

EMPOWERMENT THROUGH EDUCATION; MEXICAN AMERICAN
AGENCY MEASURED THROUGH PRIMARY EDUCATION
IN NEW MEXICO, 1846-1920

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ABSTRACT

After the annexation of New Mexico by the United States in 1848, we see a process of Americanization was begun by the U.S. officials in the territory. This thesis examines the response of New Mexico's Hispanic population to the process of Americanization of the education and language in the territory between 1848 and 1920.

First, the laws and treaties that affected the foundation and development of an educational system in New Mexico were examined in this thesis. In the last three chapters, the characteristics of New Mexico education were examined through the county school reports, curriculum of the schools and textbooks. Besides public education, the language of the education which shifted from Spanish to English through the early 20th century was also discussed in this thesis.

In conclusion, although Hispanics in New Mexico rejected the Anglo American public education in the very beginning of their territorial history, they began to use education in order to protect their economic and political rights after the 1890s. Thus we can say that the process of assimilation or Americanization in New Mexico between 1848 and 1920 was not very successful.

ÖZET

1848 yılında New Mexico'nun Amerika Birleşik Devletleri tarafından hakimiyet altına alınmasından sonra, bölgede Amerikalı yetkililerin Amerikalılaştırma sürecini başlattıklarını görüyoruz. Bu tezin amacı New Mexico'nun Meksika kökenli nüfusunun, 1848 ve 1920 yılları arasında eğitim ve dildeki Amerikalılaştırma çabalarına verdikleri tepkiyi araştırmaktır.

Tezde ilk olarak, New Mexico'da eğitimin temellerini atan ve geliştiren kanun ve antlaşmalar incelenmiştir. Tezin geri kalan bölümünde ise, New Mexico'daki devlet eğitiminin genel özellikleri; okul raporları, müfredatları ve ders kitapları vasıtasıyla incelenmiştir. Devlet eğitiminin yanı sıra, daha öncelri İspanyolca iken 20.nci yüzyıl başlarında İngilizceye dönen eğitim dili de bu tezde tartışılan konulardan biridir.

Bu tezin sonucunda görüyoruz ki; New Mexico'nun Meksika kökenli halkı önceleri Anglo Amerikan tarzı eğitim sistemini reddetmiş olsalarda, 1890 sonrası eğitim ve İngilizceyi kendi ekonomik ve siyasi haklarını korumak için kullanmışlardır. Bu sebeple, asimilasyon yada Amerikalılaştırma sürecinin, 1848-1920 yılları arasında New Mexico'da başarılı olduğunu söyleyemeyiz.

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INTRODUCTION

The history of Mexican Americans has been illuminated by the new social history during the last four decades. While much Mexican American scholarship has focused on the Chicano Movement of the 1960s¹, less attention has been paid to Mexican-American empowerment in their early history. This thesis explores that topic through an assessment of the laws and practice of primary education in New Mexico from the Kearny Bill of Rights of 1846, the Territory's first organizational document, to the 1910s, shortly after statehood. Two broad historical events give shape to the thesis. First, the public education system of New Mexico began in the 1870s. Second, the issue of statehood affected the education and language of New Mexico, both before and after New Mexico became the 47th state in 1912.

The thesis has four substantive chapters. Chapter I discusses the treaties and laws that affected New Mexico education between 1846 and 1920, to show how the laws of New Mexico codified Mexican Americans' educational rights. Chapter 2 faces the evolution of Mexican American awareness of the empowering aspects of public education beginning in the 1870s. Chapter 3 shows the impact of developments outside New Mexico on the territory's shift toward support of English-language education in 1890s. Chapter 4 indicates why resistance to English emerged again in the 1910s, after statehood.

The main concern of this thesis is the origins of Mexican-American agency. Eric Yamamoto defines agency as the existence of affirmative group power to self-define

¹ See for example, Tony Castro, *Chicano Power: The Emergence of Mexican America*, David G. Gutierrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, Thomas Torrens, *Forging the Tortilla Curtain*, Rudolfo A. Anaya, *Aztlán*, Carlos Maldonado, *Colegio Cesar Chavez, 1973-1983*, and George Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American*.

and to interact with other groups, the exercise of which is both facilitated and constrained by socio-political circumstances.² As it is understood from this definition, I will use 'agency' as the extent and limits of Mexican-American empowerment and resistance to the assimilation, the process that leads to greater homogeneity in society³, by the dominant Anglo-American culture and politics.

There are many studies concerning the struggles of Mexican Americans in other Southwestern states, but the issue of education in territorial New Mexico has not been studied before.⁴ Susan Yohn studied the contact between Presbyterian Mission Teachers and Mexican Americans in New Mexico in the late 19th century and early 20th centuries. Her focus, however, were the experience of Anglo American women, while this thesis considers the perceptions and actions of local Hispanics.

For the sources, this thesis relies on the manuscripts and primary source collections of New Mexicans, both Anglo-American and Mexican-American, as well as secondary literature. The primary sources used are located at the New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, and the Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico. These include the papers of L. Bradford Prince, the governor of the territory of New Mexico between 1889 and 1893, Edmund G. Ross, the governor between 1885 and 1889, and Amado Chaves, the first superintendent of public instruction for the territory of New Mexico. These are necessary sources for my understanding of official aspects of the education in New Mexico. Also the papers of Frederick Muller, a member of the Santa Fe city board of education, and William Gillet

² Eric K. Yamamoto, "Rethinking Alliances: Agency, Responsibility and Interracial Justice", *3 Asian Pac. Am. L.J.* 33 (1996) < personal.law.miami.edu/~fvaldes/latcrit/archives/harvard/yamamoto.htm > 15.10.2002

³ See Stephan Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980. p.150, 151-155, 237-239, 240-242 for more detail about ethnicity and assimilation.

⁴ See for example, Leonard Pitt, *Decline of Californios*, Richard DelCastillo, *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890*, Bradford Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, Arnaldo DeLeon, *Mexican Americans in Texas*, and Timothy Matocina, *Tejano Religion and Ethnicity*.

Ritch, territorial secretary and later governor, help to get information about the school books, teachers and thoughts of the period.⁵ Doris Meyer's *Speaking for Themselves: NeoMexicano Cultural Identity and the Spanish Language Press, 1880-1920*⁶, is helpful to reach the ideas of New Mexicans about language, education, and ethnicity. This book's collection of the period's newspapers in New Mexico contributed to this study. As a published primary source, Blandina Segale's diary, *At the End of the Santa Fe Trail*⁷, draws a realistic picture of New Mexico between 1870s and 1890s. In her diary, I could get information about the prejudice and injustice encountered by Mexican Americans from a first hand source. David E. Lorey's *United States-Mexico Border Statistics since 1900*⁸ contains useful statistical data widely used in this study. Without the statistics on the population, literacy and school attendance rates, this thesis would not be complete.

In the secondary literature, several works are significant. Rodolfo Acuña in his *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*⁹, examines the history of Chicanos in United States from the conquest of the Southwest to the 1980s. His statements about the differences among the southwestern states help to show the difference of New Mexico from other southwestern states in terms of education and language. He discusses the English illiteracy among Hispanics at the end of the 19th century. With the coming of new century attitudes towards education changed within this minority group and they fought against inequality and segregation in public education. Oscar J. Martinez's

⁵ Muller's papers are in the Adella Collier papers, New Mexico State Archives. Ritch's papers are in the Clinton P. Anderson papers, Center for Southwest Research.

⁶ Doris Meyer, *Speaking for Themselves: NeoMexicano Cultural Identity and the Spanish Language Press, 1880-1920*. Albuquerque: New Mexico Press, 1996.

⁷ Blandina Segale, *At the End of Santa Fe Trail*. University of New Mexico Press, 1999.

⁸ David E. Lorey, *States-Mexico Border Statistics Since 1900*. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1990.

⁹ Acuña, Rodolfo. *Occupied America*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1988.

splendid research in his *Mexican Origin People in the United States*¹⁰ carries importance with its numerical data as well as its arguments about the struggle of Mexican Americans for identity. Finally, Ruth Miller Elson's *Guardians of Tradition: American Schoolbooks of the 19th Century*¹¹ was a supplementary source with its arguments about the content and effects of school books on the public education of America.

Before looking at the case in New Mexico, it is noteworthy to have a general picture of education in the United States in the late 19th century. American education then was shaped by forces of nationalism and the spreading of democracy. 19th century textbooks were designed to train children as good citizens with moral values, religious manner, and industrial capacity. In a country which was growing, civic education and the homogeneity of society carried an importance. The United States is known as a nation of immigrants. However, the variety of immigrants' nationalities created the necessity of a stable educational system in the minds of the dominant group, Anglo Americans. The cultural pluralism in the American society was not reflected within the educational system.¹² Moreover, the educational system of the United States was defined by ethno-racial terms and was designed to the benefit of white Americans.¹³ The notion of Manifest Destiny was influential after the 1840s —defined by Frederick Merk as national expansion, prearranged by Heaven, and the duty of the United States to

¹⁰ Martinez, Oscar J. *Mexican Origin People in the United States*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001.

¹¹Ruth Miller Elson. *Guardians of Tradition: American Schoolbooks of the 19th Century*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964.

¹² See for more detail on cultural pluralism, Diane Ravitch, "Cultural Pluralism" in Ronald Takaki, *From Different Shores: Perspectives on Race and Ethnicity in America*. New York: Oxford Univeristy Press, 1994. pp.288-293, for race and ethnicity; Takaki, pp. 11-24, 24-37, for culture and class, Takaki, pp.41-52, 93-107, 107-118, 243-251.

¹³ David A. Hollinger, *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism*. New York: Basic Books, 1995. pp. 124-128.

regenerate backward peoples of the continent.¹⁴ Another historian, Ronald Takaki in his *Iron Cages*, quoted Senator Thomas Hart Benton, who saw the war with Mexico as a necessary part of manifest destiny. “The arrival of the ‘white’ race on the western coast, ‘opposite the eastern coast of Asia’, he declared, would be benefit humankind.”¹⁵ Anglo beliefs in Manifest Destiny led the way to the annexation of the territory in 1848 by the United States, and thereafter exerted pressure on New Mexico education.¹⁶

The concern of this thesis is public education, “the institution, above all others, on which nineteenth century Americans relied to further such ethnic unity as they required as the common school.”¹⁷ Like Manifest Destiny, Progressivism of the late 19th century and early 20th century also affected ideas about the necessity of a standardized public education system for the Americanization of minority students. “Americanization came into use to describe the progressive programs to persuade immigrants to adopt the ways of their new homeland.”¹⁸ Public education was viewed as the core requirement for the progress of the United States. “The rise of the public school has been inextricably tied to the progress of the United States; the cause of the one is invariably the cause of the other; hence it is the duty of both teachers and lay citizens to promote public education, thereby enabling the United States to fulfill its destiny.”¹⁹ In the West, Progressive educators focused on Native Americans, although they met resistance. “Many Native American parents preferred to hide their children from the authorities, and there were even some who, despite penalties, openly refused to let their children go

¹⁴ Frederick, Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History: A Reinterpretation*. New York: Vintage Books, 1963. pp. 24, 34.

¹⁵ Ronald Takaki, *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in Nineteenth Century America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979. p.155. See also pp. 11-16 and 154-164.

¹⁶ See for more information on the Manifest Destiny and New Mexico, Merk, pp. 49, 109-110, 146, 221, 222, and pp. 183-191, 217 for the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

¹⁷ John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988. p.235.

¹⁸ Arthur S. Link and Richard McCormick, *Progressivism*. Illinois: Harlan Davidson Inc., 1983. p.100.

¹⁹ Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The Colonial Experience, 1607-1783*. New York: Harper and Row, 1970. p.x. See also Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1876*, pp. 1-17, 148-186, and 74-103; and Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, pp. 3-13, 62-75.

to these schools, not wishing to expose their offspring to the powerful influence of mainstream society.”²⁰

During Reconstruction the experience of Mexican Americans in New Mexico, however was less that of Native Americans and more like that of African Americans in the post-Civil War South. “The usual school term was only three or four months, with scarcely more than half the school population enrolled; attendance was poor, the expenditure per pupil was only a few dollars, teachers were insufficiently prepared and badly paid.”²¹ Yet the former slaves were determined to use educational rights as an opportunity for empowerment.²²

Thus, this thesis will focus on education because of its magical power in shaping ideas about culture, ethnicity and rights. Doris Meyer states, “A good education should be an equalizing factor leading to the full enjoyment of rights, a sense of ethnic accomplishment, and, eventually, to statehood and political autonomy for New Mexico.”²³ The following quotation from the newspaper *La Opinión* summarizes the importance of education in the lives of Mexican-Americans:

Mexican education in the United States seeks to reserve for the Patria those thousands and thousands of children who either came here at an early age or were born here, the ultimate goal of which is to one day, when the conditions of our country improve, reincorporate them as factors in real progress; for, they will carry with them the advantage of having two languages and the experience of two social mediums which have marked differences which, once compared and culling from them, could produce a level of superior life.²⁴

²⁰ Klaus Frantz, *Indian Reservations in the United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989. p.133.

²¹ Dewey W. Grantham, *Southern Progressivism: The Reconciliation of Progress and Tradition*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983. p.247. Also see pp. 246-275 for the Southern Progressivism on education.

²² See for example Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow*, New York: Basic Books, 1985. pp. 3-11 and 44-79 for the African-American experience of American education; Bill Ong Ling, pp. 20-22 and Klaus Frantz, pp. 131, 133, and 136 for Native American experience of American education.

²³ Meyer, *Speaking For Themselves*, p.101.

²⁴ Editorial in *La Opinión*, June 21, 1930 quoted in George Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

No doubt that education was perceived differently by Mexican Americans and Anglo Americans. For example, Elwood P. Cubberley from Stanford University argued in 1909 that “our task is to break up Mexican groups or settlements, to assimilate and amalgamate these people as part of the American race.”²⁵ Anglo Americans viewed education as a tool for assimilating or Americanizing minority groups. For Mexican-Americans, on the other hand, educated Mexican-American students would be in an advantageous situation with their bilingual abilities and experience of two cultures. Thus, they would be able to produce a superior but unassimilated life for their race. Another Mexican-American author, Jose Rodriguez, stated that “education is our only weapon.”²⁶

Although there were some exceptions due to economic problems, the education of children was highly encouraged by the Mexican American communities in New Mexico. Spanish newspapers of the period wrote about the necessity of education for the Mexican American children on whom the future of the race depended. G. Morales’ poem “Reflexión”, published in *El Monitor* of Taos on July 2, 1891, stated the necessity of education in the following lines:

“La educación busca presto
 Ponla por mote en tu senda
 Y veras cuan estupenda
 Mostrara de manifiesta
 Ser tuya la mejor prenda;
 Haz tus hijos educar

[Seek out education quickly,
 Make it the motto of your life
 And you will see how marvelous
 It will turn out to be
 To have the best prize be yours;
 Have your children educated

Y aca les veras triunfar
 Del yugo del servilismo
 Eso hace a todos los mismo
 Y al tirano hace temblar.²⁷

And you will see them triumph
 Over the yoke of servility
 This makes everyone equal
 And makes tyrants tremble.]

²⁵ Quoted in George Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American*. p.85.

²⁶ Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American*, p.257.

²⁷ Doris Meyer, *Speaking For Themselves*, p.101.

Not all New Mexicans valued public education. Even by the 1890s, elite Mexicans opposed public education, because they were accustomed to church schools, and they opposed the idea of paying taxes for the education of the poor. Elite Mexicans evidently thought they needed workers not educated children of the working class. "The elite, for obvious reasons, was not interested in providing educational opportunities, and the federal government, which might have furnished support, failed to act."²⁸

However, the bulk of the Mexican-American population in New Mexico did not feel this way. Mexican-Americans regarded education as a means to achieve equal political, economic, and social rights for the Mexican American communities in New Mexico. Most Mexican parents recognized that education was the most likely road to personal achievement and upward mobility.²⁹ In 1891, the Spanish language press praised education "as an equalizing social factor leading to the full enjoyment of rights, a sense of ethnic accomplishment, and eventually, to statehood and political autonomy for New Mexico."³⁰ Two Chicano social historians, Arnolde De Leon and Richard Griswold del Castillo, pointed out the Mexican-American commitment to public education: "Even after becoming a subordinated group in the new social order, Chicanos continued to attend schools and participate in extra-curricular activities whenever circumstances allowed it."³¹

Thus education carried an importance for early Mexican immigrants in United States and it is a useful way to understand the formation of Mexican-American agency. In light of the cultural importance of education for Mexican Americans, it is noteworthy

²⁸ Alvin Sunseri, *Seeds of Discord: New Mexico in the Aftermath of the American Conquest, 1848-1861*. Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1979. p.140.

²⁹ Matt S. Meier and Feliciano Ribera, *Mexican Americans/ American Mexicans*. Hill and Wang Pub., 1993. p.271.

³⁰ Meyer, *Speaking for Themselves*, p.101.

³¹ Arnolde De Leon and Richard Griswold del Castillo quoted in Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr., "The Struggle against Separate and Unequal Schools: Middle Class Mexican Americans and the Desegregation Campaign in Texas, 1929-1957", *History of Education Quarterly*, Volume 23, Issue 3 (Autumn 1983), p.530.

to touch on the educational struggles of Mexican Americans beyond New Mexico, to provide a context for this study's focus on New Mexico and its unique circumstances.

Generally speaking, Mexican Americans in the Southwest faced two educational challenges. First, they struggled over whether the language of education should be English, Spanish, or both. New Mexicans shared this struggle with other Hispanics in the Southwest. Second, they struggled over whether Mexican students should attend school with Anglo students or attend segregated schools. While noteworthy, this issue was less relevant in New Mexico, as will be explained.

To illustrate the first challenge we can note an autobiographical account of Mexican Americans' struggle with education and assimilation, Richard Rodriguez's *Hunger for Memory*.³² Rodriguez represents Mexican Americans outside New Mexico as a member of minority group in California. In his autobiography, he talks about his acculturation —the process of cultural change in which one group or members of a group assimilates various cultural patterns from another³³— due to the adoption of English language and the mainstream American school system. His situation also reveals the difference between New Mexico and other Southwestern states on the issue of education and language.

Richard was one of four children of a middle-class immigrant family. He attended a Catholic school at the age of six, in 1950. His family lived in a white neighborhood, away from the typical Mexican barrio where ethnicity bound people together. Especially his mother thought education was very important to “make it” in life. His parents sent their four children to good schools which they could hardly afford.

³² Richard Rodriguez, *Hunger for Memory*. New York: Bantam Books, 1983.

³³ Encyclopedia Britannica. ONLINE. 07.09.2003

<<http://www.britannica.com/search?query=acculturation&ct=eb&fuzzy=N>>

The difference between the private and public sphere became more visible once Richard started school. In school, he was supposed to speak English. At home, the family spoke Spanish. He was a silent student at schools because of his limited English ability. One day, the nuns from schools visited the family and encouraged the parents to use English at home to provide practice for their children. This day changed Richard's entire life because, the more he learned English, the more he forgot his native language. A few years later, he was unable to communicate in Spanish. His Mexican relatives criticized his parents about Richard's lack of Spanish. On the other hand, Richard became very successful at school. He became a scholarship student. It is very ironic that in order to be accepted in the public sphere, he had to lose his private identity.

In his autobiography, Rodriguez commented on some Chicano activists' ideas on bilingual education. He did not accept the necessity of bilingual education. He rejected the idea of education in Spanish because he argued that the Spanish language was the main reason for the disadvantageous condition of Mexican immigrants. He simply divided the public and private sphere and said that a Mexican could not have both. He sacrificed his private identity to achieve his public identity. He began his book by saying that he was an assimilated man. But learning English separated him from his family and culture.

It seems that a great proportion of responsibility belonged to his parents, especially his mother who always tried to keep Richard away from sunlight which could darken his skin. The lightness of the skin was the main concern of the family. She did not want her children to resemble poor Mexicans, "braceros". Richard remembered conversations between his mother and other female relatives about their relief when they had light skinned children. Only his father was bound to his Mexican identity but his father's authority remained very slight in the family. He was a silent man worn

down by years of construction work. He was a recent immigrant who came to the U.S. after the 1930s whereas his wife was a fourth generation Mexican American. This difference affected the views of the husband and wife on Mexican identity and culture. Because he came to the United States long after his wife's family, he was not accustomed to the idea of adopting the parts of American culture including the English language, and he remained Mexican.

After high school, Richard went to Stanford University as a scholarship student. He did graduate work at the Warburg Institute in London and the University of California, Berkeley. Although he thought that he lost his ethnic identity and became an American, he encountered the effects of his dark skin in his academic studies. Everybody congratulated him as being a successful Chicano. Some people, especially his white professors, told him that he should be an example for his race. Although he worked very hard, he could not escape from being labeled as a minority student. Being a minority student, he benefited from affirmative action programs. While the majority of his white colleagues had problems finding positions in universities, he received offers of employment from several universities including Yale University. A white academician, shared this reality with Richard, saying that he was as talented as Richard, but it was Richard who received the position because of his ethnicity. After that conversation, Richard rejected the benefits of affirmative action programs; he also rejected the position at Yale University. He started to write about his family, his separation from his culture, and his assimilation into the white culture where he was still labeled as a Mexican. He wrote his story as a man between two cultures neither of which he could hold. Although education was the main factor in his success, the price paid was loss of his ethnic identity, and alienation from his family.

Richard Rodriguez was an example of an “ethnic American” who adapted himself to the dominant culture by losing his ethnic identity. He lived in a period before the revival of ethnic pride in the Chicano movement. Looking at his family’s middle-class identity, we can surmise that acculturation —process of cultural change in which one group or members of a group assimilates various cultural patterns from another³⁴— was evident and fast among middle-class Hispanics, whereas lower-class Hispanics living in the barrios were more tied to their ethnic identities.

The autobiography of Rodriguez is significant because it reflects the difference between Mexican-Americans in New Mexico and other Southwestern states in terms of acculturation and resistance to assimilation. This thesis will highlight New Mexico’s distinctiveness in its Hispanic population’s protection of their ethnic heritage in their educational system and language. Rodriguez was a metaphor for New Mexicans who earlier also stepped into a cultural middle ground. Like him, a small group of young Hispanics in New Mexico presumably also found themselves between two cultures and tried to adopt an Anglo way of living with their clothes and a language of mixed English and Spanish, and were criticized by other Spanish speaking New Mexicans. But Rodriguez contrasted with the majority of Nuevo Mexicanos who rejected assimilation, ironically exploiting Anglo education and language.

The autobiography of Richard Rodriguez may raise questions on issues like ethnicity, culture, and identity in the “border”, which should be discussed for a better understanding of the Hispanic people of New Mexico.³⁵ First, “the border” needs a definition since this thesis contained people who were not necessarily living alongside the border between the United States and Mexico. According to Gloria Anzaldua, “The

³⁴ Encyclopedia Britannica. ONLINE. 07.09.2003

<<http://www.britannica.com/search?query=acculturation&ct=eb&fuzzy=N>>

³⁵ See, for more information on ethnicity, language, identity in the borderlands; Gloria Anzaldua, pp. 23-37, 102-104; Carl Gutierrez-Jones, pp. 54-56, 97, 98; Jose David Saldivar, pp. 19, 145, 204, 216.

Borderlands are physically present wherever two or more cultures edge each other, where people of different races occupy the same territory.”³⁶ On the question of identity, she stressed the place of Hispanic people between many cultures; Spanish, Indian, and American. The mixture of cultures, as we see in the example of Richard Rodriguez, indeed determined the identity of Hispanic people. Anzaldua identified language as a necessary tool for defining identity within the border culture.

For a people who are neither Spanish nor live in a country in which Spanish is the first language; for a people who live in a country in which English is the reigning tongue but who are not Anglo; for a people who cannot entirely identify with either standard Spanish nor standard English, what recourse is left to them but to create their own language? A language with terms that are neither *español ni inglés*, but both.³⁷

Anzaldua, and others, emphasized the tie between ethnic identity and language in borderlands: “Ethnic identity is twin to linguistic identity—I am my language.”³⁸ Likewise, Alfred Arteaga argued on the relation between ethnicity and language. “It is obvious for us here that the language we speak both reflects and determines our position in relation to the two nations.”³⁹ Due to the influence of the 20th century Chicano movement, the term “Chicano/a received a considerable attention among Hispanic people. Demetria Martinez, for example, defined her identity, “I’m not Hispanic, I’m not a Latino, I’m not a Mexican American... *Soy Chicano, hasta los huesotes...* down to the bones.”⁴⁰ The lives of the Hispanic people living in the borderlands of language and culture were challenged by either assimilation into the Anglo culture or alienation from it. However, Mexican-Americans managed to establish a life between the borders, both adopting Anglo ways of living and protecting their own culture. “Mexican Americans stand out for their stoicism, religious faith and devotion to traditional values, most

³⁶ Gloria Anzaldua, *Borderlands/La frontera*. 2nd ed. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1999.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.81.

³⁹ Alfred Arteaga, ed. *An Other Tongue: Nation and Ethnicity in the Linguistic Borderlands*. London: Duke University Press, 1994, p.4.

⁴⁰ Demetria Martinez, quoted in Robert Franklin Gish, *Beyond Bounds*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996. p.138.

especially the sanctity of the family. These traits have enabled them to survive, first as an annexed people, and later as a people who have suffered segregation and discrimination in their long struggle for civil rights.”⁴¹

Besides the question of language, the second challenge that the Hispanic people experienced in education was school segregation, which developed early in the 20th century. IQ tests, which were in English, segregated Mexican-American students in special classes for the mentally inferior or mentally retarded. Mexican-American children attended segregated schools, or were assigned to segregated classrooms in the white schools. “Through the use of intelligence testing and selective use of counselors Chicanos have been placed in low ability classes, including classes for the educable mentally retarded, and in vocational education tracks.”⁴² Besides the segregation of Mexican American children through IQ tests, most segregation was enacted arbitrarily, due to Anglo racism. “Ever since their establishment, public schools have excluded Chicanos from enrolling in them. Racism and political oppression from Anglo elites and parents have been the predominant reasons for their exclusion.”⁴³

Moreover, public schools of the Southwest, often educating a Mexican American majority, were obviously inferior to Anglo schools in terms of the quality of education, buildings, number of branches taught, the quality of teachers, and teachers’ salary. The education in those segregated schools was not equal. The schools buildings were in a bad condition. Mexican-American schools received less money than Anglo schools. “School districts generally paid teachers at Mexican schools less than teachers at Anglo schools, and many times a promotion for a teacher at a Mexican school meant

⁴¹ Denis Lynn Daly Heyck, *Barrios and Borderlands: Cultures of Latinos and Latinas in the United States*. New York: Routledge, 1994. p.5.

⁴² Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr., “The Struggle against Separate and Unequal Schools”, p.527.

⁴³ San Miguel, p.524.

moving to the Anglo school.”⁴⁴ The teachers were less qualified than the teachers in white schools. According to Feliciano Ribera, “Mexican schools were shabby, overcrowded, poorly staffed, and under financed.”⁴⁵ Moreover, “teachers in Mexican counties had less adequate training; 46.2 percent held BAs, versus 82.2 percent in Anglo counties.”⁴⁶ School inequality in Los Angeles, California, was representative: “The bulk of the expenditures, the cream of the teachers and counselors, and the newest facilities often go into the already privileged areas.”⁴⁷

Mexican American families protested this segregation by not sending their children to segregated schools but to white schools, even though often they were not admitted. Protest against school segregation occurred in San Angelo, Texas, in 1910; in Santa Paula, California, in 1914, in Argentine, Kansas, in 1924; and in San Bernardino, California, in 1929.⁴⁸ Mexican-American families also won legal victories against school districts in Tempe, Arizona and Lemon Grove, California. In January 1931, the local board in Lemon Grove built a separate facility for Mexican pupils. The new two room facility resembled a barn, furnished with second hand equipment, supplies and books. Local parents voted to boycott the school and seek legal redress. Every family kept their children at home. In the 1931 case *Alvarez vs. Lemon Grove School District*, a judge ordered the immediate reinstatement of Mexican children to their old school. In another lawsuit, *Mendez vs. Westminster* in 1946 in Orange County, California, the court ruled in favor of the Mexican American plaintiff deciding segregation found no

⁴⁴ Gilbert G. Gonzalez, *Chicano Education in the Era of Segregation*. Philadelphia: Balch Institute Press, 1990. p.22.

⁴⁵ Matt S. Meier and Feliciano Ribera, *Mexican Americans/ American Mexicans*. p.219.

⁴⁶ Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America*, p.280.

⁴⁷ Robert Singleton and Paul Bullock, “Some Problems in Minority Group Education in the Los Angeles Public Schools”, *The Journal of the Negro Education*, Volume 32, Issue 2 (Spring 1963), p144.

⁴⁸ Oscar J. Martinez, *Mexican Origin People in the United States*, p.69.

justification in the laws of California.⁴⁹ In a later court case, *Delgado vs. Destrop Independent School District*, the court declared:

The regulations, customs, usages, and practices of the defendants, Bastrop Independent School District of Bastrop County, et al., and each of them insofar as they or any of them have segregated pupils of Mexican or other Latin American descent in separate classes and schools within the respective school districts heretofore set forth are, and each of them is, arbitrary and discriminatory and in violation of plaintiffs constitutional rights as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and are illegal.⁵⁰

These legal decisions are significant because they mandated educational equality and civil rights for Mexican American students, years before the famous 1954 *Brown vs. Board of Education* case.

In contrast, there were not many legal cases in New Mexico. The main reason for this lay in the difference between New Mexico and other southwestern states. Protests of school districts were less frequent in New Mexico, because public schools in New Mexico were less segregated. "The patterns of segregation have varied from a relatively extensive practice in Arizona, especially on the elementary level, to an infrequently used practice in New Mexico."⁵¹ Among the four southwestern states of Arizona, California, Texas, and New Mexico, New Mexico was the only state having a section in its constitution about the restriction of segregation of Spanish speaking children. Thus, it is understandable that another southwestern state like California witnessed legal cases of people fighting for educational rights in the courts which were not protected by their state constitution. Mexican-Americans in New Mexico shared the goals of equal opportunity fought for in the courts by Hispanics elsewhere. However, as

⁴⁹ Vicki L. Ruiz, "South by Southwest: Mexican Americans and Segregated Schooling, 1900-1950". *OAH Magazine of History* 15 (Winter 2001).

<<http://www.oah.org/pubs/magazine/deseg/ruiz.html#Anchor-Sout-30795>> 05.09.2003.

⁵⁰ Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr., "The Struggle against Separate and Unequal Schools", p.350.

⁵¹ Ellis O. Knox, "Racial Integration in the Public Schools of Arizona, Kansas, and New Mexico". *The Journal of Negro Education*, Volume 23, Issue 3, (Summer 1954), p.290.

will be shown, the people of New Mexico empowered themselves at the very beginning of their statehood through ratifying articles about Spanish language and protection of the Spanish descent people.

In summary, this thesis will show the particular ways Mexican Americans demanded education for their children and rejected inferiority in public education. They wanted their children to learn English to resist assimilation, to achieve equal rights, and to save the honor of the race. They rejected the rules which banned the use of Spanish language in public education. All these facts show us that the Mexican Americans in New Mexico in the late 19th and early 20th centuries sought empowerment not through political protest, as would the Chicano movement of the second part of the 20th century, but through less dramatic processes of legislation and educational choices.

CHAPTER 1: The Laws and Treaties Affecting the Education of New Mexico: 1846-1912

This chapter will focus on the laws and treaties of New Mexico between 1846 and 1912 that affected New Mexico education. The 1846 Kearny Bill of Rights, the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the 1850 Gadsden Treaty, the 1898 Ferguson Act, the 1910 Enabling Act for New Mexico, the 1911 Constitution of New Mexico, and the 1912 Proclamation admitting New Mexico as a State into the Union, are the major documents to be used. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Gadsden Treaty were directed at establishing borders and maintaining the people in the territory after the U.S.-Mexico War. The other acts contained provisions concerning the education and rights of citizens.

From the beginning, New Mexicans realized the challenges waiting for them when General Stephen W. Kearny led U.S. troops into New Mexico in 1846: they promptly demanded a territorial bill of rights. Kearny intended to calm the Mexicans and to give the signals of a better future for them. He said, "We come to better your condition."⁵² Signed in the city of Santa Fe, September 1846, the Bill of Rights left the political power of New Mexico to the people. Article III respected the religious customs of Mexicans in the occupied territory, declaring, "All men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own conscience; that no person can ever be hurt, molested or restrained in his religious professions if he does not disturb others in their religious worship."⁵³ This article is significant since the conqueror was Protestant and the conquered people were Catholic.

⁵² Deena J. Gonzalez, *Refusing the Favor: The Spanish-Mexican Women of Santa Fe, 1820-1880*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. p.3.

⁵³ Kearny Bill of Rights, Article III, New Mexico Statutes. 2002.

<<http://198.187.128.12/newmexico/lpext.dll?f=templates&fn=fs-main.htm&2.0>> 20.06.2003

Article VIII guaranteed the freedom to speak, write or print in any subject. “That free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the inviolable rights of freemen, and every person may freely speak, write or print on any subject, being responsible for every abuse of that liberty.”⁵⁴ With the Bill of Rights and General Stephen W. Kearny’s prudence, Anglo-American troops received little military resistance from Mexicans in the territory, despite differences of religion and political background.

Two years later, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended the war between the United States and Mexico and organized the future relationship between the conquerors and the conquered people. Articles VIII and IX were designed to guarantee the rights of Mexicans residing in the territory after the United States purchased it from Mexico.

Article VIII began:

Mexicans now established in territories previously belonging to Mexico, and which remain for the future within the limits of the United States, as defined by the present Treaty, shall be free to continue where they now reside, or to remove at any time to the Mexican Republic, retaining the property which they possess in the said territories, or disposing thereof and removing the proceeds wherever they please; without their being subjected, on this account, to any contribution, tax or charge whatever.⁵⁵

Thus, Mexican people were free to leave the United States with their properties without being subjected to any tax or charge. They could carry their properties or sell the immovable properties such as their land. Article VIII also promised the Mexican people equal rights if they decided to stay in the territory:

Those who shall prefer to remain in the said territories, may either retain the title and rights of Mexican citizens, or acquire those of citizens of the United States. But, they shall be under the obligation to make their election within one year from the date of the exchange of ratifications of this treaty; and those that remain in the said territories, after the expiration of that year, without having declared their intention to retain the character of Mexicans, shall be considered to have elected to become citizens of the United States.

⁵⁴ Kearny Bill of Rights, Article XII, New Mexico Statutes. 2002.

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⁵⁵ Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Article VIII in Oscar J. Martinez, *U.S.-Mexico Borderlands: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*. Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1997. p.25.

In the said territories, property of every kind, now belonging to Mexicans not established there, shall be inviolably respected. The present owners, the heirs of these, and all Mexicans who may hereafter acquire said property by contract, shall enjoy with respect to it, guaranties equally ample as if the same belonged to citizens of the United States.⁵⁶

The phrase “guaranties equally ample as if the same belonged to citizens of the United States” suggests that Mexican people would not encounter any segregation or injustice in terms of their rights and properties. Their rights would be protected equally as the rights of U.S. citizens.

Article IX, likewise, gave detailed information about the rights of the Mexican people who would choose to be U.S. citizens. The Mexican government, in peace negotiations, tried to achieve necessary provisions to protect its former citizens in the territory and tried to prevent a future for them like that of African Americans and Native Americans in the United States. In contrast to these groups, Mexican men acquired the right to vote in territorial elections immediately. However, they became citizens of a U.S. territory, not a state. Therefore, they did not achieve full citizenship and could not participate in national politics. Article IX also discussed the future statehood of the newly purchased territories. The article was amended by the United States Congress. When it was first signed in 1848, the article promised statehood “as soon as possible” but the next version of the article read:

The Mexicans who, in the territories aforesaid, shall not preserve the character of citizens of Mexican republic, conformably with what is stipulated in the preceding article, shall be incorporated into the Union of United States and be admitted, at a proper time (to be judged of by the Congress of the United States) to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States according to the principles of the Constitution; and in the mean time shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, and secured in the free exercise of their religion without restriction.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Martinez, *U.S.-Mexico Borderlands*. p.26.

⁵⁷ Martinez, 26.

The phrase “at a proper time” implies suspicions about the eligibility of the territories for statehood, with their large population of Spanish descent people. As Susan Yohn stated, Mexican Americans in New Mexico were “a group of people whom Protestant Anglo-Americans had earlier thought were less suited for citizenship.”⁵⁸ (The conflicts on the issue of slavery also affected these suspicions, at least until the Civil War, although it is outside the scope of this thesis.) Still, these two articles promised to protect the rights and properties of the Mexican people in New Mexico.

According to some scholars the promises in the treaty were not fulfilled in later history. Most violations of the treaty concerned land and property rights. The difference between Mexican and U.S land laws created ambiguity and tension between Mexicans and newly arriving Anglo Americans. Robert Rosenbaum summarized the problem in New Mexico: “U.S. land law was the law of the territory, but the treaty stipulated that property rights valid under Mexico must be honored. U.S. officials somehow had to bring New Mexican land tenure patterns into line with Anglo American policies.”⁵⁹ Albert Camarillo, in Lawrence Herzog’s book, commented on the land problems Mexicans encountered in the territory: “Mexican landowners were forced to engage in long-term litigation to retain title. At the same time, they began paying exorbitant litigation fees, high interest rates on loans, and unfair taxes. Many who defaulted on their tax bills lost their land in public auctions; others simply lost their land in contested ownership cases.”⁶⁰ Susan Yohn connected the land loss of Mexicans to high taxes and unfamiliarity with the English language. Two decades after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the problems were obvious:

⁵⁸ Susan M. Yohn, “An Education in the Validity of Pluralism”, p. 364.

⁵⁹ Robert J. Rosenbaum, *Mexicano Resistance in the Southwest: The Sacred Right of Self-Preservation*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981. p.23.

⁶⁰ Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society*, 1979, quoted in Lawrence A. Herzog, *Where North Meets South: Cities, Space and Politics on the U.S-Mexico Border*. Austin: University of Texas, 1990. p.103.

Various means were employed to strip Hispanics of their land. In the 1870s new property taxes posed a hardship for farmers who had little or no cash income, and forced them to sell to land speculators. Many Hispanics did not even have the chance to sell. Uninformed or misinformed about new laws, they failed to pay taxes, and the state repossessed their land.⁶¹

Doris Meyer concluded, “The promises were not fulfilled and those who chose to stay and become citizens in the territory were ill-equipped to claim their due under a different national system of law and custom.”⁶² Matt Meier and Feliciano Ribera stressed the violation of the treaty which had guaranteed equal rights to Mexican people in the purchased territories. “A prejudiced Anglo majority isolated and dominated them within American society and did not permit significant acculturation to the majority. Thus, despite treaty guarantees of property rights and equal protection under the law, bitterness and estrangement between Anglos and Mexican Americans grew during the years following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.”⁶³ Albert Prago was even more critical in his view of the treaty: “Articles VIII and IX are not more than words on a piece of paper.”⁶⁴

Primary sources confirm scholarly findings about the violation of the treaty, specifically on the issue of lands and properties taken from Mexicans. The diary of Blandina Segale, a nun who was a teacher in the territory of New Mexico, attests to the injustice Mexican origin people encountered in the territory after the Anglo Americans came.

But the Mexican cannot forget that all his earthly possessions have gone into the hands of strangers. Woe to the poor native if he attempts to retaliate! He has no rights that the invading fortune hunters feel obliged to respect. Many of our Mexicans hold lands by traditional possession of *Mercedes* (Grants) and believe they are secure. The land-sharper comes in and proves their claim is not legal. No matter that they have lived on the land for years, the Mexicans must “vamoos”, as these corrupters of the

⁶¹ Yohn, 345.

⁶² Doris Meyer, *Speaking for Themselves*. p.11.

⁶³ Matt Meier & Feliciano Ribera, *Mexican-Americans, American-Mexicans*. p.68.

⁶⁴ Albert Prago, *Strangers in Their Own Land: A History of Mexican-Americans*. New York: Four Winds Press, 1973. p.108.

Spanish language say. Upon a less legal tenure than the one the Mexican was made to move, the grabber takes possession. The crisis comes when one despoiler is overreached by another artful shark who, during the dark hours of the night, removes the hastily constructed lumber shanty and replaces it by one of his own, —having previously torn out any county records which could prove possession.⁶⁵

Article IX, requiring that Mexican Americans “in the mean time shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property”, was thus severely violated and many Mexicans were killed because of land problems and also because of the prejudice against them. Sister Blandina Segale wrote about such events:

Easter week—Here is a tragedy which took place this week. An elderly lady and gentlemen—Americans—residing a few miles from Trinidad, were found murdered in their home. Suspicion at once pointed to the natives as the perpetrators of the horrible deed. Small groups of men were sent out to capture the murderers. One posse trailed four Mexicans, and because they would not acknowledge the deed, were hanged on the first tree to which they came. Afterwards the corpses were huddled into a wagon, brought to Trinidad in triumph and thrown into an old vacant adobe hut, twelve feet from the graveyard near the Convent. Can you imagine how we felt! Two days later the real murderers were captured and confessed the crime. They were outlawed Americans!⁶⁶

The violence about land is important and related to the education and language in New Mexico. First of all, it showed that the articles of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo could be violated. These land problems suggested that the treaty’s promises in other areas, including educational rights, might also be violated. Second, these violations implied that Anglo Americans perceived Mexican Americans as inferior and foreign people who did not have any rights. But lastly, Mexican Americans, taking the land problems in that period as a sign, would become more protective, decisive, and united in terms of their educational and language rights after these initial losses.

Notwithstanding such violations of property and life, moreover, Mexican-Americans did continue to enjoy the right to speak Spanish, if they chose. As Doris

⁶⁵ Blandina Segale, *At the End of the Santa Fe Trail*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999. p.46.

⁶⁶ Segale, *At the End of the Santa Fe Trail*, p.41.

Meyer states; “The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo certainly did not stipulate that they had to speak English as a condition of enjoying the rights and privileges they were guaranteed.”⁶⁷ In fact, some scholars declared Articles VIII and IX gave more privileges to Mexican residents in the territories than American citizens. Lynn Perrigo summarized the guarantees of Articles VIII and IX: “Besides the rights and duties of American citizenship, they would have some special privileges derived from their previous customs in language, law, and religion.”⁶⁸ Thus Mexican people were free to use their Spanish language in their education, at least, in theory.

With the 1853 Gadsden Purchase, more land was acquired from Mexico by the United States. More land meant more land problems and adding more people of Mexican descent to the U.S. territory. The Gadsden Treaty, again in theory, protected the rights of Mexicans in the territory, as the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo did. “All the provisions of the Eighth and Ninth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Articles of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, shall apply to the territory ceded by the Mexican republic in the First Article of the present treaty, and to all the rights of persons and property, both civil and ecclesiastical, within the same, as fully and as effectually as if the said articles were herein again recited and set forth.”⁶⁹

The main significance of the Gadsden Treaty was Article IV concerning the free passage between the United States and Mexico. “The vessels, and citizens of the United States shall, in all time, have free and uninterrupted passage through the Gulf of California, to and from their possessions situated north of the boundary line of the two countries.”⁷⁰ Mexican people, now resident in the U.S territory could freely pass to Mexico and thus would maintain cultural relations with the home country. Article VIII

⁶⁷ Meyer, *Speaking for Themselves*, p.123.

⁶⁸ Acuña, *Occupied America*. p.19.

⁶⁹ The Gadsden Treaty, Article V, in Oscar J. Martinez, *U.S.-Mexico Borderlands*. p.41.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

also indicated the free passage right, "It is stipulated that neither government will interpose any obstacle to the transit of persons and merchandise of both nations; and at no time shall higher charges be made on the transit of persons and property of citizens of the United States."⁷¹

It is evident that the three documents did not put restrictions on the use of Spanish in education or any other kind of community affair. Language and education issues were within the scope of New Mexico's territorial and state legislatures through the end of the century. The state legislature of New Mexico, reflecting Progressive attitudes of the period, tried to establish a unified public school system. Indeed, the Ferguson Act of June 21, 1898 had specific sections about the regulation of school management and funds. First, it stipulated the use of money available from proceeds of lands sold for school purposes:

That five per centum of the proceeds of the sales of public lands lying within said territory which shall be sold by the United States subsequent to the passage of this act, after deducting all expenses incident to the same, shall be paid to the said territory, to be used as a permanent fund, the interest of which only shall be expended for the support of the common schools within said territory.⁷²

This was an effective way of providing funds for school purposes. The money coming from sales of public lands was spent for school buildings, teachers' salaries, and other supplies like books and equipment for the public schools. Second the Ferguson Act clarified the issue of sectarianism in education. No funds were available for sectarian schools.

That the schools, colleges, and university provided for in this act shall forever remain under the exclusive control of the said territory, and no part of the proceeds arising from the sale or disposal of any lands herein granted

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.42

⁷² Ferguson Act, Section 4. New Mexico Statutes. 2002.

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for educational purposes, or of the income thereof, shall be used for the support of any sectarian or denominational school, college, or university.⁷³

By giving the control of the schools to the territory, the Ferguson Act opened the way to educational autonomy for the territory of New Mexico; Progressivism in New Mexico enhanced local, not Federal authority; New Mexicans could decide on their educational system themselves. For example, hiring bilingual teachers remained the province of local officials. Since the population was Hispanic in majority and there were Mexican-American officials deciding about educational matters, such as Governor Donaciano Vigil (1848), Amado Chaves (1891), first superintendent of schools, and Governor Miguel Otero (1897), the Ferguson Act provided a chance for Hispanics to influence the territory's education policies. Significantly, there was not any article or section requiring the implementation of English in the public schools of New Mexico. The Ferguson Act did not put a restriction on the use of Spanish in public education.

It is clear that from the early days of New Mexico, territorial laws affecting public education did not provide for segregation or language restriction. New Mexico, furthermore, tried to reduce the influences of discrimination, racism, and prejudice on Spanish speaking children through adding specific articles to its constitution of 1911.

It took 64 years for New Mexico to be admitted to the Union as a state. But finally Congress passed the Enabling Act for New Mexico statehood in 1910, although at the same time limiting the use of Spanish as an official language. Section 2 of the enabling act mandated a provision for English schooling in the state constitution of New Mexico: "That provisions shall be made for the establishment and maintenance of a system of public schools, which shall be open to all children of said state and free from

⁷³ Ferguson Act, Section 5. New Mexico Statutes. 2002.
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sectarian control, and that said schools shall always be conducted in English.”⁷⁴ Congress required that this provision be put in the state constitution, and it became part of Article XXI, section 4 of the Constitution of New Mexico, adopted on January 21, 1911. Use of the English language became a mandatory rule for the admittance of New Mexico into the Union.

However, the Constitution of New Mexico also protected the rights of Spanish speaking children of New Mexico. In spite of the mandatory act about public education in English, the Constitution contained Articles II, VII, XII, and XX, which were intended to protect the rights of the Spanish speaking children and to enable the use of Spanish alongside English. First, Article II, section 5 concerned the rights which were guaranteed with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. “The rights, privileges and immunities, civil, political and religious guaranteed to the people of New Mexico by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo shall be preserved inviolate.”⁷⁵ Through reference to the promises and protecting articles of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in the state constitution, the New Mexico government tried to prevent the violation of the treaty.

Second, Article VII, section 3 protected the voting rights of Spanish speaking people of New Mexico. According to the article it was not necessary to speak, read, or write English in order to enjoy the suffrage:

The right of any citizen of the state to vote, hold office or sit upon juries, shall never be restricted, abridged or impaired on account of religion, race, language or color, or inability to speak, read or write the English or Spanish languages except as may be otherwise provided in this constitution; and the provisions of this section and of Section One of this article shall never be amended except upon a vote of the people of this state in an election at which at least three-fourths of the electors voting in the whole state, and at least two-thirds of those voting in each county of the state, shall vote for such amendment.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Enabling Act of New Mexico, Section 2. New Mexico Statutes. 2002.

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⁷⁵ Constitution of the State of New Mexico, New Mexico Statutes. 2002.

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⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Article VII, Section 3.

Third, to accommodate the Hispanic people of New Mexico, the constitution required temporary publication of laws in both languages. Article XX, section 12 said, “For the first twenty years after this constitution goes into effect all laws passed by the legislature shall be published in both the English and Spanish languages and thereafter such publication shall be made as the legislature may provide.”⁷⁷

Lastly, Article XII of the constitution dealt exclusively with the educational system in New Mexico. Here, the provision in Article XXI mandating the English language was counteracted. Section 1 of the article concerned the free public schools and was intended to prohibit segregation. “A uniform system of free public schools sufficient for education of, and open to, all the children of school age in the state shall be established and maintained.” Section 3 gave control of all educational institutions to the state of New Mexico. Similar to the Ferguson Act, no school funds were to be available for sectarian or private schools thus curtailing the influence of Catholic orders:

The schools, colleges, universities and other educational institutions provided for by this constitution shall forever remain under the exclusive control of the state, and no part of the proceeds arising from the sale or disposal of any land granted to the state by Congress, or any other funds appropriated, levied or collected for educational purposes, shall be used for the support of any sectarian, denominational or private school, college, or university.⁷⁸

Section 5 indicated the importance of education for the people of New Mexico by establishing mandatory attendance laws. “Every child of school age and of sufficient physical and mental ability shall be required to attend a public or other school during such period and for such time as may be prescribed by law.”⁷⁹ Although the details were not given in this constitution about the school months to be taught, it is remarkable that

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Article XX, Section 12.

⁷⁸ Constitution of the State of New Mexico, New Mexico Statutes. 2002.

<http://198.187.128.12/newmexico/lpext.dll?f=templates&fn=fs-main.htm&2.0>>20.06.2003
Article XII, Section 3.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, Article XII, Section 5.

the attendance of school age children was secured by the law as a tool of Americanization within the Progressive ideas of the period, one of the earliest applications of a stable public school system in the United States.

Another section that laid the foundation for bilingual education in New Mexico was Section 8, which required the teachers to learn both English and Spanish languages. This section was designed to protect the rights of Spanish speaking children in schools. As it would later be argued by bilingual education supporters, Spanish speaking students could not learn in school where the education was English; or at least, it was necessary to learn the Spanish language first in order to learn English later. Thus the section of the said article was designed to enable Spanish speaking children to be trained by bilingual teachers. "The constitution they wrote reiterated the guarantees of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and provided for equality in law of Spanish and English".⁸⁰

The legislature shall provide for the training of teachers in the normal schools or otherwise so that they may become proficient in both the English and Spanish languages, to qualify them to teach Spanish-speaking pupils and students in the public schools and educational institutions of the state, and shall provide proper means and methods to facilitate the teaching of the English language and other branches of learning to such pupils and students.⁸¹

Thus, while statehood required adoption of English only schooling, the New Mexico constitution had special articles to provide for the use of the Spanish language. A commentator later testified to examples of disobedience to English language laws in New Mexico, "Spanish American teachers and pupils in many cases..., adhere to the spirit rather than to the letter of the law. A first grade class with no English speaking

⁸⁰ Meier and Ribera, *Mexican-Americans American-Mexicans*, p.102.

⁸¹ The Constitution of New Mexico, Article XII, Section 8.

members obviously must use Spanish as a medium.”⁸² Local necessity sometimes trumped federal mandate.

Segregation and discrimination of Spanish speaking children was forbidden with Section 10 of the said article. Thus, New Mexico differed from Arizona, Texas, and California with its constitution saying that segregation was illegal; probably for this reason New Mexico saw fewer anti-discrimination lawsuits than did other southwestern states. The section protected the rights of Spanish speaking children:

Children of Spanish descent in the state of New Mexico shall never be denied the rights and privilege of admission and attendance in the public schools or other public educational institutions of the state, and they shall never be classed in separate schools, but shall forever enjoy perfect equality with other children in all public schools and educational institutions of the state, and legislature shall provide penalties for violation of this section.⁸³

Besides these protections, Section 9 of Article XII also banned school tests of religious belief: “No religious test shall ever be required as a condition of admission into the public schools.”⁸⁴ Thus Mexican American children, heavily Catholic, were secured from being pushed into Protestant religion by the means of education. The religious rights of the Mexican population in New Mexico were thus protected.

Among the four southwestern states-- Arizona, California, Texas, and New Mexico-- New Mexico is the only state that constitutionally restricted segregation of Spanish speaking children. Moreover, only the New Mexico constitution required teachers to learn both languages to teach. The Texas and California constitutions did not mention anything about the language of education, and at the same time did not mention the rights of Spanish speaking people. Unlike the New Mexico constitution, the constitution of the state of Arizona, in Article 28, declared English as the official language: “This state and all political subdivisions of this state shall take all reasonable

⁸² John H. Burma, “The Present Status of the Spanish-Americans of New Mexico”. *Social Forces*, Vol.28, No. 2. (December, 1949), p.135.

⁸³ The Constitution of New Mexico, Article XII, Section 10.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Section 9.

steps to preserve, protect and enhance the role of the English language as the official language of the state of Arizona.”⁸⁵ Indeed, outside New Mexico:

State, territorial, and local governments in the Southwest did little to translate laws, documents, and proceedings of official meetings for the benefit of non-English-speaking people. For example, a California law in 1855 explicitly prohibited the translation of statutes and regulations into Spanish, reversing the 1849 state constitutional provision, which had mandated such translation. Language assistance declined over time. Among the southwestern states, only New Mexico retained language safeguards for the Spanish-speaking population.⁸⁶

The constitution of New Mexico never said the state’s official language would be English. The English-only provision was made only for the language of education in the Constitution of New Mexico.

Moreover, the New Mexico constitution protected these articles by making them difficult to amend: “This section shall never be amended except upon a vote of the people of this state, in an election at which at least three-fourths of the electors voting in the whole state and at least two-thirds of those voting in each county in the state shall vote for such amendment.”⁸⁷ According to Martinez, these safeguarding provisions were made possible due to the fact that the majority of the population in New Mexico shared Mexican ethnicity and was Spanish speaking and, moreover, these people had representatives in state politics. Other Hispanic people in other states were not as effective in local politics as Hispanic people in New Mexico were. Martinez argued:

What made possible the inclusion of these remarkable safeguards? The answer lies in the fact that Hispanics comprised one-third of the state [constitutional] convention delegates and that New Mexico had a Spanish speaking population of considerable size and economic clout. The Hispanic delegates well recognized the decline in power experienced by Mexican-descent people in other parts of the Southwest and, having the means to do so, they determined to prevent it in New Mexico.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Constitution of the State of Arizona. Article 28.

< <http://www.azleg.state.az.us/const/28/2.htm>>20.06.2003

⁸⁶ Oscar J. Martinez, *Mexican Origin People in the U.S.* p.153.

⁸⁷ Constitution of the State of New Mexico, Article XII, Section 10.

⁸⁸ Martinez, *Mexican Origin People in the U.S.* p.161.

It is understandable that other southwestern states had to witness legal cases of people who tried to get educational rights that were not protected by their respective state constitutions. The people of New Mexico empowered themselves at the very beginning of their statehood through ratifying articles about the Spanish language and protection of the Mexican descent people. As Meyer states, “Under statehood, Neomexicanos were guaranteed the right to use Spanish in schools and in the state legislature; thus in theory, they would have the opportunity to express their cultural identity and transcend the orphanhood of their past.”⁸⁹

Thus, the treaties and laws in the history of New Mexico affected the education and language issues in favor of the state’s Hispanic population. The Kearny Bill of Rights, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Gadsden Purchase did not restrict the Spanish language in education. This fact enabled Mexican Americans to claim their rights on the issue of education and Spanish language specifically with the leadership of Spanish newspapers in the 20th century. The Ferguson Act provided land for the use of school purposes which increased the number of schools in the territory. Finally the Constitution of New Mexico altered the mandatory provisions made by the U.S. government by adding articles about the protection of the educational and political rights of Spanish speaking people in New Mexico. Segregation and discrimination were not allowed by these laws, at least in theory. Applications of these laws in practice will be discussed in the next chapter.

⁸⁹ Meyer, *Speaking for Themselves*. p.204.

Chapter 2: Education and Language in New Mexico, 1870s-1880s

This second chapter will answer the question, how and why was Spanish language-education supported in New Mexico during the 1870s and 1880s? The chapter will give background information about education in New Mexico and the struggles of Mexican Americans in the territory for the education of their children.

The chapter relies primarily on the archives of New Mexico. The Clinton P. Anderson papers contain 21 manuscript letters solicited in 1874 by William Gillet Ritch, who was the secretary of the territory of New Mexico. W. G. Ritch would become the interim governor of New Mexico in 1885. The authors of the letters are several New Mexicans who wrote about the territory's school system and education. Some of these people are Lorenzo Lopez, a judge, education commissioners Charles Warren, Daniel Fritze, Gregorio Otero, Juan Santistevan and Bonafacio Chaves, attorney Louis Sulzbacher, two businessmen, Francisco Salazar and Pedro Sanchez, a journalist John H. Koogler, and Amado Chaves, the first superintendent of public schools. The letters written by Lorenzo Lopez, Francisco Salazar, J. Bonafacio Chaves and Gregorio N. Otero are in Spanish.

Most of the letters were written in response to an official request by Ritch for information about the school system in several New Mexico counties. Judge Lorenzo Lopez wrote from Las Vegas, Francisco Salazar from San Juan, Daniel Fritze from Mesilla, Charles Warren from Washington D.C., Louis Sulzbacher from Las Vegas, John Koogler from Cimarron, Gregorio Otero from Taos, Pedro Sanchez from Taos, Juan Santistevan from Fernando de Taos, Bonafacio Chaves from Valencia, and Amado Chaves from Santa Fe.

Besides these letters, the Anderson papers contain annual reports of schools in New Mexico. These schools were in Taos, Colfax, San Miguel, Dona Ana, Grant County, and Santa Fe. The reports give information about the number of schools, pupils, teachers, language of the schools, books, salaries of the teachers and other useful data which helps us to understand the characteristics of education in New Mexico between the 1870s and 1880s.

2.1 Introduction: Early Struggles for Education in New Mexico

There was only one public school in New Mexico before the annexation of the territory by the United States. The situation in New Mexico was not very different from the other parts of the United States as it was argued in the introduction of this thesis. Although the immediate necessity of a good public school system was reported to U.S. officials, New Mexico was neglected in this issue for years. Governor Donaciano Vigil reported the situation of education in the territory to General Stephen Kearny after the invasion of the territory:

In his message Governor Vigil states that there is ‘but one public school in the Territory, and that located in the city of Santa Fe, and supported by the funds of the county’ and that for lack of sufficient funds only one teacher could be employed. Governor Vigil states also that ‘there are no private schools or academies’ and recommends the enactment of a law for the establishment of a school ‘in every town, village and neighborhood in the Territory’. The legislature, though, failed to enact such a law.⁹⁰

According to Meyer Weinberg, this failure was intentional: “Anglo territorial authorities in New Mexico, who were in the minority, willingly failed to initiate serious efforts to establish public schools during the nineteenth century in order to deny the

⁹⁰ Benjamin M. Read, *A History of Education in New Mexico*. Santa Fe: The New Mexican Printing Company, 1911. pp. 12-13.

dominant Mexican-American population an education.”⁹¹ Actually, Weinberg’s characterization is valid only until the 1870s, when Hispanic interest in education became mobilized. But even before the 1870s, Mexicans in the territory were impressed by Donaciano Vigil’s warning that Mexican-Americans should be educated to prevent the Anglos from assuming all power.⁹² It was the people of New Mexico who felt the situation had been neglected. Pedro Sanchez criticized the situation:

New Mexico has always been the remotest part from the seat of government, to which it has belonged and in consequence thereof the education has been demised or neglected. The government of the United States placing its claws on New Mexico made more promises than the Devil did to the Redeemer when he said to him ‘all of this will I give unto thee if thou will worship me’. Notwithstanding these solemn promises the government has failed and in place of complying with them she has sent here officers to criticize without the least investigation thereof.⁹³

In isolated cases, New Mexicans who could afford to do so took local action. Father Antonio Jose Martinez established both a school and a printing office in Taos, New Mexico’s first printing press, where he published textbooks for the pupils. “Father Antonio Jose Martinez opened in the year 1830 a college, and it remained as such until the year 1852.”⁹⁴ Even by 1846, Martinez’s school was the only school in the territory. According to Alvin Sunseri, it numbered from thirty-five to forty pupils, drawn from the ranks of ricos.”⁹⁵ Because the population was heavily Catholic, the schools in the territory were mostly Catholic schools managed by the Sisters of Loretto and the Jesuit Fathers. The children of elite Mexican families attended Martinez’s and others’ schools.

Some rich families hired teachers for their children. One of those teachers, Mr. Lux, attracted rich and poor children alike in the town and opened his own school as

⁹¹ Meyer Weinberg quoted in Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr., “The Struggle against Separate and Unequal Schools: Middle Class Mexican Americans and the Desegregation Campaign in Texas, 1929-1957”, *History of Education Quarterly*, Volume 23, Issue 3 (Autumn 1983), pp. 524-525.

⁹² Alvin Sunseri, *Seeds of Discord: New Mexico in the Aftermath of the American Conquest, 1846-1861*. Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1979. p.106.

⁹³ The Letter of Pedro Sanchez, Taos, W. G. Ritch, Santa Fe, June 1876, translated from Spanish by Samuel Ellison, in Clinton P. Anderson Papers, University of New Mexico Archives.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Sunseri, *Seeds of Discord*. p.106.

“Academia Lux”. The account of Academy Lux was given in a letter of Juan Santistevan:

About the year 1857 and 1858, Mr. Peter Joseph employed in the states a young man by the name of John S. Lux as teacher for his family at a salary of 25 or 30 dollars per month, furnished his room, a school house free of charge, and allowed him to take as many pupils as he could get and he was able to teach for his own benefit. Mr. Lux proved to be a very popular teacher and soon got a very large school, I think at any time he must have had as many as sixty or seventy pupils. Mr. Joseph thought Mr. Lux’s school had grown too large and decided to take his children to the states. Mr. Lux continued the school on his own. As he had very good patronage from the people here, and employed an assistant, whose name I do not remember and advertised his school under the name of “Academy Lux”. His school [not readable] about the year of ’61 when the war broke out and in ’62 Mr. Lux abandoned the school and went south.⁹⁶

Thus, before the first effective territorial school law in 1872, there were private and mostly church schools in New Mexico but not many public schools for poorer children. Indeed, Sunseri stated, “Based on an attitude of ethnic superiority, no funds for education were appropriated on either a territorial or national level between 1846 and 1851.”⁹⁷ The first funds for education were achieved after 1853 as grants of land to be used for educational purposes. However, as argued in *Seeds of Discord*, “After the territory was organized, Governor James S. Calhoun informed the members of the legislature that Congress had granted New Mexico the sixteenth and thirty-sixth sections of each township for educational purposes—land that included arid plains and rugged mountains and was useless.”⁹⁸ In addition to the lack of developable land, people of New Mexico were ignorant in terms of the value of education before 1870s:

Prior to the passage of the law providing for a system of public school in this territory there was but little interest manifested regarding the education of youth in this county, indeed amongst the poorer classes, children as a rule were allowed to grow up in utter ignorance of the primary requirements of

⁹⁶ Letter of Juan Santistevan, Taos, to William G. Ritch, Santa Fe, February 26th, 1877, in Clinton P. Anderson Papers.

⁹⁷ Sunseri, *Seeds of Discord*, p.107.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p107.

the commonest education. Those of our citizens who could afford to be educated, but these comprised but a small percent of the community.⁹⁹

The language of education was Spanish. The Spanish-speaking people wanted Mexican American teachers instructing in the Spanish tradition after 1880s. They wanted to learn to read their own language before studying the English language.¹⁰⁰ After the first effective Public School Act of 1872, the secretary of New Mexico became responsible for opening new public schools in every county and improving the conditions of the existing ones. Unfortunately the conditions did not change much. "The law as you will notice, is far from being all that could be desired, but is at least a step in the right way."¹⁰¹ There were too many students and very few teachers. Students and teachers were of Mexican descent and branches were taught in Spanish. However, there were not good Spanish textbooks for every branch. Grammar and spelling courses were taught with books like *Grammar Castellana* by Hernanz y Luiz or *Mayo's Spanish* but there were not any Spanish books for the courses like arithmetic, geometry, algebra, and history. The few books that were available were expensive. Poor Mexicans could not afford expensive books. Most of the Mexican students had the books distributed by the Catholic schools without charge but they were sectarian books which created a lack of unity among the schools, since poorer students could not afford to purchase the non-sectarian books taught in the public schools.

Amado Chaves, the first superintendent of public instruction for the Territory of New Mexico, compiled useful data on the history of education in New Mexico. Chaves narrates the history of education in New Mexico in chronological order, starting from

⁹⁹ The letter of Daniel Fietze, Mesilla, to William G. Ritch, Santa Fe, February 12th, 1877.

¹⁰⁰ Sunseri, p.108.

¹⁰¹ Letter of unknown author to John Eaton, Santa Fe, February 27th, 1873, in Clinton P. Anderson Papers.

1598 when Spaniards first came to territory as missionaries.¹⁰² There is little division in Chaves' paper between the Spanish period and American period of the territory. He defines the years after 1848 in these words; "Since 1850 we have had a territorial organization under the United States, and since that date, enjoyed the benefits of a free government". But in the next sentence he criticized the U.S. government: "But the United States have neglected the education of our people, and we have been left to work out our own salvation as best we might, under peculiar and difficult circumstances."¹⁰³

Chaves shows that despite scant resources, there was a "hunger for education among [his] people" referring to the Mexican-American population in New Mexico. "The people of the territory have always hungered after education; have ever realized its power and importance; therefore, all those who could afford to do so, have sent their children to the Eastern cities for training in the best schools."¹⁰⁴ He described the Public School Law of 1872 as a good opportunity for the people who could not afford to send their children to the schools in Eastern cities. "The bulk of the population has been without the opportunities of instruction, save the most elementary kind, until the year 1872, when the Legislature of New Mexico passed the first Territorial School Law."¹⁰⁵ This law required an increase in property tax that was to be used for school purposes in each county. On that issue, Chaves analyzed the law and argued that the law was imperfect. "The amount of taxable property was limited...In the very nature of things the best results could not be obtained."¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Amado Chaves Papers, New Mexico State Records and Archives. The exact date of Chaves' paper is not known but it must have written between 1900 and 1912 because the last year mentioned in the paper is 1900. In addition to this, he concludes his writing with these words suggesting that the year was before 1912 when New Mexico was accepted to the Union as a state; "if New Mexico is admitted into the Union as a state, she need not fear to suffer by comparison of her teachers with those of any other commonwealth."

¹⁰³ Amado Chaves Papers, New Mexico State Records and Archives.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

At the beginning, the idea of paying taxes for school purposes did not attract the people of New Mexico. They opposed the establishment of public schools due to the objections of the Catholic Church. Daniel Fietze also said, "At first there appeared to exist a prejudice against public schools and particularly a public school tax."¹⁰⁷ Then, they saw the necessity of education for their children and supported public education. Susan Yohn explained this change of attitude with economic reasons. "Hispanics also responded to the larger economic and political changes by seeking out new educational opportunities."¹⁰⁸ W. H. Davis commented after the majority of the population voted against the public school law in 1856, "For this result, the cause of education has but little to hope from the popular will, and the verdict shows that the people love darkness rather than light."¹⁰⁹ In fact, what the people of New Mexico rejected was the taxes, not the education.

The Census of 1860 indicated that the act planted the prospect of a better education for the people of New Mexico. "There were six hundred pupils enrolled in four private schools, and seventeen public schools which employed thirty-three teachers."¹¹⁰ Fietze noted how the people's tight-fistedness has worn off however, and "our people generally have come to regard these schools as necessities, any attempt to abolish them would now be met with general opposition."¹¹¹ All this data show the gradual warming to public education among the Hispanics in New Mexico. After examining the early history of education in New Mexico, we can look at the changes and developments after the 1872 public school act.

¹⁰⁷ The Letter of Daniel Fietze, Mesilla, to William G. Ritch, Santa Fe, February 12th, 1877, in Clinton Anderson Papers.

¹⁰⁸ Susan Yohn, , "An Education in the Validity of Pluralism", p. 346

¹⁰⁹ Davis, in Alvin Sunseri, *Seeds of Discord*, p.110.

¹¹⁰ Sunseri, p. 112.

¹¹¹ The letter of Daniel Fietze, Mesilla, to William G. Ritch, Santa Fe, February 12th, 1877, in Clinton P. Anderson Papers.

Table 2.1 School Report for the Territory of New Mexico, 1873-1874

	Bernalillo	Cofete	Doña Ana	Grant	Kingdon	Mora	Rio Arriba	Santa Ana	Santa Fe	San Miguel	Socorro	Taos	TOTAL
No. of Public Schools	14	5	8	2	1	9	12	6	9	22	18	12	133
No. of children in attendance	707	65	169	93	35	230	827	85	522	813	650	503	5515
No. of teachers	15	5	8	2	1	8	12	6	13	22	14	12	138
Teacher's wages per month	22	55	20	45	50	28	21	15	18	28	27	20	
No. of months of school taught	5	7	10	9	10	6	2	6	7	4	4	2	
Language taught	3Eng, 11Sp	4Eng, 1Sp	9Sp	2Eng	1Sp	1Eng, 8Sp	3E+S, 9Sp	6Sp	2E+S, 7S	3E+S, 18S	1S+E, 13S	2E+S, 10S	
Schools house owned or rented	rented	rented	rented	rented	rented	rented	rented	rented	rented	rented	rented	rented	
No. of private schools	3		3		1	3			3	6		7	28
No. of scholars in attendance	45		150		10	223			300	387		275	1370
No. of months taught	10		10		6	10			10	7		7	
Language taught	3S+E		2S+E, 1E, 5S		1Eng	1E, 2S+E			1E	5E+S, 1E, 4S		5S+E, 3E, 2S	
No. of teachers	3		8		1	10			10	10		8	51

Source: Clinton P. Anderson Papers, University of New Mexico Archives.

2.2 New Mexico County School Statistics: Number of students, teachers, public and private schools, school months and teachers' salary, 1873-1874

It is hard to find detailed census statistics for New Mexico prior to the 1910s because New Mexico was a territory and was not included in the U.S. Census. Before the 1970s, there was not a separate category in the census statistics for "Hispanic" people. The population of New Mexico was 90,393 in 1870 according to the U.S. Census Bureau.¹¹² While, it is not certain how much of the population included Hispanic people, a Presbyterian home missionary, Sheldon Jackson, described New Mexico in the 1870s as the "center of a Mexican population, having all the rights of American citizens, and yet unassimilated, foreign, and in some measure hostile to the genius of our American institutions."¹¹³

While only general population data is available, other more specific statistics on the number of students, teachers, branches, textbooks, and language provide a general view of education in the territory of New Mexico during the 1870s and 1880s. The County School Reports of New Mexico prepared by school commissioners for the years 1873 and 1874 contain useful data on educational statistics.¹¹⁴ (Table 2.1). These statistical data reflect Mexican Americans' view of education in New Mexico in those years. According to Dianna Everett, of the 29,312 school-age children in the territory, only 5,114 attended a school of any type, public or parochial in 1870s.¹¹⁵

The major counties which were reported to the secretary of New Mexico in 1874 were Socorro, La Junta, Bernalillo, Colfax, Doña Ana, Grant, Lincoln, Mora, Rio

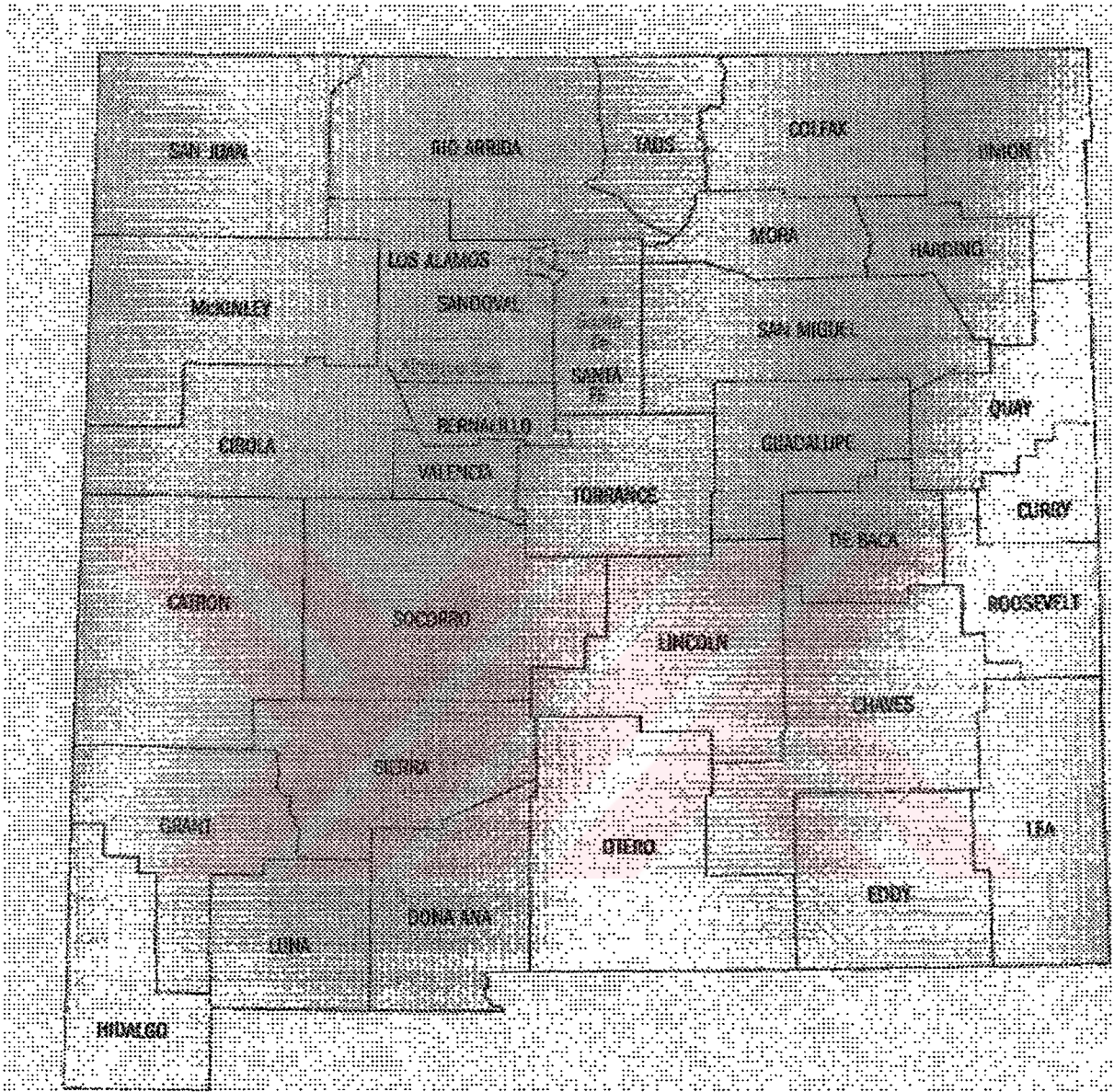
¹¹² *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals By Race, 1790 to 1990, and By Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, For The United States, Regions, Divisions, and States*, U.S Census Bureau, Working Paper Series No:56, ONLINE. 2002. <<http://www.census.gov/population/documentation/twps0056/tabA-18.xls>>20.06.2003

¹¹³ Susan M. Yohn, "An Education in the Validity of Pluralism", p. 349.

¹¹⁴ County School Reports for the Territory of New Mexico, 1873-1874, in Clinton P. Anderson Papers, University of New Mexico Archives.

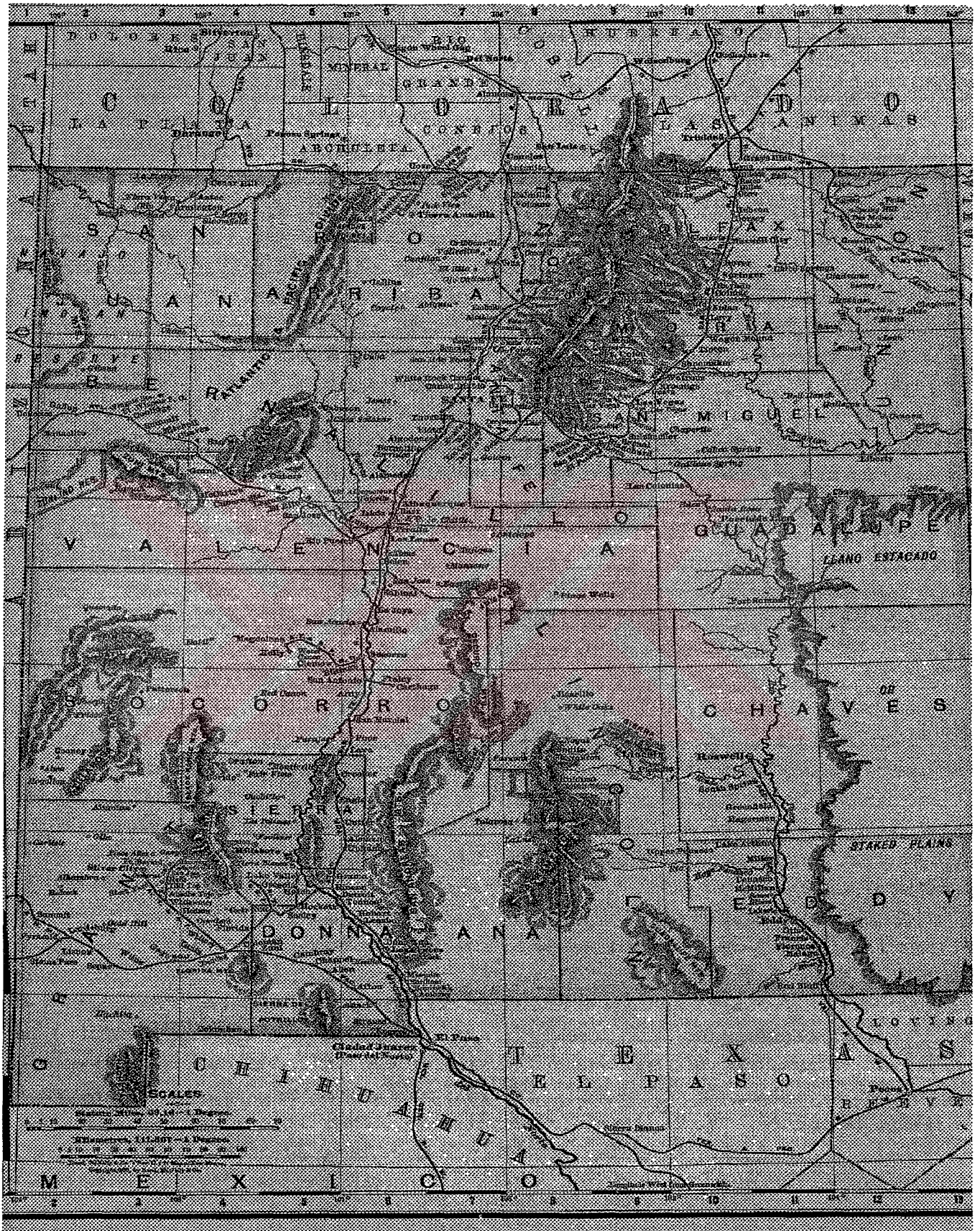
¹¹⁵ Dianna Everett, "The Public School Debate in New Mexico: 1850-1891", *Arizona and the West*, Volume 26, Issue 2 (Summer 1984), p.110.

Figure 2.1 Map of New Mexico Counties, Present



Source: <<http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/maps/stout35.gif>>25.08.2003

Figure 2.2 Map of New Mexico, 1895.



Source : <<http://www.livgenmi.com/nm1895mp.htm>>25.08.2003

Arriba, Santa Ana, Santa Fe, San Miguel, and Taos. Figure 2.1 and Figure 2.2 show counties of New Mexico. In these 13 counties, there were 133 public and 26 private schools. The total number of students in public schools was 5626, and in private schools, 1370. The number of students aged 7 to 18 were given only for Colfax, Grant, Lincoln, and Santa Ana counties. Looking at these four county statistics, it appears that at least half of the children aged 7 to 18 attended a public school in New Mexico. For example, in Colfax, 65 of 115 children attended public school. In Grant, 93 of 248 children attended. In Lincoln, 35 of 100 attended public school and 10 attended a private school. In Santa Ana, 85 of 156 children attended public school. 5626 students were enrolled in public schools whereas 1370 were enrolled in private schools. In other words, 80% percentage of the total number of students was enrolled in public schools and 20% percentage was enrolled in private schools.¹¹⁶

Although the reports do not indicate exact number of Mexican-American students, they do indicate the language of education in each school. Through calculating the number of students in the schools in which Spanish was the only language of education, we can estimate the number of Mexican-American students in the territorial schools. Public schools had 136 teachers; 114 teachers were Spanish speaking, 10 teachers were English speaking, and 12 were bilingual teachers. These 114 Spanish speaking teachers had at least 4284 children, Spanish speaking only. This amount is nearly 75% of the total number of students. In private schools, there were 53 teachers; 27 were Spanish speaking, 7 were English speaking, and 19 were bilingual teachers. All these statistics suggest that the language of education was Spanish due to the high majority of Spanish speaking students.

¹¹⁶ See for details School Reports in Clinton Anderson Papers and Appendix D.

It is useful to look at each county's school report in detail, to make a more thorough study of the educational system of New Mexico in the 1870s. According to the school report of 1876 for Socorro County, there was at least one public school for each precinct, except one, and there was only one private school. The precinct of Las Limas had no school. The only one private school was in Precinct no. 1, Socorro. It suggests that the school system was still in its infancy after the 1872 Public School Act. Each school had only one teacher whose salary was \$20 approximately. It seems that each county tried to manage a balance between teachers' salaries in each precinct. Total number of children between ages 7 and 18 were 834 but the total number of children in attendance was not given in this report. The average number of months of school taught was three in Socorro.

The school report of Bernalillo County for the year 1873 indicates that there were 16 public schools, one for each precinct. It is noteworthy that all of the children between ages 7 and 18 attended school in that county. The total number of the students attending was 767. There was one teacher for each public school and the average salary was \$29.14. The schools taught at least four months during the year. In Bernalillo precinct no. 1 and in Albuquerque precinct no. 13, ten months were taught during the year. The main reason was that the number of students was highest in these two precincts; 92 in Bernalillo and 98 in Albuquerque.

According to the school report of Colfax County, there was one public school in each of five precincts, except Ute Creek which had no school. The Indian population could be the main reason for the absence of a public school because the Indian population of New Mexico was taught in segregated, non-public schools.¹¹⁷ The total number of children between ages 7 and 18 was 115 and 65 of them attended a public

¹¹⁷ Amado Chaves' Report on the History of Education in New Mexico, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives.

school regularly. There was one teacher for each public school. The average amount of teachers' salaries was \$55. There was not a private school in the county according to the report. Public schools taught 8 months during the year in Elizabethtown, Cimarron, and Rayado, 6 months in Cimarron, and 5 months in Red River. Thus, the average months a year taught in Colfax was 7 months.

In Lincoln, there were only one public and one private school in 1873. The number of children between ages 7 and 18 was 100. 35 of them attended the public school and 10 attended the private school. 10 months were taught in public school during the year, whereas 8 months were taught in private school. The only teacher in the public school earned \$50 per month.

According to the 1873 Mora County school report, there was one public school in each of 9 precincts and there was no school in 6 precincts. Each public school had one teacher. Teachers' salaries varied in each precinct. The maximum amount of wages per month was \$50 and the minimum amount was \$18. The average salary was \$26.11. The average number of school months taught during the year was 6. The number of children between ages 7 and 18 was given as 230 but the number of students attended a public school was not given in the report.

According the Santa Fe County school report, November 1874, there were nine public schools, one for each precinct and 13 teachers. The public school in Upper Santa Fe had five teachers. The average amount of money paid to teachers was \$18. The schools taught five to ten months during the year. There were 620 children between ages 7 and 18. 522 of these children attended school. There were also four private schools in which 318 students were enrolled.

There were two school reports for San Miguel County, one for the public schools and one for the private schools. According to the Public School Report of 1874,

there were 22 schools, one for each precinct. The number of children attending a public school was 913, a quite high number in comparison with other county schools. Each school had only one teacher. Precinct no. 10, Chaperito, had seventy-five students, the highest number. Manuelitas had only 20 students. Precinct no. 5, Las Vegas Abajo, had the lowest percentage of children attending school. Although there were 64 children between ages 7 and 18, only 23 of them attended school.

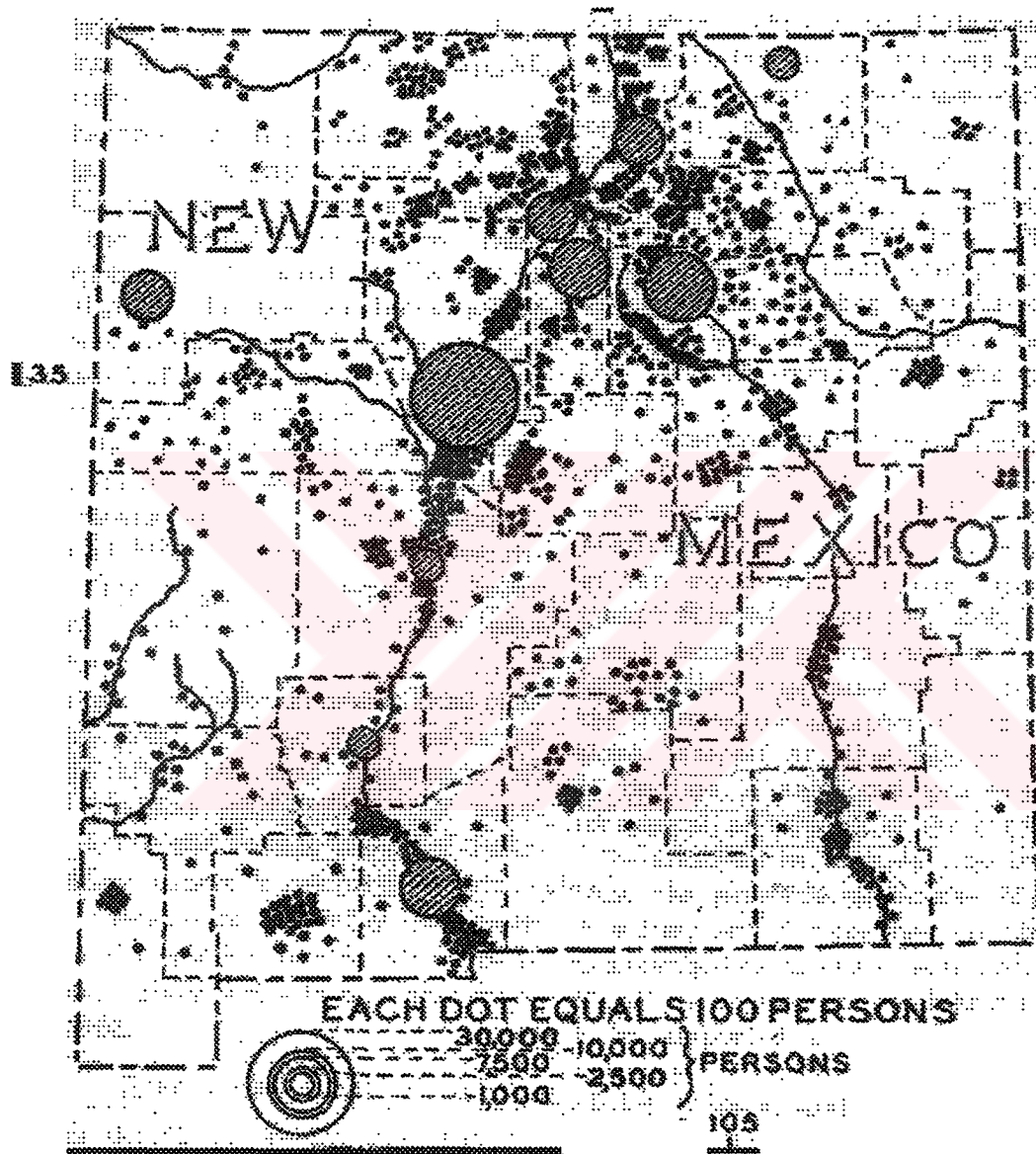
The last one is the Taos County school report of 1873. Each of twelve precincts had one school and one teacher as usual. According to the report, every child between ages 7 and 18 attended school. The number of these students was 503. The average amount of money paid to teachers was \$20. The average number of months of school taught was 2 ½. 275 students attended 7 private schools in the county. The average number of school months was higher in the private school, that was 7 ½.

To sum up, the highest number of students attending a public school was in San Miguel County. Lincoln County had the fewest number of students. San Miguel also had twenty-two schools, the highest number. Lincoln County had only one school, the least among all. With 22 teachers, San Miguel had the highest number of teachers, while Socorro County had the next largest number, with 16 teachers. This fact is probably related to the geographic characteristics and population of the counties. Lincoln, for example, was a county established near Rio Hondo, the only water supply in the county. The north of the county was almost abandoned.¹¹⁸ (Figure 2.3). This could be the reason for the scarcity of public schools in the county.

The county reports suggest that the school system was still in its infancy after the 1872 Public School Act., but education in New Mexico began to improve. Almost every precinct in every county of New Mexico had at least one public school in which

¹¹⁸ James Culbert, "Distribution of Spanish-American Population in New Mexico", *Economic Geography*, Volume 19, Issue 2 (April 1943), p.172.

Figure 2.3 Distribution of Spanish Population, 1940



Source: James Culbert, "Distribution of Spanish-American Population in New Mexico", *Economic Geography*, Volume 19, Issue 2 (April, 1943). p.172.

the students attended without paying any money. As was indicated, 75% of the total number of students in New Mexico public schools was Spanish-speaking. Looking at the attendance rates in the school reports, it can be argued that Mexican-Americans in New Mexico supported public education and sent their children to school at least three months a year. "The attendance of the children, taken in connection with the population, and the scattered settlement of the district, Colfax, is decidedly very good indeed."¹¹⁹ John Koogler's letter to William G. Ritch summarized the situation of Mexican Americans in the educational system of New Mexico, "The Mexican children when they once attend school and become interested generally take delights in their attending and learn with astonishing rapidity."¹²⁰

2.3 Curriculum: Major Branches, Textbooks and Language in New Mexico Schools

It is noteworthy to examine the curriculum of the New Mexico schools to clarify the place of Mexican-Americans in the educational system of New Mexico and to draw a general picture of the education in the territory and also in the United States in the 19th century. The language taught in schools and the textbooks should be analyzed to indicate how and why the Spanish language was used in education during the 1870s and 1880s. The introduction of this thesis discussed how 19th century education promoted expansion of American democracy, and was designed to give a civic education and provide homogeneity to the different ethnic groups within American society. The textbooks of the 19th century education help to draw a general picture of education in the 19th century America.

¹¹⁹The letter of P. Rhinehart, Colfax, William G. Ritch, Santa Fe, December 11th, 1873, in Clinton P. Anderson Papers.

¹²⁰The letter of John Koogler, Colfax, to William G. Ritch, Santa Fe, December 2nd, 1873, in Clinton Anderson Papers.

First of all, there was not an obligation to use English language in the laws of the territory between those years, as was explained in Chapter 1. Second, the Spanish speaking population was larger than the English speaking population of the territory.¹²¹ Daniel Fietze's letter confirmed this fact, "In this county [Dona Ana], public schools are generally taught in the Spanish language, this is because most of those who attend such schools are Spanish speaking and the limited amount of funds at the disposal of the commissioners prevents the employment of teachers competent to teach in both languages."¹²²

According to the school reports for the territory of New Mexico in total for the year 1874 in Table 2.2, the majority of the branches in several county schools were taught in Spanish. In private schools there were more teachers speaking English and both English and Spanish. Only in Colfax and Grant county schools was English the dominant language of education. Mr. Rhinehart from Colfax commented on the English language in his letter: "As you will perceive from the report, the English rather than the Spanish is the language in which instruction is mostly given. This is undoubtedly as it should be, New Mexico being under the jurisdiction of United States, and English being our universal method of communication officially and socially."¹²³ However, only 148 students attended these schools out of 5625 students in total. Although Rhinehart tried to show English language as the main and only language of education, Colfax public schools were not a model for all New Mexico public schools.

Daniel Fietze's letter strengthened the argument about the prevalence of Spanish altering English language in New Mexico public schools. "Several efforts have been

¹²¹ The letter of Edmund G. Ross, Deming, to A. F. Childs, Washington D.C, December 3rd, 1892, in Clinton Anderson Papers.

¹²² The letter of Daniel Fietze, Mesilla, to William G. Ritch, Santa Fe, February 12th, 1877, in Clinton Anderson papers.

¹²³ The letter of P. Rhinehart, Colfax, William G. Ritch, Santa Fe, December 11th, 1873, in Clinton P. Anderson Papers.

Table 2.2 Number of Spanish Speaking Students in New Mexico Public Schools, 1873-1874

Counties	Number of Students in Spanish speaking class	Total number of students in schools	Percentage (%)
Grant	0	93	0
Colfax	10	65	15
Lincoln	35	35	100
Santa Ana	85	85	100
Dona Ana	169	169	100
Mora	*200	230	86
Santa Fe	295	522	56
Rio Arriba	*320	627	51
Taos	394	503	58
Bernalillo	457	707	64
Valencia	*700	816	85
Socorro	730	860	84
San Miguel	840	913	92
TOTAL	3015	5625	75

* Aproximate amounts

Source: County School Reports, in *Clinton P. Anderson Papers*, University of New Mexico Archives.

made to have public schools taught in English in other portions of the county [Doña Ana], but they have proved a failure.”¹²⁴ The areas taught in the public primary schools were spelling, grammar, reading, writing and arithmetic. If a qualified teacher had been found, geometry, geography, and history would also have been taught. “In our public schools, nothing more than a primary education has been attempted; reading, writing and arithmetic have been the only branches taught.”¹²⁵ In fact, the language of education was determined by the economic condition of the schools. If the school budget allowed, school managers would hire bilingual teachers, but most instruction was in Spanish, and the majority of the inhabitants of the territory in that period were Spanish speaking people. The English speaking inhabitants in the territory were a minority during the 1870s and 1880s.

The textbooks used in the schools carried great importance because, as in American education generally during the period, the lessons were taught through memorization of books due to the lack of necessary qualifications of teachers for every branch. As said before, there was only one teacher in every school, who had to teach all the branches. However, there was a lack of uniformity of the textbooks used in the public primary schools due to the economic conditions of the inhabitants. Even after the Public School Act of 1872, which imposed a property tax for school purposes and established a territorial board of education for the control of schools and appointment of teachers, the textbooks continued to be a problem because the families were responsible for buying their children’s books. Most could not afford expensive textbooks. Daniel Fietze from Mesilla wrote to W. G. Ritch on February 12th, 1877 telling the secretary about those problems. “While parents are required as at present to furnish their children in attendance upon public schools with books, and so long as they are compelled to

¹²⁴ The letter of Daniel Fietze, Mesilla, to William G. Ritch, Santa Fe, February 12th, 1877, in Clinton Anderson Papers.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

purchase non-sectarian books, while sectarian books are given to them gratis, just so long will we suffer from a lack of uniformity.”¹²⁶

Amado Chaves, in Santa Fe, repeated the problem of textbooks. He was a public school supporter but found the existing one insufficient. His suggested that “The county commissioners should purchase in the states all the books necessary and these books should be supplied free to those who cannot afford to pay for them and at cost price to those who can.”¹²⁷

Table 2.3 shows the books used in the county schools. There were several different books used for the same branches in different schools. Thus it is difficult to talk about uniformity in the educational system of New Mexico. In the schools in which the language was Spanish, Spanish grammar, reading, spelling were taught with books like *Grammar Castellana* by Diego Hernanz y Louis, and *Reading* by Louis T. Marcillo, or students brought Spanish language books distributed without charge by the church.

The books for English grammar were *Clarke’s Grammar*, *McGuffey’s Eclectic Readers*, and *Sander’s Spelling*. Arithmetic and geometry books like *Ray’s Arithmetic*, and *Geometry* by George R. Perkins were in English. Bookkeeping textbooks like *Marsh’s* and *Bogart&Whaller’s* were written in English. The only history book mentioned in the majority of the schools’ reports is *Goodrich History*, by Samuel G. Goodrich, written in English.

There are four different geography books mentioned in the reports: *Gayot’s Geography*, *Eclectic Geography* by Brinton, and *Mitchell’s Geography* by Augustus Mitchell; all were English texts. Only one geography book was written in Spanish, *Geografia Castellana* by Mary A. Smith. There were also other branch textbooks

¹²⁶ The Letter of Daniel Fritze, Mesilla, to William G. Ritch, Santa Fe, February 12th, 1877, in Clinton Anderson Papers.

¹²⁷ The Letter of Amado Chaves to W. G. Ritch, February 3rd, 1878, in Clinton Anderson Papers.

written in a religious manner like *Catechismo Historico*, and *Sechuras Morales*. No matter in what language the branches were taught, the majority of the textbooks were in English.

Table 2.3 List of the Books Used in County Schools¹²⁸

<u>English Books</u>	<u>Spanish Books</u>
Clarke's Grammar	Mayo's Spanish
Sanders' Spelling	Grammar Castellana by Hernanz y Louis
Guffey's Eclectic Reader	Marcillo's Spanish
Pirmeo or Pinmes' Grammar	Geografia Castellana by Ana Smith
Ray's Arithmetic	
George Perkins' Arithmetic	
Pietz's Arithmetic	
Perkins' Geometry	
Davis' Algebra	
Robinson's Algebra	
Gayot's Geography	
Brinton's Eclectic Geography	
Mitchell's Geography	
Goodrich's History	
Corky's Natural Philosophy	
Marsh's Bookkeeping	
Bogart&Whaller's Bookkeeping	

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The content of these books was mainly religious, designed to train students as good citizens who had moral values and faith in God. “Guided by his schoolbooks, the nineteenth-century American child would grow up to be honest, industrious, religious, and moral.”¹²⁹ Spelling, reading, grammar, history, or even geography books were written with a Protestant perspective praising hard work. “They perpetuated the secular ethic of Puritanism, emphasizing work, thrift and earnest, and made it seem as fresh and valid for urban-industrial America as for the simpler agrarian republic.”¹³⁰

¹²⁸ County School Reports, 1873-1874, in Clinton P. Anderson Papers.

¹²⁹ Ruth Miller Elson, “American Schoolbooks and Culture in the Nineteenth Century”. *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Volume 46, Issue 3 (December 1959): 434.

¹³⁰ J. Merton England, “The Democratic Faith in American Schoolbooks, 1783-1860. *American Quarterly*, Vol. 15, Issue 2, Part 1 (Summer, 1963): 199.

According to Ruth Miller Elson the main aspect of English-language schoolbooks was their anti-intellectualism. Even in a geography book, students were taught the lesson with special reference to God and religion. “The religion of nature, the light of revelation, and the pages of history, are combined in the proof, that God has ordered that nations shall become extinct, and that others shall take their places.”¹³¹ These remarks were made by Mitchell to explain the extinction of the Indian people. Instead of teaching an analytical cause-and-effect relation to explain an event in history, the authors simply attributed history to God. Indeed, the method of learning was memorization in the classroom. The students were not supposed to think and analyze what they learned from schoolbooks, they were just supposed to memorize and become religious.

Thus, English-language schoolbooks which were used in the primary public schools in New Mexico were likely foreign for Mexican American students with their content. Issues of race, history, and civilization were often taught with a Caucasian view. Racism appeared in the schoolbooks, especially geographies. Miller commented on the issue, “In all but the most experimental schools of the time the child was generally required to memorize such characteristics and the rank of each race in the accepted hierarchy.”¹³² In Mitchell’s *Primary Geography*, for instance, races were divided through their mental capacities as well as the color of skin and geographical occupations. “The great family of mankind—although descended from Adam and Eve,—by being spread over the surface of the earth and subjected to the varieties of

¹³¹ S. Augustus Mitchell, *Primary Geography*, Philadelphia, 1865, in Ruth Miller Elson, *Guardians of Tradition: American Schoolbooks of the 19th Century*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964. p.79.

¹³² Ruth Miller Elson, *Guardians of Tradition: American Schoolbooks of the 19th Century*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964. p.66.

climates, and from other causes, was divided into several distinct races, differing in color, form, and features and in mental characteristics.”¹³³

Likewise, Guyot in his *Physical Geography*, defined the white race as “the normal or typical race which was the race of culture and progress, both now and in all ages past.”¹³⁴ He used Apollo Belvedere in one of the pictures of the white race in his books. A picture of the representatives of the white race in Steinwehr and Brinton’s *Eclectic Geography* placed a beautiful young woman in the middle, while putting ordinary pictures of men for other races.¹³⁵ Mitchell, definitely, placed the white man on the top, as being “superior to all others in intellectual and moral development, and are the leaders of Christian civilization.”¹³⁶ Praising Americans and American culture was a common habit in the schoolbooks of the century strengthening the notion of Manifest Destiny as it was discussed in the introduction of this thesis.

Time Quicken thy pace, and present a bright scene,
In regions where none but rude man have yet been,
Let savages cease their dark wilds to explore,
Or roam through their deserts—now deserts
no more.¹³⁷

This kind of racism and prejudice towards other nations, then, led the point to praise Anglo Americans and their culture within the white race. Samuel Goodrich, for example, depicted the Spanish conquest: “Although the conquerors of Mexico and Peru displayed great courage and ability, these qualities were offset by the meanest deception, the basest treachery, and the most unrelenting cruelty.”¹³⁸ Mitchell described America and Americans as “the freest, the most enlightened, and the most prosperous in the world. The independence of man is here asserted, and the Christian religion has full

¹³³ S. Augustus Mitchell, *Primary Geography*, Philadelphia, 1846, in Elson, *Guardians of Tradition*, p.66.

¹³⁴ Arnold Henry Guyot, *Physical Geography*, New York, 1866, in Elson, p.67.

¹³⁵ Adolph Wilhelm von Steinwehr and Daniel G. Brinton, *Eclectic Geography*, Cincinnati, 1870, in Elson, p.66.

¹³⁶ Mitchell in Elson, p.67.

¹³⁷ Mitchell, *Geography*, 1848, in Elson, p.76.

¹³⁸ Samuel G. Goodrich, *History*, 1867, in Elson’s *Guardians of Tradition*, p.76.

sway.”¹³⁹ The American presidents were portrayed as heroes. McGuffey, in his *Eclectic Reader*, praised Washington, “America has furnished to the world the character of Washington! And if our American institutions had done nothing else, that alone would have entitled them to the respect of mankind.”¹⁴⁰

In summary, the schoolbooks used in the New Mexico public school in the 1870s and 1880s were designed to train children as good citizens with moral values, religious manner, and industrial capacity. English-language books were written in a racist manner dividing the nations and inhabitants through their skin color and creating a racial hierarchy in which the white race was superior and civilized. These books were completely strange for the Mexican American students not only with their language but also with their content. While some schools used only a few of these books, the purpose of putting these books in the curriculum of public schools was to assimilate the Spanish speaking population in the territory.¹⁴¹

In conclusion, during the 1870s and 1880s, Spanish language was the dominant language of education, even despite pressures to replace Spanish with English. There was not a mass attempt among the Spanish speaking population in the territory of New Mexico to learn English for several reasons. First, the public education system was still in its infancy although some progress was achieved. The attitude of the Hispanic people warmed to the necessity of education, though the logistical support of the territorial government did not improve. “Between 1870 and 1890, the number of school age children rose from 29,312 to 54,820, and the number of public schools expanded from

¹³⁹ Mitchell, in Elson, p.166.

¹⁴⁰ William H. McGuffey, *New Fifth Eclectic Reader*, Cincinnati, 1866, in Elson’s “American Schoolbooks and Culture in the 19th Century”, p.419.

¹⁴¹ See Appendix A, Appendix B, and Appendix C.

five to 678.”¹⁴² Second, there was not any legal obligation for learning English in that period. A poem published in a Spanish newspaper summarized their preference:

No me hables ¡por Dios! así...
Por que me hablas al revés?
Di con tu boquita “sí”;
Pero no me digas “yes”.
Si no quieres verme mudo
Saluda “como estas tu?”
Yo no entiendo tu saludo
“Good Morning, how do you do?”
! No por Dios! Linda paisana,
No desprecies nuestra lengua,
Seria en ti mal gusto y mengua
Querer ser “Americana”.¹⁴³

Good heavens! Don't talk like that!...
Why talk to me all backwards?
With your little mouth, say “sí”;
But don't tell me “yes”.
If you don't want me to be silent,
Say “como estas tu?”
I don't understand your greeting
“Good morning, how do you do?”
God gracious, no! lovely paisana,
Don't disdain our language,
It would be bad taste and foolish
To try to be “americanized”.



¹⁴² Report of CE, 1880, 1899-1900, 1910 (Washington D.C.) quoted in Dianna Everett, “The Public School Debate in New Mexico”, p.134.

¹⁴³ *La Voz del Pueblo*, Las Vegas, June 25, 1892, in Doris Meyer, *Speaking for Themselves*, pp. 35-36.

CHAPTER 3: Education and Language in New Mexico, 1890s-1912

In this third chapter, I will examine the language and public education in New Mexico between the 1890s and 1912, the year of statehood. The question to be answered in this chapter is; how and why was there growing pressure towards English-language education in this period? The main sources used in this chapter are the Edmund G. Ross Papers, the Amado Chaves Papers, and other relevant secondary sources. Edmund Gibson Ross was the governor of New Mexico between 1885 and 1889. He was among those who introduced bills to Congress advocating a public school system in territories.

3.1 Statistics of Population and Education, 1890s-1912

According to the data in Edmund G. Ross's letter, in 1892, the Anglo population of New Mexico was 23,000, the Hispanic population was 125,000 and the mixed American-Mexican population was 10,000.¹⁴⁴ There were 110,000 people who spoke Spanish language only. Probably 10,000 of the Hispanic population could sustain a conversation in English.¹⁴⁵ Thus, there were relatively few people who spoke English in the 1890s. In 1900, the total population of New Mexico was 195,310.¹⁴⁶ Distribution of the population in urban and rural areas was not balanced; 27,381 people lived in urban areas, whereas 167,929 people lived in rural areas. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 show the city and county populations. Albuquerque and Santa Fe were the two main cities.

¹⁴⁴ Letter of Edmund G. Ross, Deming, December 15, 1892, to A.F. Childs, Washington, December 3, 1892, in Clinton P. Anderson Papers.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ David E. Lorey. *United States-Mexico Border Statistics Since 1900*. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1990.

Table 3.1 New Mexico Urban Population, 1900

City		
Year	Rank	Population
1900	1	Albuquerque 6,238
	2	Santa Fe 5,603
	3	Las Vegas City 3,552
	4	Raton 3,540
	5	Gallup 2,946
	6	Silver City 2,735
	7	Roswell 2,049
	8	Socorro 1,512
	9	Eddy 963
	10	Cerillos 491

Table 3.2 New Mexico County Population, 1900

County		
Year	Rank	Population
1900	1	Bernalillo 32,630
	2	San Miguel 22,053
	3	Santa Fe 14,658
	4	Valencia 13,895
	5	Rio Arriba 13,777
	6	Grant 12,883
	7	Socorro 12,195
	8	Taos 10,899
	9	Mora 10,304
	10	Dona Ana 10,187
	11	Colfax 10,150
	12	Guadalupe 5,429
	13	Lincoln 4,953
	14	San Juan 4,828
	15	Chaves 4,773

Source: David E. Lorey, *United States-Mexico Border Statistics Since 1900*.

Table 3.3 New Mexico Race and Hispanic Origin: 1850-1990

Census year	Total population	Race					Hispanic origin (of any race)	White, not of Hispanic origin
		White	Black	American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut	Asian and Pacific Islander	Other race		
NUMBER								
1990.....	1,515,069	1,146,028	30,210	134,355	14,124	190,352	579,224	764,164
Sample.....	1,515,069	1,148,562	29,818	134,035	14,372	188,282	576,709	765,847
1980.....	1,302,894	977,587	24,020	106,119	6,825	188,343	477,222	685,956
Sample.....	1,302,894	990,657	23,071	106,750	7,728	174,688	477,051	690,236
1970.....	1,016,000	915,815	19,555	72,788	2,214	5,628	(NA)	(NA)
15% sample ¹	1,015,988	923,252	19,439	70,986	(NA)	(NA)	379,723	547,059
5% sample.....	1,016,000	924,206	18,502	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	308,340	618,658
1960.....	951,023	875,763	17,063	56,255	1,484	458	(NA)	(NA)
1950.....	681,187	630,211	8,408	1,901	490	177	(NA)	(NA)
1940 ²	531,818	492,312	4,672	34,510	324	(X)	221,881	270,431
5% sample ²	(NA)	492,000	(NA)	(NA)	(NA)	(X)	221,740	270,260
1930.....	423,217	391,095	2,850	28,941	431	(X)	(NA)	(NA)
1920.....	360,350	334,673	5,733	19,512	432	(X)	(NA)	(NA)
1910.....	327,301	304,594	1,628	20,573	506	(X)	(NA)	(NA)
1900.....	195,310	180,207	1,610	13,144	349	(X)	(NA)	(NA)
1890 ³	160,282	142,918	1,956	15,044	364	(X)	(NA)	(NA)
1890.....	153,593	142,719	1,956	8,554	364	(X)	(NA)	(NA)
1880.....	119,565	108,721	1,015	9,772	57			
1870.....	91,874	90,393	172	1,309	-			
1860.....	87,034	80,503	64	6,467	-			
1850.....	61,547	61,525	22	(NA)	(NA)			

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, <<http://www.census.gov/population/documentation/twps0056/tabA-18.xls>>

Table 3.3 shows the steady increase in the population of New Mexico since 1850. The population of New Mexico did not increase as much as the populations of Texas and California. Moreover, New Mexico did not attract as many Mexican immigrants as California and Texas did. Population density was not high in New Mexico.¹⁴⁷ All this suggests that New Mexico remained relatively unaffected by changes brought by the immigrants. New Mexico was a state isolated from other southwestern states. The Spanish speaking people of New Mexico differed from poor, less educated recent immigrants from Mexico. They were proud of their language, culture and customs, and did not try to change them for economic or other reasons; they were not assimilated into the Anglo American culture through loss of their language and culture. Richard del Castillo argued:

The New Mexico territory was not as influenced by American or Mexican immigration as was San Antonio. Well into the twentieth century Hispanos were a majority of the population. Consequently the Mexican Americans were more able to maintain their older traditions and culture apart from the American community.¹⁴⁸

The tendency towards English language in this period was aimed at protecting their rights to be Spanish speaking people of New Mexico. Hispanic support of English language was based on different reasons that will be discussed later in this chapter.

Amado Chaves again gives useful educational statistics that can be used to compare the situation of education in New Mexico in the 1890s with the former decades.¹⁴⁹ Chaves emphasized the success of New Mexico in bringing down the illiteracy in the English language in the territory, "...thus filling the largest gap of illiteracy ever filled, in ten years, by any people in the world."(See footnote 149) He

¹⁴⁷ David E. Lorey, Table 102, p.10

¹⁴⁸ Richard Griswold del Castillo, *La Familia: Chicano Families in the Urban Southwest, 1848 to Present*. Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984. p.13.

¹⁴⁹ The quotations in pages 61-63 were taken from "The Report of Education" in Amado Chaves Papers.

makes interesting remarks for the effect of ethnic difference on illiteracy rates for the previous years.

Interestingly, Chaves simply accused the original inhabitants of the territory, apparently Native Americans as well as Mexicans for the high illiteracy rates. “The large percentage of 44.49 [illiteracy] was unquestionably due in great extent to the fact that in 1890 there were still living many of the original inhabitants who were residing in the Territory before it became a part of the United States.”

Table 3.4 Illiteracy in the English language in New Mexico

	1870	1880	1890
Percentage per year	85%	65%	44.40%

Source: Amado Chaves Papers, New Mexico State Archives

Table 3.5 Territorial Statistics, 1891-1900

	1891	1895	1898	1899	1900
School Fund	\$85,192.17	\$154,107.3	\$182,178.1	\$241,520.0	\$300,924.6
Average daily attendance	12,397	15,081	16,558	21,761	31,511
Number of teachers employed	407	538	541	513	671
Average Length of school term (month)	3	4	5	4	4
Average daily attendance in each school	34	28	30	42	32

Source: Amado Chaves Papers, New Mexico State Archives

Chaves pointed out the increase in the number of pupils attending schools in the year 1900 (Table 3.5). “This gratifying exhibit, can be accepted in no other way, than as showing a remarkable awakening of the people, in the public schools, and the relations they bear towards the welfare of their children.” The School Act of 1891 tried to solve the problem of supplies and furnishing in the public schools. “This law of 1891 enacts, that school boards must furnish the necessary school houses, teachers, fuel and supplies

for the schools.” The same law also “compels the attendance at school, of all children between the ages of eight and sixteen years, for not less than three months in each year”. This obligatory attendance rule was significant to increase the literacy rates among the Mexican population in the territory.

The language Chaves used shows that he was a serious supporter of public education to serve for the Hispanic people in the territory. “Everywhere, I am happy to say, I find a growing interest in the schools and a hearty public sentiment existing towards fostering them and advancing them to higher plane of usefulness.” The amount of money raised for school purposes increased each year. This money was spent for the school purposes such as furnishing, fuel, and rents. With the increase in attendance, the demand for additional school facilities occurred. “A number of additional school districts have been organized in the various counties during the past year, and numerous school buildings erected, or are now in course of erection, some of them handsome and costly edifices.”

In the 1890s, New Mexico’s Mexican-American population decided education was important for empowerment. The number of schools, teachers, and money spent for school purposes was on the rise. Still, there were few Mexican-Americans who spoke English efficiently. Thus, the issue arose of learning English language in the public schools. Although there was not any specific mandatory rule saying education would be in English, many school districts with Hispanic majorities preferred to hire bilingual teachers to teach English to Spanish speaking students. Ralph Twitchell wrote that Spanish speaking people did not oppose English and English language teachers in New Mexican public schools. “In truth, Spanish speaking people have evinced an almost universal desire and purpose to have competent teachers, well-versed in the English

language, employed and assigned to teach in isolated districts where, in time past, the only schools existing were those in which the Spanish language alone was used.”¹⁵⁰

The English language was believed to be beneficial by many New Mexicans because of political and economic issues. 1912 was the year of statehood in which the state constitution made English the only language in public school. The issue of statehood focused these issues in the struggle between supporters and opponents of English-language education.

3.2 The Issue of Statehood and Language, 1890s-1912

New Mexicans supported the learning of English in the given period for different political and economic reasons. First the use of English was the central point of the statehood issue, that is, the U.S. Congress regarded English as a prerequisite of being admitted into the Union as a state. Second, English was seen by the people of New Mexico as a necessary tool for economic advancement.

Evidence about the importance of language in state politics is provided by a 1892 letter of Edmund Ross, who was responding to A. F. Childs, the chief clerk of the U.S. Census Bureau. Ross’s letter provided answers to Childs’ question about the ethnic population, language, and educational opportunities in the territory of New Mexico. Childs explained his primary purpose in requesting information from Ross: “This will enable me, no doubt, to satisfy the Senator, and the Committee, that the territory is entitled to Statehood and should be admitted without delay.”¹⁵¹ However, the majority of the population was not English speaking in the 1890s, as was seen in Ross letter. Thus, it is clear that Ross and Childs failed to satisfy Congress on the issue of New Mexico’s language because it was not until 1912 that New Mexico would gain

¹⁵⁰ Ralph Twitchell, “Leading Facts of New Mexican History”, in Doris Meyer, *Speaking for Themselves*. P.117.

¹⁵¹ Edmund G. Ross Paper, University of New Mexico Archives.

statehood. Still, officials and other New Mexicans must have realized by 1900 the importance of education and English language in order to be a state.

Hispanics in New Mexico shared the desire for statehood. Since the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the Mexican origin population in New Mexico always waited for the day to enter the Union. For more than fifty years, they had served the United States, especially in military affairs, such as Civil War and Spanish American War, and they believed that as true Americans they deserved to be an official part of the country they served. The poem published in *El Nuevo Mexicano* in 1898 reflected the disappointment of the people after their statehood was rejected once again by the Congress:

No quiso el tío Samuel
Admitirnos como estado
Y al Nuevo México fiel
El Congreso ha rechazado.

[Uncle Sam did not want
To admit us as a state
And the loyal New Mexico
Has been rejected by the Congress.

Por achaques de la plata
Que aquejan a la nación,
Una grande oposición
Nuestros planes desbarata,
Nuestra aspiración la mata
Sentimiento tan novel

The ups and downs of silver
That plague the nation
Provoked great opposition
Defeating our plans,
Killing our aspirations
With this new attitude

.....

.....

La esperanza es el Consuelo
De las almas afligidas
Que al sentirse doloridas
Dirigen su vista al cielo;
No se logro nuestro anhelo
En el caso ya pasado
Pero se verá logrado
Y tendrá nuevo atención
Esto que está sin razón
El Congreso ha rechazado.¹⁵²

Hope is the consolation
Of afflicted souls
Who in their pain
Direct their gaze to heaven
Our desire was not achieved
In the recent case
But it will be successful
And will be considered again,
This cause that without reason
Has been rejected by Congress.]

The pain and disappointment of the people of New Mexico is clearly seen in the lines of this poem. The reference to “silver” suggests the author’s realization that New Mexico’s statehood depended partly on events outside New Mexico, in this case

¹⁵² “Lo de Siempre”, by XXX, in *El Nuevo Mexicano*, February 5, 1898.

probably Congress's repeal of the 1890 Sherman Silver Purchase Act. The line "Our desire was not achieved", suggests the longing of Mexican Americans in New Mexico for half a century. But they did not give up their desire. The last lines of the poem imply that their hope continued and would not end until their desire was achieved.

They thought their rights were being violated, and the decision of the Congress was unjust because they saw themselves as true Americans living in the United States, and fighting for the country:

No obstante la lealtad indisputable
Que la Patria tus hijos ofrecieran,
Luchando con el indio ingobernable
Y contra los del Sur que secedieran

[In spite of the indisputable loyalty
That your sons offered to the Fatherland
Fighting against the ungovernable Indian
And against those from the South
who seceded.

No obstante que valientes se lanzaran
A batir a sus etnicos hermanos
Y con sangre que en Cuba derramaran
Probaran ser del todo americanos.¹⁵³

In spite of valiantly enlisting
To fight against their ethnic brothers
And with their blood shed in Cuba
They proved they were true Americans.]

Again references to national or even international events—the Indian Wars, the Civil War, and the Spanish-American War—show a globalizing New Mexican perspective on the territory's circumstances. Yet, Congress considered language uniformity a cardinal prerequisite for statehood, more than the blood shed by New Mexicans on behalf of the Union. Since language was an invisible bridge bringing together the cultures, Anglo culture rejected to admit the "other" culture in New Mexico which was Spanish.¹⁵⁴ The Spanish press exposed this reality; "Since 1902, the Neomexicano press had deluged its readers with weekly progress reports on the struggle for statehood and had endlessly repudiated spurious statements from eastern newspapers

¹⁵³ Meyer, *Speaking For Themselves*, p.158

¹⁵⁴ See Matt Meier, pp.100-102, Acuña, pp. 54, 55, 60-65, 74, 77, Martinez, *U.S. Mexico Borderlands*, pp. 58-65, Meyer, pp.111-127.

and congressmen alleging that New Mexico was unfit to be a state because of the size and nature of its Spanish speaking, Catholic population.”¹⁵⁵

As a defense against this negative stereotyping by Anglos, the New Mexican press sought to break this stereotyping through education. Articles were published to encourage the Spanish speaking Hispanic population to consider education as an important factor for the advancement of the Hispanic community as a whole. “A good education should be an equalizing factor leading to the full enjoyment of rights, a sense of ethnic accomplishment, and, eventually, to statehood and political autonomy for New Mexico.”¹⁵⁶ G. Morales’ poem, *Reflexión*, was published in *El Monitor*, and served this objective:

La educación busca presto
Ponla por mote en tu senda
Y veras cuan estupenda
Mostrara de manifiesta
Ser tuya la mejor prenda;
Haz tus hijos educar

[Seek out education quickly,
Make it the motto of your life
And you will see how marvelous
It will turn out to be
To have the best prize be yours;
Have your children educated

Y aca les veras triunfar
Del yugo del servilismo
Eso hace a todos los mismo
Y al tirano hace temblar.¹⁵⁷

And you will see them triumph
Over the yoke of servility
This makes everyone equal
And makes tyrants tremble.]

Education meant the path towards success and advancement in every phase of life for middle class and lower class Mexican-Americans in New Mexico. They believed that they could break the stereotyped image of Mexican-Americans through sending their children to school and letting them be educated, first class citizens who could speak not only the language of the ancestors but the language of the country they lived in. Susan Yohn argued, “Hispanics also responded to the larger economic and political changes by seeking out new educational opportunities. By the 1890s,

¹⁵⁵ Doris Meyer, *Speaking for Themselves*, p.197.

¹⁵⁶ Meyer, p.101.

¹⁵⁷ *El Monitor* of Taos, July 2, 1891, in Doris Meyer, *Speaking for Themselves*, p.101.

knowledge of English was a crucial factor in maintaining social status and legal rights, and was a necessity for upward social mobility.”¹⁵⁸

These statements show that besides political and ethnic reasons, Mexican Americans in New Mexico supported English language for economic reasons. “The changing economic milieu encouraged Hispanic parents to seek schooling for their children even when the only school in the area was run by a Presbyterian woman.”¹⁵⁹ Due to the affluent Anglo population in the territory, trade at the turn of the century was controlled by English speaking Anglo Americans. “The situation of Neomexicanos in the nineteenth century operated inversely. They were the dominant culture, in the majority of population, but Anglos were pouring into the territory and increasing in number everyday.”¹⁶⁰ Sarah Deutsch in her *No Separate Refuge* summarized the economic requirement of learning English:

Before the 1880s, because of their relatively small numbers, Anglos in the region had found it to their advantage to adopt Hispanic customs, language, and wives. Now their increasingly complete community in the West rendered superfluous earlier Anglo assimilation of Hispanic ways, and their increasing numbers enabled them to impose their desire for and attitude toward land and business more effectively on the local scene.¹⁶¹

Learning English language would enable the Spanish speaking people to make better trade pacts. The practical need to learn English was pointed out in *El Independiente*, in 1897:

No nos basta con saber el castellano aunque sea en todos respectos mas hermoso y mejor que el ingles, pues bajo tal pie, nuestro pueblo se encontrara siempre en una posición desventajosa y a merced de aventureros y caballeros de industria cuya única superioridad consiste en que hablan el idioma nacional... Mientras no nos asimilemos e identifiquemos en el asunto de idioma con los demas ciudadanos de esta republica, seremos

¹⁵⁸ Susan Yohn, “An Education in the Validity of Pluralism”, p. 346.

¹⁵⁹ Yohn, p. 347.

¹⁶⁰ Meyer, p.112.

¹⁶¹ Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940*. New York:Oxford University Press, 1987. p.19.

contemplados como extranjeros que no merecen ningún privilegio ni acatamiento en el ejercicio de nuestros derechos.¹⁶²

[It is not enough for us to know Spanish although in all respects it is more beautiful and better than English, but our people will always in a disadvantageous position and at the mercy of adventurers and gentlemen of trade whose only superiority consist in the national language spoken. As long as we don't become like or we don't identify ourselves with those citizens of this republic, we will be looked upon as strangers who deserve neither privilege nor respect in the exercise of our rights.]

Spanish speaking New Mexicans were aware of the fact that learning English would help them to manage better trade relations with Anglos. They were also aware of the fact that they were denied use of their rights as citizens because of the lack of their ability to use the English language. Beginning with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, they had certain rights to live in the territory and to conduct their own lifestyles, maintaining their own language and culture. But their rights were violated, in the simplest manner, and their land was taken, thus they came to see the English language as a protector of their rights. "Increasingly, Hispanics realized that they had to have some knowledge of English if they wished to retain their land and traditional livelihood."¹⁶³ If they knew English, they could defend themselves effectively in court or in society in general. Such facts influenced them to learn English and to support the teaching of English to their children by the turn of the century.

To learn English did not mean to be assimilated entirely into the Anglo culture; they did not have to lose their ethnic characteristics. The use of Spanish continued to be a main part of their life. They supported English as a second language which would empower them politically and economically. The article by Susan Yohn expressed the difficulties encountered by Anglo missionaries who tried to educate and assimilate Spanish speaking people in New Mexico in the late nineteenth century. Although the schools mentioned here were private missionary schools, the basic problem of language

¹⁶² Meyer, p.118.

¹⁶³ Susan Yohn, 346.

difficulties was the same as in the public schools of New Mexico. "Recognizing that Hispanics would not assimilate to the degree that they had originally hoped, missionaries arrived at an understanding of cultural pluralism which expressed an appreciation of social diversity but was tempered by their desire to find some common ground between different cultures."¹⁶⁴ Yohn has expressed how Hispanics' education in English did not necessarily mean their assimilation:

The classes were supposed to be conducted in English, but many missionaries found this was not practical. Instead they taught in both English and Spanish, dividing their days between two languages, or teaching in Spanish until individual students had learned English. Their goal was to make English the primary language, but through their teaching, many of them became familiar with a language that they had originally condemned as alien.¹⁶⁵

By the turn of the century, New Mexico Hispanics were using English education to both protect their identity and to gain power beyond "el campo". In conclusion, beginning from the 1890s, political and economic reasons influenced Mexican-Americans in New Mexico to support, or at least not oppose English language in their society and in the public schools. First of all, many New Mexicans believed that they were denied statehood because of the lack of the English language and the stereotyped image of Mexican-Americans who were unable to speak English and allegedly uneducated. In order to eliminate this stereotype, Mexican American families understood the importance of education, and sent their children to public schools to be educated. From the 1870s, there had been a gradual increase in the number of schools and students who attended those public schools. By the 1890s, these people also did not oppose the teaching of English in those schools.

In summary, Hispanic New Mexicans saw English language and education as a necessary tool to achieve political gains such as statehood, and economic and social

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.344.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 361.

welfare. Support for learning English along with Spanish continued until New Mexico was granted statehood in 1912. After that, new problems and arguments arose concerning the experiment of English and Spanish in public primary education. The last chapter will deal with the arguments against the English-only language which was mandated in the constitution of New Mexico in 1912.



CHAPTER 4: Education and Language in New Mexico, 1912-1920s

In this last chapter, the changes in the educational structure of New Mexico after statehood will be examined through 1920 with the help of early 20th century statistics, information on the curriculum of public schools, newspapers in the Adella Collier and L. Bradford Prince papers, and other secondary sources. The question to be answered is, what was the attitude of Mexican Americans towards English-language education between 1912 and 1920?

The main primary sources for this chapter are the Adella Collier papers and L. Bradford Prince papers. The owner of the first collection was Frederick Muller, the father of Adella Collier. He was a German businessman who came to the United States in 1878. He moved to Santa Fe in 1887 and became a member of the city board of education. In this collection, there is the curriculum of Santa Fe public schools for the years 1915-1916, including kindergartens, elementary schools, high schools and some school activities. Santa Fe was an important county in New Mexico. Therefore, a general view of schools in New Mexico in the early 20th century can be induced by its analysis. We can examine the effects of U.S. statehood on the educational system of New Mexico in this collection.

The L. Bradford Prince papers, meanwhile, contain various newspaper articles written in Spanish. Prince was the governor of New Mexico between 1889 and 1893. He became the president of the New Mexico Historical Society in 1923. The articles were written about the language and educational system in New Mexico from 1915 to the 1920s.

Table 4.1 Census of 1910

1910 CENSUS COUNTY	Total No. Illiterate		Number of Illiterate People btw ages 10-20	Number of Children btw Age 6-14 Attending Sch.	Total Population	Total White Population
	Males	Females				
BERNALILLO	1,114 (4337)*		482	3,488	23,606	22,083
CHAVES	172 (3340)		73	2,663	16,850	16,593
COLFAX	938 (2609)		231	2,189	16,460	16,108
DONA ANA	960 (2809)		555	1,732	12,893	12,817
GRANT	994 (2847)		378	2,113	14,813	14,534
LINCOLN	464 (1525)		184	1,069	7,822	7,781
MORA	447 (2709)		206	2,159	12,611	12,599
RIO ARRIBA	1,098 (3613)		664	2,585	16,624	15,252
SAN MIGUEL	1,191 (4682)		767	3,448	22,930	22,783
SANRA FE	734 (2920)		258	2,332	14,770	14,283
SOCORRO	901 (3056)		517	2,307	14,761	14,562
TAOS	712 (2524)		418	1,843	12,008	11,371
VALENCIA	1,230 (2827)		639	1,943	13,320	10,884
TOTAL:	16,634		9,514	48,535	327,321	304,594

*Numbers in parenthesis show the total population of men of voting age.

Source: *United States Historical Census Data Browser* <[74](http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/cgi-local/censusbin/census/cen.pl?>25.08.2003></p>
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Table 4.2 Census of 1920 for New Mexico

COUNTY	No Persons 7-13 Years of age		No Illiterate males 21 Years of age and over	Total Population	Total No.		Total No. Persons 7-13 Years of age
	Attending School				Males	Females	
BERNALILLO	4,387	1,107	29,855	15,139	14,716	4,672	
CHAVES	1,724	193	12,075	6,234	5,841	1,817	
COLFAX	3,104	510	21,55	11,621	9,929	3,431	
DONA ANA	2,480	1,274	16,548	8,487	8,061	2,856	
GRANT	2,874	755	21,939	11,852	10,087	3,960	
LINCOLN	1,186	296	7,823	4,271	3,552	1,299	
MORA	2,169	326	13,915	7,222	6,693	2,453	
RIO ARRIBA	2,620	1,111	19,532	10,225	9,327	3,396	
SAN MIGUEL	3,661	1,207	22,867	11,647	11,22	3,920	
SANRAFE	2,522	699	15,030	7,706	7,324	2,688	
SOCORRO	2,023	659	14,061	7,498	6,563	2,481	
TAOS	2,148	483	12,773	6,562	6,211	2,320	
VALENCIA	2,186	923	13,795	7,186	6,609	2,549	
TOTAL:	52,829	15,050	360,35	190,456	169,894	60,430	

Source: *United States Historical Census Data Browser* <<http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/cgi-local/censusbin/census/cen.pl>> 2.08.2003

4.1 Statistics on Population and Education of New Mexico: the 1910 and 1920 Censuses

According to the 1910 census¹⁶⁶, (Table 4.1), the total population of New Mexico was 327,321. The total number of children between ages 6 and 14 was 66,610. Within this group, 48,535 children, or 73%, attended school in New Mexico. Among the four southwestern states, New Mexico had the second largest proportion of children attending school. (Table 4.2) This data indicates that people in New Mexico in 1910s took the education of their children seriously. Also in the 1910 census, there is information about English illiteracy rates. The total number of illiterate men of voting age was 16,634, or 17% of the total number of men of voting age. This same percentage was 19% in Arizona, 5% in California, and 11% in Texas. Thus New Mexico had a relatively high percentage of illiterate men of voting age in 1910.

Table 4.3 U.S. PUBLIC PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, 1910

State	Total Population	Children Attending School	Percentage
Arizona	204,354	30,177	15%
California	2, 377,549	333,217	14%
New Mexico	327,301	54,961	17%
Texas	3, 876,542	791,244	20%

Source: David E.Lorey, *United States-Mexico Border Statistics since 1900*. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1990.

However, through examination of the 1920 census¹⁶⁷ (Table 4.2), we see factors implying a decrease in illiteracy rates for the following decades. The total population of New Mexico became 360,350 by 1920, a 10% percent increase in the previous decade. The total number of children between ages 7 and 13 was 60,430.

¹⁶⁶ <<http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/cgi-local/censusbin/census/cen.pl>>18.07.2003

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

Among these children, 52,829 children attended school in 1920. In other words, 87% of the children between ages 7 and 13 attended school in New Mexico, a 14% increase over the 1910 census. Noteworthy is the increase in this percentage even though the language of education was English.

The illiteracy rates also decreased by 1920. The total number of men age 21 and over was 102,522. Only 15,050 men, or 14%, were illiterate in this group, compared to 17% in the 1910 census. This fact implies that English language requirements in the educational system of New Mexico did not prevent the Hispanic people of the state from sending their children to school, believing that learning English would be beneficial for the adult population.

If we look at the statistics of southwestern states as a whole, we see that New Mexico was in second place after California in terms of educational proportions.¹⁶⁸ As I said before, 87% percent of the children between the ages 7 and 13 attended school in New Mexico according to the 1920 census. In California, the rate was 93% percent; in Texas, 83%; in Arizona, 78%. New Mexico had the second highest percentage of the school children between ages 7 and 13.

4.2 Curriculum, Language and Textbooks after 1912

A general view of schools in New Mexico in the early 20th century can be reached by induction after examining the curriculum of Santa Fe public schools. Santa Fe is the second largest city in New Mexico, and the state capital. The curriculum of Santa Fe public schools for the years 1915-1916 was a model for the state's the kindergartens, elementary schools, and high schools.

¹⁶⁸ See David E.Lorey, *United States-Mexico Border Statistics since 1900*. Los Angeles: UCLA Latin American Center Publications, 1990. pp. 19-27, 40, 207.

In the first page of the curriculum, there are remarks about the kindergarten department of the public schools in Santa Fe. As elsewhere in America, New Mexico saw the growth of kindergartens in the Progressive era.¹⁶⁹ Kindergarten was a good opportunity for children who could develop pre-school activities and ability to think at an early age. "It cultivates the disposition to assume right attitudes toward life and ability to work and play happily with one's fellows."¹⁷⁰

The basic branches taught in the first grade of elementary schools were arithmetic, English, language, nature study, industrial arts, fine arts, music, and physical training. All the branches were taught in English. Some of the books for English class were *Riverside Primer*, *The Beacon Primer*, *Child Classics Primer*, *Free and Treadwell Reading Literature Primer*, *The Wooster Primer*, *Brook's First Reader*, and *Around the World*. Except arithmetic, English and language classes, the others were aimed at vocational education. Children cultivated plants and made simple things for holidays and festivals in industrial arts and nature study classes.

In the second grade, history was added to the other branches taught in the first grade. In history classes, children were learning early life in Santa Fe, Indian life, the coming of the Spaniards, the coming of the English, the cliff dwellers, the Palace of Governors, and the Seven Cities of Cibola. There is no other detail about the content of the class and the textbooks which could help us to derive an argument about the attitude of educators toward Mexican-Americans. How they taught history is obscure in this source.

In the third grade, Wentworth-Smith's *Elementary Arithmetic* was used for arithmetic classes. Letter writing, written reproduction of short stories, dictation, writing of declarative, interrogative, imperative, and exclamatory sentences were among the

¹⁶⁹ Arthur S. Link and Richard McCormick, *Progressivism*. Illinois: Harlan Davidson Inc., 1983. p.90.

¹⁷⁰ Adella Collier Papers, The Curriculum of Santa Fe Public Schools. New Mexico State Records and Archives.

curriculum of third grade language classes. Children learned stories of the early Spanish explorers, the Fonda, the stage coach and the Santa Fe Trail, and the old church San Miguel. In this grade, another new branch was added to the curriculum: geography. It was an introductory class to the study of the world, the study of local weather conditions, and the idea of trade or exchange. Vocational education in the industrial arts classes continued with the study of brick making as an industry.

In the fourth grade, geography classes continued as home geography, food, clothing, shelter; land, water, and air; commerce and government. The textbook was Tarr and McMurry's *World Geographies*. In the history classes, students learned New Mexico history in the story of Coronado and the Franciscans; the Indian uprising of 1680; De Vargas; General Kearney; statehood; and some national characters; including Columbus, Washington, and Lincoln.

In the fifth grade, Mace's *Primary History* was used for the history classes. The content of the class was entirely Americanism; "Stories of heroism and lives of our greatest Americans and the part each had in the development of our country."¹⁷¹ Industrial arts class was divided into two for girls and boys in that grade. Girls were learning sewing and making button holes while boys were making cardboard construction and thin wood work.

In the last grade of Santa Fe elementary school, students were taught English grammar, arithmetic, English, language and composition, geography, history, science, household arts, industrial arts, fine arts, music, and physical training. In the history classes, they learned world history as a background for American history. The textbook was Niver's *Great Names and Nations*.

¹⁷¹ The Curriculum of Santa Fe Public Schools in Adella Collier Papers.

To understand the dimensions of language in New Mexico's educational system in the 20th century, we have to look at the curriculum of high schools also. The work in Santa Fe High School was divided into two periods, the junior high school and the senior high school. Junior high school resembled an advanced continuation of the elementary school. English was taught for five hours per week. Spanish was a foreign language course for two hours per week. In the senior high school, English was a mandatory course, whereas Spanish remained an elective course.

The curriculum of senior high schools was designed according to the interest of students who planned to go to college thus giving them a chance to specialize in certain subjects like biology, stenography, typewriting, physics, commercial law, and trigonometry. "A diploma from this High School admits to leading colleges without examination."¹⁷² The required credits for graduation were described below:

Of the total sixteen units required for graduation from the Senior High School, not less than twelve units should consist of English, Foreign Language, Mathematics, Social Sciences (Including History), Natural Sciences. The other four units are left as a margin to be used for additional academic work or for industrial arts, household arts, commercial work, and any other kind of work that the best interests of the student appear to require.¹⁷³

The branches taught in the junior high school in 7th and 8th grades were mathematics, English, history, science, geography, Spanish, household and industrial arts, fine arts, music, and physical training. The Spanish textbook used in the class was Cyr's *Libro Primero de Lectura, Espanol e Ingles* and Worman's Modern Language Series *First Spanish Book*. In the history classes, the students learned the subjects like the most important discoveries and explorers, settlements in United States; colonial development and growth of self-reliance; the French and Indian War; the Revolutionary War, with Mace's *School History of the United States* and Roberts&Twitchell's *History*

¹⁷² The Curriculum of Santa Fe Public Schools, p. 12.

¹⁷³ The Curriculum of Santa Fe Public Schools, p.14.

and Civics of New Mexico. Other more specialized history courses taught throughout the four years in senior high school were ancient history, modern history, English history, and American history. It is a significant point that, there is no evidence for the teaching of history on the Mexican period of the Southwest America in the Santa Fe Public School. Only the Spanish period and the American period were taught only.

In conclusion, there had been a change in the school system of New Mexico in the early 20th century in terms of the language of instruction. This change was primarily related to the issue of statehood. New Mexico was accepted as a state largely due to the increase in the English speaking population in the territory. The Spanish public schools in the 19th century which we see in the Clinton Anderson papers disappeared and English became the only language of instruction in the new century. What is more, there was an act in the constitution of the State of New Mexico which stated that the education in the public schools would always be executed in English.

After examining the changes in the educational system of New Mexico, especially in terms of language, we should look at the debate over English language education among New Mexicans. Although achieving statehood was an event awaited for a long time, the people of New Mexico began to question the disadvantages of being an official part of United States, especially, in terms of education and language. The newspaper articles in the L. Bradford Prince papers give useful information about the issue.

4.3 Spanish or English; Debate over Language of Instruction

Hispanic people in New Mexico opposed English only rules imposed after the 1911 state constitution. They argued for the necessity of the Spanish language in primary education especially. These arguments stressed two main necessities of learning

Spanish. The first one reflected a pedagogical view: the students who did not know the grammar of their native language could not learn the English language either. Moreover, their inadequacy in the English language prevented them from learning other branches such as mathematics, history, geography, and arithmetic. Thus they could not compete with other English speaking students in the school. Their backwardness caused by the English-only rule in school would also create a larger frame of backwardness for this group of Hispanic people in New Mexico.

The newspaper article written in 1914 and 1915 by Frank H. Roberts, “*Dos errores fundamentales en el sistema educacional de Nuevo Mexico*”¹⁷⁴, reflects the pedagogical point of view. Roberts argued for the necessity of Spanish education for the Mexican-American children in New Mexico. The main argument in the newspaper article was that Spanish speaking children could not learn in the English speaking public schools thus education should be bilingual.

Roberts criticized the standardized education which attempted to teach every pupil in the same way. He argued that education in New Mexico was designed and good for the English speaking children but not for Spanish speaking children who could not understand one word in English. His suggestions about the division of school districts according to language seem quite a practical solution for the Mexican children who were not able to achieve the level of English speaking pupils in the school.

Me parece a mi que nosotros no damos indicios de estar poseídos de mejor juicio pedagógico cuando decimos que un libro de texto que sea particularmente adaptable a las escuelas del Valle de Pecos, pueda ser, por lo tanto, adaptables a las necesidades de todas las escuelas del Estado. Pensando del mismo modo, ya hemos dicho que las escuelas de Nuevo Mexico, sin miramiento racial u otro, deben enseñar a todos los alumnos del mismo modo y durante igual periodo de tiempo. El estado debería de ser dividido en lo menos tres distritos. En un distrito yo pondría todas aquellas escuelas donde el ingles es el único idioma de los niños. En otro distrito yo pondría a aquellos niños cuya única lengua al entrar a la escuela es el

¹⁷⁴ Frank H. Roberts, “The Fundamental Errors in the Educational System of New Mexico”, in L. Bradford Prince Papers.

español. El tercer distrito podría formarse de aquellas donde ambos el inglés y el español es el idioma del hogar.¹⁷⁵

[It seems to me that we do not demonstrate a better idea of pedagogy, when we say that a textbook which was particularly adaptable to the schools in Pecos Valley, can be also adaptable to the necessities of all the schools in the State. Considering in the same way, we have said that the schools in New Mexico must teach all the children in the same way and during an equal time period, without looking at race or other things. The State should be divided, at least, into three districts. In one district, I would place all those schools in which English is the language of the children. In another district, I would place those children whose only language to enter to the school is Spanish. In the third district, I would establish schools in which Spanish and English is the language of the place].

However there was an act in the constitution of New Mexico saying the English language was and would be the only language taught in the public schools. "...se hará provisión para el establecimiento y sostenimiento de un sistema de escuelas publicas.... Y que dichas escuelas publicas serán siempre conducidas en ingles." The quotation means that the said public schools would always be executed in English. In the quotation below Roberts gave examples of oppression in the history of conquest. In the context of World War I, he compared the language policy of the United States with those of the Kaiser of Germany and the Czar of Russia.

Aunque el estado fue una bendición para Nuevo Mexico, me parece a mí, sin embargo, que el precio pagado es demasiado. Cuando el Káiser de Alemania forzó el uso de la lengua alemana sobre Alsacia Lorena y el Czar de todas las Rusias ordenó que el Polones y el Finlandes olviden sus lenguas maternas y que aprendan a leer la lengua de conquistador, todos nos unimos para expresar nuestra indignación en términos que no podían ser equívocos. Y sin embargo, teniendo nosotros un problema de bilinguismo con que contender, lo arreglamos sobre la base, que la lengua de la mayoría debe desalojar a la lengua de la minoría. Después de todo. Es el español la lengua de los pocos, si tomamos en consideración nuestras posesiones americanas?

Although statehood was a benediction for New Mexico, it seems to me, however, that the price paid was too much. When the German Kaiser forced the use of German language and all the Russian Czars ordered Poles and Finns to forget their native language and begin to read the language of the conqueror, we all united to express our indignation. However, having the

¹⁷⁵ L. Bradford Prince Papers, New Mexico State Records and Archives.

problem of bilingualism to compete with, we arrange it on the basis that the language of the majority must dislodge the language of the minority. After all this. Is Spanish the language of the few people, if we take consideration of our American possessions?

Roberts saw statehood as an advantage of New Mexico but he was against the restrictive system of education which forced the use of English language although more people spoke Spanish in New Mexico than the people who spoke English. In explaining the difficulties encountered by Spanish speaking children in the public schools, he accused the teachers who did not treat the pupils equally. "Para enseñar un niño de habla inglesa siempre se hace uso de las palabras que se conocen en el hogar."¹⁷⁶ But towards the Spanish speaking children, teachers were not so kind or tolerant. "Cuando un niño de habla Española entra a la escuela, el maestro hablándole en una 'jerga' desconocida, y sin poder saber lo que sabe el niño, se propone enseñarle a leer, prosiguiendo de lo desconocido a lo desconocido por el camino de lo desconocido."¹⁷⁷

Roberts concluded his arguments with a quotation from the commissioner of education; "... aquellos alumnos que no se instruyen originalmente en su propia lengua nunca llegan a saber correctamente ni el ingles ni la lengua propia"; which meant the children who were not instructed in their native language firstly, could learn neither English nor their native language correctly.

In contrast with Roberts' arguments about the necessity of bilingual education, his contemporary, Filadelfo Baca supported Spanish language instead of English or bilingual education in New Mexico. He stated that bilingual education could cause rapid assimilation; "Yo creo sinceramente que en aquellas secciones de Nuevo México adonde los niños Hispanos Americanos son la mayoría, pueden mas pronto americanizarse en el verdadero sentido de la palabra, hacienda uso del sistema de los

¹⁷⁶ To teach an English speaking child, the words known in the home are always used.

¹⁷⁷ When a Spanish speaking child enters a school, the teacher talks to him in an unknown, professional language, and without knowing what the child knows, intends to teach him to read, continuing the ignorance of the ignorant.

dos idiomas en las escuelas.”¹⁷⁸ [I sincerely believe that, in the sections of New Mexico where the Hispanic Americans were the majority, they can be americanized more quickly, in the true sense of the word, with the usage of bilingual system in the schools].

These newspaper articles indicate the growing suspicions in New Mexico about the effects of being a state in the Union. Their right to use the Spanish language in their public schools was banned to a certain degree by the state constitution. But the Spanish language was an integral part of their New Mexican culture and they did not want to lose this part of their culture although they were American citizens. Banning the Spanish language would cause the loss of ethnic identity among Mexican-origin students. Edward Sapir commented on the importance of language: “In between the recognized dialect or language as a whole and the individualized speech of a given individual lies a kind of linguistic unit which is not often discussed by the linguist but which is of the greatest importance to social psychology.”¹⁷⁹ The Spanish language was a significant tie among the people who spoke it, thus, keeping them bound together to their cultural and ethnic values, in other terms preventing them from being assimilated into Anglo culture.

While the newspapers and scholars in New Mexico insisted on teaching Spanish along with English in public schools after 1912, the people of New Mexico and the Spanish speaking students in the public primary schools had already opposed the obligation of speaking English in classrooms. Adelina Otero Warren, the county superintendent of schools at Santa Fe, explained the situation in her class in *The Spell of New Mexico*. She criticized the invasion of statehood requirements in the education of New Mexico. “I might add, in passing, that we cannot permit the children to speak Spanish in the classroom, and the teachers are instructed to keep the children from

¹⁷⁸ Filadelfa Baca, “Ensenanza Espanol en las Escuelas”, in L. Bradford Prince Papers, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives.

¹⁷⁹ Edward Sapir, “Language”, quoted in Meyer, *Speaking for Themselves*, p.111.

conversing in it on the playground, thereby conforming to the national system of education!”¹⁸⁰ As a gesture of rebellion, the children in the classroom were sometimes permitted to sing a national song in Spanish by Mrs. Warren. “También yo estoy en la región perdido/ O, Cielo santo, y sin poder volar.”¹⁸¹

According to Adelina Otero Warren, education meant the protection of culture as well as learning new things. “What, then, is to be the trend of education in New Mexico? Is it not a question of our gradual merging, of our assimilation, into this great nation, but at the same time of conserving our distinctive contribution through the preservation of the customs, traditions, the arts and crafts of the Spanish Southwest?”¹⁸²

Especially in the first grades, Spanish was being used by the teacher and the students. Even in later grades, mostly in northern New Mexico schools, they continued to use Spanish when they could not remember the English word. John Burma argued that this system should not be condemned. He stated that the English-only system was “somewhat analogous to throwing a child into the water to teach him to swim; he may learn to stay afloat but he will not become a finished swimmer.”¹⁸³ An article in *El Independiente* argued that the rights of Spanish speaking people were being “Pisoteados y hollados bajo las plantas de la injusticia y opresión con el hecho de verse prohibida la enseñanza de su idioma en las escuelas publicas.”¹⁸⁴ [stepped on and trampled under the feet of injustice and oppression by prohibiting the teaching of their language in the public schools].

The rule, “Education in New Mexico public schools will be executed in English” was put in the state constitution in order to fulfill the obligation set by the U.S.

¹⁸⁰ Adelina Otero Warren, “The Spell of New Mexico”, quoted in Wayne Moquin, *A Documentary History of the Mexican Americans*. New York: Praeger, 1971. p.285.

¹⁸¹ “I am also in this region lost/ O, Blessed Heaven, and unable to fly”.

¹⁸² Warren, p.288.

¹⁸³ John H. Burma. “The Present Status of the Spanish-Americans of New Mexico”, *Social Forces*, Volume 28, Issue 2 (December, 1949). p.135.

¹⁸⁴ *El Independiente*, February 20, 1908 (“Legislación racional sobre escuelas”), in Doris Meyer, *Speaking for Themselves*. p.123.

Congress. However, the state constitution also had other articles which were designed to protect and, in a way, provide for the continuity of the Spanish language, as was discussed in Chapter One. In this way, New Mexico was not unique among southwestern states which struggled over “English only” rules despite New Mexico having unique constitutional protections.

As was seen in the statistics and other data, the education of New Mexico began to be executed entirely in English. However, this change in the language of education did not prevent Mexican Americans from sending their children to school. The Hispanic population seemed reasonably disposed to, if not enthusiastic about, learning English along with Spanish. The important point is, they opposed the rules which banned the usage of Spanish in schools. They did not oppose learning English but they wished to learn this language along with their national language which was Spanish.

In the period of early New Mexico statehood, Spanish speaking New Mexicans had to defend their constitutional rights and their language. They supported the Spanish language for different reasons. First of all, they were proud of their ethnic background. To forbid the Spanish language meant to undermine their ethnic identity. Second, from the pedagogical point of view, they believed that their children could not learn in English-only speaking classrooms. A Spanish speaking student who did not know a word in English would likely fall behind in his educational life. They believed Spanish should be taught in the public schools of New Mexico along with English in order to provide a better education for Spanish speaking students.

This tendency confirmed their empowerment in every part of life in New Mexico by the first part of the 20th century. English language obligations, in a way, provided an ethnic unity among the Spanish speaking population of New Mexico. English language requirements did not cause their assimilation; on the contrary, they

used this language and Anglo education to prevent their rights from further violation. Through opposing English only rule and supporting Spanish language in education after 1912, they signaled their situation at a delicate balance between assimilation and cultural pluralism by the first part of the 20th century.



CONCLUSION

This thesis tried to answer the question how education helped to create an empowerment among the Hispanic population of New Mexico from the U.S.-Mexican War until 1920. The answer was explained through their support for public education and the Spanish language, and also their support for the English language as a way of empowering themselves politically and economically through learning the language of the country they lived in.

First, border issues, Manifest Destiny in American history, and the affects of Progressivism in New Mexico education provide a context for the issues discussed in this thesis. The ideology of the U.S. annexation of New Mexico was a part of the Manifest Destiny. After 1846, Hispanic people in New Mexico were tried to be Americanized. Indeed, the general characteristic of 19th century education was an Americanization ideology especially after the 1890s when progressives introduced the idea of standardized public education in order to provide homogeneity in society. It is noteworthy that New Mexico adopted a public education system in the early period of its development.

New Mexico's Hispanic population was unique among other Hispanics in the southwestern states for several reasons; first of all, they identified themselves with the Spanish rather than Mexican period of the region they lived. They had been living in New Mexico long before the Mexican revolution, and thus, they called themselves as New Mexicans rather than Mexican. Second, due to geographical and economic factors, New Mexico attracted fewer Mexican immigrants than California, Texas, and Arizona. Consequently Hispanics in New Mexico remained relatively unaffected by new attitudes and habits of immigrants who were eager to learn English and wished to be assimilated

into mainstream America for economic reasons, especially in California and Texas. Richard Rodriguez symbolized the tension Hispanics in New Mexico felt when they were deciding whether to participate in organized education, putting themselves at risk of Anglo assimilation. To be clear, however, Rodriguez contrasted with the majority of Hispanic New Mexicans who rejected assimilation by the means of Anglo education and language. Third, Hispanics in New Mexico were able to protect their rights and culture including their native language in contrast with other southwestern states because they were able to maintain their share in local and territorial politics. Lastly, unlike other southwestern states, New Mexicans empowered themselves at the very beginning of their annexation by the U.S. through protective provisions in their state constitution about education and language rights of the Hispanic population. Thus, in New Mexico, there arose fewer legal or political challenges than in California, Texas, and Arizona, where the Hispanic population had to seek court action to protect their educational rights which were not included in their state constitutions.

The importance and meaning of education for the Hispanic population of New Mexico was also discussed in this thesis. Though the reasons differed, the support for public education was a common decision among them after the 1870s. Some New Mexicans supported public education for non-sectarian training of their children, some thought education was the most likely road towards economic success, and some foresaw an educated future generation who would be able to break the stereotyped image of Hispanics in the eyes of Anglo Americans and thus be able to empower the members of the ethnic minority politically.

The attitude of Hispanics in New Mexico towards public education and language changed in the course of history due to political and economic reasons. After the 1870s, they began to realize the importance of education for their children and supported public

education in Spanish. At this period of New Mexico history, the majority of population was Spanish speaking, so the language of education was Spanish. While U.S. officials in the territory tried to impose English in the public schools, the Hispanic population could continue to enjoy their rights to use Spanish in education because there was not a restrictive rule banning the use of the Spanish language. The attitude towards English language began to change after the 1890s, and a new attitude emerged among Hispanics in New Mexico. They supported English in education because of their desire to be admitted in to the Union. Aware of the fact that New Mexico had been denied statehood for more than a half century, largely because the majority of population was Spanish speaking, they supported English in education because of their desire to be admitted in to the Union. A second factor behind the support of English was the desire for economic advancement. They supported English language in education because they believed that being able to speak English could enable them to establish better trade relations with Anglo American merchants in the territory. Due to these two main reasons, Hispanics in New Mexico supported the teaching of English language in public schools. Thus their assimilation into Anglo culture was voluntary and calculated. They did not mean to forget their national language while they supported the teaching of English in public schools. They supported English alongside with Spanish.

The period after 1912 witnessed the discontent of Hispanic New Mexicans even though their desire for admission into the Union was realized. The mandatory provision in the state constitution which said the education would be executed only in English caused them to have suspicions about the outcomes of being a state. Thus, the Spanish newspapers of New Mexico started a campaign against English language education in the public primary schools. Their arguments were based on both pedagogical and ethnic points of view. First, the banning of Spanish would cause the Spanish speaking students

to stay behind in the classroom. Second, their inability to understand English version of the lessons taught would cause them to seem unintelligent, and this portrayal would be applied to the whole Hispanic population. Moreover, for a population, who were proud of their ethnic origin, language, and culture, it was impossible to admit the superiority of English language, which they opposed.

In conclusion, the Hispanic population of New Mexico used education and language as a way of empowering themselves politically and economically. The education they used to empower themselves was brought to them by Anglo Americans. In other words, they were relatively unaware of the necessity and importance of education before the annexation of the territory by the United States. However, they would later use an Anglo way of education against Anglo American prejudice and injustice. The method of empowering themselves did not include a unified, actual protesting and campaigning as would develop in the Chicano movement in the second half of the twentieth century. However, Hispanic people's struggle for education in the 19th and 20th century New Mexico is no less remarkable as one of the first examples of educational empowerment and agency among the minority groups in the United States.

Appendix A: Bernalillo County School Report, 1873

School Report for the County of Bernalillo		for the year ending	
Produce, Name and Number,			
Bernalillo	1	122	2,550
Cerrada	2	53	1,050
Alamogordo	3	48	960
Mancha	4	60	1,200
Parmita	5	135	2,700
Padra	6	161	3,220
San Felipe	7	138	2,760
San Antonio	8	140	2,800
Alamo	9	151	3,020
Abilene	10	201	4,020
El Rancho	11	135	2,700
El Encanto	12	128	2,560
El Encanto	13	140	2,800
El Encanto	14	120	2,400
			7,580

(Average of 1872 and 1873)
 in this month taught 513
 1/2380 (2714)
 1/2380

REMARKS.

Under this head, give the points noted in the paper relative with the school.

DISCUSSIONS.

Give cases, incidents, subjects, facilities, studies, as they come to the attention of the school.

1. Com. Board of Bernalillo
 2. Bernalillo
 3. Bernalillo
 4. Bernalillo
 5. Bernalillo
 6. Bernalillo
 7. Bernalillo
 8. Bernalillo
 9. Bernalillo
 10. Bernalillo
 11. Bernalillo
 12. Bernalillo
 13. Bernalillo
 14. Bernalillo

(Signed)

Appendix B: San Miguel County School Report, 1873

School Report for the County of San Miguel

Product, Name and Number	REMARKS	OBSERVATIONS
1. <i>Proserpinaca</i>		
2. <i>...</i>		
3. <i>...</i>		
4. <i>...</i>		
5. <i>...</i>		
6. <i>...</i>		
7. <i>...</i>		
8. <i>...</i>		
9. <i>...</i>		
10. <i>...</i>		
11. <i>...</i>		
12. <i>...</i>		
13. <i>...</i>		
14. <i>...</i>		
15. <i>...</i>		
16. <i>...</i>		
17. <i>...</i>		
18. <i>...</i>		
19. <i>...</i>		
20. <i>...</i>		
21. <i>...</i>		
22. <i>...</i>		

Lozano Super

Appendix C: Socorro County School Report, 1873

School Report for the County of Socorro for the year ending Dec. 31 1873

Precincts, Name and Number.	Number of Teachers.		Number of Pupils.		REMARKS.
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
1. Precinct of Socorro	1	1	100	100	
2. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
3. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
4. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
5. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
6. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
7. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
8. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
9. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
10. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
11. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
12. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
13. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
14. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
15. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
16. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
17. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
18. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
19. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
20. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
21. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
22. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
23. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
24. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
25. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
26. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
27. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
28. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
29. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
30. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
31. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
32. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
33. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
34. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
35. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
36. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
37. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
38. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
39. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
40. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
41. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
42. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
43. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
44. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
45. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
46. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
47. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
48. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
49. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
50. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
51. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
52. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
53. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
54. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
55. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
56. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
57. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
58. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
59. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
60. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
61. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
62. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
63. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
64. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
65. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
66. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
67. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
68. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
69. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
70. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
71. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
72. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
73. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
74. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
75. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
76. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
77. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
78. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
79. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
80. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
81. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
82. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
83. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
84. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
85. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
86. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
87. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
88. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
89. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
90. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
91. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
92. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
93. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
94. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
95. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
96. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
97. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
98. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
99. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	
100. Precinct of ...	1	1	100	100	

Antonio Moya

Appendix D: New Mexico Counties School Report, 1873

School Report for the County of New Mexico for the year ending January 1st 1874

NAME OF COUNTY	SCHOOL HOUSES	SCHOOL HOUSES						SCHOOLS	TEACHERS	PUPILS	REMARKS
		1872	1871	1870	1869	1868	1867				
<u>Alameda</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	
<u>Bernalillo</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	
<u>Colfax</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	
<u>Doña Ana</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	
<u>Grant</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	
<u>Huerfano</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	
<u>Lincoln</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	
<u>Mora</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	
<u>Que Pasa</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	
<u>Santa Fe</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	
<u>Santa Rosa</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	
<u>Texas</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	
<u>Tularosa</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	
<u>Union</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	
<u>Valencia</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	
<u>Yuma</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	
<u>Public Schools</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>26</u>	
<u>Public Schools</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	
<u>Total</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	

(Signed) _____



Department of the Interior,
BUREAU OF EDUCATION.

Washington, D. C., Oct. 1st, 1873.

Dear Sir,

Desiring to give in this Bureau Report for '73 the information we can glean respecting schools in New Mexico, I should be much indebted to you if you would inform us whether there is yet any school law in the Territory and any schools established under it, or school houses built. If not, can you tell us whether there are schools conducted by individuals or under the auspices of any religious body for the instruction of the children in the Territory or of the Indians within its limits?

Very respectfully

Your obedient servant
Chat Warren

Acting Commissioner of Education

Hon. H. G. Pickett

Secretary of the Territory

Santa Fe

New Mexico

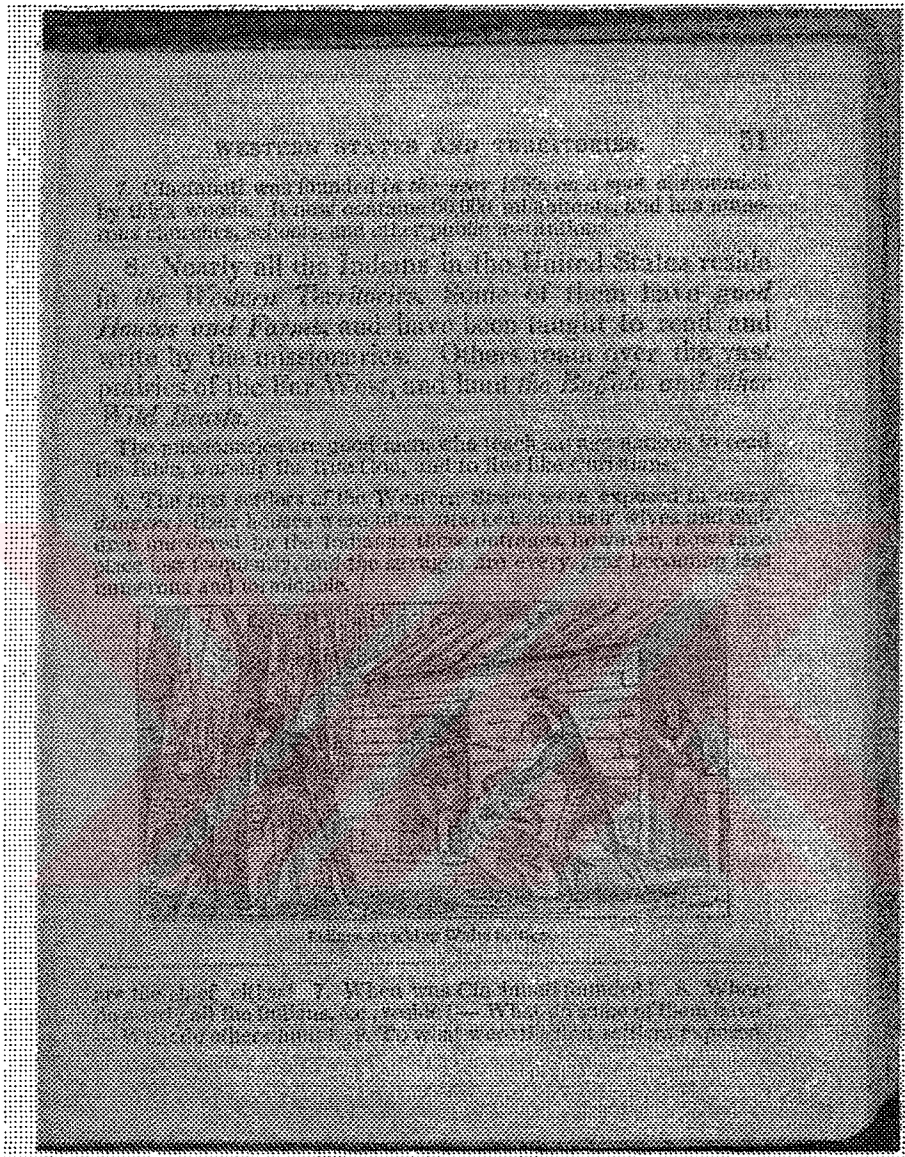
Appendix F: A Letter to William Ritch, 1877

~~When the same is put forward in any form for discussion, it is~~
~~not only a violation of the rights of the majority, but it is~~
~~also a violation of the rights of the minority, and it is~~
~~therefore a violation of the rights of the people.~~
 of a party played and played the role of a party, and
 certain families & individuals, according to the number
 of certain families & individuals, would be entitled to a
 certain number of seats, but when rendered in the
 hands of a few, the largest piece of property is
 divided among many, and the power is in the hands of
 the few.

the non-Catholic taxpayer shall be rep-
 resented in the school-room in accordance
 with the right & belief of the Catholic tax-
 payer, and that the participation of the rights and duties of
 the non-Catholic taxpayer in the school-room shall be
 in any event, wholly separated from the
 and parochial schools. It is worth
 noting that the fact that not less than
 half of the population of New Mexico are non-
 Catholics, notwithstanding the overwhelming
 ascendancy of the former, ^{numerically.}

It is to be hoped, that if possible, anticipat-
 ing the future, the members of Congress, by a vote of the people,
 school districts can be organized, and
 power to levy & collect ^{additional} taxes for school pur-
 poses, and the local board have control and
 certain general rules. With this addition
 authority in the school law, good schools
 could be established ~~throughout~~ in all im-
 portant centers of population & appear
 in all American neighborhoods & be
 the model to speak, whereby our
 American population could learn from

Appendix G: A Page from a 19th century textbook



Appendix H: The Letter of Pedro Sanchez, 1876

University of New Mexico
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Peñas Negras

Jan. 7/76

June 3rd 1876

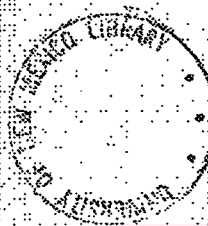
Hon W. G. Retch

Santa Fe N.M.

My Dear Sir,

Be pleased to find here
with enclosed the list of persons
you asked of me from this county
who are in my opinion in favor
of free schools.

I have received your third
report on Education in New Mexico,
and on a careful Examination of
the same I find therein two mistakes,
which, if not through the want
of the author of a true knowledge of
the honor and services of the natives
of New Mexico, would be an injus-
tice or a disgrace in not acknow-
ledging the brilliant acts of the sons
of this country.



Manifiesto Anual del Consejo de
Cuentas del Condado de Ponce, que
siempre desde el día 15 de Noviembre hasta
el día de Agosto.

En conformidad con los preceptos de la Ley
Territorial de Cuentas, El Jefe de Ponce como
Presidente, y los demás comisionados, reunidos
en Consejo, por el dicho Condado, tienen el honor
de reportar en este manifiesto, el estado de las
Cuentas, los recursos, y los fondos colectados
para los fines, y hechos en ellos.

El Consejo de cuentas informó al respecto
consultar sobre su organización, en el día 10 de
Noviembre de 1874, cuando se determinó el orga-
nismo de la oficina de cuentas, que existía, anterior-
mente; demandó al tiempo que el dinero de
los fondos de cuentas fuera depositado en
la Tesorería, y se pagara por Cuentas para
hacer una buena distribución. La organización
del Consejo fue hecha completamente el día 11
de Noviembre de 1874, y se adoptaron medidas
para tener información sobre la cantidad
de dinero recaudado por el Condado.

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