Antonio Daily Express* wrote two articles noting the growing enrollment and quality of schools in San Antonio. Before the state-mandated formal training for teachers, many learned to teach while in the classroom and many in San Antonio did not

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[82] James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935,* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 92.
[83] *Memorial of the trustees of the Peabody Education Fund: with the report of their committee on the subject of the education of the colored population of the southern states. February 19, 1880,* (Cambridge: University Press: J. Wilson & Son, 1880), 31-32.
[84] *Council Journal Book D,* 300.
[85] *Council Journal Book D,* 301-02.

have formal training. A reporter noted the Peabody Fund representative, Dr. Burleson, praised the city's efficacy in the schoolhouses when he toured them during his stay in 1877. The article mentioned that a city tax has supported the city schoolhouses that Mayor French advocated for through his tenure. The reporter boasted that the city's progressive and constant improvements under the order of Supervising Principal C. Plagge, made them "beyond a doubt most successful in the State of Texas."[86]

Supervising Principal C. Plagge noted teachers without formal training did not benefit from a Normal School education. Plagge noted through his guidance that the quality of teaching increased under his instruction and oversight. He established a twice-monthly teachers' meeting and established a training school for the teachers without a formal education. Plagge believed the quality of instruction and increased student attendance average reflected his efforts under his instruction. An increase of eighty-five percent from 1876 to the close of the 1877 school year in June supported Plagge's claim.[87] Throughout Reconstruction, San Antonio's schoolhouses grew in number but not in quality nor access to equal education for African American students. The Anglo community continually requested funding for new schoolhouses and maintenance, and all these requests were granted, ending with four Anglo schoolhouses maintained by the city.

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[86] "Our Free Schools," San *Antonio Daily Express*, June 27, 1877, Page 4, accessed April 15, 2020, https://newspaperarchive.com/san-antonio-daily-express-june-27-1877-p-4/.
[87] C. Plagge, "Our Public School," *San Antonio Daily Express*, Page 4, July 18, 1877, accessed April 18, 2020, https://newspaperarchive.com/san-antonio--daily-express-jul-18-1877-p-4/.

Radicals to Redeemers the End of Reconstruction

The School Law of 1873 was the beginning of the end of a centralized system. The law created a loss in funding, compulsory attendance laws revoked and compounded the centralized system. As the Redeemers came back into power, they began to dismantle the Radical Republican education laws. As a result, of the law, one thousand six hundred and twelve schools in eight months across Texas closed, according to a report by Jacob de Gress.[88] 1876 cemented the end to the centralized education system in Texas through the new Constitution. Under Governor Coke's leadership, the state's education suffered greatly.

San Antonio experienced a loss in state's funds needing to find support for the education of its residents. The local government created a system like that of the centralized system seen under the Republican rule of the state. The city established a Board of Trustees, Superintendent, Supervising Principal, and city taxes to support the growing need for education in the city. While the communities in San Antonio benefitted from the local creation of the centralized system, African Americans benefitted the least. The Mexican American community was primarily supported through the St. Mary's Institution and the Ursuline Academy, which both institutions supported orphaned and pauper students.

The decentralization of the education system from the Reconstruction Era education laws and reverted the state back to its antebellum state—the community

[88] Lee Wayne White, "Popular Education and the State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Texas, 1860-1899," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas: 1974), 99.

system. While the community system protected the language within the schoolhouses, it did little else to provide the financial needs for education in the rural communities in Texas. Race as a foundation to the Texas education system again entrenched itself in the 1876 Constitution. Section 7 of the 1876 Constitution stated that schools for Anglo and African American shall be separated by race. The removal of compulsory attendance and the lowered ages to attend school to eight through fourteen weakened the property tax revenue collected by the state. [89] The state removed the Superintendent's role, required reporting of the County judges on the schoolhouses to the state, and the requirement of city taxation. The Constitution further cemented race as a foundation by penalizing schoolhouses that allowed Anglo and African American children to learn in the same schoolhouse by loss of "aid from any available school fund, but the two races shall always be taught in separate public free schools." [90]

The foundations of Texas education rested on the belief that the importance of Anglo education superseded the importance of Mexican Americans and African Americans. The relationship between how the laws supported one race over the others indicates the belief of a first class versus second class citizen in the state. While the tax laws separated Anglo and African American dollars, so did the policies and practices at the local level. Language laws racialized the importance of English over Spanish though the state could never enforce the English-only policies due to the laws' shortcomings.

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[89] Sayles, 555.
[90] *General Laws of Texas 1876, Passed at the Session of the Fifteenth Legislature, Begun and Held at the City of Austin, April 18th 1876,* (Galveston: Shaw and Blaylock State Printers, 1876), Accessed April 12, 2018. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b3693115, 209.

Locally, San Antonio shows the implementation of racialized laws through the policies and practices in how Anglo schoolhouses were prioritized over African Americans. By the end of Reconstruction, San Antonio had four Anglo schoolhouses and one African American schoolhouse despite the overcrowding of two hundred and eighteen students at the single Rincon schoolhouse.[91] In the case of the Mexican American community and their histories have nearly been erased from public school records aside from the occasional mention of language complications and belief of stunted intellectual ability. The records of the first private schools in San Antonio, the Ursuline Academy and St. Mary's Institute Mexican Americans claimed space in the historical records being educated with Anglos. While state laws never officially segregated Mexican Americans from Anglos the practice of *de facto* segregation did occurred in the English-only language laws enacted by state education laws beginning in 1854.

The establishment of educational law based on its relationship with the student's race cemented race into education. The relationships observed between the support of Anglos while impenitency concerning accessibility for the education of African Americans and Mexican Americans created an institution where racial hierarchy flourished. The Republicans created a centralized system in support of educating people of color though never created laws or policies that allowed them to thrive in the

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[91] *Council Journal Book D, 1870-1879, Pg 1-134*, 78. Edward W. Heusinger, *A Chronology of Events in San Antonio: Being a Concise History of the City Year by Year; From the Beginning of Its Establishment to the End of the First Half of the Twentieth Century*, (San Antonio: Standard Printing Co., 1951), 35.

education system. People of color were often left out and behind in the conversations about how the laws and policies established would affect their communities throughout the state. As Reconstruction came to a close and Redeemer Democrats came into power, the institution of education lost nearly all support by the state government through the decentralization of education creating financial struggles for local municipalities to keep their schoolhouses afloat.

CHAPTER III

POST RECONSTRUCTION THROUGH 1900

The 1876 School Law dismantled the centralized system established by the Republican government during Reconstruction. The provisions hobbled together the antebellum community system by removing compulsory attendance, changing the age from six to eighteen to eight to fourteen, loosening the distribution requirements for school funds, and the stipulation that counties would be responsible for the support of their schools. Children across Texas lost their right to an education through the decentralization of the education system by Democrats. San Antonio had remained unaffected by the changes in school law because their status as an incorporated city this allowed them to operate as city-owned schools through the district system.

Governor Coke left office in 1877 when he took his place in a Senate seat. The governors who came after began assembling an education system that hobbled together small government interferences while providing the Permeant School Fund. The 1890s saw a new centralized system of education through incremental changes to educational policies and laws. The first of the changes occurred through the 1884 School Reform Bill which centralized and professionalized the education system. [92]

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[92] Gene B. Preuss, *To Get a Better School System: One Hundred Years of Education Reform in Texas*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2009), 14.

In comparison to the 1871 Reconstruction School Law, 1884 established a reserved centralized system while creating professional requirements for educators. The 1884 School Reform Bill centralized the education system through the district system, a Reconstruction Era system. The Bill also professionalized the position of the teacher requiring formal training and certificate to teach in public schools. An unfortunate side effect from the reform halted most of the established community systems dissolving the complete control of local education by local communities. Many of the schools established non-English speaking communities suffered from their loss of autonomy of their children's schooling and the continued requirement of English-only language requirements.[93]

The San Antonio School Committee reported in 1881 that the state School Fund did not have a sufficient balance to fund the ten-month city school term. A plea was made to the residents of San Antonio to approve a ten-cent tax levy on every one hundred dollars to assist in funding the city schools. Unfortunately, the vote did not pass in which Mayor James H. French made a formal address to the city to help secure funding. In French's address, he stated disappointment of those who voted no on the tax levy, expressing his wish that they should have pride in their city schools. French described the schools as the "progressive spirit" of the community stating residents

[93] Philis M. Barragán Goetz, *Reading, Writing, and Revolution: Escuelitas and the Emergence of a Mexican American Identity in Texas*, (Austin: University of Texas, 2020), 7.

should have pride in their schools and the children attending. French believed that through education and virtue, intelligence was imparted to the city.[94]

School grounds began to see an increase in funding for improvements to the grounds during the 1880s. A 1879 Superintendent Report reported overcrowding three of the four ward schoolhouses as well as the Rincon Street school. The Superintendent commended the nine hundred and fifty-seven students that passed their annual examination despite their overcrowded schoolhouses. The report included a concern for the German population in the public schools because of the language barriers observed during the inspection. The increase of students caused concern for the Superintendent and the local community, specifically the African American community, who requested an additional schoolhouse. The request went unfulfilled until the end of the 1880s. Schoolhouses across the city began to see improvements by graveled lots, trees, and plumbed water to the schoolhouses through the early 1880s.[95]

The School Committee continued to prioritize improvements and funding for Anglo schools over African American schools. The prioritization of improvements rested on which school educated Anglo children the first recorded improvement was plumbing for the schoolhouses and lot improvements and the order in which they were completed. Anglo schoolhouses were completed first then Mexican American and lastly the Rincon schoolhouse for African Americans in 1882.[96] By the 1880s, San Antonio

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[94] *Book E,* 248-249.
[95] *Council Journal and Minutes: Book E.*
[96] *Council Journal Book E,* 485.

had established four primary schools for Anglo students and one high school. Throughout the 1880s, Anglo schools received funds to complete schoolhouse grounds improvements ranging from grading to assist with flooding, walkways for students and teachers, lightning rods, trees for shade, and fencing for the lots, all while the African American community continued their petitions to have a second schoolhouse built for their community.[97] Even while providing an avenue for education, the priority of support for communities separates the city by race—Anglos continued to receive approval and funding before African Americans.

The African American community struggled for nearly twenty years to have a second city funded school opened for their children. A second schoolhouse opened on Centre Street named Santa Clara. The city also renamed the Rincon Street school to Riverside all in 1884.[98] By the end of the 1880s, the African American community received a large donation by a local philanthropist George Breckenridge to fund the building of additional school rooms at the Rincon location to provide high school level courses and the industrial schooling of African American students.

The earliest Sanborn maps to help identify locations of city schools for San Antonio did not exist until 1877. The 1877 Sanborn Map consisted of only two sheets that did not identify school buildings. School locations before the end of the 1870s were identified through the City's Council Minutes and verified by early writings of Texas

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[97] *Council Journal and Minutes Collection Books E* through *H* covering years 1879 through 1889.
[98] "School Board," *San Antonio Light*, October 24, 1884, Newspapers.com. www.newscomtx.newspapers.com/image/221360455, 1.

education historians. The importance of the Sanborn maps visually assists viewers in seeing the distinction of the segregation of schoolhouses in the city during the early expansion by public schooling. While the public schools expanded, the private schools adjusted their appeal to prospective families and their children. The 1892 Sanborn maps identified housing locations of Mexican Americans and African Americans for insurance purposes provided to the city.[99] Segregation of African Americans and Anglo students dominates the records while Mexican American families lose their place among race segregation laws.

Latino Education

The lost Mexican American community in public education records becomes more evident towards the end of the 1870s and even more so in the 1880s. The records continue to remove the community; however, through spatial analyses, Sanborn Map records and a 1927 thesis help clear the muddied records.[100] In August 1875, the City Council recorded the Committee on Public School's recommendation that altered the rules and regulations regarding how many schools and communities they served. The alteration of the required schoolhouses indicates that the city shall have four "white" schools and two "colored" schools.[101] As the century comes to a close, the education of

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[99] "San Antonio, 1892," Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps - Texas (1877-1922), Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection. http://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/sanborn/s.html. The Sanborn Map Company contracted by San Antonio drew up maps identifying buildings for insurances purposes.
[100] William John Knox, "The Economic Status of the Mexican American in San Antonio, Texas," Thesis, University of Texas, 1927, 8-9.
[101] *Council Journal Book D 1870-1879, Pg 135-265 City of San Antonio,* Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through E Minutes. San Antonio Municipal Archives and Records in San Antonio, Texas, 183.

Mexican Americans begins to claim its space outside of the private institutions in San Antonio.

In 1879 a report from the Superintendent of the Public Schools stated that the schoolhouses were overcrowded, and the citizens of San Antonio were unable to enroll their children if they wished. The report listed nine hundred and fifty-seven enrolled in the four schoolhouses among the four wards which only included seventeen schoolrooms. According to the report, seven hundred and thirty-nine attended the four Anglo schools, leaving the remaining two hundred and eighteen African American children attending the one schoolhouse on Rincon Street.[102]

A thesis written in 1927 by William Knox holds strong evidence when compared to the 1892 Sanborn maps of San Antonio where Mexican American children might have been educated.[103] The altered rule in 1875 established four Anglo schoolhouses which included the Guilbeau Street School, also known as No. 7 by the 1890s as education expanded. Knox claims through an oral interview that this school and a school located on South Pecos educated Mexican American children of varying economic classes.[104]

During the 1870s, the location of No. 7 Schoolhouse served the southside of San Antonio as more Anglos migrated into San Antonio. As recalled from chapter one, the Mexican American community was pushed further south in the city. In 1875 the Guilbeau Street schoolhouse can be strongly supported in stating that it served the

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[102] *Council Journal Book E, 1879-1884, City of San Antonio.* Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through E Minutes. San Antonio Municipal Archives and Records in San Antonio, Texas, 78-81.
[103] William John Knox, 8-9.
[104] William John Knox, "The Economic Status of the Mexican American in San Antonio, Texas," Thesis, University of Texas. 1927, 8-9.

Mexican American population as William Knox claims. However, the claim becomes weaker as the demand for schoolhouses increased around the city. According to the Knox thesis, "the writer," recalled memories of a school located on South Flores Street on the east side of the San Pedro Creek as a school that provided education for a mix of "prominent families" and "poorer classes."[105]

The schools identified by Knox were No. 7 Public School located on the corner of Guilbeau Road and South Flores established by 1875 on the east side of San Pedro Creek and No. 8 Public School located on the corner of South Pecos and San Fernando. I created the names No. 7 Mexican American Public School and No. 8 Mexican American Public School to help the reader separate the claimed schools by William Knox and the actual schools identified in the primary records—No. 7 or Guilbeau and No. 8 or South Pecos.

The William Knox schoolhouses do not match other primary sources of the exact dates as providing education to the Mexican American community. Non-white dwellings did not exist on the 1885 or the 1888 Sanborn maps. The African American schoolhouses that existed during the 1880s have been verified through newspapers, Council Minutes, and secondary sources. While Sanborn maps are an excellent resource for historians and other researchers, they do not always show every building and structure standing during the years researching, explaining the missing schoolhouses and dwelling locations. Often the insurers would not draw the entire city because of the lack

[105] William John Knox, "The Economic Status of the Mexican Immigrant in San Antonio, Texas," Thesis 8-9.

of interest to insure certain areas.[106] The locations identifying the *Mexican* and *Negro* dwellings listed exist until the 1892 Sanborn Map. The 1885 and 1888 identified public schoolhouses but did not identify them as "colored" or "negro." Sanborn Maps included buildings and structures cities around the country deemed worthy of being insured in case of damage or destruction.[107]

The distinction between buildings worthy of being insured and those not worthy is an important one. Based on whether a structure or building was listed as insured shows that the city councils began to recognize the importance of property worth and replacing damaged structures. It can be inferred that Anglo schools were important while schools that served African Americans were deemed unimportant given the lack of identification despite being an established schoolhouse. It is important to note that Sanborn Maps listed buildings requested to be insured by the city government. The 1892 Sanborn Maps identified African American schoolhouses for the first time since its establishment in 1868. The earliest Sanborn Map in 1877 of San Antonio did not include

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[106] Areas deemed not to be insured were often predominately minority areas not considered established. "Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps: How to Read Fire Insurance Maps," accessed June 7, 2021, http://projects.mcah.columbia.edu/courses/newyork/pdf/SanbornMap_instruct.pdf.

[107] San Antonio, Bexar, Texas, July 1885, New York: The Sanborn Map & Publishing Co. Limited, 1885, "Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps," https://digitalsanbornmaps-proquest-com.srv-proxy2.library.tamu.edu/browse_maps/44/8716/42876/44923/605696?accountid=327. Accessed May 10, 2021. San Antonio, Bexar, Texas, October 1888, New York: The Sanborn Map & Publishing Co. Limited, 1888, "Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps," https://digitalsanbornmaps-proquest-com.srv-proxy2.library.tamu.edu/browse_maps/44/8716/42877/44924/605708?accountid=327. Accessed May 10, 2021. San Antonio, Bexar, Texas, February 1892, "San Antonio, Bexar, Texas," New York: The Sanborn Map & Publishing Co. Limited, 1892, https://digitalsanbornmaps-proquest-com.srv-proxy2.library.tamu.edu/browse_maps/44/8716/42878/44925/605724?accountid=327. Accessed May 10, 2021.

the areas outside of the immediate downtown area, which included the Military Plaza and Alamo Plaza.[108]

Several Spatial Analyses were performed on No. 7 and No. 8 schoolhouses to determine how they related to the dwelling locations and better predict which communities could have attended the schoolhouses. The analyses are critical because the primary records have all but erased the education history of Mexican Americans in San Antonio prior to the twentieth century. These analyses offer a new way to represent the public schoolhouses that served the Mexican American community in San Antonio. Below are Figures that include a spatial analysis completed by the Buffer Tool in the ArcGIS Pro software program.[109] The dwelling information included in the Figures were taken from the 1892 Sanborn maps. The label "No. 7 Mexican American Public School" and "No. 8 Mexican American Public School" have been imposed to help the reader easily identify the claimed locations of Mexican American public schools by William Knox. However, all primary records only identify the public schools as No. 7 or the Guilbeau School and No. 8 or South Pecos School.[110]

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[108] San Antonio, Bexar, Texas, December 1877, New York: The Sanborn Map & Publishing Co. Limited, 1877, "Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps," http://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/sanborn/s.html.
[109] The Buffer Tool is a geoprocessing tool used to complete spatial analyses that allows the user to create a radius around a point of interest on a map. The radius allows the user to compare places of interest and determine how places are related to one another and making predictions, among other uses.
[110] San Antonio, Bexar, Texas, February 1892.

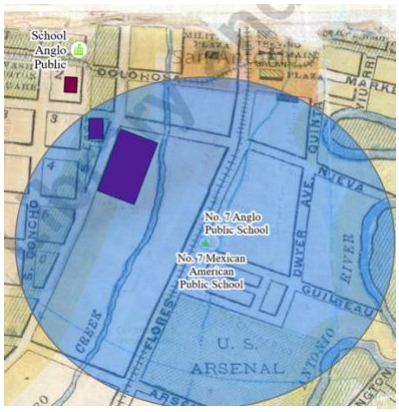

Figure 9: Quarter mile buffer including 2 identified *Mexican* dwellings.

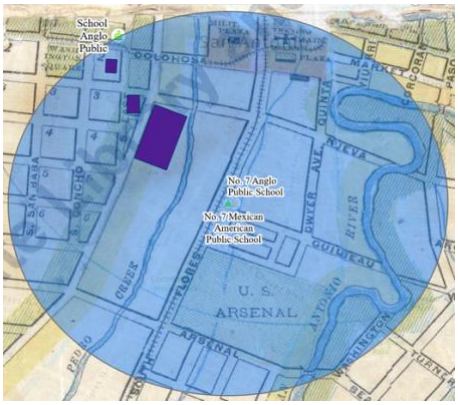

Figure 10: Third mile buffer including 3 identified *Mexican* dwellings.

Figure 11: Quarter mile buffer does not include any identified dwellings.

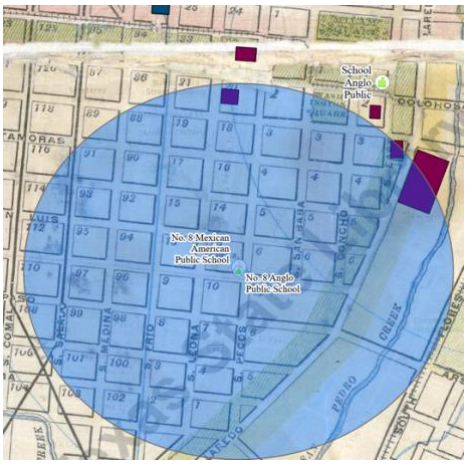

Figure 12 Third mile buffer including three identified *Mexican* dwellings.

During the mapping of public schoolhouses, a schoolhouse identified as "School" on the 1888 Sanborn Map added a possible new answer to where the public schools served Mexican American children.[111] While the laws did not explicitly state the required segregation of Mexican American and Anglo students, the segregation happened *de facto.* A Report from the 1882-83 academic year stated language difficulties between English-speaking teachers and students who speak "varying"

[111] San Antonio, Bexar, Texas, October 1888.

languages.[112] Below is a spatial analysis performed on the schoolhouse named “School” and its location among various dwellings in San Antonio. The label "School Anglo Public" was created to help the reader identify the named School and its possible student population from the 1888 Sanborn map.

Figure 13: Quarter mile buffer including six identified *Mexican* dwellings.

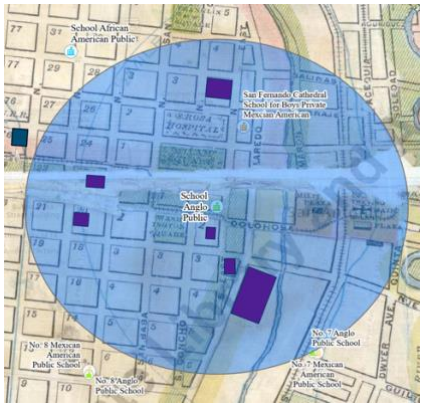

Figure 14: Third mile buffer including six identified *Mexican* dwellings.

The 1889 overlay map is georeferenced to a current map of San Antonio provided by ESRI included in the ArcGIS Pro software. The georeferencing was performed by creating control points to historic locations that existed, from the drawing of the 1889 map to locations that exist in the city. Each school building and dwelling location mapped can be compared to a current city map of San Antonio with accuracy.

Among the locations of the *Mexican* identified dwellings sat the "School Anglo Public," encompassing the entirety of the identified dwellings in San Antonio. "No. 7 Mexican American Public School" could have served the Mexican American community

[112] “Annual Report of Public School Affairs of the County of Bexar for 1882-1883,” Collection: physical Bexar County Superintendent’s Report 4-23/247 Annual Reports- 1880-1911, Texas State Archive and Library in Austin, Texas.

until 1888, until the "School Anglo Public" opened. The No. 7 Schoolhouse was the only schoolhouse established south of the Alamo and Military Plazas in 1875. The Knox thesis provides details about the schools' locations; however, after further analyses of primary records, one can infer that the schoolhouse most likely used by Mexican American school children would be School referred to as "School Anglo Public." The spatial analyses conducted on the two claimed schools by Knox show the closest school to the *Mexican* dwellings was No. 7. The No. 8 Schoolhouse existed too far outside the quarter and third mail radius of the dwellings identified on the map.

The public schoolhouses for Mexican Americans existed in a gray area of history because of the lack of records regarding the community's involvement with public education. However, Mexican, and Mexican American families do exist in the historical records of the St. Mary's Institute. While the Marianist established an institution for the purpose of educating Mexicans in San Antonio, the population did not always experience acceptance and support in the language barriers between the students and Brothers who taught. With increased complaints by the brothers at St. Mary's Institute about the classes identified as *Mexican* in the Inspector Reports, the segregation of Mexican students from Anglo occurred in 1888 when the San Fernando Cathedral School for Boys opened.[113] The San Fernando school served economically

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[113] Translations by Brother Earl Leistikow, S. M. "Inspector Report St. Mary's College," AMR/SLP—San Antonio—St. Mary's College Inspector's Reports—1887-1907, Physical collection: National Archives of the Marianist Province of the United States San Antonio, TX. "Inspector Report Returns for San Fernando," AMR/SLP—San Antonio—San Fernando—Inspector Reports, 1889-1907, Physical collection: National Archives of the Marianist Province of the United States San Antonio, Tx. The National Archives of the Marianist Province of the United States in San Antonio is a relatively new archive which is continually receiving new material from other repositories around the United States which has affected

disadvantaged and orphaned Mexican and Mexican American school children. The Reports mention the improvement of the *Mexican* students after the segregation took place in 1888.

The Inspector Reports for the San Fernando Cathedral School for Boys counted ninety-eight Mexican Americans for the first academic year of 1888-1889. The textbooks offered to the students consisted of a simplified list compared to the Anglo textbooks—Religious, United States history, geography, penmanship, and spellers—subjects typical to a primary education.[114] St. Mary's College was renamed in 1882 and segregated in 1888 and became an all-white school.[115] Even private institutions followed the way of segregation practices. St. Mary's College included grades three through eleven. The Anglo high school level classes included subjects such as algebra, geometry, natural philosophy, physiology and others, but the *Mexican* classes did not receive an education in these classes.[116] The advanced subjects in the now all-white private school were not offered to the boys attending its segregated sister institution San Fernando Cathedral School.

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changes in the cataloging of materials in a consistent manner. The citations throughout this thesis represents the cataloging of material found during ongoing research and may or may change in the future.

[114] "Inspector Report Returns for San Fernando." AMR/SLP—San Antonio—San Fernando—Inspector Reports, 1889-1907. Physical collection: National Archives of the Marianist Province of the United States San Antonio, Tx.

[115] "St. Mary's University's Historical Timeline," (St. Mary's University, 2013), https://issuu.com/stmarysu/docs/stlouishall_timeline_issuu. St. Mary's Institute was renamed in 1882 to St. Mary's College to include grades 3-11.

[116] "Inspector Reports St. Mary's College," AMR/SLP—San Antonio—St. Mary's College Inspector's Reports—1887-1907, physical collection: National Archives of the Marianist Province of the United States San Antonio, TX.

The enrollment of Mexican American students at the San Fernando Cathedral School increased over the 1890s. The year 1894 saw the highest enrollment at the school of two hundred and three students. Early Inspector Reports make comment on the students' behavior in the classroom, noting the "roughness, fighting, and cursing among the boys" and them having "little attention during lessons."[117] The Inspectors of San Fernando critiqued the behavior of students, but the St. Mary's College Inspectors stated in softer terms "students observed not following studies."[118] Regard shown for students and their behavior differed in how the records reflect the student bodies. Brothers tended to harshly refer to *Mexican* students as either disruptive or disrespectful behaviors in the classrooms, while they claimed Anglo students simply did not follow the studies presented to them.

St. Mary's College, San Fernando Cathedral School, and the St. Louis College—opened in 1893, further divided the student populations it served by their socioeconomic status. San Fernando Cathedral School served the local Mexican American and poor community. St. Mary's College served local Anglo families who could pay tuition but not require boarding. St. Louis College served families that required boarding only. Each tier of the private schools' facility required tuition; however, San Fernando tuition was supported by the more expensive private institutions. The institutions advertised through catalogs for students, the St. Mary's College, did not include pictures of the dining, teaching, or other facilities offered to the student but included written descriptions. The

[117] "Inspector Report Returns for San Fernando, 1890."
[118] "Inspector Report St. Mary's College, 1889,1891,1894."

St. Louis College catalog included images of the facilities for the students. San Fernando Cathedral School did not have a catalog for families. By examining the written and pictured text, an image of status and elite began to differentiate between the two colleges.

The institutions used catalogs to create advertisements for potential families to imbue a certain quality of the institutions. St. Mary's College described the facilities for students without photos in a few short paragraphs. Students attending would have access to a chemical laboratory, philosophical apparatus, study of mineralogy, museum, and the chance to compete for medals for Excellence. The catalog described these options as "extensive collections" and "engaging" for the students.[119] In contrast, St. Louis College did not describe the facilities for the students but instead provided inviting pictures of enticement. Below are a few images from the St. Louis College catalogs.[120]

Figure 15: Top left, Cabinet of Physics. 1897-98 Catalog.

Figure 16: Top right, Dining Hall. 1897-98 Catalog.

[119] *Catalogue of St. Mary's College, San Antonio, Texas 1889-1890*, BX 86.1 St. Mary's College (College St.) Catalog 1889-1894, Physical collection: National Archives of the Marianist Province of the United States, San Antonio, Tx, 4-5

[120] *Catalogue of St. Louis' College, San Antonio, Texas 1895-1896*, BX 86.2 St. Louis College Catalogs 1895-1910, Physical collection: National Archives of the Marianist Province of the United States, San Antonio, Tx.

Figure 17: Immediate left, Natatorium. 1897-98 Catalog.

Interestingly, the material used for the St. Mary's College Catalogs gave a feel of typical use paper stock, nothing that could have been described as top-quality paper stock. The St. Louis College Catalogs used shiny and smooth paper stock for the cover and pages. One could describe the paper used for the St. Louis College Catalogs to be of higher quality, giving the impression of higher production costs.

The Marianist who wished to bring education to Mexicans in the 1850s ended by bringing quality education to Anglos while Mexican Americans suffered segregation and elementary education. Marianist segregated their student body not only by race but by their socioeconomic status through the San Fernando Cathedral School that served the poor and Mexican families of San Antonio. St. Mary's College served the local elite Anglo families to the second highest quality. St. Louis College served boarding students and provided the highest tuition and quality. Even the private institutions fell to segregationist practices cementing race into their institutions for decades to come.

African American Education

From the first established African American school in 1868 to the end of Reconstruction, no other school had been established, though a resounding need for one existed eleven years later. The Report from Superintendent of the Public Schools wrote about overcrowding at the city schools. While the African American community did not

receive any noted compassion or calls to support more schools being built for the community, the acknowledgement did exist in the Council notes. The Report stated two hundred and eighteen students resided in one building—Rincon.[121] Below, Figure 18, shows a class at the Riverside schoolhouse.

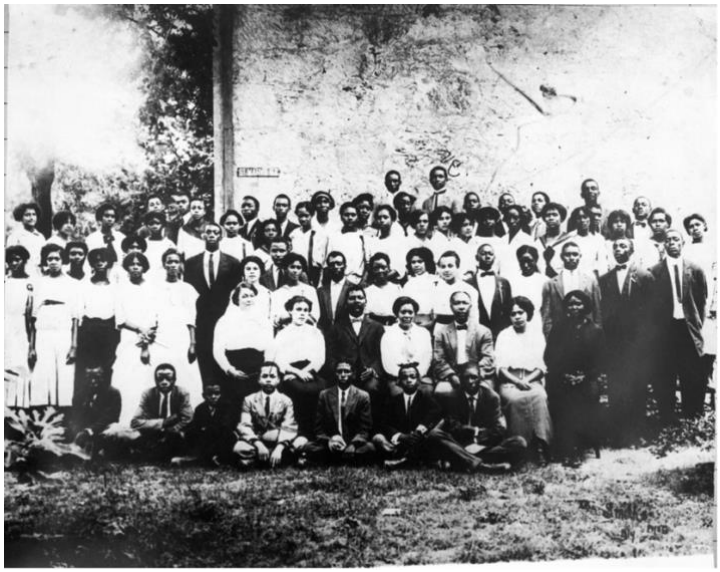

Figure 18: Students and faculty of the Riverside School for African Americans-1890. https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/4c657a72ae2a4464a4011edc2fcec58f

The community petitioned the City Council multiple times over an eleven-year period for another school to educate their community, and again motions were made but no school was built. In 1889 more than twenty years after the first petition to build a second schoolhouse was approved the funds were finally made available to purchase and build a second schoolhouse west of the San Pedro Creek.[122]

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[121] *Council Journal Book E*, 78-81.
[122] *Council Journal Book C, 1856-1870, San Antonio* through *Council Journal and Minutes, Book K: 1893-1895 City of San Antonio*, Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through K Minutes San Antonio Municipal Archives and Records in San Antonio, Texas.

The African American community persisted against the continued oppression experienced in the political waters of education throughout the late nineteenth century. In 1881 African Americans petitioned the Council to admit a school they funded and built to be recognized as a City School.[123] While the petition did not get adopted until the mid 1880s, the persistence shown by the community continues to show their wish for access to equal and quality education. Laws established to separate tax dollars continued to oppress and cement racism into the education system. The political system racialized the tax structures throughout the South while racializing the education system.[124] Texas did not exist outside of this practice of racializing taxes. San Antonio was no exception. The school did finally become adopted by the City School system by 1884 and named Santa Clara.[125] The City Council renamed the Rincon School to Riverside School in 1884 as well as adding Santa Clara to the City School system.[126]

Taxes collected by the city from poll taxes separated and paid for construction and upkeep of the public schoolhouses across the city. An entry in 1889 separated "colored citizens" from taxpayers indicating a separation in how the Anglo members of the Council viewed the legitimacy of the community.[127] The opinion that African

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[123] *Council Journal Book E*, 266.
[124] Camille Walsh, *Racial Taxation: Schools, Segregation, and Taxpayer Citizenship, 1869-1973*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 4-5.
[125] "School Board," *San Antonio Light.* Benjamin Baker, "Table F," *Fifth Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Scholastic Years Ending August 31, 1885, August 31, 1886, Being the Eleventh Report form the Department of Education*, (Austin: State Printing Office, 1886), 44.
[126] "School Board," *San Antonio Light.*
[127] *Council Journal and Minutes, Book H: 1888-1889 City of San Antonio*, Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through K Minutes, San Antonio Municipal Archives, and Records in San Antonio, Texas, 79.

Americans were not even worthy to be identified as taxpayers further cemented belief that the community did not pay a "fair share" in taxes. By regarding African Americans as "citizens" and not "taxpayer" the City Council delegitimatized their claim for equal access and quality education. The difference in identification further racialized the institution.

The observed indifference to the African American schoolhouses by the city council caused the Riverside and Santa Clara schools to need repairs. A report in 1893 on the Santa Clara school found it in a "very dilapidated" state, describing the ground and building neglected. The report stated that a recent rainstorm caused damaged to the flooring due to water and mud in the building.[128] The Riverside and Santa Clara schoolhouses served students through primary education while Anglo students received a high school education since 1879.

The 1890s saw a significant increase in response by the city council to erect a schoolhouse for African Americans on the westside of the San Pedro Creek, an area of the city commonly referred to today as the "westside." After twenty years of petitioning for funds the African American community finally received the money and by 1889 construction began on the second schoolhouse funded by the city.[129] The African

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[128] *Council Journal and Minutes, Book J: 1892-1893 City of San Antonio,* Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through K Minutes, San Antonio Municipal Archives, and Records in San Antonio, Texas, 651.

[129] *Council Journal and Minutes, Book G: 1886-1888 City of San Antonio,* Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through K Minutes, San Antonio Municipal Archives, and Records in San Antonio, Texas, 429. *Council Journal and Minutes, Book H: 1888-1889 City of San Antonio,* Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through K Minutes, San Antonio Municipal Archives, and Records in San Antonio, Texas, 426.

American community raised funds and built the Santa Clara five years earlier. Going into the 1890s, the African American community had two schools and a third in the process of being built. The progress for the African American community made in the thirty-five years after the first school law was monumental; three schoolhouses, plumbing, and grounds improvement.

A need existed for a high school since the 1870s, but the community went without until 1891. A large donation made by George Brackenridge provided new equipment, supplies, and created a secondary curriculum and industrial classes at the Riverside building.[130] According to the records, the secondary curriculum that was supposed to have been offered to students who finished their primary education never gained approval from the City Council.[131] Either the curriculum for African Americans did not call for the City Council's attention, or they deemed the curriculum as insignificant. The annual reports made by Bexar County never listed any African American student taking high school level courses. The last course that any African American student took was history of the United States. Anglos received an education in higher courses listed as history of Texas, algebra, natural philosophy, physiology, civil government, and physical geography.[132]

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[130] Kenneth Mason, "Paternal Continuity: African-Americans and Race Relations in San Antonio, Texas 1867-1937," PhD diss. Austin: University of Texas at Austin, 1994, 210-11.
[131] *Council Journal and Minutes, Books C* through *K: 1886-1888 City of San Antonio*, Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through K Minutes, San Antonio Municipal Archives, and Records in San Antonio, Texas. The Anglo High School's curriculum received approval in 1880 prior to opening for students, *Council Journal Book D, 1870-1879, Pg 135-265, 172-73.*
[132] "Annual Report of the County Judge, Form G," Collection: physical Bexar County Superintendent's Report 4-23/247 Annual Reports- 1880-1911, Texas State Archive and Library in Austin, Texas. After the

Industrial education provided another form of how African Americans learned their place in society and access to the recently gained citizenship from a bloody war. The central idea among leading figures during the beginnings of industrial education was that it would provide a potential solution to the "negro problem" by providing a "special kind of schooling."[133] While Anglo students in San Antonio received an education that would potentially prepare them for non-labor jobs or to continue to college, African Americans relearned their place in semi-skilled and unskilled labor. Industrial education's popularity across the South rested on the belief that adapting the educational needs of African Americans to the production needs of the South.[134] Even though George Brackenridge, a prominent philanthropist in San Antonio history, pushed to provide education for African Americans, the restrictions of an Industrial Education simply placed generations into a Jim Crow education.

The illiteracy rate among African Americans across the South dropped dramatically after primary education became accessible for them. From ninety-five percent in 1860 to seventy percent by 1880 and continued to drop drastically into the twentieth century.[135] Bexar County experienced similar trends of literacy. Below, the graph shows snapshot data of each academic year in Bexar County. Form G states, "pupils unable to read when they entered" and "pupils unable to read when they left," the

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1891-1892 reports the forms and reporting requirements changed and ended the reporting of subject matter taught in all grades.

[133] Donald Spivey, *Schooling for the New Slavery: Black Industrial Education, 1868-1915,* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1978), 16-7.

[134] James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935,* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 31.

[135] Anderson, 31.

green trend line shows how many gained literacies during the 1880s school years. Due to historical records not always being complete, the years missing are the gaps in records as the historical records enter the 1890s, the recordings for the Forms used by the County superintendent change leading to a muddied recording of the same numbers.

The African American Students Literacy 1882-1897 graph illustrates high literacy rates each year at either sixty-seven percent or higher. The highest attainment rate was ninety percent—1886-1888. In the 1890-1891term, the attainment rate was at ninty-four percent. The academic year 1884-1885 shows a large decrease in attainment. The decrese could have been due to the Santa Clara School opening, which allowed new students who had no prior knowledge from either background or social status in the areas where the numbers were retrieved. Another factor to remember when accounting for snapshots of academic years is that it may have been more challenging to recruit or retain school teachers, meaning the students would have suffered accademically without a proper teacher.

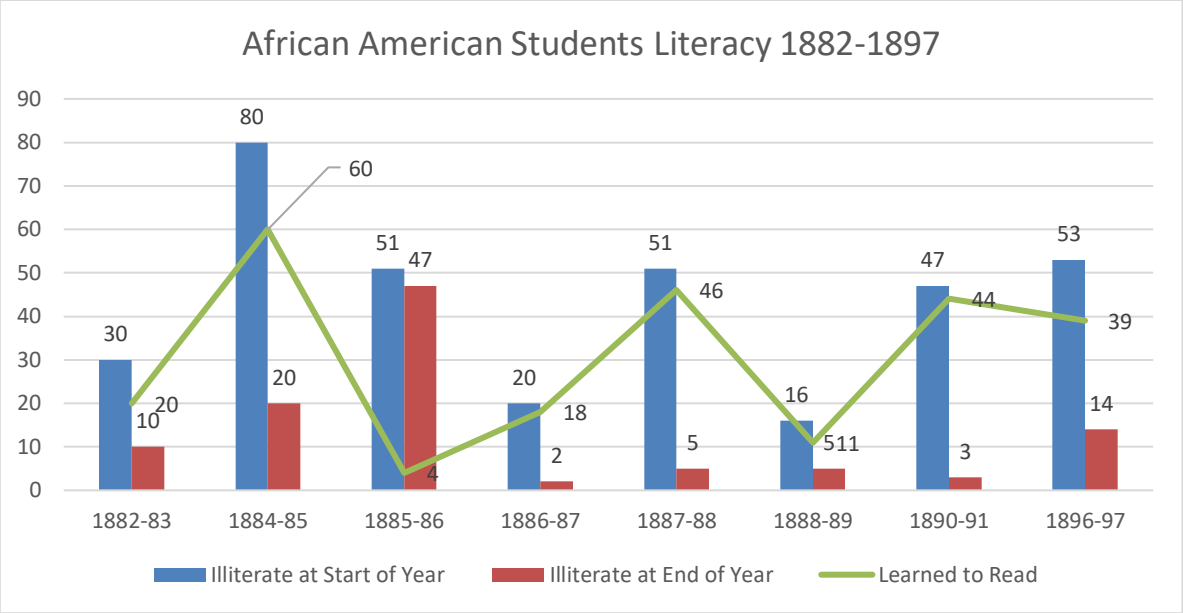

Figure 19: African American Students Literacy 1882-1897. Information was collected from the "Annual Report of the County Judge, Form G" for the years illustrated in the graph. Collection: physical Bexar County Superintendent's Report 4- 23/247 Annual Reports- 1880-1911, Texas State Archive and Library Austin, Texas.

For most of the second half of the nineteenth century there was no private religious schooling in the community. In 1888, a woman by the name of Margaret Mary Healy Murphy built and opened the first Catholic African American School—St. Peter Claver Catholic School for African Americans and Church in San Antonio.[136] The school still exists today, though the mission has changed. Now the Healy-Murphy Center provides local youths who have been all but left behind by traditional schooling. The center now provides education and services for homeless youths and teenagers with children.[137]

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[136] Cecilia Gutierrez Venable and the Sisters of the Holy Spirit and Mary Immaculate, *Images of America: The Sisters of the Holy Spirit and Mary Immaculate,* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2018), 9.
[137] Jason Buch, "Margaret Mary Healy-Murphy opened school to education children of slaves," *San Antonio Express News,* December 7, 2017, https://www.expressnews.com/sa300/article/Margaret-Mary-Healy-Murphy-opened-school-to-12411625.php#photo-14663224.

By the end of the nineteenth century, African Americans suffered from oppressive local politics and lack of funding that stunted the development of their schoolhouses but not their ability to gain knowledge. However, because their resilience and agency, African Americans educated themselves and children even though the classrooms were overcrowded and schoolhouses lacked critical funding. The first and oldest African America schoolhouse, Riverside, gained a sister school built by the community, Santa Clara in 1884, and finally gained a city-built school west of San Pedro Creek by 1896 located at the corner of Chavez and North Leonora, and the first Catholic school—St. Peter Claver in 1888. The African American community ended the nineteenth century with four schoolhouses, high literacy rates, and resilience to continue the fight for equality and equity in the century to come.

Map 3 titled "1889: San Antonio, Texas Public and Private Schools- Mexican American, Anglo, African America" consists of schools found during an extensive exploration of primary records from the San Antonio Municipal Archive and Records Council Journals, San Antonio Light Newspapers (1882-1886) from the Newspapers.com database, Sanborn Map & Publishing Co. Limited (1885-1892) from both the Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection and the ProQuest Digital Sanborn Maps 1867-1970 Collection, and a historical map from 1889 San Antonio from the Texas State Library and Archives Commission georeferenced by the author.

Figure 20 identifies the locations of three of the four private Anglo schools—Ursuline Academy the female private institution for Anglos, Mexicans, and Tejanos; German-English School for English, Spanish, and German-speaking students established

by the German community in San Antonio; St. Mary's Institute (renamed St. Mary's College by end of decade); and not shown is St. Louis College due to its location away from the city center. Five public Anglo Schools not contested in primary documents and spatial analyses—No. 2, No. 4, Central High School, No. 3, No. 5, and No. 6.

To revisit the contested schoolhouses No. 7, No. 8, and School, based on the date the schoolhouses opened and locations, it can be understood that the schools served a community through the historical records, but which one? How did the *de facto* segregation of Mexican Americans affect the student bodies in the contested schoolhouses? No. 7 Schoolhouse located on the corner of Guilbeau and South Flores, established in 1875, very well could have served the Mexican American community as indicated in the Knox thesis until the school located on the corner of Buena Vista and South East in the center of the Mexican American identified dwellings.[138] However, No. 8 did not exist on the 1885 Sanborn maps, nor is there a record of the school built in 1885 in the City Council Minutes.

A record exists of a schoolhouse in the location described by Knox on South Pecos Street on the 1889 map and in the Heusinger book for 1890. The probability that the No. 8 schoolhouse served the Mexican American community is slim given its relationship to area dwellings and the other schoolhouse, which has a record of having been built in 1888 in the heart of the Mexican American dwellings. The Riverside schoolhouse and No. 7 schoolhouse received plumbed water after the other schoolhouses

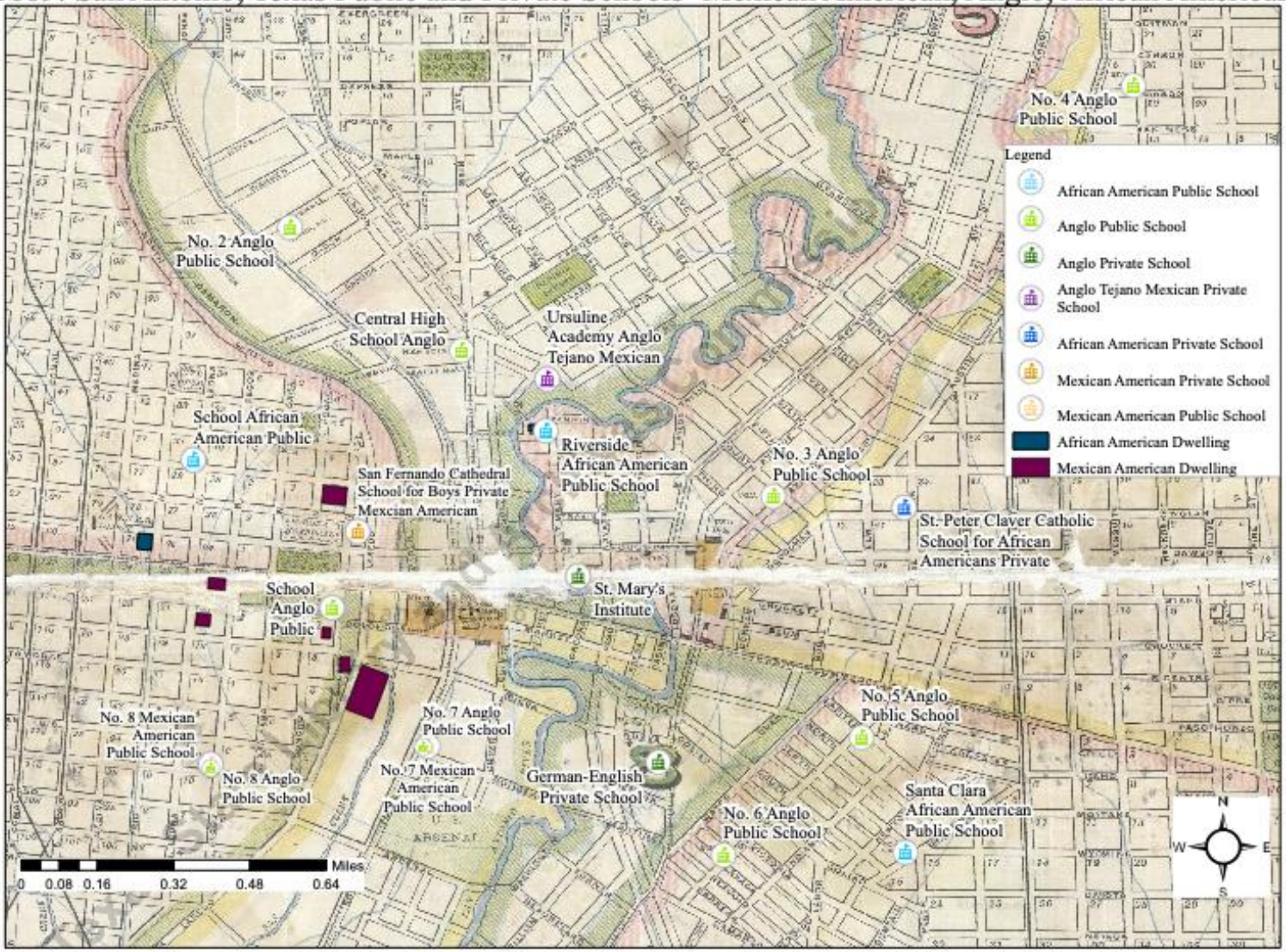
[138] Heusinger, 35. Knox, 8-9, Sanborn map 1892 SH 7.

in the city; this also is a strong indication that the student body was non-Anglo. The slow responses by the city council regarding the African American schoolhouses in conjunction with both the Rincon and South Flores—No. 7 schoolhouses having received plumbed water last—1882, is a strong implication of lowered priority compared to the Anglo serving schoolhouses.[139]

The Mexican American community displayed on the map located west of the San Antonio River surrounds one of the contested schoolhouses—School, on Buena Vista shown on the 1888 Sanborn map.[140] The No. 7 and School on Buena Vista most likely served the Mexican American community when it first opened in 1875 and 1888, respectively. The known private institutions that served Mexican Americans were San Fernando Cathedral School for Boys and the Ursuline Academy.

[139] *Council Journal Book E,* 379.
[140] Sanborn 1888 SH 13.

1889: San Antonio, Texas Public and Private Schools- Mexican American, Anglo, African American



Cartographer:
Sarah Vegerano

NAD 1983
WGS 1984 Web Mercator

Credits: Sanborn Maps 1885, 1888, 1892. TSL Map 00124. San Antonio Council Minutes. Huesinger, Knox, Blanton, Mason.
Esri Community Maps Contributors, Texas Parks & Wildlife, Esri, HERE, Garmin, SafeGraph, INCREMENT P, METUNASA, USGS, EPA, NPS, US Census Bureau, USDA, Esri, NASA, NGA, USGS, FEMA

Figure 20: 1889: San Antonio, Texas Public and Private Schools- Mexican American, Anglo, African American

The 1889 map is currently the most complete map of the schools serving the Mexican American, Anglo, and African American communities that existed between 1885 and 1892 in San Antonio. The map is essential for educational researchers to have a comprehensive image of the school locations and identified dwellings—housing—of demographics for San Antonio. The locations of housing found in city directories did not exist until the late 1890s and therefore are not included with this map. A complete city directory for San Antonio did not exist before the 1897 directory—a list of residents—sex, race, employment, institutions or organizations, businesses, and streets.[141]

Anglo Education

Once Reconstruction ended and the state lawmakers, the Redeemer Democrats, began to dismantle the centralized structure of public education, the San Antonio city council continued to operate as it did prior, albeit on a local level. The City Council established city superintendents, principals, a Committee on Public Schools, a City Public School Fund (separate from the state's fund), and other positions to keep the local schoolhouses in running order without much disruption by the states. Though, the city could not escape all the changes made by the state. Between 1877 through the end of the 1890s, several of the mayors proposed a raise in taxes, ten cents to every one hundred dollars, to fund the public schools properly. The proposed increases never passed when put to a vote. By 1887 a plea to increase taxes had failed for the fourth time; each time

[141] If you would like more information and to see a rendering of the African American 1897 City Directory and historic locations please see "The Seed of Texas: An Interactive Exploration of Bexar County," the largest open-sourced digital collection of Bexar County history. I assisted in producing interactive maps and agriculture data sets for the project under the instruction and guidance of Dr. John Reynolds and Dr. Jessica Nowlin from the University of Texas at San Antonio.

the mayor elected stated, the state funding did not adequately support the city's schools.[142]

In 1879, nine hundred and fifty-seven of that seven hundred and thirty-nine Anglo students received a public-school education. The city saw a four hundred and forty-three percent increase of overall students enrolled in the public schoolhouses in a little over ten years. The reports from 1879 and 1894 do not distinguish students' race the same, making the computation requirements include an overall, rather than by racial demographics. At the same time, the contents of the reports did nearly mirrored each other, ranging concerns of overcrowding, dilapidated schoolhouses, lack of proper supplies, and lack of adequate seating for students. The 1894 report stated that of the 5,689 applicants only 5,194 enrolled, meaning 495 did not gain access to an education for that enrollment year.[143] From the very beginning, San Antonio schoolhouses seemed to experience experience overcrowding and inadequate funding.

Anglo schoolhouses did not suffer from slow responses by the city council as their African American counterparts did. Anglo schoolhouses gained approval for building nearly within months of requesting funds. Anglo schoolhouses received grounds improvement funds for schoolhouses before African Americans schoolhouses did. Grounds' improvements included items from fencing to sidewalks, plumbed water to outhouses and even janitors' house to keep the grounds clean. All Anglo schoolhouses

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[142] *Council Journal and Minutes, Book G: 1886-1888 City of San Antonio.* Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through K Minutes, San Antonio Municipal Archives, and Records in San Antonio, Texas, 477.
[143] *Council Journal Book E,* 78-81. *Council Journal and Minutes, Book K,* 293-307.

had an outhouse, fencing, trees, sidewalks, and fencing by the end of the nineteenth century.[144]

From Decentralized to The Semi-Centralized Century End

Public schools exploded after Reconstruction. The state repealed most of the Republican Era education laws damaging the system's quality, though San Antonio remained relatively unimpeded by the loss of a centralized system. Though, it never ended the stress on the city to provide adequate funding and seats available for the scholastic population in San Antonio. The state education laws began to reflect the progressive education movement by the mid-1880s. Governor Coke's decentralized system recreated with the 1876 Constitution gave way to a quasi-centralized system as the progressive education movement began to take hold. The state gained a superintendent required to report the State Board of Education, a stricter use of the Permanent School Fund, a minimum required curriculum, five-day school week, stricter language requirements, among other more progressive education items.[145]

African Americans experienced segregation laws and inadequate funding but advocated for themselves in the political arena. They petitioned the city council for more schoolhouses and building improvements. Though many times the requests fell to what seemed deaf ears, they built a community school—Santa Clara and continued to push for

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[144] *Council Journal Book D* through *Council Journal and Minutes, Book K.*
[145] Philis M. Barragán Goetz, *Reading, Writing, and Revolution: Escuelitas and the Emergence of a Mexican American Identity in Texas*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2020), 23. Gene B Preuss, *To Get a Better School System: One Hundred Years of Education Reform in Texas*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2009), 40. Frederick Eby, *Education in Texas: Source Material Compiled by Frederick Eby*, (Austin: University of Texas, 1912), 803-810.

a city-built and funded school. Their continued perseverance eventually achieved this in the early 1890s. During the 1880s, San Antonio gained its first Catholic School and church for African Americans through the St. Peter Claver mission. The curriculum for African Americans suffered at the paternalistic donations of George Brackenridge establishing Industrial education at the Riverside African American schoolhouse.

According to historians Donald Spivey and James Anderson, an industrial education provided another way to re-institutionalize the African American community into servitude. Both assign blame to philanthropists and their push for industrial education. Providing only an industrial education for San Antonio African Americans removed equal access to quality education. The curriculum for Anglo students included primary and high school level courses and never industrial. By the end of the nineteenth century, the state passed the Public School Act, which included a uniform textbook clause requiring all schools to use the Texas uniform textbooks.[146]

Mexican Americans saw segregation through the private institution both racially and economically. By the end of the 1880s, San Fernando Cathedral School for Boys opened, leaving the originally intended St. Mary's College an all-Anglo school. The spatial analyses performed shows that two schoolhouses were identified as having solid indications of use by the Mexican American community—No. 7 and "School" located at the corner of Guilbeau and South Flores and the corner of Buena Vista and South East, respectively. Bishop Odin's wishes to serve the *Mexican* population in 1852 to

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[146] Laura Lyons McLemore, *Inventing Texas: Early Historians of the Lone Star State*, College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004, 88.

completely removing them from quality education in 1888 followed the Jim Crow Era segregation practices.[147]

Anglo students and schoolhouses did not experience the same struggles as the African American and the Mexican American Communities, but they still struggled from inadequate funding and overcrowded schoolhouses. However, they gained headway over their counterparts by way of more schoolhouses, better access, better funding, and ground improvements. The racial hierarchy experienced and observed by all in San Antonio put Anglos as first-class citizens and African Americans and Mexican Americans as second class.

The racialization among the three demographics was blatantly apparent when observing how and when funding was approved for building schoolhouses and grounds improvement across the city schools. The recorded separation of African Americans as simply "colored citizens" from "taxpayers" indicates a believed Anglo superiority. Anglos gained where African Americans lost, while Mexican Americans were nearly written out of the public schools' history in San Antonio. Where one demographic suffered, another gained simply through the color of their skin. The treatment and enforcement of the laws and policies surrounding language restriction, tax dollar segregation, funding and general upkeep of school buildings continued to cement race into the institution of education not only in the local arena but a statewide arena.

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[147] Joseph W. Schmitz, S.M., *The Beginnings of the Society of Mary in Texas, 1852-1866*, (San Antonio: Naylor Company), National Archives of the Marianist Province of the United States in San Antonio, Tx, 10.

CHAPTER IV

TEXTBOOKS AND SOCIAL ENGINEERING

> We hold as undeniable truths that the governments of the various States, and of the confederacy itself, were established exclusively by the white race, for themselves and their posterity; that the African race had no agency in their establishment; that they were rightfully held and regarded as an inferior and dependent race, and in that condition only could their existence in this country be rendered beneficial or tolerable.
>
> That in this free government all white men are and of right ought to be entitled to equal civil and political right; that the servitude of the African race, as existing in these states, is mutually beneficial to both bond and free, and is abundantly authorized and justified by the experiences of mankind, and the revealed will of the Almighty Creator, as recognized by all Christian nations; while the destruction of the existing relations between the two races, as advocated by our sectional enemies, would bring inevitable calamities upon both and desolation upon the fifteen slave-holding states.[148]

Texas justified its secession from the United States by asserting the racial inferiority of African Americans. After the Civil War ended, the states continued to oppress African Americans and Mexican Americans by denying them equal access to education. This exclusionary policy embedded institutional racism in Texas' school system. As a result, school boards failed to support African American and Mexican American instruction before the Civil War through the 1890s. Meanwhile, state sanctioned textbooks offered no relief for those students already suffering under an inadequate education system. The books used in the schoolhouses reflect the state's

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[148] "Declaration of Causes: February 2, 1861, A declaration of the causes which impel the State of Texas to secede from the Federal Union," Texas State library and Archive Commission, accessed March 18, 2018, https://www.tsl.texas.gov/ref/abouttx/secession/2feb1861.html.

continued social engineering of second-class citizenship for African Americans and Mexican American students. While many families had to pay for tuition to cover textbooks and the cost of attendance because they could not collect property taxes, San Antonio levied property taxes in the city to subsidize the cost of public education. The *Council Journals C* through *K* provides evidence of property taxes collected and textbook funds approved to purchase throughout the late nineteenth century.[149]

During the Twentieth-fifth Legislation, the state passed an act to create a State Textbook Board to procure a series of uniform textbooks for public schools.[150] Creating a uniform textbook series offered another opportunity to dehumanize and demonize nonwhite races by the education system. The descriptive language found throughout the texts approved by Texas's Textbook Committee in 1897 buttressed the institutional racism written into educational law.

Even before slavery became widespread in North America, Africans were thought of as exotic and mysterious people.[151] As the United States committed itself to the slave trade, stereotypes evolved. African Americans were now more often viewed as valuable commodities in an ever-increasing capitalist economy. Dehumanization

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[149] While there is evidence to support the city's purchasing of textbooks and levying property taxes the evidence also shows lack of support to increase the property taxes to support public education. *Council Journal Book C, 1856-1870* through *Book K: 1893-1895, San Antonio*. Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through K Minutes. San Antonio Municipal Archives and Records in San Antonio, Texas.

[150] *General Laws of The State of Texas Passed at The Regular Session of the Twenty-fifth Legislature Convened at the City of Austin, January 12, 1897, and Adjourned May 21, 1897*, (Austin: Ben C. Jones & Co., State Printers, 1897), accessed March 10, 2020, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/umn.31951d02280422n, 238.

[151] James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong,"* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2007), 143.

resulted, with peoples of African descent described as inferior and childlike. The common belief that Africans needed rescuing fueled paternalistic attitudes rooted in the assumption that slaves could neither govern nor protect themselves.

James Loewen, a sociologist, and historian illustrates this point by quoting the French thinker Montesquieu. It was this famous philosopher's 1748 observance regarding the treatment of the enslaved that, "It is impossible for us to suppose these creatures to be men because allowing them to be men, a suspicion would follow that we ourselves are not Christians."[152] Loewen explains that the "we" showed a cognitive awareness in the shift of belief that Africans did not exist as equals to whites. Montesquieu using "we," held a standing belief in how the enslaved could be supposed men, but by doing so, white Christians were allowing their fellow men to be enslaved and treated as "creatures." Therefore, Montesquieu questioned the Christian morals and values held by white Christian men and the action of owning slaves. The shift in belief and continued dehumanization of Africans became fuel for the slave trade and resolved any moral or religious conflict.

The manipulation of language to demonize a group of people based on race while putting another group on the proverbial pedestal naturally made its way into the textbooks used in public education during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Diane Ravitch, an education historian, describes history textbooks as a method to teach "facts and patriotism" and geography to teach pride of country and often racial pride (and

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[152] James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong,* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2007), 143.

racism) as well; racial stereotyping was commonplace in the geography books."[153] Textbooks matched the curricula approved by the state committee during the 1890s in Texas provided an arena to cultivate state and regional pride while pushing a belief in white superiority.

Curricula based on racial inferiority committed African Americans and Mexican Americans to second-class citizenship after the Civil War. The curricula used in San Antonio provide evidence of which textbooks were used and not used in the local schoolhouses. San Antonioprovides a case study of education on the level of access by the city's three most predominant demographics. Mexican and Mexican American students predominately received an education through St. Mary's Institute established by the Marinists to serve this community until their segregation in 1888 to the San Fernando Cathedral School for Boys. The Freedmen Bureau established the first schoolhouse for African Americans in 1867, named the Lincoln School.[154] African Americans and Mexican Americans were limited to elementary education. African Americans did not receive education considered high school until a donation made by George Breckinridge funded the building for additional rooms for an Industrial

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[153] Diane Ravitch, *Left Back: A Century of Failed School Reforms,* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), 23.

[154] "Records to the Superintendent of Education for the State of Texas, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1870," *National Archives Microfilm Publications,* Microfilm Publication M822 Roll 2: Registers of Letters Received Volume 1 (14), Volume 2 (3), November 1866-Dec 1870, Texana Room Central Library, San Antonio, TX, vol 1, January 28, 1867. The letters in this collection do not correspond by page number only by date of letter. References made to this collection will have corresponding dates to the letters within the collection.

education between 1889 and 1890.[155] The difference in the curricula meant Anglo students were given access to higher learning and a different set of textbooks once students left their elementary education.

Texas did not have a uniform textbook system until the Public School Act passed in the 1890s.[156] Before creating a uniform system, the textbooks used in the classroom often relied on the instructors' preferred text. Much of the records regarding specific texts used in the San Antonio schoolhouses have been lost to time. However, a newspaper article from 1877 offers a clue about San Antonio schoolhouses' curricula, including reading, grammar, mental and written arithmetic, geography, spelling, dictation, and history composition.[157] The decentralization of the education system led to very different curricula for each county and each schoolhouse. Unfortunately, the records of early curricula are sparse in San Antonio. St. Mary's Institute kept clear, consistent records dealing with curricula during the late 1880s. The curricula found in the private institution included some similarities seen in the 1877 newspaper article, such as grammar, United States history, dictation, geography.[158] The earliest records held by the Marianist's archive in San Antonio are from the 1887 Inspector Reports that contain

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[155] "Detailed Chronology of San Antonio Education 1789-1973," UTSA LibGuides: http://libguides.utsa.edu/ld.php?content_id23575951, accessed March 24, 2021.
[156] Laura Lyons McLemore, *Inventing Texas: Early Historians of the Lone Star State*, College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004, 88.

[157] C. Plagge, "Our Public School," *San Antonio Daily Express*, Page 4, July 18, 1877, accessed April 18, 2020, https://newspaperarchive.com/san-antonio--daily-express-jul-18-1877-p-4/.
[158] "1887," AMR/SLP – San Antonio - St. Mary's College Inspector's Returns- 1887-1907, National Archives of the Marianist Province of the United States in San Antonio, Tx.

records of the possible curricula and texts used in the classrooms before the standardization of the public school system.

In 1893 the Twenty-fifth Legislature passed laws outlawing bilingual instruction and textbooks not written in English, cementing English as the formal language in Texas schools. The state left the enforcement of the laws to the local governments. Some local governments complied, while many chose to ignore the new law to support the local community.[159] Along with newly formed language laws, the Public School Act's passage also required all textbooks used in public schoolhouses to be printed in English. The law also created a uniform curriculum across the state. The subjects included spelling, reading, English language lessons and grammar, geography, arithmetic, elements of physiology and hygiene, history of the United States, history of Texas, and a system of writing books.[160] Schoolhouses in San Antonio followed these curricula well before the state created a uniform law regarding required school subjects.

The concern of how the Civil War and representation of the South arose in Texas caused some to request a seat at the table, hoping to be involved in the adoption process. A group of ex-Confederate soldiers concerned about a fair representation of their efforts pushed them to appeal to the Textbook Committee to critique a United States history book published by Barnes and Redpath. The ex-Confederates expressed concern about the negative representations of the South found in the book. The ex-Confederates

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[159] Blanton, 53.
[160] *General Laws of The State of Texas Passed at The Regular Session of the Twenty-fifth Legislature Convened at the City of Austin, January 12, 1897, and Adjourned May 21, 1897*, (Austin: Ben C. Jones & Co., State Printers, 1897), accessed March 10, 2020, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/umn.31951d02280422n, 238-240.

claimed the representation of the Confederate soldiers was "bias[ed] by prejudice against a true history" of the roles taken by southern soldiers.[161]

Of the textbooks approved for use and identified through the Board Minutes, only three have been recovered through HathiTrust. An analysis of the use of descriptive language used by these textbooks to describe the relationships between Anglos, African Americans, and Mexican and Mexican Americans shows how textbooks aid in class and citizenship social engineering. Textbooks approved for use in Texas schoolhouses consisted of Anna Hardwicke Pennybacker's *A New History of Texas for Schools,* Oscar H. Cooper's, *History of Our Country: A Text-book for Schools, Texas Edition,* and *The Rand-McNally Elementary Geography.* Through these books, San Antonio schoolchildren learned how to codify and divide the world around them. During Jim Crow, the Texas State Board of Education commissioned authors of textbooks that supported social hierarchy favoring Anglos.

The ex-Confederate group from Lampasas, Texas, expressed their concern of "biases by prejudice, against a true History of that part taken in the late war, by the southern soldiers, and is not in our judgment a correct history…." The group requested to establish a committee of ex-Confederates to complete a "correct history of our whole country unbiased by prejudice either for or against any section of our country."[162] In response to the request, the Textbook Committee explained that a separate committee

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[161] *Texas Textbook Board Minutes*, Collection: Physical 2-7/521, Texas State Archive and Library in Austin, Texas, 20.
[162] *Texas Textbook Board Minutes*, Collection: physical 2-7/521. Texas State Archive and Library in Austin, Texas, 20.

composed of ex-Confederates was not authorized. To address the ex-Confederates' concerns, the Committee informed the group that the Committee had a "gallant Confederate soldier" named Professor W. Tate sitting on the review board.[163]

The division of courses found in San Antonio schools offers glimpses of what school children learned through textbooks that supported a racial hierarchy and segregated educational achievement levels. The "Annual Report of the County Judge" in Bexar County schoolhouses supplied African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Anglo children the textbooks, *History of Our Country: A Text-book for Schools, Texas Edition,* and *Rand-McNally's Elementary Geography.* At the same time, Anglo students received these two textbooks and instruction in *A New History of Texas For Schools* because Texas history was only offered at the high school level.[164] African Americans received an Industrial education in place of a traditional high school education through the high school funded George Breckinridge. Breckinridge's donation created high school-level education, teaching semi-skilled to skilled manual labor. The segregated San Fernando Cathedral School for Boys did not receive a traditional high school education like their Anglo counterparts at the sister schools St. Mary's College and St. Louis College.[165]

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[163] *Texas Textbook Board Minutes,* 27.
[164] "Annual Report of the County Judge, Form G," Collection: physical Bexar County Superintendent's Report, 4-23/247 Annual Reports- 1880-1911, Texas State Archive and Library in Austin, Texas.
[165] "Inspector Reports," AMR/SLP- San Antonio- San Fernando School- Inspector Reports 1889-1907, National Archives of the Marianist Province of the United States in San Antonio, Tx, 10. The National Archives of the Marianist Province of the United States in San Antonio is a relatively new archive which is continually receiving new material from other repositories around the United States which has affected changes in the cataloging of materials in a consistent manner. The citations throughout this thesis represents the cataloging of material found during ongoing research and may or may change in the future.

Clif Stratton identified how education and access to it create hierarchy in citizenship.[166] Stratton asserts that those in power select textbooks supporting a narrative of racial hierarchy and patriotism reflected in present societal values. Like much of the South, in Texas, society valued white superiority through the oppression of African Americans and other racial groups. The idea of place and citizenship tied together how society formed and maintained racial hierarchy through simple textbooks consumed by children. The Text-Book Committee, made up of all white males, continued the oppression exemplified through Texas school law. The pro-Texan, pro-southern Committee maintained the status quo of society in Texas through its authorized and commissioned textbooks.

The textbook, *Rand-McNally Elementary Geography*, created a hierarchy system based on race and the perceived inferiority of non-Anglo individuals. Geography textbooks are often used to teach racial pride and patriotism in classrooms across the country.[167] In Texas, it did just that. Children in Texas and San Antonio learned to identify and codify populations based on race within different world regions. The book's geographical division and racial categorization reflected the institutional racism found in Texas education. Anglo students learned of their designed superiority by the contents within their geography textbook. Sections throughout were devoted to white supremacy, which stated the "white race" as the "leading and most powerful race" while identifying

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[166] Cliff Stratton, *Education for Empire: American Schools, Race, and The Paths of Good Citizenship*, (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016).
[167] Diane Ravitch, *Left Back: A Century of Failed School Reforms,* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000,) 23.

Anglos as "most the civilized people of the world."[168] As Anglo students sat in their schoolrooms, they learned of a society socially engineered by those in power with the agenda to maintain the status quo they fought to keep during the Civil War. African Americans and Mexican Americans learned how their skin color tied them to their place within society.

The geography lessons found in the *Rand-McNally* textbook taught children place and human interaction with the world around them. African Americans were regularly depicted as suited only for manual labor. This enabled Anglo students to accept the oppression of African Americans and Mexican Americans as normal and natural. The warm climates identified in Texas were described as inhospitable for "white people" laboring "in the fields" while identifying African Americans as "well adapted to a hot climate, easily [able to] withstand the effect of the heat."[169] The geography book contained language, which dehumanized Africans, African Americans, and Mexican Americans through the defunct science of eugenics.

The textbook, *History of Our Country: A Text-book for Schools, Texas Edition,* found its way into the schoolrooms in San Antonio and Texas in the 1890s. It was published strictly for Texas per the contract agreement within the Text-Book Board Minutes, which soothed Texas Confederate soldiers' concerns of Yankee bias. The adopted text spewed forth in a sympathetic recounting of the southern cause and

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[168] *The Rand-McNally Elementary Geography*, (Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co., 1896), accessed March 20, 2020, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.320440997022453, 39 and 42.
[169] *The Rand-McNally Elementary Geography,* 96.

frequently questioned the justice of the Union cause. The edition identified the carpetbaggers as "greedy and mostly unprincipled men" who mislead "ignorant and credulous [African American] voters" into electing Republican politicians. The history book pushed and supported southern sympathy by dramatizing the "victimization" of the South and emphasizing the "rascality and corruption" of the Reconstruction governments.[170]

The depictions of the relationship between the enslaved and master found throughout early Texas textbooks supported the larger Lost Cause narrative. The textbook portrayed slavery as a noble and necessary institution. Anglo students learned that the enslaved were "well fed, comfortably clothed, not overworked, and, as a class, were contented and happy."[171] African American students who had family ties to slavery learned that the freedom established from the Civil War was not necessary, which delegitimized their citizenship as Americans. African American experiences as slaves were written out of the state's textbooks, perpetuating southern myths about the Civil War. Schoolbooks continued to insist upon the benefits of slavery for African Americans and Anglos, continually supporting what had been written in the Texas government's declaration of secession.

Also, a specifically Texan style of patriotism, highly valued by the Textbook Committee, identified the state's first Anglo-American inhabitants Texans as "hardy,

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[170] Oscar H. Cooper, Harry F. Estill, Leonard Lemmon, *History of Our Country: A text-book for schools, Texas edition,* Boston: Ginn & Company, 1898, accessed April 15, 2020, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc2.ark:/13960/t9g44jx1q, 419 and 423.
[171] *History of Our Country*, 137.

liberty-loving settlers" who freed Texas of her "Mexican yoke."[172] Not only had African Americans suffered through the dehumanization spewed by the texts used in elementary education Mexican Americans suffered from racial stereotyping. Students across San Antonio and Texas learned their place in society, with Anglos situated at the top.

Anna Hardwicke Pennybacker, a schoolteacher from Palestine, Texas, wrote the first state-approved textbook covering Texas's history.[173] According to annual reports from the county judge, her book, *A New History of Texas for Schools*, was only ever offered to Anglo high school students during the 1890 reports. Pennybacker *is* portrayed as a progressive schoolteacher. Her work influenced minds for over forty years, aiding Texas education's racial hierarchy. Her use of language influenced emotional connections with historical figures still celebrated today. Pennybacker's first publication of, *A New History of Texas for Schools* suggested that the book be used to "cultivate true patriotism."[174] She identified Texans fighting in the Revolution as God-like men crushing the swarms of Mexicans commanded by Santa Anna.[175] Pennybacker's connection of God and Christianity to Texans gave religious support in the Texas Revolution while identifying the Texans who fought as true Texans.

Anna Hardwicke Pennybacker's depictions of true patriotism and true Texans connected white historical figures to this idea of realism in Anglo Texans.

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[172] *History of Our Country*, 302.
[173] *Texas Textbook Board Minutes*, 39.
[174] Anna J. Hardwicke Pennybacker, *A New History of Texas for Schools: Also for General Reading and for Teachers Preparing Themselves for Examination*, (Tyler: Texas 1888), accessed November 20, 2019, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo1.ark:/13960/t5db8mc6n&view=1up&seq=9, vi.
[175] Pennybacker, 76.

Simultaneously, her descriptions of Native Americans left much to be desired, placing them as second to the Anglo population. Pennybacker depicted Native Americans as "lazy," "abusive," and "murderous" before the forced "civilization" by Christian missionaries in Texas.[176] Pennybacker went as far as soothing the worried child who learned that Native Americans were forced from their land by dehumanizing the community further.

> It may seem very cruel to the young student, when he reads how the Indians were driven from place to place, and hunted down like beasts, but he must remember the provocation his Texas ancestors had. In those dark days, no mother on our broad Western prairies ever rocked her babe to sleep at even-tide, without the fear that the morning would find it torn from her arms and murdered by the red men, who listened to no entreaty, whose hearts knew no such feeling as pity.[177]

The author's sensationalistic language engineered an emotional connection and response by the young readers to see the Native Americans as less than human. Pennybacker's work furthered the engineered racism in Texas education.

Mexican and Mexicans Americans suffered from Anna Hardwicke Pennybacker's writings as well. Pennybacker portrayed the Mexican government as oppressive to Americans who immigrated from the United States. The author created a need for an emotional defense of the Anglo-Americans who colonized Texas. Throughout the textbook, Pennybacker referred to Mexicans as "merciless," "corrupt," "worthless," and used negative portrayals to create a type of character assassination of

[176] Pennybacker, 11.
[177] Pennybacker, 107.

the Mexican population and government. Pennybacker all but writes the justification of Anglo-American colonization and war with the Mexican government deemed by Anglo beliefs as corrupt and unworthy of their allegiance. In the Declaration of Independence of Texas from Mexico, "Anglo-Americans" in effect imposed the United States constitution onto Mexico's national government as justification to seize political control of and colonize the state of Tejas for "Anglo-Americans."[178] The representation of the Anglo belief system and its superiority over other communities strengthened racial hierarchy through education.

Textbooks used in San Antonio and Texas classrooms offer a look at how those who controlled education furthered the foundational racism found in the Texas education system. Textbooks such as *History of Our Country: A Text-book for Schools, Texas Edition,* and *Rand-McNally's Elementary Geography, A New History of Texas For Schools,* influenced Texas school children to see their race as access to citizenship in society. Anna Hardwicke Pennybacker's books continued to influence the belief of racial superiority by Anglos over others. School children used Pennybacker's textbook for nearly forty years after her first commission with the Texas Department of Education.

In conjunction with oppressive laws, the textbooks approved in the 1890s allowed racism to flourish in the institution of education in Texas. Mexicans and Mexican Americans, along with African Americans, were taught of their second-class citizenship through the textbooks used in the classrooms in San Antonio and across the

[178] Pennybacker, 96-98.

state. These textbooks and laws played distinctive roles in furthering the narrative of southern sympathy through social engineering. As schoolhouses slowly and painfully desegregated across the state into the twentieth century, textbooks continued exclusionary histories of Latinos and African Americans.

As seen through the early adoption of textbooks, the process was and still is a highly politicized process. The information held within the textbooks' pages were meant to educate and equalize the position of those in society often though the books fell below what is needed to provide the equality Horace Mann imagined so long ago.

Today's Politicization and Rose Colored Lenses

Textbooks dominate the Social Studies curricula across the nation. Texas and California house the two largest publishers of textbooks used in public school classrooms influencing the content in textbooks across the nation. However, the books produced in each are edited to meet the wishes of the regions they are supplied. High degree-holding individuals help write and produce scholarly sourced and cited information, but the states' education departments approve the editing and inclusion or exclusion of information. Reviewing and adopting state education requirements and textbooks has continued to be a highly politicized process.

The individuals who make up the Committee of Instruction in Texas are currently three republicans and two Democrats. The Committee oversees the development and implementation of curricula and standards in the state. Review panels are created every six years to review and evaluate the textbooks submitted for formal adoption. The review panels are made up of business and industry representatives,

parents, community members, professors, public school teachers, or other subject matter experts.[179] A new priority established in 2014 gave priority to professors and public-school teachers over others interested in participating. While priority may be given to those with knowledge and experience in education and subjects within the books, the State Board of Education has final approval of the adopted texts for the state. The review panels' focus is to make sure the texts cover the curriculum standards and identify factual errors. However, identifying biased and racially discriminate content is not required and often overlooked by the panels leading to the most recent incident of factually biased and racially discriminate uproars in Texas education.

Five years ago, geography textbooks currently in use at high schools across the state continue to exclude accurate histories of African Americans and Latinos. In 2015 a McGraw-Hill World Geography textbook excluded Africans as slaves. The section "Patterns of Immigration" identified the Atlantic Slave Trade but labeled slaves as "workers" brought to the United States as agricultural farmhands. Further on in the section, European indentured servants were identified, but no further discussion of how Africans were forced into slavery and brought to the United States against their will.[180]

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[179] Dylan Baddour, "Explained: how Texas picks its textbooks," *Houston Cornicle*, September 15, 2016, accessed April 15, 2021, https://www.houstonchronicle.com/local/explainer/article/Explained-how-Texas-picks-its-textbooks-9225732.php#:~:text=The%20review%20panels%20typically%20include,nominated%20through%20an%20online%20form.

[180] Manny Fernandez and Christine Hauser, "Texas Mother Teaches Textbook Company A Lesson on Accuracy," *The New York Times*, October 5, 2015, accessed April 10, 2020, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/06/us/publisher-promises-revisions-after-textbook-refers-to-African-slves-as-workers.html. "Chapter 5 Why Immigration Matters in the United States," *World Geography*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Education, 2012), 126.

Many historical textbooks exclude any actual confrontation into the tumultuous past of events and historical figures that have reigned infallible for over a century. Not until the Civil Rights Era did history books start moving away from the false narratives of "faithful slaves," "natural born laborers," "the black mammy," and other falsehoods. The process of adopting certain narratives about the Civil War, Institution of Slavery, and codification of race rest with the publishers who adhere to the wishes of their patrons. Jesús F. de la Teja explained in a New York Times interview, "At the end of the day, it's a political process."[181] The political process can be seen as early as the first textbook committee in Texas during the 1890s when a group of Confederate veterans wrote to the Committee voicing their concerns about how the South would be portrayed.

In the United States history text used in high schools across Texas, the students learn about significant points in the country's history, but often in very different ways than other states in the country. The book also includes deficiencies when identifying the importance of the Harlem Renaissance. The book identifies criticism by questioning the quality of African American literature produced during the Era. The importance of the second amendment lacks any honest discussion about its place in the Constitution. The Texas edition also fails to adequately discuss race, gender, sexuality, women's suffrage movement, Lavender Scare, among other vital topics in the country's history.[182]

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[181] Dana Goldstein, "Two States. Eight Textbooks. Two American Stories," *NY Time*, January 12, 2020, accessed January 25, 2021, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/01/12/us/texas-vs-california-history-textbooks.html?auth=login-google1tap&login=google1tap.
[182] Dana Goldstein.

In Texas, students did not begin learning that the central role of slavery caused the Civil War until two years ago. Generations of children educated in Texas before the 2019-2020 school year learned that sectionalism, states' rights, and slavery caused the Civil War with a heavy focus on sectionalism and states' rights. The teaching standards required by the Texas Education Agency (TEA) constrain the teachers to teach the causes in this order. Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills (TEKSs) requirements place the importance of slavery as the central role only recently.[183] The outcomes of this change in how slavery will be taught have yet to be seen. However, we can see the damage that has been done by pushing a whitewashed narrative over several generations. Today's political climate reflects how the Civil War has been remembered in the United States and the division it has caused among Americans.

Textbooks today continue to frame race and social hierarchy through rose colored lenses, never genuinely addressing the complicated and difficult relationship the United States has with race and social structures. From the first universally adopted textbooks in the 1890s until today, race and social structures continue to be taught inadequately, doing a massive disservice to all students across the state. The racial hierarchy established through the Rand-McNally geography poured over to the Texas edition of United States history and into the Texas history book by Anne J. Hardwicke Pennybacker. The trends established in the early books, policies, and practices continue to grow and evolve throughout the institution's history remaining to this day.

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[183] 19 TAC Chapter 113, Texas Essential Knowledge and Skills for Social Studies, http://ritter.tea.state.tx.us/rules/tac/chapter113/index.html.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The educational policies, practices, and textbooks established between 1850 to 1900 created a racialized education system. The case study of San Antonio illustrates the local implementation of oppressive and unequal state laws and policies regarding the education of African Americans and Mexican Americans in relationship with Anglos in city. The City Council Minutes reveal the Councils' believed racial superiority of Anglos against non-Anglo residents in their delayed ground improvements of the African American schoolhouses and building of the second city-funded schoolhouse. Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century African Americans and Mexican Americans pushed against the oppressive actions of the city council. By exposing the consistently quicker addressment of deficiencies in Anglo schoolhouses and sluggish reactions to requests made by the African American community race established itself in local education in San Antonio. Anglos gained the highest access to not only education but to citizenship.

Looking at the case study of San Antonio, Texas from 1850 to 1900 Anglos gained the highest access to not only education but to citizenship. As the town grew into a metropolis in the late nineteenth century the power structure both politically and demographically shifted from the Bexareños to Anglo-Texans. Spanish-speaking communities began to see restrictions and a rise in violence in their everyday lives to loses in autonomy over the education of their children in *de facto* segregation.

During Reconstruction, African Americans gained the identity of a citizen of the United States America. In San Antonio African Americans though rightful citizens of the United States they often pushed back against the oppressive narratives established by education policies and practices. Mexican Americans found space in San Antonio public schools to receive an education due to them by the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty of 1848. San Antonio City Council prioritized the education of its residents based on the color of the individual's skin. The belief held dear to Hoarce Mann that "Education, then, beyond all other divides of human origin, is a great equalizer of conditions of men—the balance wheel of the social machinery" feel on the City Council's deaf ears.[184]

The *racial scripts* of Anglos, African Americans, and Mexican Americans established how educational laws and policies applied to the groups. The established social construction of racial superiority places Anglos in a position to receive the most benefit from public education while oppressing and restricting access to education and citizenship. The relationship between race and law created space for the *counterscripts* of African Americans and Mexican Americans. These *counterscripts* expose the agency that African Americans and Mexican Americans created by pushing against the oppressive institution. African Americans continued to pressure the City Council for a city-funded school for nearly twenty years before their petitions came to fruition. During that time the community funded and built a schoolhouse in 1884. Though the primary

[184] Horace Mann as quoted in, Roslin Growe and Paula S. Montgomery, "Educational Equity in America: Is Education the Great Equalizer?," *The Professional Educator*, vol. XXV, no. 2, Spring 2003, accessed February 2021, https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ842412.pdf, 23.

documents did not acknowledge Mexican Americans in public education the spatial analyses preformed identified their space and *counterscript* in the primary documents. The *counterscript* of these two groups can be observed in the primary texts for African Americans and spatial analyses of the schoolhouse locations dwellings in the city.

The establishment of education has always been precarious in Texas. From Spanish territory to Mexico to the Republic, every government wished to establish education but failed to do so. Governor Pease introduced the first school law in 1854 though he never created policy with intent to enforce or fund education across the state. San Antonio established the first public schoolhouse which survived the Civil War. San Antonio was also home to two private institutions which severed the large Mexican American population. One school for males and the other school for females, St. Mary's Institute and Ursuline Academy respectively. While these two institutions were open for Anglos and Mexican Americans to learn the access for African Americans was shut until the desegregation in the twentieth century.[185]

From Radicals to Redeemers, Texas underwent an education overhaul during theReconstruction Era only to have the efforts reversed, nearly destroying the institution. Under Republican control during Reconstruction, Texas gained a centralized education structure and adequate funding for local schools. The proper funding, however, did not mean the disbursement was equally distributed. Segregated tax laws to support schools

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[185] Carey H. Latimore, "Civil Rights in San Antonio: WWII to Mid-1960s," https://www.thealamo.org/fileadmin/assets/save/research_and_studies/civil-rights-in-sa-wwii-to-1960s.pdf, 22. "History of Education in San Antonio," *Quick Chronology of San Antonio Education: 1789-1973,* UTSA Libraries, https://libguides.utsa.edu/c.php?g=528531&p=3614489.

were established by the state and enforced locally. While struggling with overcrowding San Antonio Anglos gained city-funds for four schoolhouses by the end of Reconstruction while other communities continued to battle with underfunded and overpopulated schoolhouses. A single schoolhouse was established by the Freedmen's Bureau, a federal agency, to educate African Americans in San Antonio despite their petitions for another schoolhouse. The city eventually gained control of the school in 1871, renaming it the Rincon School. A possible schoolhouse for Mexican American students was built in 1875 on Guilbeau Road and South Flores according to claims by William Knox and a spatial analysis conducted by the author.

As Reconstruction came to an end, Governor Coke, a Redeemer Democrat, came to power. Coke's leadership reversed much of the centralized state laws, reduced funding for local schoolhouses and re-established the community system putting the burden of providing an education onto local communities. Stricter language laws establishing English-only policies with increasing enforcement towards the end of century pushed Spanish-speaking communities out of accessible education for the students. San Antonio pushed forward and mirrored the republican centralized education system with superintendents, principals, and city-based school funding. The system protected Anglo education, and a significant growth of Anglo schoolhouses was observed throughout the nineteenth century. African Americans created a *counterscript* against Anglo education by continuing to petition the city council for a second schoolhouse west of San Pedro Creek. The requests fell on deaf ears for nearly twenty

years so the community funded and built the Santa Clara schoolhouse creating space for their children to learn.

Anglo schoolhouses gained plumbing, ground improvements by way of leveling, trees, sidewalks, and more while African Americans pushed for a second city-funded schoolhouse. During the mid-1880s, a community-built schoolhouse was inducted as a city school named, Santa Clara Schoolhouse. The African American community built and established a second schoolhouse for their community. By racializing tax dollars, the city council deemed the claims made by African Americans to build a city funded schoolhouse irrelevant until the 1890s. The 1889 entry racializing the "colored citizen" from the "tax payers" identified the sitting council members' beliefs that the African American community did not pay an adequate amount deeming their request for a second schoolhouse on the west side of San Antonio mute.[186] It would not be until the 1890s that the city-funded schoolhouse would be erected west of San Pedro creek.

African Americans persisted and stayed the course to find and create space for their community's education. By the end of the nineteenth century, they gained access to four schoolhouses, one of which was St. Peter Claver's Catholic School and industrial schooling after a large donation made by George Brackenridge. The inequalities embedded in this vocational curriculum designed to keep African Americans in a place of servitude designed to place the racialized worth of the African American community

[186] *Council Journal and Minutes, Book H*, 79.

in semi-skilled to unskilled labor fields never genuinely offering them a chance for higher education through the public schools.

Mexican Americans also struggled for access to quality education when St. Mary's College segregated the community in 1888 to the San Fernando boys School. The private institution of St. Mary's created a socioeconomic structured supporting the racialization of Mexican Americans. The curricula differences between San Fernando and St. Mary's College offer a look at the valued intelligence of Anglo children over Mexican American children. While at St. Mary's College, Anglo children received a more complete higher-level education, including higher math, history, and sciences than Mexican Americans. San Fernando students received something typical of a primary education consisting of religious readers, United States history, geography, penmanship and spellers. The racialized curricula exhibited the perceived differential capabilities of the Anglo and Mexican American students. Facilities shown through the catalogs for St. Louis College and St. Mary's College show the difference in quality of space for children to learn. At the same time, San Fernando did not provide catalogs for incoming students.

The public schools for the Mexican American community in San Antonio have experienced an erasure in the primary documents because the lack of identifying findings. Federal censuses failed to make any effort to count the community before the 1930. The community existed more on Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps rather than in the Council Minutes. Based on clues from a 1927 thesis and the Sanborn maps, spatial analyses provide the needed evidence to identify with confirmation the area of San

Antonio where a large population of Mexican Americans lived and where the two schoolhouses that probably served the children in the community. No. 7 schoolhouse located on Guilbeau and South Flores streets was established in 1875 and the schoolhouse identified as "School" in the primary documents in the heart of the Mexican American dwellings on Buena Vista and South East Street was established in the mid 1880s.

The industrial education movement placed African Americans in a disadvantaged situation academically by withholding higher-leveled courses such as Texas history, sciences such as physiology, and math such as algebra and geometry.[187] Table 1 takes a sample of courses offered after a primary education in Bexar County where San Antonio is located. The sample taken from the years 1887 through 1891 shows the disparity between the curricula designed for Anglos versus African Americans.[188] The curricula illustrate the disparity experienced by the African American community.

Years	Algebra Anglos Enrolled	Algebra African Americans Enrolled	Geometry Anglos Enrolled	Geometry African Americans Enrolled	Physiology Anglos Enrolled	Physiology African Americans Enrolled	Texas History Anglos Enrolled	Texas History African Americans Enrolled
1887-188	53	0	3	0	4	0	NA	0
1889-1890	7	0	2	0	4	0	NA	0
1890-1891	20	0	7	0	14	0	24	0

Table 1: Enrollment by subject and race. Numbers taken from "Annual Report of the County Judge, Form G" correspond with the year observed.

[187] "Annual Report of the County Judge, Form G." Collection: physical Bexar County Superintendent's Report 4-23/247 Annual Reports- 1880-1911. Texas State Archive and Library in Austin, Texas.
[188] "Annual Report of the County Judge, Form G." Annual reports after the early 1890s were restructured and do not included explicit break down of race and subject in as clear content as the first reports of the County Judge therefore are not included due to the lack of a true comparison.

The analyses made on the primary documents provide overwhelming evidence and support showing how the racialization of laws, policies, practices, and textbooks furthered the effects of institutional racism. The textbooks commissioned by the state implemented a uniform curriculum based on racial hierarchy through unequal access of citizenship. The United States history textbook furthered southern sympathy creating a false narrative that slavery was not brutal but enslaving Africans protected them. *Rand-McNally's Elementary Geography* taught racial hierarchy based on the claimed physical attributes supporting the perceived racial superiority of Anglos over labor-fit African Americans and relied upon descriptions of the "lazy Mexican." Pennybacker's Anglo-centric Texas patriotic history reinforced the perceived racial superiority of whites by this statement and others with similar depictions, "[Anglos] crushing all beneath them, while the Texans stood like gods waiting to let others feel their mighty strength."[189] The textbooks commissioned by the first textbook board depicted Mexicans, African Americans, and Native Americans as lesser than equal in physique, intelligence, and morality, creating a social hierarchy with Anglos as first-class citizens and the rest as second-class citizens.

The precarious relationship that Texas legislators and local governments have with education created an institution that allows the racialization of others to be taught in society. As textbooks became a normal fixture in the classrooms, the contents often

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[189] Anna J. Hardwicke Pennybacker, *A New History of Texas for Schools: Also for General Reading and for Teachers Preparing Themselves for Examination*. (Tyler, Texas, 1888), accessed November 20, 2019, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo1.ark:/13960/t5db8mc6n&view=1up&seq=9, 76. Description of the Battle of the Alamo in 1836.

included white historical figures, divided among southern sympathy or northern domination while erasing the history of non-Caucasians, while whitewashing the historical events that have led to the twenty-first century. Schoolhouses did not desegregate until the Civil Rights Era, and then at times, force was required to have southern states desegregate.

The *Brown v. Board of Education* in the mid-1950s ruled racial segregation in schools was unconstitutional. This meant that Texas slowly and painfully desegregated the schools inch by inch, not all at once. Desegregation in Texas required a multifaceted approach because school districts segregated based on race and a pedagogical basis on the perceived inefficiencies of non-English speakers and Latin American surnames. A study conducted by George Sánchez and Virgil E. Strickland in the 1950s sampled schools across Texas and found districts using pedagogical reasons to segregate and deny Mexican Americans equal access to quality education.[190]

As the Civil Rights Movement pushed across the nation, Mexican Americans and African Americans fought for educational rights in Texas. There is a point of pride in San Antonio as being one of the first southern cities to desegregate lunch counters in the 1960s. Education remained a fickle road to navigate for both African Americans and Mexican Americans throughout the Civil Rights Era and beyond.[191] Desegregation based on race moved slowly and schools became somewhat more integrated. State officials

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[190] *"Let Them All Take Heed,"* 121.
[191] Madalyn Mendoza, "58 years ago, San Antonio was the first southern city to integrate lunch counters," *My San Antonio,* March 19, 2015," accessed June 4, 2021, https://www.mysanantonio.com/150years/major-stories/article/Fifty-eight-years-ago-San-Antonio-was-the-first-6145959.php.

used the argument of the "other white" for Mexican Americans in order to group African Americans and Mexican Americans in the same schoolhouses creating the illusion of integration in Texas schools.[192] By the 1970s, several Texas court cases went through the system, slowly pushing for more educational rights. In 1970 the ruling of *Cisneros v. Corpus Christi Independent School District* ruled that "Chicanos were an identifiable minority group instead of white."[193] The *Cisneros* and *Brown* ruling created an avenue to fight for actual school integration.

As the twentieth century ended bilingual education gained a place in the education system, and schools became more racially diverse. However, the content in textbooks continued to push white historical figures and incorrect recounts of forced slavery with no option of a more culturally diverse learning curriculum. Racial segregation may be illegal, but segregation based on economic status continues still to this day. Texas has made great strides in education inclusion compared to the late nineteenth century, but there is still a greater need for inclusion, equity, and equality in the education system. Race is still institutionalized in Texas and local education systems. In contrast, the racism observed today is not as blatantly overt as Anna J. Hardwick Pennybacker's claims to racial superiority and *Randy-McNally's* racial categorizations, or even the claimed faithful slave narrative presented in the Texas edition United States

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[192] V. Carl Allsup, "Cisneros v. Corpus Christi ISD," *Handbook of Texas,* accessed June 4, 2021, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/cisneros-v-corpus-christi-isd.
[193] Carlos Kevin Blanton, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas, 1836-1925*, (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004), 147.

history book. There is still a whitewashed narrative of race and the United States' relationship with a socially constructed hierarchy.

The textbooks used in schools' curricula across the state need continued overview and inclusion to correctly address the whitewashing of history simply because history is not "pretty." The two following statements describe the role African Americans had in the history of the United States and show how little has changed in one hundred and twenty-five years of educational policy and textbook changes "…between the 1500s and 1800s brought millions of workers from Africa to the Southern United States to work on agricultural plantations," "…this is not their native country…."[194] Both textbooks were approved by the Texas board of education. The first statement is from 2021 and the second is from 1896. The adoption and publication of the geography book illustrates the need to frame the relationship race has with the country and state's history in schools across Texas. Students in Texas did not begin learning that slavery played a central role in the Civil War until the 2019-2020 academic year.[195]

The schools of San Antonio, while integrated, still have lingering demographic makeups similar to the first locations of schools identified in the council records for

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[194] Manny Fernandez and Christine Hauser, "Texas Mother Teaches Textbook Company a Lesson on Accuracy," *The New York Times*, October 5, 2015, accessed April 10, 2020, https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/06/us/publisher- promises-revisions-after-textbook-refers-to-african-slaves-as-workers.html. "Chapter 5 Why Geography Matters the United States," *World Geography*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Education, 2012), page 126. Rand, McNally & Company, *The Rand-McNally Elementary Geography* (New York: Rand, McNally and Company, 1896), 39.

[195] Camille, Phillips, "Texas Students Will Soon Learn Slavery Played A Central Role in the Civil War," *NPR*, November 16, 2018, accessed April 10, 2020, https://www.npr.org/2018/11/16/668557179/texas-students-will-soon- learn-slavery-played-a-central-role-in-the-civil-war.

Anglo, African American, and Mexican Americans. From a website called statisticatlas.com, the two maps below show the race and ethnicity makeup of the city from the 2018 Federal Census Bureau.

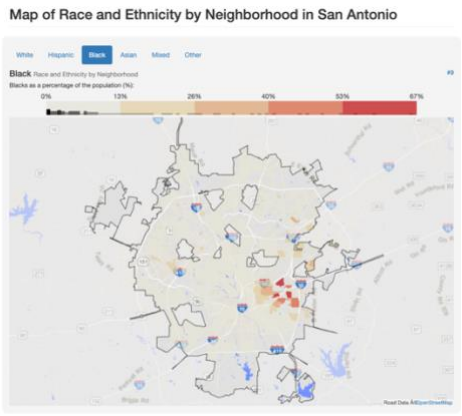

Figure 21: Map of Race and Ethnicity by Neighborhood in San Antonio: Black. Reprinted from, "Race and Ethnicity in the San Antonio Area, Texas," *Statistical Atlas,* https://statisticalatlas.com/metro-area/Texas/San-Antonio/Race-and-Ethnicity.

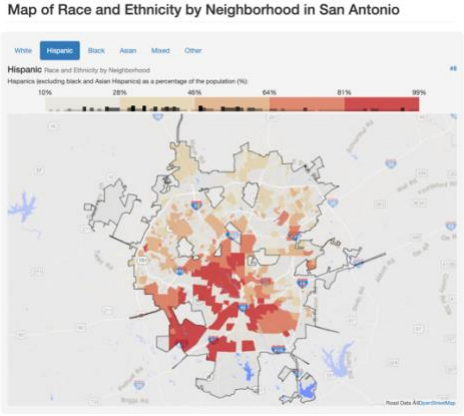

Figure 22: Map of Race and Ethnicity by Neighborhood in San Antonio: Hispanic. Reprinted from, "Race and Ethnicity in the San Antonio Area, Texas," *Statistical Atlas,* https://statisticalatlas.com/metro-area/Texas/San-Antonio/Race-and-Ethnicity.

The Buena Vista and South East schoolhouse and the No. 7 schoolhouse located at Guilbeau and South Flores would be found in the deep red area in Map 7, displaying the Hispanic population density in the southwestern region of the city. The Rincon, Santa Clara, and St. Peter Claver schoolhouses are located near the red areas of Figure 21, displaying Black population density in the eastern region of the city. The locations of the first schoolhouses in San Antonio rest in the area of the city's largest and first school district—San Antonio Independent School District (SAISD). The district encompasses the city's center stretching nearly to the edges of highway 410, which circles the city. The students' demographic makeup of the school district includes eighty-nine percent

Hispanic, six percent African American, and two percent White with eighty-nine percent of the students who are economically disadvantaged.[196]

The school districts show the economic disadvantage of students but also the racial segregation that still exists in the schools today. The three districts in San Antonio with the highest levels of Hispanic students lay to west, southwest, and south of SAISD at over ninety-six percent and over eighty-nine percent of economically disadvantaged students.[197] The districts encompass Figure 22 has the highest population density of Hispanic families to the west, southwest, and south of the SAISD. Three districts lay to the east and slightly northeast which has the highest concentration of African American students between eight and twenty-one percent. These districts also have high numbers of economically disadvantaged students between thirty-six and seventy percent.[198] The racial division illustrates that the highest economically disadvantaged students' locations also have the highest numbers of minority students enrolled in the districts.

The segregation patterns throughout the schools in San Antonio have only grown since 1875, with No. 7 School and the *Mexican* dwellings from the early Sanborn maps. Understanding the racialization of education means one must see the relationship

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[196] "San Antonio ISD, San Antonio, TX," accessed June 5, 2021, https://schools.texastribune.org/districts/san-antonio-isd/.
[197] "Edgewood ISD, San Antonio, TX," accessed June 5, 2021, https://schools.texastribune.org/districts/edgewood-isd-bexar/. "Harlendale ISD, San Antonio, TX," accessed June 5, 2021, https://schools.texastribune.org/districts/harlandale-isd/. "South San Antonio ISD, San Antonio, TX," accessed June 5, 2021, https://schools.texastribune.org/districts/south-san-antonio-isd/.
[198] "East Central ISD, San Antonio, TX," accessed June 5, 2021, https://schools.texastribune.org/districts/east-central-isd/. "Judson ISD, Live Oak, TX," accessed June 5, 2021, https://schools.texastribune.org/districts/judson-isd/. "Fort Sam ISD, San Antonio, TX," accessed June 5, 2021, https://schools.texastribune.org/districts/ft-sam-houston-isd/.

between racialized groups and the laws, policies, textbooks, and locations of the first schoolhouses in San Antonio throughout its history. The first African American school rested on the east side of the city, where today resides the highest population demographic of African Americans. The first schools for Mexican American children established on the west and south sides of the city reside the highest population demographic of Hispanics. The redlining laws and discriminatory housing practices that ended in the mid-twentieth century further restricted movement from minority groups throughout the city. The entrenchment of racializing communities became a permeant fixture in the institution of education. In the twenty-first century, communities are still fighting for equity, equality, and representation from the institution of education.

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