

EDUCATED ARGUMENTS: SCHOOLING AND CITIZENSHIP IN TURN-OF-THE-
CENTURY TUCSON, ARIZONA

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	6
INTRODUCTION Educated Arguments: Schooling and Citizenship in Turn-of-the-Century Tucson	8
CHAPTER ONE “The Pride of Tucson:” Saint Joseph’s Academy for Young Ladies	36
CHAPTER TWO “May the Two Republics Go On Hand in Hand:” Tucson’s Public School	71
CHAPTER THREE “The Spectacle of a Farmer Bending Over a Washtub:” Tucson Indian Industrial School	100
CHAPTER FOUR “They May Segregate Pupils of the African from Pupils of the White Races:” Paul Laurence Dunbar School	130
CHAPTER FIVE “Class Prophecy:” Mary J. Platt Industrial School for Mexican Girls	162
CONCLUSION	185
WORK CITED	197

ABSTRACT

American founding documents did not include explicit definitions of citizenship, which left many people living in the boundaries of the United States with an uncertain relationship to the status of citizen. The result has been an ongoing cultural debate about the rights and responsibilities attending American citizenship. Many of these debates are very local, as neighbors met with neighbors and defined for themselves who they felt was best suited for full American national belonging. This dissertation examines some of those local debates in the context of new school development in the small, desert town of Tucson, Arizona, between 1870 and the late 1920s. Arizona officials were actively in pursuit of statehood during most of this period; bring citizenship to the forefront of public discussion. New schools were one vital resource in the efforts to “civilize” Arizona to meet national expectations. It was in the fundraising and organizing of these new schools that Arizonans often voiced their expectations about who could and should be a fully active American citizen. These very passionate educational debates in turn-of-the-century Tucson provide a window into the local processes of cultural definition and redefinition of American citizenship that were enacted in small towns and neighborhoods throughout the nation.

The first section of the dissertation introduces and defines the idea of cultural citizenship that must be constructed in the process of building legal and political definitions of citizenship. This introduction places the local story of Tucson, Arizona, into the larger context of cultural citizenship and theorization about multi-cultural America. Chapter one traces the history of the first Tucson school project, Saint Joseph’s Academy for Young Ladies, and its relatively compatible uses for the “civilizing” of both the Mexican frontier north and the American frontier west. This chapter’s argument is that Saint Joseph’s Academy became a primary gendered tool for the definition of a Mexican-American communally-defined citizenship in vigorous counterpoint to the Anglo-American individualistic understanding of citizenship. Chapter two uncovers the explosion of Catholic-Protestant animosity that occurs between supporters of new Tucson publically-funded schools and defenders of the Catholic parochial schools. Out of this animosity, however, arose local visualizations of an American patriotism strengthened by multiple religions and nationalities. Chapter three addresses the Americanization plans of the Presbyterian organizers of the Tucson Indian Industrial Training School and the steady, but quiet, determination of Tohono and Akimel O’odham Indian students to construct their own

Native-American citizenship. Returning to the Tucson public schools, chapter four investigates how state-mandated African-American school segregation provided a small space for Tucson's African-American teachers to impart a sense of racial pride to their students, but also enforced a distinctly marginal citizenship, against which African-American students continued to struggle. The final chapter considers the conflicts between popular culture and religious education in the aspirations of eighth graders graduating from the Methodist-Episcopalian Mary J. Platt School for Poor Mexican Girls and the possibility for Hollywood to expand possibilities for multi-cultured citizenship.

All of these case studies of new school projects show how ordinary people grappled with the cultural definition of what it meant to be an American citizen. Assumptions about the characteristics of the gender, race, class, and religion of the ideal American citizen may have led the writers of the U.S. Constitution to leave citizenship undelineated, but the language of equality and liberty in the Bill of Rights has been embraced by generations of Americans to define the ideal American in their own hyphenated image: Mexican-American, Native-American, African-American; leaving Anglo-American as one possibility among many.

“Education is always, everywhere, and inevitably political. It cannot be otherwise, for no form of education can be conceived that does not carry within it an intended outcome; that outcome will inevitably spring from one or another vision of human possibility and will intend to have an influence on its recipients’ future and thus on the distribution of justice, goods, and resources. Since politics is ultimately about the distribution of justice, goods, and resources, education is political.”¹

INTRODUCTION

In an October, 1915, speech to the New York Chapter of the Knights of Columbus, Theodore Roosevelt claimed that: “There is no place here for the hyphenated American, and the sooner he returns to the country of his allegiance the better.”² At the time, Roosevelt was petitioning President Woodrow Wilson to allow him to raise a volunteer infantry division to join the European war and alternately denouncing Wilson’s non-interventionist stance. The Great War generated a groundswell of support for the “100% American” movement—the idea that immigrants should abandon all former cultural and political allegiances upon their arrival in America and adopt wholeheartedly an “American way of life,” which for Anglo-Americans, such as Roosevelt, generally implied an Anglo-Saxon Protestant way of life. President Woodrow Wilson also made use of the 100% American fervor during his campaign for the League of Nations, when he said: “any man who carries a hyphen about with him carries a dagger that he is ready to plunge into the vitals of this Republic whenever he gets ready.”³ Nativists considered hyphenated Americans, such as Irish-Americans or German-Americans, to be only half

¹ Ronald Butchart, *Schooling the Freed People: Teaching, Learning, and the Struggle for Black Freedom, 1861-1876* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010): xix.

² “Roosevelt Bars The Hyphenated,” *The New York Times*, October 13, 1915.

³ “Explains Our Voting Power in the League,” *The New York Times*, September 27, 1919.

committed to their new home and therefore potentially prone to disloyalty and subversion. The hyphen was symbolic of that potential for divided allegiance.⁴

Some Americans, though, had less choice in the matter of whether or not to exist in a hyphenated state. As Harvard philosopher Horace Kallen remarked: “In the case of the negro, the hyphenation is insisted on.”⁵ For those Americans, marked by skin color as unassimilable, hyphenated Americanism held a qualified promise. In fact, the hyphen occasionally presented the most dignified and honorable possibility for American citizenship. On a trip to Arizona in 1911, Booker T. Washington wryly noted that: “Ordinarily a Mexican is known along the border as a ‘cholo’ or a greaser. But as soon as he becomes desirable as a voter he receives another name; he is called then a Spanish-American, just as the Negro, wherever he is a voter, is likely to be referred to as an Afro-American.”⁶ So for the “Afro-American” and the “Spanish-American” the hyphen was a marker of the possibility of alienated loyalties and, at the same time, a way of dignifying their special status when they were to be included in the polity.

The hyphen and the practice of modifying American citizenship with a racial, ethnic, or national marker are examples of the fraught terrain of “cultural citizenship.” While the academic use of this term dates to the 1980s, it is a practice with a long history. In this dissertation, cultural citizenship refers to all of those social and cultural factors that shape the relationship between an individual and the nation. In the new United States, the Constitution originally did not define citizenship, but it did differentiate between citizens and voters or electors. At this early point in the nation’s history, citizenship and voting were not considered synonymous. The vote was

⁴ Edmund Morris, *Theodore Rex* (New York: Random House, 2001).

⁵ Horace Kallen, “The Meaning of Americanism,” *The Immigrants in America Review* (January 1916): 12-19.

⁶ Booker T. Washington, “The Race Problem in Arizona,” *The Independent: A Weekly Magazine*, Vol. 71 No. 3282 (October 26, 1911).

available only to property-owning, white men into the early nineteenth century, but as universal white male suffrage laws were passed in state after state in the first decades of the nineteenth-century, the vote became more and more aligned in the minds of many Americans with the idea of citizenship. With the passage of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, in 1868 and 1870, that link between the vote and citizenship became even more closely intertwined, as citizens became defined as “all persons born or naturalized in the United States” and it was stipulated that “the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied.”⁷ And yet the vote was denied to many Americans. They were “citizens” without the rights associated with citizenship. Cultural theorists Stuart Hall and David Held have written that: “From the ancient world to the present day, citizenship has entailed a discussion of, and a struggle over, the meaning and scope of membership of the community in which one lives.”⁸ Generations of Americans have struggled to attain the rights which have come to be linked to full citizenship. These discussions, and the struggles that result, are what I consider to be the heart of the cultural contestation of American citizenship, and thus, in a historical context they make up an ever-evolving definition of “cultural citizenship:” the social conditions in which legal definitions of citizenship are envisioned and approved by American voters, lawmakers, and courts. In other words cultural citizenship names the collective cultural practices that allow Americans more or less access to the rights and obligations of full citizenship. The dynamics of religion, ethnicity, race, and gender all connect through the political designation of citizen, making citizenship the pivotal link between social categorization and politics.

⁷ U.S. Const. amend. XIV, § 1; U.S. Const. amend. XV, § 1.

⁸ Stuart Hall and David Held, “Citizens and Citizenship,” in *New Times: The Changing Face of Politics in the 1990s* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1989): 173-188, 175.

This dissertation uses the development of new schools in the small border town of Tucson, Arizona, as case studies to observe the social production of cultural citizenship for various local groups. Turn-of-the-century Arizona, because of its location, its particular diversity, and especially because of the ongoing struggle to attain statehood, is a space that vividly illustrates the great power of the cultural construction of American citizenship. The promises of citizenship were potent—even at the far reaches of the United States. These promises become the subject of many public discussions, but most emotionally in the context of children and schools. Discourses about which children should be included or excluded from educational projects—public or private—reflect assumptions about how children will fit into the civic and political future as adults: their citizenship. Comparing discourses about various educational projects reveals how Americans—in all of their diversity—held a wide variety of ideas about how one might become an American citizen. In Tucson, between the 1870s and the late 1920s, civic boosters often saw preparing students for local, state, and national citizenship as a central reason for the development of new schools. The rationale of creating better citizens was almost always paired in some way with two other motivations for new school creation: producing better workers and improving morality. The ways that these educational justifications were weighted for one population of students versus other populations exposes presumptions about the future roles of each group of children in Arizona society. Public discussions about these types of educational rationales drove new school development in many parts of the United States at the turn of the century, but, because Arizona was repeatedly lobbying for new statehood during this period, eligibilities for citizenship were more frequently part of public discussions and so become more visible historically.

New school developers in Tucson almost always promoted a unifying vision of American citizenship, which was based on assimilation to an Anglo-American Protestant cultural model; but many Tucsonans championed more pluralistic visions of citizenship, occasionally marking those other possibilities with hyphens. Tucson's American-Catholics, Mexican-Americans, Native-Americans, and African-Americans were sometimes limited by a hyphenated citizenship; but, at other times proudly embraced and celebrated the multicultural possibilities found in the hyphen. Cultural theorists who refer to the history of American multiculturalism generally attribute the idea to a handful of turn-of-the-century intellectuals who championed the idea of cultural pluralism, among them Horace Kallen, W. E. B. Du Bois, and John Dewey. Through the case studies of Tucson new school development in this dissertation, however, it becomes evident that ordinary Americans in multi-ethnic and multi-racial spaces like Tucson, Arizona, were also attempting to make American citizenship encompass all that they were. Cultural pluralism, far from being a top-down idea introduced to the American public by liberal academics and journalists, was for many people the only option and in other cases the most comfortable option for becoming an American. While school officials and teachers might hope to instill in their charges a narrowly-defined Anglo-American or Protestant citizenship; the students and their families were actively engaged in widening the definition of what was fully American to include their diverse religions, work habits, leisure habits, and aspirations. It was, in fact, the actions of Americans all across the country generating this more expansive definition of American citizenship that contemporary scholars noted and gave name to as cultural pluralism. John Dewey wrote to Horace Kallen in 1915 that: "I never did care for the melting pot metaphor, but genuine assimilation to one another—not to Anglo-Saxondom—seems to be essential to America. That each cultural section should maintain its distinctive literary and artistic traditions

seems to me most desirable, but in order that it might have the more to contribute to others.”⁹ As this dissertation will demonstrate, long before 1915, groups in Tucson were embracing this idea that they could be at once culturally different and, yet, still fully American.¹⁰

Tucson was an ethnically and racially diverse frontier community with an indeterminate relationship with the United States government at the turn of the century; making it a particularly useful space to uncover the full complexity in discourses about citizenship qualifications.¹¹ The 1854 Mesilla Treaty shifted 30 thousand square miles of land from the Mexican states of Sonora and Chihuahua to the United States’ New Mexico Territory and granted American citizenship to the formerly Mexican citizens living in the transferred lands. This citizenship, however legally defined, was not complete in 1854. U.S. territorial citizens, while they could vote in local elections, could not vote in national elections. This meant that no residents of turn-of-the-century Tucson could be considered full U.S. citizens until Arizona attained statehood in 1912, regardless of their race, class, or gender. As the largest urban area within the region transferred through the Mesilla Treaty, Tucson was the site of particular tensions about citizenship while the majority population of Hispanics and a small but quickly growing population of Anglos negotiated new cultural relationships. Other ethnic or racial groups also struggled to improve

⁹ Quoted in Raymond A. Mohl, “Cultural Pluralism in Immigrant Education: The International Institutes of Boston, Philadelphia, and San Francisco, 1920-1940,” *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 1.2 (Spring 1982): 35-58, 39.

¹⁰ Charles Taylor, *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994); Jonathan Hansen, “True Americanism: Progressive Era Intellectuals and the Problem of Liberal Nationalism,” in Michael Kazin and Joseph McCartin, eds., *Americanism: New Perspectives on the History of an Ideal* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006): 73-89.

¹¹ I am using the term “ethnicity” to indicate perceptions of nationality and or cultural groupings and the term “race” to designate perceptions of immutable physical markers that transcend national boundaries. Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Tucsonans did not necessarily use these terms in this way at all, but instead used both terms interchangeably with multiple contesting meanings.

their status within this complex social environment. Tucson's Apache, Akimel O'odham (Pima) and Tohono O'odham (Pagago) Indian residents would not have voting rights in Arizona until a 1948 judicial decision and were legally considered subjects, wards, or dependents of the state rather than citizens. Repeated Chinese Exclusion Acts after 1868, made life very precarious for those Chinese-Americans who did choose Tucson as their home. A relatively small African-American population had resided in Tucson since the 1850s, but Jim Crow legislation followed the same pattern in Arizona as it did throughout the South, creating an incomplete and even deteriorating citizenship for many black Arizonans around the turn of the century. Women's citizenship, in territorial law, followed the status of their husbands and even those women whose husbands were U. S. citizens could not vote (until 1914), hold office (until 1914), or serve in a jury (until 1946)—all activities which have been considered responsibilities and rights of full citizenship.¹²

Discovering the process of cultural construction of citizenship in Tucson depends upon a long historiography of, not only citizenship, but also the larger context of citizens within nation-states. All citizenship studies are built upon a solid foundation of scholarship about the

¹² David Weber, *Foreigners In Their Native Land: Historical Roots of the Mexican Americans* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973); Eric Biber, "The Price of Admission: Causes, Effects, and Patterns of Conditions Imposed on States Entering the Union." *The American Journal of Legal History* 46, no. 2 (April 1, 2004): 119–208; Thomas Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses: The Mexican Community in Tucson, 1854-1941* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986); Daniel Bruce Ferguson, *The Escuela Experience: The Tucson Indian School in Perspective* (PhD. Diss., University of Arizona, 1997); Daniel McCool, Susan M. Olson, and Jennifer L. Robinson, *Native Vote: American Indians, the Voting Rights Act, and the Right to Vote* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Thomas Sheridan, *Arizona: a History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995); James Yancy, "The Negro of Tucson, Past and Present." MA Thesis, University of Arizona, 1933; Candice Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own: Women, Marriage, and the Law of Citizenship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Arizona. *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials Adopted by the ... Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Arizona* (Prescott: Office of the Arizona Miner, 1864); Heidi Osselaer, *Winning Their Place: Arizona Women in Politics, 1883-1950* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011).

development of the nation, republican forms of government, and ideologies of democracy. In the early 1980s, a generation of scholars significantly revised traditional considerations of the nation-state, emphasizing the relative newness and the human social construction of the nation over older interpretations of the divinely inspired nation based in ancient kingdoms or ethnic groups. Authors such as Benedict Anderson in his book *Imagined Communities* and Eric Hobsbawm and T.O. Ranger in *The Invention of Tradition* made clear that the nation was a modern innovation of groups who, when it was expedient, referred to their nation as arising from ancient cultures, but were really at work creating novel ways to organize societies. This dissertation follows this practice of seeing political structures and roles as human constructions contingent upon place and time.¹³

Likewise, citizenship—or membership of an individual in a national community—has also been under fresh consideration since the early 1980s. Nationality or citizenship, like race, class, and gender, is considered by a recent generation of scholars to be just as much a social construction as the nation. One group of citizenship researchers has focused primarily on citizenship law and how the rights of citizenship are legally limited or restricted within nations. Another group has taken legal limitations of citizens as their spring board to investigate cultural interactions that have led some Americans to be considered full citizens and others to have various limitations placed on their full political and civic access. In many ways, study of the social construction of race, class, and gender almost inevitably leads researchers to the question of the end effect of social inequities in democracies: limited or diminished citizenship for various social categories. Scholars of the United States have also looked at the Americanization

¹³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991); E. J. Hobsbawm and T. O. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

programs of the turn-of-the-century and the nativist movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Since training for certain approved types of American participation were the goal for various Americanization movements, these studies have been fully engaged in unpacking the social construction of citizenship. A smaller subset of Americanization studies is the examination of citizenship training for children. This dissertation fits in most closely with this group of scholars as they focus on the public debates about how children learn to become appropriate American citizens, although it diverges from the typical perspective by emphasizing how children have tapped into other cultural resources around them to develop a more multi-cultural vision of American citizenship. One unavoidable aspect of American citizenship is its seemingly endless diversity and a key group of theorists has engaged with various questions of cultural pluralism or multiculturalism that American diversity generates. This last group of scholars is most important to my own developed understanding of how many Tucson children responded to Americanization education, prejudice, segregation, and moral pressure by developing their own hyphenated Mexican-American, African-American, and Native-American notion of citizenship.

Drawing inspiration from the notion that nations are human social constructions, legal scholars and political theorists have analyzed the construction of national membership through reviews of citizenship law and judicial interpretation. Political Scientist Rogers Smith proposes in his book *Civic Ideals* that American citizenship laws provide a window into the ideologies that have formed the country's political and civic life. Through a comprehensive examination of citizenship court rulings since the colonial era, Smith finds: "that through most of U.S. history, lawmakers pervasively and unapologetically structured U.S. citizenship in terms of illiberal and

undemocratic racial, ethnic, and gender hierarchies.”¹⁴ Smith asserts that, counter to a traditional interpretation that Enlightenment ideals of liberal democracy have always guided the American political and legal structure; American politicians have, instead, long blended “illiberal,” “inegalitarian,” and “ascriptive” civic ideologies with liberal philosophies in various combinations designed to create popular coalitions.¹⁵ Political theorist Judith Shklar notes in her book *American Citizenship* that: “From the first, the most radical claims for freedom and political equality were played out in counterpoint to chattel slavery, the most extreme form of servitude, the consequences of which still haunt us.”¹⁶ Many scholars have looked at how citizenship laws worked to exclude some American sub-populations, while for other populations court decisions continued to undermine what legal citizenship rights they had gained through national law. Daniel McCool’s edited volume *Native Vote* traces the laws that have worked to exclude Native Americans from national or state citizenship until quite late in the twentieth century. Candice Bredbenner in *A Nationality of Her Own* and Martha Gardner in *The Qualities of a Citizen* review how the legal concept of coverture created a “derivative citizenship” for women, which still has its legacies today. Historian Erika Lee in *At America’s Gates* traces the sixty-year exclusion of Chinese immigrants and the restrictions on naturalization for those immigrants who did arrive between the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1883 and its repeal in 1943. Legal scholar Ian Haney-Lopez’ account in *White by Law* reviews judicial interpretations of the requirement that only a “white person” could be naturalized and links these stipulations to the shifting perceptions of Mexican-Americans. All of these works and many others have made it

¹⁴ Rogers Smith, *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997): 1.

¹⁵ Smith, *Civic Ideals*, 6.

¹⁶ Judith Shklar, *American Citizenship: The Quest for Inclusion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991): 1.

clear that, not only is American citizenship a social construction always in the process of contested interpretation by American people, but also that deep, long-term social inequalities have at every turn dictated the possibilities of American citizenship. Nevertheless, the Enlightenment language of liberty, equality, and rights that permeates the founding documents has created an ideal of American citizenship that motivates many hyphenated-Americans to claim an equal citizenship.¹⁷

While legal scholars have searched for patterns in citizenship laws, historians have traced the cultural implications of citizenship definitions based on class, race, and gender. In 1986, historian Joan Scott described gender as: “a primary way of signifying relationships of power,” calling for cultural historians to make linkages between gender and political power.¹⁸ Many scholars have taken up her challenge, complicating gender analysis with other cultural factors such as class, race, nationality, or religion. Cultural and intellectual scholarship of the mid to late 1990s, such as Gail Bederman’s book *Manliness and Civilization*, began to link gender, class, and race to the process of nation building. Bederman shows that Americans from the 1870s to the 1920s were convinced of the links between gender, specifically certain types of vigorous masculinity, race, and “civilization.” The most advanced “races,” according to this turn-of-the-century conviction, were those in which “manliness” and “womanliness” most closely approached the ideal. The dominant version of this belief was articulated by elite white politicians, like President Theodore Roosevelt, and other white male professionals. The link,

¹⁷ Smith, *Civic Ideals*; Shklar, *American Citizenship*; McCool, Olson, and Robinson, *Native Vote*; Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own*; Martha Gardner, *The Qualities of a Citizen: Women, Immigration, and Citizenship, 1870-1965* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); Erika Lee, *At America’s Gates Chinese Immigration During the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Ian Haney-López, *White by Law the Legal Construction of Race* (New York: New York University Press, 2006).

¹⁸ Joan Scott, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” *The American Historical Review*, 91.5 (December 1986): 1053-1075, 1067.

however, between gender and civilization was so pervasive in the country that this argument could be used—but turned on its head—by women to oppose male supremacy and blacks to oppose racism. In *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies*, Linda Kerber continues the examination of gender, race, and class and their links to nation-building, specifically looking at the different ways that citizenship requirements and rights applied to men and women and whites and blacks. Kerber identifies five political obligations: loyalty to the state, avoiding vagrancy, paying taxes, performing jury service, and volunteering for military service. Kerber maintains that American women have been kept by daily cultural practices from meeting most of these obligations, which in some cases was used to justify their corresponding lack of citizenship rights. Most significantly for this dissertation, historian Evelyn Nakano Glenn in *Unequal Freedom* treated citizenship as *localized*. Rather than assuming that citizenship is wholly determined by the U.S. Constitution and other formal documents, she asserts that individual actors such as state, county, or municipal officials or even “private citizens,” such as movie theater owners when they decide to segregate their audiences, make daily decisions about the citizenship status of the people that they meet. Glenn writes that: “It is these kinds of localized, often face-to-face practices that determine whether people have or don’t have substantive as opposed to purely formal rights of citizens.”¹⁹ Citizenship is the formal link between individuals and the nation-state and it is within this official role of the individual-in-the-state that the political aspects of gender, as well as other social categorizations such as race, ethnicity, class, religion, immigration status, and age become visible.²⁰

¹⁹ Evelyn Glenn, *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002): 2.

²⁰ Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1996); Linda K. Kerber, *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship* (New York: Hill

This dissertation relies upon a solid foundation of Americanization scholarship which repeatedly uncovers a provocative change in Anglo-American attitudes about race and citizenship at the turn of the twentieth century. The history of American nativism has long interpreted citizenship as an ideology in the process of construction. Historian Ray Allen Billington begins looking at the history of American nativism in a much earlier period in his 1938 book *The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860*. Billington notes that English colonial anti-Catholicism actually began during the Reformation but reached a peak with the nation's beginnings after the American Revolution. Billington's book was published at a time when nationalist bigotry was overrunning Europe and his work may have had more resonance for Americans after the war as a generation of scholars grappled with the legacy of WWII religious, racial, and ethnic violence. In 1955, historian John Higham was one of those scholars and demonstrates, in *Strangers in the Land*, that American nativism continued and increased after the Civil War. Nativism peaked with a swell of anti-immigrant sentiment in response to the increase of European immigration in the 1890s, culminating in the Immigration Act of 1924. Also in 1955, in his book *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, C. Vann Woodward shows that anti-African American bigotry became institutionalized, harsher, and more violent during the same 1890s-1900 period that American nativism was on the rise. Historian Frederick Hoxie makes a similar assertion in *The Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1890-1920*. According to Hoxie, around 1900 Anglo-Americans shifted from an idealistic hope for fully incorporating American Indians into the American way of life as small farm-owners and citizens to a much reduced expectation for Indians as a perpetual, backward, and marginal people in need of government supervision. Tucson was not immune from this upswing in nativism and shift in a

and Wang, 1998); Linda K. Kerber, "The Meanings of Citizenship." *The Journal of American History* 84, no. 3 (December 1997): 833-854; Glenn, *Unequal Freedom*.

sense of race and social hierarchy: anti-Mexican-immigrant sentiment increases over the period covered in this dissertation, Jim Crow comes to Tucson and Arizona following much the same patterns as in the Southeast, and Arizona's legislators and courts repeatedly keep Native-Americans from attaining full citizenship.²¹

Scholars grappling with various aspects of the Americanization process have continued to find intriguing shifts in Anglo-American nativism or racial-anxieties during the same 1890s to 1920s period. Historian Margaret Jacobs, in *Engendered Encounters*, finds a shift in the attitudes of Anglo-Americans who interacted with Pueblo Indians. Moral reformers of the 1890s, who wanted to Americanize Indians, gave way to what Jacobs calls "anti-modern feminists" who romanticized Indians and wanted to learn from them rather than change them.²² Ironically, this small group of "anti-modern feminists" actually coincided with what Hoxie notes as an increasing national indifference to Indians. Romanticized or ignored, Anglo-Americans began to back away from the goal of full Native-American integration around the turn-of-the-century. In her book, *Reconfiguring the Reservation*, Emily Greenwald traces some of this shift in Anglo-American attitudes toward Native-American assimilation to the resistance of Nez Pierce and Jicarilla Apaches to the institution of the Dawes Allotment Act between the 1880s and 1910s. Sarah Deutsch, in her book *No Separate Refuge*, demonstrates that for Mexican-Americans in New Mexico and Colorado this turn-of-the-century period also resisted the plans of Anglo-American business owners, instead creating their own adaptive strategies. This scholarship sheds

²¹ Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (New York: Macmillan, 1938); John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (Rutgers University Press, 1955); Frederick Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984); C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974).

²² Margaret D. Jacobs, *Engendered Encounters: Feminism and Pueblo Cultures, 1879-1934* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999): 181.

light on a transformative period in American culture and politics that effected life in Tucson and the greater Southwest in locally specific ways as well as ways that mirror the national shift toward more anxious responses from Anglo-Americans to racial, ethnic, and religious diversity.²³

Schools, as historians have recognized in recent years, are one significant location where competing cultural ideas about future access to civic and political power become visible in the historical record. It is within this scholarship on education and citizenship that this dissertation fits most closely, adding and building upon the skillful insights of this group of scholars, to explore the cultural construction of citizenship within the racially diverse southwest. Historian Hilary Moss, in her book *Schooling Citizens*, asserts that in the 1830s, as “common schools” began to proliferate: “public schools became a particularly charged site for Americans, white and black, to work out questions of civil rights and civic identity.”²⁴ As Moss notes: “the choices that individuals and communities made about schooling their children—about whom to include, whom to exclude, and who should get priority—speak to much larger questions about inclusion, exclusion, and equality within American society.”²⁵ Historian Kim Carey Warren has also made the connection between education and contesting definitions of citizenship in her book *The Quest for Citizenship*. Warren examines schools designated for African-American and Native-American children in Kansas between the 1880s and the 1930s. Warren is among the first historians to use the term “cultural citizenship” to describe this repeated contestation between

²³ Jacobs, *Engendered Encounters*; Emily Greenwald, *Reconfiguring the Reservation: The Nez Perces, Jicarilla Apaches, and the Dawes Act* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002); 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).

²⁴ Hilary Moss, *Schooling Citizens: The Struggle for African American Education in Antebellum America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 4.

²⁵ Moss, *Schooling Citizens*, 8.

ordinary Americans about the meanings of citizenship.²⁶ Warren points out the great irony that late nineteenth-century education reformers were determined to integrate Native Americans into Anglo-American culture via land ownership, wage labor, and especially Americanizing boarding schools, while at the same time other Anglo-American reformers were anxiously segregating African-Americans from contact with whites in businesses, neighborhoods, and especially “separate but equal” schools.²⁷

While Moss and Warren have shown that children’s education was almost always a location of vigorous public debate about the contours of citizenship from the 1830s through the 1930s, several historians are finding that there was something unique occurring in Americanization education around the turn of the twentieth century. Historian Julie Reuben finds that around 1900, some American reformers and educators were shifting from a conception of citizenship as political involvement and activism to a notion of citizenship that was based on community cooperation, obedience, and dependence—the notion of the “Good Citizen.” This new notion of citizenship was especially emphasized in training young children in school.²⁸ As other historians of the Progressive Era illustrate, some educators were actually promoting an appreciation of American diversity. Historian Diana Selig, in her book *Americans All: The Cultural Gifts Movement*, notes that after the 1924 National Origins Act had so severely limited immigration: “activists could offer a romanticized vision of ethnic cultures because these cultures were becoming more distant each year.”²⁹ Historian Jeffrey Mirel proposes in *Patriotic*

²⁶ Kim Cary Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship: African American and Native American Education in Kansas, 1880-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 5.

²⁷ Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship*, 62.

²⁸ Julie Reuben, “Beyond Politics: Community Civics and the Redefinition of Citizenship in the Progressive Era.” *History of Education Quarterly* 37, no. 4 (Winter 1997): 399–420

²⁹ Diana Selig, *Americans All: The Cultural Gifts Movement* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 6.

Pluralism that it was not only the activists and educators, but the immigrants themselves who actively promoted the idea of the appreciation of multiple cultures. Mirel found that, by 1930s and 1940s, first and second generation immigrants: “Americanized on their own terms, balancing a deep commitment to the United States with an equally strong desire to maintain crucial aspects of their cultural backgrounds and their composite American identity.”³⁰ This dissertation finds that a culturally pluralist American citizenship is also imperative to Tucson’s Mexican-Americans, Native-Americans, and African-Americans even during the height of the Americanization movement during the 1890s to 1910s. If hyphenation, in many cases, was thrust upon them; they nevertheless assert their loyalty to family and cultural traditions while at the same time appreciatively adopting, and adapting, many Anglo-American practices and material goods.³¹

Theorists of multiculturalism, cultural pluralism, and an anthropological or sociological conception of cultural citizenship tend, if they refer to history at all, to find the roots of multiculturalism in liberal academic philosophers and intellectuals of the 1910s and 1920s. References are to left-liberal philosophers of that period, such as: John Dewey, Horace Kallen, Randolph Bourne, W. E. B. Du Bois, Isaac B. Berkson, or Julius Drachler. It is interesting that an intentional effort to expand the definition of American citizenship is rarely traced to ordinary people actually living hyphenated lives. In several recent edited volumes of essays on multiculturalism, contemporary philosophers such as Charles Taylor, Jürgen Habermas, K. Anthony Appiah, Stanley Fish, and C. Vann Woodward carry on an intertwined conversation

³⁰ Jeffrey Mirel, *Patriotic Pluralism: Americanization Education and European Immigrants* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010), 11.

³¹ Moss, *Schooling Citizens*; Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship*; Reuben, “Beyond Politics”; Selig, *Americans All*; Mirel, *Patriotic Pluralism*.

about the “politics of recognition,” to use Taylor’s term.³² Their concerns are for the most part considerations of future manifestations and limitations on cultural pluralism and the political structures that will either sustain, balance, or restrict multicultural national populations. Another group of scholars are currently advancing a theory of “cultural citizenship,” which, as anthropologist Renato Rosaldo suggested: “refers to the right to be different and to belong in a participatory democratic sense.”³³ Rosaldo’s “right to be different” has been the center of an extended discussion among anthropologists, sociologists, and other cultural theorists about “cultural rights.” Where rights such as voting and office holding were earlier tied to full citizenship, this generation of scholars would also link citizenship to the “rights to unhindered and dignified representation, as well as to the maintenance and propagation of distinct cultural identities and lifestyles.”³⁴ Just as historian Jeffrey Mirel found vocal proponents of “patriotic pluralism” in the 1930s and 1940s, this dissertation uncovers earlier examples of Americans, between the 1870s and the 1920s, who hoped to claim the right of “difference,” while still engaging with Anglo-American education, the wage economy, politics, and even Hollywood movies. Although these Americans did not label their actions as “cultural citizenship,” in retrospect it is clear they were acting out the same demands for “cultural rights,” as described by this latest generation of scholars.³⁵

³² Charles Taylor, “The Politics of Recognition” in Charles Taylor, *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 25-74, 25.

³³ Renato Rosaldo, “Cultural Citizenship and Educational Democracy,” *Cultural Anthropology* 9.3 (1994): 402-411, 402.

³⁴ Jan Pakulski, “Cultural Citizenship,” *Citizenship Studies* 1.1 (1997): 73-86, 77.

³⁵ Taylor, “The Politics of Recognition” in Taylor, *Multiculturalism*; Jürgen Habermas, “Struggles for Recognition in the Democratic Constitutional State,” in Taylor, *Multiculturalism*, 107-148; K. Anthony Appiah, “Identity, Authenticity, Survival: Multicultural Societies and Social Reproduction,” in Taylor, *Multiculturalism*, 149-164; K. Anthony Appiah, “The Limits of Pluralism,” in Arthur M. Melzer, Jerry Weinberger, and M. Richard Zinman, eds., *Multiculturalism and American Democracy* (Lawrence: University of Kansas, 1998): 37-54; C.

While Tucson has historically been a remote area located on the fringes of imperial and national development, the varied origins of its settlers created an early microcosm of American diversity. Tucson went from being at the northern edge of the Spanish empire in the 1770s to the western reach of the American national territory in the 1850s. Living at the crossroads of two subsequently overlapping boundaries, the Spanish/Mexican and then later the American, Tucson's residents have long had to negotiate racial, ethnic, and religious differences. The Tucson Presidio was founded in 1776 by Hugo O'Connor, an interesting boundary crosser himself as the Irish commandant inspector of the Spanish king's forces protecting the interior of New Spain against Indian aggression as well as British and Russian imperial plots for territorial expansion. The Tucson presidio struggled to protect the region's Spanish and peaceful Indian communities against small groups of raiding Apaches through the end of the eighteenth and into the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. After decades of uneasy truce with Spain, the disruptions of the Mexican war of Independence in the 1820s left Apache groups without the trade and support that they had come to depend upon. As these Apache groups struggled to survive American-instigated pressures from Indian groups to the East, they returned to raiding throughout Northern Sonora to sustain themselves. Tucson remained a fairly small, beleaguered

Vann Woodward. "Meanings for Multiculturalism," in Melzer, et al, eds., *Multiculturalism and American Democracy*: 55-68; Stanley Fish. "Boutique Multiculturalism," Melzer, et al, eds., *Multiculturalism and American Democracy*, 69-88; Will Kymlicka, *Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship* (Oxford, UK; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: a Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1995); Renato Rosaldo, "Cultural Citizenship and Educational Democracy," *Cultural Anthropology* 9.3 (1994): 402-411; Renato Rosaldo, "Cultural Citizenship, Inequality, and Multiculturalism," in Rodolfo D. Torres et al, eds., *Race, Identity, and Citizenship: A Reader* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1999): 253-261; Jan Pakulski, "Cultural Citizenship," *Citizenship Studies* 1.1 (1997): 73-86; William V. Flores and Rina Benmayor, *Latino Cultural Citizenship: Claiming Identity, Space, and Rights* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997); Nick Stevenson, ed., *Culture and Citizenship* (London: Sage Publications, 2001); Nick Stevenson, *Cultural Citizenship: Cosmopolitan Questions* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2003).

community subsisting on small-scale agriculture and ranching. Most importantly to later Anglo-American impressions, Spanish families in Sonoran Tucson created enduring ties through marriage and cooperation with local Indian groups. These alliances were essential to Hispanic Tucson's survival, but left a legacy in the Indian appearances of many Spanish/Mexican Tucsonans. Tucson was never a major battle ground during the Mexican-American War, but with each stage of the conflict, more Anglo-Americans arrived to stay. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, following the end of the war in 1848, did not include Tucson in American territory. Instead, in 1854, the Mexican government sold the thirty thousand square mile section of land in what is currently southern Arizona and New Mexico to the Americans who were interested in space for the southern route of the transcontinental railroad from Charleston, South Carolina, to San Diego, California. Tucson is in the center of this very last land purchase in the contiguous United States and this perch on the border of two nations is very much a part of the history of contested American citizenship in this region.³⁶

Through the 1850s and 1860s, many of Tucson's Mexicans and Anglo-Americans treated each other with respect and courtesy born from interdependence in the face of the hardships of desert living and what seemed to the settlers as terrible and inexplicable Indian attacks. As time went on, however, subsequent Anglo-American immigrants brought their divisive racial attitudes from the east. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo stipulated that Mexicans living in the new American territories—including those purchased in 1854—could choose to become American

³⁶ Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses*; Sheridan, *Arizona*; James Officer, *Hispanic Arizona, 1536-1856* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987); Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo a Legacy of Conflict* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990); Brian DeLay, *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); David Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982); Weber, *Foreigners In Their Native Land*.

citizens. Even in the decade of the 1890s, the period of time described by historian Thomas Sheridan as the golden-age of Mexican-American political involvement in Tucson, only eighteen percent of voters were Hispanic—only a fraction of the total Mexican-American population—making it clear that few Mexican-Americans either claimed American citizenship or were able to take full advantage of the rights associated with citizenship. Sheridan also describes residential segregation that resulted when most Anglos built houses in neighborhoods east of Military Plaza while Mexican-Americans primarily resided in the blocks west of the Plaza and south of downtown. Native American, Chinese and African-Americans residents in Tucson generally clustered in Hispanic barrios, reinforcing the segregation of Anglo-Americans from others. Despite this ethnic and racial segregation, Anglos owned close to ninety percent of the real and personal property in Tucson in the 1860s and continuously retained that control over Tucson's capital assets into the twentieth century, even of the properties in Hispanic, black, and Indian barrios.³⁷

New schools built in Tucson follow the same pattern of initial cooperation between Anglos and non-Anglos, while later deteriorating into segregation and racial prejudice. Chapter one of this dissertation begins with the first school project in Tucson, Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies. At the start, in 1870, all the residents of Tucson seemed to rally behind the construction of the first school in the small settlement: Catholics and Protestants, Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans. The Sisters of Saint Joseph were welcomed with a village-wide celebration and business owners chipped in to defray the costs of the school building and materials. Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies contributed to the prestige of the up-and-coming town and was seen by most Tucsonans as a symbol of civilization that would attract the

³⁷ Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses*, 121, 123, 37.

best class of incomer. The early years of Saint Joseph's Academy of Young Ladies also underscores the rich cultural diversity of Tucson. The French Catholic priests engaged a French-American order of nuns to teach, many of whom translated their lessons from French into English the night before they were to teach their mostly Spanish-speaking students. The Catholic school accepted Protestant and Jewish students and practiced no segregation of any group. The first financial backers of the school were as likely to be local wealthy Protestants and Jewish entrepreneurs as Catholics. In general, the school reflected a community united by shared dangers and a shared enthusiasm for economic expansion and attracting newcomers.

As Anglo-Americans, who had not shared the frontier hardships, arrived in Tucson they judged Mexican-Tucsonans harshly for their skin color or behavior, Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies became less of a symbol of Tucson settlement and more of a space for Mexican-American Catholic unity. A convent education represented moral order and proper gender role reinforcement that melded especially well with the sense of family honor appreciated by Mexican-Tucsonans. The social structure developed on the Spanish/Mexican frontier emphasized male resilience and judicious authority over subordinates, as well as female decorum and modesty. Mexican-American families, coming from a northern frontier culture that relied heavily on wives and mothers to strengthen appropriate behaviors in children, looked to the Sisters of Saint Joseph and a convent education for girls as an essential support for a familiar social structure and the resulting community security. In the 1880s and 1890s, increasing racial prejudice in Tucson matched increasing racism and segregation nationally. The response of the Mexican-Tucsonan community to adhere to and strengthen their Catholic community through the convent education of their daughters is an attempt to construct a community-based American citizenship. This conception of American citizenship was less about adopting the Anglo-

American ideal of an individual relationship with the state, and more about becoming Americans as a unified community.

Chapter two charts the process of the breakdown of cohesion and cooperation in Tucson as Protestants and Catholics bickered about the funding of a local public school in the early 1870s. The Sisters of Saint Joseph opened small parochial schools with the money they earned from the Academy, but they were not able to accommodate all the potential students in Tucson. As the Territorial Legislature debated the feasibility of funding free public schools in Arizona, the idea of a free education began to attract more families to settle in or near Tucson, so that when public schools opened for boys and (separately) for girls, there was no shortage of students. In this chapter, it becomes clear that the public debate over school funding pitted Protestants against Catholics. Nationally the 1870s saw political and cultural battles between Catholics requesting government funding for parochial schools and Protestants who were incensed at the idea that their tax money might support sectarian schools. In Tucson, Hispanics and Anglos were on both sides of the argument, with Catholics charging that public schools were just as sectarian as Catholic parochial schools, presenting students with a Protestant education in disguise. It is perhaps no surprise that it was at this moment of initial discord in Tucson that a conscious articulation of a hyphenated-American citizenship began among both Catholics struggling to create a space for themselves amidst waves of Protestant settlers and Mexican immigrants hoping to link their patriotism for two nations.

The Catholic and public schools were opened with Tucson village residents in mind, but Protestant missionaries working with the United States government, opened the Tucson Indian Industrial School just outside of town in 1888. By the 1880s, Protestant congregations had launched ambitious programs to both Americanize and evangelize all the populations of the

Southwest. As chapter three reveals, the Women's Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church took advantage of President Ulysses S. Grant's Peace Policy—which advocated assimilation and education of Indians over the former policy of extermination—to open schools throughout the Southwest, including Tucson. Federal government funds were combined with the money raised by Presbyterian Sunday Schools and women's groups to open the Tucson Indian Industrial School. While the government was primarily interested in ending Indian wars, the Presbyterians hoped to save souls. The Presbyterian missionaries strongly believed that incorporation of the American Southwest could only happen if the Indian populations were properly evangelized, but they also believed that the millennium and the Second Coming of Christ could not occur without the Protestant conversion of un-churched populations. As eager as the missionaries were to assimilate their students, it is illuminating of their conception of Indian citizenship that they offered an agriculturally-based education that, during a rapidly industrializing moment in American history, would train young Indian boys to be farmers and young Indian girls to be farm wives. The Indian students made other uses of their education, often joining the wage economy in ways that coincided with their seasonal needs. Contrary to the expectations of the missionaries, the Indian students chose to integrate some aspects of their education with their former lives, creating new ways to remain Indian and yet become American at the same time.

Between the 1888 founding of the Tucson Indian Industrial School and the 1913 founding of the “colored school” in Tucson, Arizona followed the nation in its shift toward increasing bigotry and segregation. Tucson had never legally segregated any of its school populations beyond the *de facto* segregation that followed neighborhood boundaries and funding sources for the Indian school, but in 1899, the Arizona Territorial Legislature passed a law

“allowing” segregation specifically of African American students in public schools. One year after statehood, a newly elected state legislature passed a much more aggressive law mandating educational segregation. Chapter four explores the rise of Jim Crow racism in Arizona and the role of the segregated Paul Laurence Dunbar School in restricting the citizenship of African-American children, but also in creating some small safe space for the building of race-pride in Tucson. Under difficult and certainly unequal conditions, Dunbar school officials worked between 1913 and Arizona school desegregation in 1951, to ensure that their students gained the skills they needed to move up the economic, civil, and political ladder. Unlike American Indians, African-American students in Tucson had no missionaries advocating full assimilation. Instead the hyphen for these students was underscored by unequal and separate school facilities. While they had little choice in accepting a hyphenated-American citizenship, Tucson’s African-Americans joined Tucson Civil Rights organizations in the 1940s and 1950s to promote a much more inclusive citizenship, in which the hyphen defined the “right to be different” and yet the right to full educational, economic, and political inclusion.

Schools, families, and communities are all important in helping young people become American citizens, but chapter five of this dissertation argues that popular culture came to play a significant role in defining citizenship expectations. The Women’s Board of Home Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church opened the Mary J. Platt School for Mexican Girls in 1907 to serve children whose needs, they felt, were not being met by the Catholic or public schools in Tucson. The Mary J. Platt School was part of an extensive network of home missions focused on spreading the gospel to un-churched people of the Southwest. Their goal for the schools was to raise a generation of Christian leaders and homemakers who would spread the habits of Methodist Episcopalian worship and an Anglo-American work ethic. The Mary J. Platt

graduating class of 1928, however, revealed their goals in their eight-grade yearbook “class prophecy”: they hoped to travel the world and engage in high-powered acting careers or marry wealthy movie-executive husbands. These ideas are not unusual eight-grader fantasies and are clearly influenced by Hollywood depictions of wealth and fame. Hollywood of the 1920s was engaged in a celebration and incorporation of the ethnic exotic, which was creating an atmosphere of desirable cultural pluralism. The first generation of silent films were primarily from France, Germany, and Italy; and when the American studios ramped up their production, their executives and artistic staff were often recent immigrants; theaters were built in exotic styles; and foreign-born actors such as Greta Garbo, Dolores del Rio, and Rudolph Valentino helped to create the huge popularity of the film star. The glamor of the Hollywood film industry introduced to twentieth-century generations of young people the idea of a cosmopolitan citizenship: the celebration of the cultural pluralism of the international urban and sophisticated. Tucson’s Mary J. Platt School eighth-graders, like many if not most American fourteen year olds in 1928, were drawn to the glamor of Hollywood, allowing it to expand their ideas of what might be possible for their lives and magnify their conceptions of American citizenship.

One story that is conspicuously missing from this history of citizenship in Tucson is the experience of Chinese settlers in Arizona. This story should not be missing. Chinese individuals and families began arriving in Tucson in the 1860s and, although they did not arrive in such numbers to generate Anglo-American animosity in the form of restrictive legislation, they contributed creatively to the economic growth of Tucson.³⁸ The first national Chinese Exclusion Act was passed in 1868, in the midst of the Arizona Territorial boundary definition. This first exclusion act was followed by several more binding restrictions against Chinese immigration in

³⁸ Lawrence Michael Fong, “Sojourners and Settlers: The Chinese Experience in Arizona,” *The Journal of Arizona History*, Volume 21 (Autumn 1980):1 – 30.

1880, 1882, 1892, and 1902. These immigration restrictions would not be repealed until 1943.³⁹ Furthermore, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (Sec. 14) stated: “That hereafter no State court or court of the United States shall admit Chinese to citizenship; and all laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.”⁴⁰ Despite this legal exclusion and a legal limitation on citizenship, by 1880, there were 159 Chinese immigrants living in Tucson. These Chinese settlers who somehow managed to arrive during the exclusion period joined others in Tucson who grew vegetables on rented farms along the Santa Cruz River or ran grocery stores, laundries, and restaurants. One Anglo-American resident worried about the “great disadvantage it would be to us if all the vegetable chinamen would be removed from Tucson.”⁴¹ The most prosperous of the Chinese residents of Tucson, Chan Tin-Wo, Hang-Lee, Gee Soon, and several others, are listed as registered voters in the 1890s and so must have applied for citizenship before the 1882 exclusion. By the turn-of-the-century, there were enough Chinese families living in Tucson for the founding of a Presbyterian mission school on Ott Street. There are tantalizing mentions of this school in local archives, but not enough information has survived to retell the story of the school, the students, or their relationship to American citizenship. In a sense, this archival silence is one further act of exclusion. The absence of information is illustrative of the outlook of Anglo-Americans about the citizenship potential for Chinese immigrants.

³⁹ Andrew Gyory, *Closing the Gate: Race, Politics, and the Chinese Exclusion Act* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003). Fong, “Sojourners and Settlers.”

⁴⁰ *An Act to Execute Certain Treaty Stipulations Relating to the Chinese*, May 6, 1882; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789-1996; General Records of the United States Government; Record Group 11; National Archives. Accessed online, November 2013: <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&doc=47>.

⁴¹ “Reminiscences,” Clara Ferrin Papers, June 5, 1897, AHSLA, Tucson. Quoted in Fong, “Sojourners and Settlers.”

Laws are cultural creations, and citizenship laws especially come out of ongoing social and cultural discussions, imagination, argument and behavior. The individual's relationship to the nation undergoes a constant process of social negotiation. In some historical moments this cultural process of generating a definition of American citizenship becomes more visible. This dissertation analyzes one of these moments. As the territorial residents of Arizona attempted to join the union of the United States of America, they spoke out about what they felt made the best or most appropriate American citizen. Arizona residents were even more vocal when it came to the kind of citizens they wanted their children to be. In the process of founding and funding new schools, Tucsonans publically argued about how to help children become American citizens, often with serious limitations on that citizenship. Those students, in turn, sometimes publically discussed and sometimes acted out with their daily behavior, a more diverse conception of American citizenship than most of the school organizers could consider. Hyphenated-Americanism was both a limitation on the full-citizenship rights for some Americans and a new way of conceptualizing how to belong to the nation.

CHAPTER ONE

“The Pride of Tucson:” Saint Joseph’s Academy for Young Ladies

On an October morning in 1871, residents of San Diego California opened their local newspaper, *The Union*, and found a short paragraph extolling the virtues of a new Catholic girl’s high school over 400 miles inland in the small village of Tucson in the Arizona Territory. The editors had received a letter from a Tucson resident who described Saint Joseph’s Academy for Young Ladies as “the pride of Tucson.”⁴² Boosters from small towns all over the new western territories were competing for settlers. Letters like these were meant to advertise the compelling virtues of up-and-coming settlements. What is unusual about this bit of boosterism is that it portrayed a Catholic institution as a unifying source of pride for the village of Tucson. Building the new Saint Joseph’s Academy for Young Ladies was meant to add a veneer of civilization to a rough desert town and, thereby attract the right kind of new settler to the town and region. In pursuit of this goal the Academy united all Tucson boosters: Hispanic and Anglo; Catholic and Protestant. While initially the Academy represented the hopes for all Tucsonans for a more moral home for their families and a more profitable home for their businesses; eventually for Tucson’s Mexican-American families, Saint Joseph’s Academy for Young Ladies would come to represent a safeguard for a sense of honor and community cohesion. This reflected a community-based—rather than individual—style of American citizenship that Tucson’s Catholics and Mexican-Americans hoped to create and sustain.

All boosters in Tucson argued for the critical need for schools and moral training to “civilize” Arizona, but these groups were not always in accord about what kind of morality was necessary for civilization. Soon after the 1853 Gadsden Purchase, when Tucson became a part of

⁴² “Tucson—Saint Joseph’s Academy,” *San Diego Union*, October 28, 1871.

the vast New Mexico territory, Anglo-Americans began settling in Tucson. Initially the isolation of the region and what the settlers perceived as relentless Indian raids pushed Anglos and the original Hispanic residents of Tucson together. For the first few decades there was a degree of cooperation and mutual enthusiasm for civic boosterism as both groups worked to create a peaceful settlement. This was evident in their collaboration on the development of Tucson's first permanent school: Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies. Gradually as the U.S. military curtailed the raids and Tucson was connected to the world by rail lines in the 1880s, incoming Anglo-Americans and European immigrants began to outnumber the Mexican-Americans. Protestants would come to outnumber Catholics during this same process. Each of these social groups had a different vision of how to be an American citizen. These differing opinions became visible when issues of morality and education arose. What started as a cooperative effort to "civilize" Tucson through the development of schools in the 1870s would devolve into a competitive struggle to promote contrasting visions about who could be a citizen and how a citizen was formed. Hispanics and Anglos in Tucson were equally likely to be legal citizens of the Arizona Territory, but these local small-scale disagreements about educational goals are the kinds of events that shape "cultural citizenship," the actual civic and political access of individuals and communities.⁴³

The 1850s through the 1870s in Tucson, Arizona, were an era of relative Hispanic-Anglo cooperation. The urban population was small—never more than 600 people—and rumors about Indian raids kept Tucson an unattractive settler destination. The end of mercantile restrictions

⁴³ Thomas Sheridan describes the two decades between the 1860s and 1880s as a period in which Tucson was neither Mexican nor American, but a combination of both. A uniquely bi-cultural time period that changed with the increase of Anglo immigration and the advent of the railroad, which finally connected Tucson much more firmly with the American east than with central Mexico. Thomas Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses: The Mexican Community in Tucson, 1854-1941* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997).

with independence from Spain in 1821 had encouraged Tucson's Mexican entrepreneurs to make trade connections with American cities, but for four decades these trade aspirations had been inhibited by ongoing Indian attacks along trade routes. The Apache raiding was in part the legacy of violent Spanish Imperial relations with regional Indians and, more recently, a result of American settlement pushing other Indian populations further west into Apache hunting land. As Apache territory was increasingly violently restricted by both the American and the Mexican armies, individual bands relied more and more on lightning raids of small, unprotected towns like Tucson. Because of this, after the 1853 Gadsden Purchase, both incoming Anglos and Tucson's Mexican businessmen looked forward to American government protection from these raids. Their perception was that requests for protection would be more successful with a growing regional population, so civic boosters—both Hispanic and Anglo—celebrated those elements of town life that might make Tucson more attractive to incomers and investors. Anything that made Tucson seem more “civilized” was touted: stores, newspapers, theaters, parks, churches, and schools. For this reason the founding of Catholic Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies in 1870 was supported by many Tucsonans regardless of their faith. By 1877, local Anglo-American businessman William Oury spoke at an academy end-of-year exhibition: “When I look back at the condition in which I found this unfortunate village enveloped in the most profound ignorance twenty years ago and I compare it with the scene we have just witnessed, I cannot do less than to give thanks.”⁴⁴ The emphasis at this early point was not on the school as a Catholic institution, but as a civilizing influence for Tucson.

After the 1863 separation of the New Mexico and Arizona territories, the American Catholic church began to make sense of this vast western landscape needing Catholic parish

⁴⁴ “Exhibition at St. Joseph's Academy,” *The Arizona Citizen*, July 5, 1877.

services. Bishop Jean-Baptiste Lamy, based in Santa Fe New Mexico, journeyed for the first time to Tucson in October of 1863 where he was received with some ceremony by both Catholic and non-Catholic leading citizens. Up until this point, there were long gaps between times when a priest was available to serve Tucson and the surrounding area. In the early-1860s, two Jesuit priests briefly met the spiritual needs of Tucson's Catholic population as well as the Akimel and Tohono O'Odham peoples. These Indian groups lived near Tucson and had originally been evangelized in the eighteenth-century by Spanish Franciscan missionaries. In 1864, Arizona's Jesuit priests, Fathers Mesea and Bosco, were recalled by their order and Bishop Lamy struggled to find priests to fill their places. The American Catholic church was stretched thin serving the greatly expanding nineteenth-century Catholic immigrant population and had no American-born religious to send to the new territories. As a result, Catholic missions to opening territories in the United States were largely staffed by European missionaries: France, Ireland, and Italy all sent Catholic missionaries to frontier regions of the United States and its territories. France was the primary nation of origin for these missionaries. By the 1860s and 1870s, France was experiencing a Catholic revival after the anti-clerical backlash during the revolution of 1848. This rejuvenated enthusiasm about evangelization stretched even to the New World. Arizona Territory's Catholic missionaries arrived frequently from France during the late nineteenth century. Vicar General Jean Baptiste Salpointe and Father Francis Boucard, both born in France, were the first parish priests sent to Tucson by the American Catholic church in 1866. Five of the first seven teaching nuns to arrive in Tucson came directly from France.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ John Baptist Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross: Notes on the Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado* (Banning, CA: St. Boniface's Industrial School, 1898); Jay Dolan, *Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church, 1900-1965* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994).

As diverse as the members of the American Catholic Church had become in the nineteenth century, its new missions in the Southwest brought those members into contact with an even wider variety of people. Jean Baptiste Salpointe, who would become Bishop of Arizona, was ordained a priest in Montferrand, France, in 1851, during the upheaval of the French Revolution and the following Second Empire. The relative conservatism of the Second Empire encouraged the development of many new French religious orders and a flourishing evangelical zeal. In 1859, Salpointe volunteered to travel to the new world to the vast New Mexico territory to work in the new American Catholic Church missions to the Southwest. After working in New Mexico Territory for six years, Salpointe was made Vicar General of Arizona, and, in 1868, was made Bishop of the Vicariate Apostolic of Arizona. When Vicar General Salpointe arrived in Arizona, there were 6,000 Hispanics, Anglos, and settled Indians scattered over 113,000 square miles in a dozen tiny settlements, mining camps, and Indian villages. Immediately upon his arrival, Salpointe started raising funds and assistance to build churches and schools throughout the territory.⁴⁶

In pursuit of a more settled community, between the 1850s and the 1870s, establishment of Tucson's Catholic Church and schools was largely driven by cooperative efforts between Anglos and Hispanics, Catholics and non-Catholics. Before the Reverends Salpointe or Boucard had arrived in Tucson, Francisco Leon with the help of other businessmen including Juan Elias, William Oury, and Ramon Pacheco had built a small church building. The same group of men purchased a small lot nearby and had a house built for the priests and another lot to build a larger

⁴⁶ Paul Horgan, *Lamy of Santa Fe* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 2003); Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross*.

adobe church.⁴⁷ A collection was passed around several times and many people were involved in one stage of building or another in the construction of the larger church which would become San Agustín. One of the first things that Tucson residents demanded of Reverend Salpointe was a school. Initially they hoped for a convent school for girls, with free parish schools to follow. Juan Elias, who had several daughters, was especially influential in raising enthusiasm for the new school among community members and in persuading Bishop Salpointe to make this a high priority.⁴⁸ By early 1867, a plot of land adjacent to the church had been donated by Elias and a convent and school building begun. Bishop Salpointe later wrote in his ecclesiastical history of the region, *Soldiers of the Cross*: “The church was greatly benefitted by the school, as the [Tucson] inhabitants, irrespective of religious convictions, were all desirous of having the Sister’s school started as soon as possible. Nobody objected to the taking up of a new collection for the purpose of procuring lumber for the covering of church and school.”⁴⁹ Both Catholic and non-Catholic volunteers travelled to the Huachuca Mountains to cut lumber for the buildings. Their return to town even entailed the assistance of the American Government, as soldiers from nearby Camp Wallen were engaged to protect the work party from possible Apache attacks.⁵⁰

Bishop Salpointe tried several tactics to respond to Tucsonan’s requests for schools. His greatest difficulty was in finding teachers. He tried paying private teachers, but could not find qualified women teachers for a girl’s school. Bishop Salpointe appealed to several orders of teaching sisters, but expended the most effort requesting help from the Missouri-based

⁴⁷ Bernice Cosulich, *Tucson* (Tucson: Treasure Chest Publications, (1953) 2004), 62-63; Sister Vibiana Gallego, CSJ, interviewed by Sister M. Dolorosa Mann, CSJ. Series 177.1, box 3, folder 1, Archives of the Community of Saint Joseph Provincial House, Santa Monica, CA (hereafter described as ACSJ, Santa Monica); Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross*, 251.

⁴⁸ Sister Vibiana Gallego, CSJ, interview, ACSJ, Santa Monica.

⁴⁹ Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross*, 253.

⁵⁰ Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross*, 252-254.

Community of Saint Joseph, which was known for the high quality schools.⁵¹ The Community of Saint Joseph was particularly swamped by requests for teaching sisters in the 1860s—a time of considerable new community building in the United States. When appeals to the overtaxed Saint Joseph convent did not gain any promises initially, Bishop Salpointe asked Bishop Lamy to intercede. The bishop's letters to the Mother Superior of the Community of Saint Joseph mentioned nothing of the dangers in the Southwest and simply appealed to the Sister's sense of duty and missionary possibility: "There is a great deal of good to be done there and you have many sisters. I hope we will not be disappointed in having applied to you." And he artfully added: "Spanish is a very easy language to learn especially for one who knows French."⁵² When the Bishop's written appeals did not result in an agreement, Bishop Salpointe himself journeyed to Carondelet, Missouri and finally received an agreement. The spring of 1869 found Bishop Salpointe appealing to the Tucson community again to meet the traveling expenses of the Sisters of Saint Joseph and to the Society for the Preservation of the Faith in France. As Bishop Salpointe pointed out to the president of that society: "Schools are absolutely needed, it is only the good schools that can truly reform society by instilling good principles in the new generation."⁵³ In this statement Salpointe shared the enthusiasm of Tucson's boosters for the

⁵¹ Letter from Jean Baptiste Lamy to Mother St. John, Superior of the Mother House of the Sisters of Saint Joseph, April 6, 1868, in Sr. Thomas Marie McMahon, *The Sisters of Saint Joseph of Carondelet: Arizona's Pioneer Religious Congregation, 1870-1890*, MA Thesis, (Saint Louis: Saint Louis University, 1952): 4; Carol Coburn, and Martha Smith, *Spirited Lives: How Nuns Shaped Catholic Culture and American Life, 1836-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Caroline Press, 1999).

⁵² Letter From Bishop Jean Baptiste Lamy, Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Mother Superior, Community of Saint Joseph, Carondelet, Missouri, June 26, 1868, Series 207, Box 4, ACSJ, Santa Monica.

⁵³ Letter from Bishop Jean Baptiste Salpointe to the President of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in Paris, April 21, 1869, translation by Marcel G. Langlois, MS 276, University of Arizona Library and Special Collections, Tucson, Arizona, hereafter referred to as UALSC.

long-term civilizing effect of a convent school, but placed his own stamp of the necessity for morality, or “good principles,” for that civilization.

The Sisters of Saint Joseph of Carondelet were an old French order who had not fared well in France during the revolution, but who were flourishing in the new missions in new American frontier communities. Originally founded in 1650, in Le Puy-en-Velay France, the order was one of a new style of self-supporting service providing orders. The order took girls without significant dowries who were expected to work to support the order and tend orphanages, schools, and hospitals. In 1789, the order was officially disbanded during the French Revolution and the sisters went into hiding, but some chose to become martyrs to the guillotine by refusing to take the Civil Oath required by the new government. In 1807, the congregation was re-established in Lyon and began to found sister congregations throughout France. In 1836, a group of sisters arrived in Saint Louis, Missouri, to take charge of a home for deaf-mute children, eventually settling in the nearby village of Carondelet. Although it was the Saint Joseph Foundation in Carondelet, Missouri, that Bishop Salpointe begged teaching sisters, the sisters sent by the order were mostly recent arrivals from France. They were not able to stay in the Missouri Convent even long enough to learn more than a few English words, so urgent were the demands for teaching sisters during this period.⁵⁴

The welcoming ceremonies when the Sisters of Saint Joseph arrived in Tucson are confirmation of the enthusiasm of the whole community for this new sign of civilization. Sisters

⁵⁴ Coburn and Smith, *Spirited Lives*; Patricia Byrne, “Sisters of Saint Joseph: The Americanization of a French Tradition,” *U.S. Catholic Historian* 5.3 & 4 (Fall 1986): 241-272; Mary Lucida Savage, CSJ, *The Congregation of Saint Joseph of Carondelet: A Brief Account of Its Origin and Its Work in the United States (1650-1922)* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co, 1927); Monica Corrigan, “Diary of Sister Monica,” accessed online 5-26-11 http://parentseyes.arizona.edu/carondelet/trekofthesevensisters_departing.html, May 7, 1870, May 26, 1870.

Emerentia Bonnefoy, Ambrosia Arnichaud, Euphrasia Suchet, Monica Corrigan, Hyacinth Blanc, Maxime Croissat, and Martha Peters traveled for 37 days from Saint Louis to Tucson in 1870. Sister Monica Corrigan kept a journal of the journey to Tucson and she described the lengths to which many Tucsonans went to greet their new teachers. The sisters traveled by rail from Saint Louis to San Francisco, by ship from San Francisco to San Diego, and by wagon and foot from San Diego to Tucson, managing this last 300-mile leg of their journey in fewer than 20 days.⁵⁵ Bishop Francisco Lestra met the sisters in Yuma and 75 miles out from Tucson sixteen soldiers from Camp Wallen as well as several leading Tucson citizens met the party to escort them on the remainder of their voyage. A larger group of Tucsonans met the sisters 65 miles out from Tucson and Sister Monica noted: “There was great rejoicing among them; but as they could not speak either French or English, we did not understand them.”⁵⁶ They continued to pick up Tucsonans too curious about the new teachers to wait in town. A grand reception had been planned for weeks anticipating the arrival of the Sisters. Some members of their growing escort started off early to notify those waiting. On May 26th, 1870, the Sisters of Saint Joseph finally arrived in Tucson. Sister Monica wrote: “At about three miles from town we were met by the procession which was headed by four priests on horseback. . . the crowd, in the meantime, discharging firearms. . . their number increasing to about three thousand. . . the city was illuminated, fireworks in full display. . . and at each explosion, Sister Euphrasia made the sign of the cross.”⁵⁷ Bishop Salpointe would write to the Mother Superior: “As to the celebration,

⁵⁵ Corrigan, “Diary of Sister Monica,” May 7, 1870, May 26, 1870.

⁵⁶ Corrigan, *Diary*, May 25, 1870.

⁵⁷ Corrigan, *Diary*, May 26, 1870.

nothing was lost; everybody was in the street of the town, Protestants and Catholics alike, to give welcome and feting to those sent by providence.”⁵⁸

As the first large-scale permanent school in Tucson, Saint Joseph’s Academy for Young Ladies attracted both Catholic and non-Catholic students from the beginning. Just eleven days after arriving in Tucson, on June 6, 1870, the Sisters of Saint Joseph of Carondelet opened Saint Joseph’s Academy for Young Ladies in the small, adobe convent building next to San Agustín church just south of the main Tucson presidio square. In the first five-month session nearly 80 students enrolled, about a quarter of whom were not Catholic, which reflected the general distribution of religions in Tucson until the early 1880s.⁵⁹ Newspaper advertisements for the academy noted that: “Pupils of all denominations are admissible, and their religious opinions are not interfered with.”⁶⁰ Ten years later, the Tucson City Directory of 1881 still boasted about this openness to children from non-Catholic families: “As an indication of the tolerant spirit and wholesome deficiency of prejudice in this city, we will mention the fact that twenty-nine children of Jewish parents constantly attend the Catholic school.”⁶¹ Protestant students also attended the school, and continued to do so even after the public girls school opened up in 1873,

⁵⁸ Bishop Jean Baptiste Salpointe to Mother St. John, Superior of the Mother House of the Sisters of Saint Joseph, June 3, 1870, in Sr. Thomas Marie McMahon, *The Sisters of Saint Joseph of Carondelet: Arizona’s Pioneer Religious Congregation, 1870-1890*, MA Thesis, (Saint Louis: Saint Louis University, 1952): 63.

⁵⁹ Letter from Jean Baptiste Salpointe to Mister Treasurer, Society for the Propagation of the Faith, July 12, 1870, MS 276, UALSC.

⁶⁰ “St. Joseph’s Academy for Young Ladies,” *The Arizona Citizen*, June 28, 1877, p. 1, col. 1.

⁶¹ G. W. Barter, *Directory of the City of Tucson for the Year 1881*, (San Francisco: H. S. Crocker & Co., 1881): 33.

making up about a quarter to half of the total enrollment of 260 students in the Academy and the Parochial School.⁶²

This feeling of cooperation and tolerance among the larger Tucson community initially persuaded Bishop Salpointe that the establishment of religious institutions in the new territory of Arizona would be less problematic than they had been in his native France.⁶³ In 1869, as Bishop Salpointe was working to establish schools and a parish church for Tucson, he would find the Protestant population of Tucson quite obliging. Bishop Salpointe wrote to the president of the Society for Propagation of the Faith in Paris that: “As far as the American sector is concerned, although generally Protestant is in no way opposed to our religion.”⁶⁴ Bishop Salpointe would receive financial assistance and public appreciation for his projects from several prominent non-Catholic individuals in Tucson, including Judge Granville Oury, his brother, Sherriff William Oury, and especially Pinckney Randolph Tully, a local businessman.⁶⁵ Bishop Salpointe

⁶² Saint Joseph’s Academy for Young Ladies offered the only local equivalent to a high school education (nothing else was available for girls or boys) until Tucson High School opened in the 1890s.

Bishop Salpointe’s comment to the Committee: “These schools are attended by a great number of children from Protestant families and there is hope that many of these children will embrace Catholicism. Anyway, we always have a few adult conversions.” Letter from Jean Baptiste Salpointe to the Gentlemen Members of the Central Council of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, September 11, 1871, MS 276, UALSC.

⁶³ The French Republican government began to impose increasingly restrictive regulations on Catholic schools in the late nineteenth century; property was expropriated for secular schools, all teachers were required to attend secular state normal schools, and teachers were required to be French citizens. There were rumors and concerns that entire orders would be expelled from the country. Donovan, Grace. *Immigrant Nuns: Their Participation in the Process of Americanization : Massachusetts and Rhode Island, 1880-1920*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1999: 195, 197.

⁶⁴ Letter from Jean Baptiste Salpointe to the President of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in Paris, April 21, 1869, MS 276, UALSC.

⁶⁵ Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross*, 254; Jim Purdy, “Freight Boss Ochoa Sought to Build Community,” accessed online May 2011, <http://www.purds.com/estevanochoa.html>. G. W. Barter, *Directory of the City of Tucson for the Year 1881*, (San Francisco: H. S. Crocker & Co., 1881).

continued to find that Catholic and non-Catholic Tucsonans appreciated The Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies as a civilizing element in the town. He would write: "From the beginning the Sisters made their school a success, as it was largely attended and justly appreciated by everybody. The day these pious and devoted ladies came to Tucson was considered with reason, by all friends of education and civilization, as the opening of a new era for Arizona."⁶⁶

Even if Tucson Protestants and Catholics started out in agreement about the civilizing effect of Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies in 1870, the academy did not continue to hold the same meanings for various groups of Tucsonans. Initially both Catholics and Protestants saw the academy as a sign of Tucson's increasing civilization. The academy experienced a heyday of popular celebration in Tucson during the 1870s, but many Protestants and some Catholics shifted their hopes to the public school system once it was firmly established. A solid core of Tucson Catholics, on the other hand, continued to assume that the academy would be a tool to aid in the preparation of the citizenship capacity of the town and state. Outspoken Catholics, such as Bishop Salpointe and Irish-American Judge Edmund Dunne, persisted in promoting the academy as a source for an alternative vision of good citizenship based in the creation of a Catholic moral community. For Mexican-American Catholics, as a sub-group within a sub-group, the academy would come to be seen, not only as an alternative foundation for good citizenship, but also as a necessary bulwark against the erosion of community values that would help them survive the transition from Mexican to American life.

Mamie Bernard Aguirre, an Anglo public school teacher in Tucson remarked in her memoirs that: "the better class of Mexican Catholic families would not send their girls [to the

⁶⁶ Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross*, 262.

public school], though they sent the boys. And the girls whose parents were broadminded enough to send them were sort of ostracized.” Aguirre moved to the Arizona territory from Saint Louis, Missouri, after her marriage in 1862 to Epifanio Aguirre, a freighter from Chihuahua. She began teaching in Tucson after her husband’s death during an Indian attack in the 1870s. Aguirre became a Catholic when she married into a Mexican-American family, spoke fluent Spanish, and moved between Mexico and Arizona her whole adult life, but she retained an outsider’s view of Catholicism that gives her comments some critical distance. Aguirre noticed the tensions in Tucson between the supporters of Saint Joseph’s Academy for Young Ladies and the advocates of the public schools: “There was a convent school here then as there is now, but then quite a rivalry existed between the schools.” Aguirre picked up on the importance that the academy had for Mexican-American families, but she had little insight about why a convent education might raise such passions. Aguirre supported herself and her children with her public school salary, and for her an education was a useful and improving thing. Aguirre was equally enthusiastic about other institutions that gave Tucson a degree of refinement and polish. In this, she was like many Tucsonans, Protestants and Catholics, who embraced all that made their town seem more civilized. Initially Saint Joseph’s Academy for Young Ladies was one of these elements of refinement that was applauded for its benefits to Tucson, but as time went on this began to change.

While newly-arrived Protestant Anglo-Americans may have seen Saint Joseph’s Academy for Young Ladies simply as one sign of Tucson settlement and progress, Mexican-Tucsonans and Catholic missionaries had more invested in the long-term survival of the academy. Bishop Salpointe and the Sisters of Saint Joseph passionately felt that a convent education would give their students a knowledge of religious doctrines, develop their

relationship with God, secure long-term habits of piety, and—most importantly—make good Catholic mothers of them. The sisters also had to attend to the practical realities of running a charitable organization: the popularity of an elite girl's school that charged a substantial tuition would help them pay the bills. The very fact that an elite girl's school in such a tiny frontier town attracted enough students to pay those bills indicates that it was of more than casual interest, especially for the Mexican-American families whose daughters made up the largest proportion of students. Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies would not only survive the opening of multiple local public and other private schools, but it would remain open in Tucson for the next one hundred years. For the Mexican-American families who remained so supportive of the academy, it played a complex combination of roles. Sending a daughter to the academy was a sign that a surplus of family resources could be applied to tuition, school supplies, and appropriate clothing for the student: the academy was a reliable indication of family wealth and status. Sending a daughter to the academy also indicated a loyalty to certain cultural values that played into notions of individual and family honor. Further, sending a daughter to the academy signified a family's commitment to the traditions of a uniting cultural Catholicism that provided a buffer against racial antagonism and economic exclusion in the transition from a Mexican to an American Tucson.

For some obvious reasons, generating good citizens was not a direct goal for the academy's female students in the 1870s and 1880s, instead creating citizens has to be seen as an indirect goal. With women's citizenship status so indeterminate in the late nineteenth century, a girl's high school seems at first glance to have done little to develop the notion of citizenship in Tucson. Although there was an active women's suffrage campaign in Arizona beginning in the 1870s, women could not vote in Arizona until 1912. A married immigrant woman in Arizona

could not apply for naturalization as a citizen unless her husband was born or naturalized as an American citizen. Women could not run for a political office, serve on a jury, nor seek an appointed government position. For all practical purposes, nineteenth-century Tucson women were closer to subjects, not citizens. The education provided by Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies was not, therefore, expected to create good citizens directly. For both the Protestant and Catholic communities, the contribution of women to the citizenship fitness of the community was considered to come through their influence—as pious, honorable mothers and wives—on male family members. Catholics had a long tradition of expecting these qualities to be instilled in students through a convent education. For this reason, Catholics would continue to see the training provided to Tucson's young girls by the Sisters of Saint Joseph as essential to the long-term creation of strong, moral families—the foundation of Catholic Tucson's vision of citizenship.⁶⁷

This indirect influence of girls and women on the citizenship preparation of the Catholic community in Tucson was considered to be so important that it took precedence over a high school education for boys. Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies provided the only high school equivalent education in Tucson between 1870 and 1881. All boys in search of a high school education during that decade travelled out of the territory to boarding schools or took private lessons from individuals in Tucson. When Bishop Salpointe wrote to French supporters that: “it is only the good schools that can truly reform society by instilling good principles in the new generation,” it is clear that, because the Academy was the only high school in Tucson,

⁶⁷ Arizona, *Revised Statutes of Arizona*, 1913 (Phoenix: McNeil Co., 1913):146; Amy de Haan, “Arizona Women Argue for the Vote: The 1912 Initiative Campaign for Women's Suffrage,” *The Journal of Arizona History* (Winter 2004): 375-394; Candice Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own: Women, Marriage, and the Law of Citizenship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

reform of the new generation was meant to take place indirectly through feminine influence over the course of generations. There were no other permanent high schools during this period and the early emphasis on an elite girl's school initially seems counterproductive to the needs of a growing community. Just sixteen years earlier Tucson and the surrounding region had become an American territory following the final treaty of the Mexican-American war. An increasing number of trade and transportation links to the American market economy would require reading, writing, and mathematics skills from Tucson's male family members more likely to be involved in these new commercial enterprises. The pressing need for Tucson's families to respond to new business opportunities seemed to favor the development of an educational infrastructure for boys as a first community goal. Instead, the fact that Tucsonans first actively pursued a convent education for their daughters indicates that the provision of more educational opportunities for girls than boys was not simply an accidental result of limited resources, but, at least for some Tucson groups, an intentional, longer-term strategy.⁶⁸

There was a complex chain of influences that made Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies so useful to Tucson's Mexican-American community. First and foremost, the academy provided a moral education that was essential in maintaining the social status of individual

⁶⁸ Jean Baptiste Salpointe letter to the President of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, Paris April 21, 1869, University of Arizona Special Collections, Tucson, Arizona. The Sisters of Saint Joseph were not restricted by custom or congregational rules from teaching male students. Carol Coburn, and Martha Smith. *Spirited Lives: How Nuns Shaped Catholic Culture and American Life, 1836-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999). The order of Saint Joseph was considered one of the more flexible teaching orders in their general willingness to teach boys at the upper levels. For instance, the Catholic Parishes in Fall River, Massachusetts, requested that the Order of Saint Joseph take on the teaching of all boys because the congregation rules of the first teaching order to arrive in Fall River, the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, required that they teach only girls. Grace Donovan, S. U. S. C., "Immigrant Nuns: Their Participation in the Process of Americanization: Massachusetts and Rhode Island, 1880-1920," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 77.2 (April 1991): 194-208, 200-201.

families, through its preparation of young women for the role they would play in the family and community. In solidifying the status of the well-to-do families who could afford for their daughters to attend, the Academy also created a more stable social order among the Mexican-American families in Tucson. Although this was based on inequities in status within the Mexican-American community, it nevertheless presented an established and reputable face for that community to incoming Anglo-Americans. This was essential in generating empathy and understanding between the two groups and was an important factor in the continuing social and political influence of Mexican-Americans in Tucson relative to other Southwestern border towns during the American colonization of this region. The Academy was important to the perceived gentility of the town for all ethnic groups, but for the Catholic Mexican-American community the moral education provided by the Academy had further implications for family and community stability.⁶⁹

Both Anglo- and Mexican-Americans appreciated that Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies promised a moral education for young girls, but at the same time the academy provided excellent opportunities for exhibiting social status and wealth. Sending a daughter to

⁶⁹ Historian Richard Griswold del Castillo finds that Tucson's Mexican-American wealth was more equally distributed within the population than in the Los Angeles community, where a small group of families dominated a much larger working class or poor population. While Tucson's Mexican-American elite were not so far removed from their less-well-off compatriots, there was still a considerable effort to maintain dignity and power among leading families. Richard Griswold del Castillo, "Tucsonenses and Angelenos: A Socioeconomic Study of Two Mexican Barrios, 1860-1880," *Journal of the West* 13 (January 1979): 58-66. Historian Thomas Sheridan argues that: "unlike the *Tejanos* or *Californios*, *Tucsonenses* were not immediately overwhelmed by the Anglo tide of immigration sweeping across the Southwest. On the contrary, they continued to exercise considerable economic and political power long after the presidial soldiers rode out of town for the last time in 1856." On the other hand, Sheridan notes that the difference in the relative wealth distribution between Tucson and other Southwestern cities should not overshadow the fact that Anglos began to dominate Tucson's economic life by the 1860s and never looked back. Thomas Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses: The Mexican Community in Tucson, 1854-1941* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986): quote 2, 37; Manuel Gonzales, *The Hispanic Elite of the Southwest* (El Paso: University of Texas at El Paso, 1989).

the academy was certainly a costly enterprise for parents. Board and tuition for five months cost \$125.00 in a period in which the average Mexican-Arizonan miner was paid between 50 cents and a \$1.50 a day. Obviously the fees alone set families apart as wealthy in public perceptions, in addition to the costs of supplying children to attend. Each girl was expected to have “four dresses, a uniform dress, a white Swiss veil, a blue sun-bonnet, and six changes of underclothing,” as well as a long list of personal and school supplies. Well-off community members donated prizes for exhibitions, books, classroom and parlor furnishings, and house-keeping supplies to the school. Elite businessmen gave their time as volunteer members of an advisory board, were honored as commencement speakers, or generously paid for parties and graduation celebrations. In exchange, the Sisters paid strict attention to the religious instruction of their Catholic charges, included moral themes in every lesson, and, in general, enveloped the girls in the convent environment that emphasized piety, faithfulness, and virtue. All of this polish and decorum provided a public indication of the economic standing of those families who could afford to send their daughters to the Academy.⁷⁰

While both Anglo- and Mexican-Americans wanted to create a more stable social order in Tucson, Mexican-Americans tended to interpret community social structure and stability through the lens of personal and familial honor. Honor ideology is a well-documented set of Mediterranean cultural beliefs that originate with the Roman Empire or earlier. Historians currently emphasize the historical contingency of this set of beliefs, noting that historical environment, economic factors, and personal interpretations all make the notion of honor an

⁷⁰ “St. Joseph’s Academy for Young Ladies,” in *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, October 22, 1870; “Exhibition at St. Joseph’s Academy,” *Tucson Citizen*, July 5, 1877; “School Exhibitions,” *Tucson Citizen*, June 20, 1878; “Christmas Festivities,” *Tucson Citizen*, December 30, 1876; Thomas Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses: The Mexican Community in Tucson, 1854-1941* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986): 85.

almost infinitely flexible way of interpreting how each person fits into the whole of a community. At its most basic, honor was a relational quality that determined a person's social status based on the communal perception of their behavior. The honor of a family would depend upon the behavior of all the family members. As the ideology of honor has been described in the context of the northern Spanish and Mexican frontier areas, male family members could actively pursue honor and the status it generated through public risk taking and virtuous behavior as well as taking proper authority over female family members and other subordinates. The behavior of female family members, although it has sometimes been defined as a more passive process, was equally important to maintaining family status. The female equivalent of honor is depicted through the notion of *vergüenza*, or shame. *Vergüenza* was also a very relational concept that depended upon the girl or woman carefully guarding her public reputation because this reflected so closely on the reputation of the family. *Vergüenza* required producing the perceived image of a quiet, chaste, faithful, discrete, and prudent daughter, wife, or mother. For Tucson's Mexican-American families with any ambition for an elite or middle-class status, no matter how actively the men in the family pursued honor through their military or business activities, that effort could be negated if female relatives behaved in a way that shamed the family before the community. Because the role of wife and mother were so important to family and community, ensuring proper female moral behavior became a high priority for elite and aspiring families. As historian Laura Shelton puts it: "In Sonora, sexual chastity among women and demonstrations of respect for fathers, husbands, and elders within the family were critical social markers that distinguished civilization from barbarity."⁷¹ This made a convent education, if it could help protect the

⁷¹ Laura Marie Shelton, *For Tranquility and Order: Family and Community on Mexico's Northern Frontier, 1800-1850* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010): 3.

reputation of daughters and nurture a sense of *vergüenza* in women, appear very useful to the maintenance of family status.⁷²

Mexican-American women in Tucson worked to uphold the honor of their family, but they also helped to maintain relationships between families, prepared for communal celebrations, and watched over the behavior of children. These were essential contributions to community

⁷² For honor ideology in Spanish America and Mexico in general: Ann Twinam, “The Negotiation of Honor: Elites, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Eighteenth-Century Spanish America” in *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame, and Violence in Colonial Latin America*, edited by Lyman Johnson and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, 68-102, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998); Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America* (Stanford University Press, 1999); Steve J. Stern, *The Secret History of Gender: Women, Men, and Power in Late Colonial Mexico* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Patricia Seed, *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts Over Marriage Choice, 1574-1821* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988); Pablo Piccato, *The Tyranny of Opinion: Honor in the Construction of the Mexican Public Sphere* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010); Mary Kay Vaughn, “Rural Women’s Literacy and Education During the Mexican Revolution: Subverting a Patriarchal Event?” in *Women of the Mexican Countryside, 1850-1990* eds. Heather Fowler-Salamini and Mary Kay Vaughn (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994); Sueann Caulfield, Sarah C. Chambers, and Lara Putnam, *Honor, Status, and Law in Modern Latin America* (Duke University Press, 2005); Sueann Caulfield, *In Defense of Honor: Sexual Morality, Modernity, and Nation in Early-twentieth Century Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000); Kathryn A. Sloan, *Runaway Daughters: Seduction, Elopement, and Honor in Nineteenth-century Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008).

For honor ideology along the northern frontier of New Spain and Mexico: Ana Maria Alonso, *Thread of Blood: Colonialism, Revolution, and Gender on Mexico’s Northern Frontier* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995); Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford University Press, 1991); Laura Marie Shelton, *For Tranquility and Order: Family and Community on Mexico’s Northern Frontier, 1800-1850* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010); Ramon Gutierrez, “Honor Ideology, Marriage Negotiation, and Class-Gender Domination in New Mexico, 1690-1846” *Latin American Perspectives*, 12.1 (Winter, 1985): 81-104; 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). These historians of the northern deserts note that honor functioned differently among the northern Sonoran or Chihuahuan cattle farmers, miners, and small businessmen than among their contemporaries in urban Mexico or the Iberian Peninsula, where honor was firmly linked to prominent and wealthy families. Historian Laura Shelton found more mention of good habits and good manners in northern Sonoran court records, indicating a type of honor less linked to elite bloodline, than to honorable behavior.

cohesion and strength. Several scholars of Mexican-American, northern-frontier Catholicism have proposed that, after limited contact with Church clergy during most of the nineteenth-century, following the upheavals of Independence from Spain, many frontier Mexican Catholics had developed a family-based understanding of religion that was relatively independent from the Church hierarchy. This style of Catholicism revolved around the home as well as local celebrations of patron saints, such as San Isidro, San Juan, and San Agustín in Tucson. While the concepts of family honor and shame placed considerable restrictions on women's public lives, this more familial based practice of Catholicism meant that the family depended more upon the mother to maintain a core of religious and traditional knowledge to be passed on to children. Tucson's Mexican-American women, who were aware of the importance and perhaps the weightiness and difficulty of this responsibility, looked forward to the support of the Sisters of Saint Joseph as reinforcements in this duty. Sister Anna de Sales mentioned in her memoirs that the mothers of Tucson "longed to have their children educated by Hermanas." After having experienced generations of relative isolation and lack of sustenance from the church, Tucson's Mexican-American mothers saw the advent of a convent school for their daughters as a resource to help buttress the work they did for their families and for community solidarity.⁷³

⁷³ A central premise of Sarah Deutsch's *No Separate Refuge* is that Hispanic women within the Northern New Mexico context were not simply cloistered within the home, but actively a part of village life, and that their "sustaining social networks, far exceeded that of the men." Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge*, 49; Laura Marie Shelton, *For Tranquility and Order: Family and Community on Mexico's Northern Frontier, 1800-1850* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010); Alberto Pulido, "Mexican American Catholicism in the Southwest: The Transformation of a Popular Religion." In *En Aquel Entonces: Readings in Mexican-American History*, edited by Manuel Gonzales and Cynthia Gonzales (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000): 103; Gilberto Hinojosa, "Mexican-American Faith Communities in Texas and the Southwest." In *Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church, 1900-1965*, edited by Gilberto Hinojosa and Jay Dolan (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994):18; "Memoirs of Sister Anna de Sales Dictated in 1935," Series 207, Box 4, ASJC-LAP.

Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies was not just important to individual families, but also to the Mexican-American community as a whole as it confronted new Anglo immigrants. While communal perceptions of honor and shame established and maintained internal Mexican-American social ties, those behaviors also communicated recognizable social values to Anglos seeped in the Victorian morality of the mid-nineteenth century. There were many surface similarities between the Anglo-American ideology of separate spheres that glorified a woman's domesticity and spiritual purity, and the Mexican-American expectations of *vergüenza*. Certainly both ideologies dictated a restricted public role for women, both promoted these restrictions as protective, and both enforced restrictions through the public medium of praise or ridicule in gossip. That these ideologies had a superficial resemblance initially allowed for a shared celebration of the beneficial effects of the education provided by Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies. While Protestants generally switched their allegiance to the public schools when they were established, the Mexican-American families who were able to send their daughters to the academy retrenched and became more defensive of their choice in schools.⁷⁴

Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies encapsulates a communal way of perceiving Republican citizenship for the Mexican-Americans in early Tucson. Since the Mexican Revolution from Spain, which began in 1810 and ended with Mexican Independence in 1821,

⁷⁴ Like the honor/shame ideology in Latin America, historians caution against an ahistorical, uncritical approach to the North American ideology of "separate spheres." Instead, this ideology should be viewed as a very contentious prescriptive vision of an ideal that was interpreted differently through the lenses of gender, class, and race in America. Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860." *American Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1966): 151-174; Christopher Lasch, *Haven in a Heartless World: The Family Besieged* (New York: Basic Books, 1977); Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America." *Signs* 1, no. 1 (October 1, 1975): 1-29; Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977). For a historiographical critique of the literature on separate spheres see: Linda K. Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History." *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 1 (June 1, 1988): 9-39.

Mexicans had been tangling with the ideas of Republican governance and citizenship, rather than loyalty to a far-away Spanish Emperor. While Mexican independence was finally the ironic result of conservative Royalist forces reacting against a liberalization of Spanish government, Republican ideals had filtered through the country in the ten years of fighting. These Republican ideals were interpreted through the Iberian ideology of honor as well as a strong sense of what historian Laura Shelton has described as “community harmony.” As Shelton writes: “Community harmony is an ideology that places an emphasis on conciliation, recognition that resolution of conflict is inherently good and that its reverse—continued conflict or controversy—is bad or dysfunctional, a view of harmonious behavior as more civilized than disputing behavior.”⁷⁵ This sense of community harmony created a distinct interpretation of American citizenship that contrasted with the Anglo-American vision of an individualistic citizenship based on individual rights. For Mexican-Tucsonans, the well-functioning community provided the harmonious environment necessary for good citizenship. In addition, historian Thomas Sheridan asserts that the well-to-do among Tucson’s Spanish-speaking population “considered themselves heirs to a Catholic, European intellectual tradition, one that had been implanted in Latin America long before the Anglos ever reached the New World.”⁷⁶ So for Tucson’s Mexican-Americans, Saint Joseph’s Academy was the representative of a long, distinguished European intellectual and religious tradition that was essential to creating community harmony. Good citizenship could only be developed through community harmony. For this reason Saint Joseph’s Academy for Young Ladies continued to play a central conceptual role in the citizenship strategies of Tucson’s Mexican-American community as a whole, even as they began to adapt to the Anglo-American economy and political structure.

⁷⁵ Shelton, *For Tranquility and Order*, 4.

⁷⁶ Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses*, 47.

The mostly French Sisters of Saint Joseph of Carondelet are perhaps a peculiar resource for Tucson's Mexican-American families to rely on for cultural fortification, but experiences of their own with cultural and religious bigotry primed the Sisters to be fervent advocates for the disadvantaged. Five of the original seven sisters who travelled to Tucson from St. Louis, Missouri, had only recently emigrated from France: Sisters Emerentia Bonnefoy, Euphrasia Suchet, Hyacinth Blanc, Ambrosia Arnichaud, and Maxime Croisat. The sixth, Monica Corrigan, was a Protestant-convert and Canadian immigrant, and seventh, Martha Peters, was an Irish-born lay Sister. After arriving in Tucson, all of the French teaching Sisters studied both English and Spanish in dim lamplight during the evenings and awoke the next day to teach what they had so recently learned. The French language remained one of the academic subjects taught and became a marker of the refinement of the Academy, as locals sometimes referred to it as "The French School."⁷⁷ On the other hand, the Sisters of Saint Joseph understood the impact of social bigotry and anti-clericalism. The order of Saint Joseph, which had been one of France's most active orders in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, suffered almost complete disintegration during The Terror of the French Revolution in 1793-1794. Under the Emperor Napoleon's Concordat of 1801, the order of Saint Joseph, like all French Catholic institutions, was permitted to exist but only under increasingly restrictive government oversight. For most of the nineteenth century French Catholic orders remained in a situation of complex, often uncomfortable compromise with both French secular authorities and competing Protestant religious groups. In the 1860s and 1870s, a resurgence of evangelical fervor that developed in reaction to these restrictions, reanimated this and other French orders. The New World was one attractive outlet

⁷⁷ Sister Vibiana Gallego, CSJ, interviewed by Sister M. Dolorosa Mann, CSJ, Series 177.1, box 3, folder 1, Archives of the Community of Saint Joseph Provincial House, Santa Monica, CA (hereafter described as ACSJ, Santa Monica).

for these proselytizing energies. This new expression of French Catholic evangelical enthusiasm contributed significantly to the establishment and solidification of a Catholic infrastructure in the United States. Because the Order of Saint Joseph had been so terrorized in France, the sympathies of the Sisters of Saint Joseph often aligned with Mexican-Americans in Tucson who were also undergoing restrictive cultural confrontations with Anglo-American immigrants. The Sisters, like Bishop Salpointe and other French clergy, were primed from their own experiences to react to religious and secular bigotry and, for that reason, were quietly passionate allies for Mexican-American families.⁷⁸

If Tucson's elite Mexican-American families were willing to pump resources into Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies to reinforce their social status, the Sisters of Saint Joseph would return those resources to the town and region in a more egalitarian way. The Order of Saint Joseph followed a strategy of institution building that had worked in most of the order's new mission locations: using the income generated by the academy to fund charity and parochial schools. When the Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies opened in 1870, the Sisters also accepted day-school students at reduced or no tuition, depending upon the perceived need of the family. Some mothers of day school students were allowed to sit in class with their children and

⁷⁸ Carol Coburn and Martha Smith. *Spirited Lives: How Nuns Shaped Catholic Culture and American Life, 1836-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Patricia Byrne, "Sisters of Saint Joseph: The Americanization of a French Tradition," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 5.3 & 4 (Fall 1986): 241-272; Mary Lucida Savage, CSJ, *The Congregation of Saint Joseph of Carondelet: A Brief Account of Its Origin and Its Work in the United States (1650-1922)* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co, 1927); Monica Corrigan, CSJ, *Sisters of St. Joseph Journal*, 1870, MS 0732, Arizona Historical Society Archives, Tucson, AZ; Thomas Marie McMahon, CSJ, "The Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet: Arizona's Pioneer Religious Congregation, 1870-1890" (MA thesis, St. Louis: St. Louis University, 1952); Barbara Alice Perkins, CSJ, "Educational Work of the Sisters of Saint Joseph in Arizona from 1903 to 1963" (MA thesis, Los Angeles: Mount St. Mary's College, 1965); Grace Donovan, "Immigrant Nuns: Their Participation in the Process of Americanization: Massachusetts and Rhode Island, 1880-1920," *The Catholic Historical Review* 77.2 (April 1991): 194-208, 195.

learn to read and write. The Sisters went on to open the nearby Saint Joseph's Parochial school, where they charged a much lower tuition for both male and female students. In the evenings, they offered free catechism classes to both adults and children. They would open several more parochial schools around Tucson as the population expanded. By 1873, the Sisters had opened a Tohono O'Odham Indian mission school at San Xavier del Bac, which was partially funded by the U.S. Government and partially funded out of the income from the Tucson Academy. During the 1870s and 1880s, they opened mission or parochial schools in Yuma, Prescott, Florence, Komatke, and Phoenix. In the 1880s the Sisters would branch out of teaching and open Saint Mary's Hospital. That all of this charitable activity developed, at least in part, from the income generated by Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies, clearly shows the early and ongoing importance of the Academy to the Sister's financial solvency and to their ability to expand the Catholic social services throughout Arizona. It shouldn't cloud the fact, however, that the Sisters of Saint Joseph in Tucson saw their first and foremost task as Catholic evangelization. Their primary interest was in making good Catholics of their charges, and through them, forming generations of good Catholic families. Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies was to provide good training for the daughters of families who could afford the tuition and a good example for those others who looked to the Tucson elite as social exemplars.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ Coburn and Smith, *Spirited Lives*; "St. Joseph's Academy," *Tucson Directory*, 1881; "St. Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies," in *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, October 22, 1870; "Roman Catholic Diocese of Tucson Reaching Out to All Adherents of Faith in Wide State of Arizona," *The Tucson Citizen*, September 29, 1917; Gilberto Hinojosa, "Mexican-American Faith Communities in Texas and the Southwest." In *Mexican Americans and the Catholic Church, 1900-1965*, edited by Gilberto Hinojosa and Jay Dolan (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994); Mary Lucida Savage, CSJ, *The Congregation of Saint Joseph of Carondelet: A Brief Account of Its Origin and Its Work in the United States (1650-1922)* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co, 1927); Thomas Marie McMahon, CSJ, "The Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet: Arizona's Pioneer Religious Congregation, 1870-1890" (MA thesis, St. Louis: St. Louis University, 1952); Barbara Alice Perkins, CSJ, "Educational Work of the Sisters of Saint

A convent education as conceived by the Sisters of Saint Joseph had the parallel goals of training girls to become devout and virtuous mothers or of possibly helping them to discover a religious calling and become nuns themselves. Ideally, both future nuns and mothers should be equally unworldly and equally pious. The Order of Saint Joseph's dogma regarding a convent education combined comfortably with both nineteenth-century Victorian American perceptions of a separate and more virtuous sphere for women as well as the Mexican-American emphasis on protecting the *vergüenza* of women. An aphorism taught to the girls attending an Order of Saint Joseph school in Philadelphia in the 1870s describes the anticipated goal for the academy students: "A woman's path is ours to humbly tread, And yet to lofty heights our hopes are led. We may not share the Senate's stern debate, Nor guide with faltering hand the helm of state; Ours is the holier right to soften party hate, And teach the lesson, lofty and divine, Ambition's fairest flowers are laid at Virtue's shrine."⁸⁰ In Tucson, this was not a set of expectations imposed by a draconian Catholic church on an unwilling population. Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies was so attractive to families in Tucson precisely because the Sisters provided an atmosphere that promised to direct their daughters on the best possible path for virtue and piety. These characteristics were felt to be worth the money families paid—precisely because of the buttress they provided to civilization and community order in the beleaguered territory.⁸¹

Joseph in Arizona from 1903 to 1963" (MA thesis, Los Angeles: Mount St. Mary's College, 1965).

⁸⁰ Agnes Repplier, *In Our Convent Days* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1905), 203.

⁸¹ Eileen Mary Brewer, *Nuns and the Education of American Catholic Women, 1860-1920* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1987); Carol Coburn and Martha Smith, *Spirited Lives: How Nuns Shaped Catholic Culture and American Life, 1836-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Mary Lucida Savage, CSJ, *The Congregation of Saint Joseph of Carondelet: A Brief Account of Its Origin and Its Work in the United States (1650-1922)* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co, 1927); Thomas Marie McMahan, CSJ, "The Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet: Arizona's Pioneer Religious Congregation, 1870-1890" (MA thesis, St. Louis: St. Louis University, 1952); Barbara Alice Perkins, CSJ, "Educational Work of the Sisters of Saint

Virtue and piety were not the only subjects on the curriculum, however, and the academy offered Tucson girls as thorough an education as was available through many American high schools of the 1870s. The subjects taught were similar to those offered in other high schools: orthography, reading, writing, grammar, ancient and modern history, astronomy, botany, natural philosophy, chemistry, arithmetic, and algebra. The languages English, French, and Spanish were taught formally at Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies. For additional fees girls could also study music, drawing and painting, needlework, and the making of lace or artificial flowers. The Spanish-speaking students started out learning the basics of reading and writing in English—a language that most of the French Sisters of Saint Joseph studied themselves in the evenings, along with Spanish. A Spanish-speaking student at Saint Joseph's Academy in the early 1880s, Mary Hughes, later remembered that while most of the students arrived in school speaking Spanish, they quickly learned English in school and would soon speak English among themselves. Most subjects were taught through a lens of religion: reading and composition classes centered on spiritual works, history lessons on biblical events, and philosophy classes emphasized Christian doctrine. Examinations were written and oral with public examinations advertised in the Tucson papers at the end of each school year. Students received prizes for good conduct and application as well as for excelling at academic subjects such as composition, geography, grammar, arithmetic, and Christian doctrine. What was missing from the course list were the Latin and Greek languages necessary for college entrance at secular and Catholic colleges and universities during this period. These languages were available at few Catholic girl's academies in the United States at this time and, ironically, by the time the Sisters would

Joseph in Arizona from 1903 to 1963" (MA thesis, Los Angeles: Mount St. Mary's College, 1965).

have the training needed to offer these courses in the 1920s, they would no longer be required for university entrance.⁸²

Time brought changes, not only to Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies, but also for Tucson as well. The arrival of the railroad in the 1880s was a defining moment for Tucson and for social relations within the town. The Mexican-American community began to experience more racial prejudice and a subsequent loss of economic security and social and political prominence in Tucson. There are three general reasons for this cited in the histories of Tucson on this period. First, the cooperation between Anglo and Mexican-American groups in response to Indian attacks on Tucson began to wane as those Indian groups were subdued by the U.S. military. The end of the Apache wars in 1886 and the confinement of Apache groups to reservations ended decades of warfare that had taken a toll on Anglos and Mexican-Americans in Tucson. As early as 1880, many immigrants moving to Tucson by train had no experience of the dangers of Indian attack because of the relative safety of rail travel. Without this comradeship developed from shared experiences, these new Anglo immigrants had less reason to engage in social relationships with the Mexican-Americans in Tucson. In addition, with the arrival of the railroad, the percentage of Mexican-Americans to the total population decreased from 92% to 66% between 1864 and 1880 and to 25% by the 1910s.⁸³ Second, the trade links created by the new railroad favored those with ties to the American east and west and diminished the status of

⁸² "St. Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies," in *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, October 22, 1870; "St. Joseph's Academy," *Tucson Directory*, 1881; "Awards of Merit," *The Arizona Citizen*, July 6, 1872; Archives Sisters of Saint Joseph of Carondelet, Los Angeles Province, California; Eileen Mary Brewer, *Nuns and the Education of American Catholic Women, 1860-1920* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1987); Oral interview with Mary Hughes Dietrich Sheehan by Karen Mangelsdorf, May 27, 1985, AV0392, the Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona.

⁸³ Griswold del Castillo, "Tucsonenses and Angelenos," 59; United States, 13th Census of the United States: 1910, Supplement for Arizona (Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1912), 579.

Mexican freight companies and merchants. Freight and trade ties with Sonora and other Mexican states had been an important source of income for many of Tucson's Mexican-Americans at all economic levels. Some local Mexican-American businesses continued to be competitive with American companies but on the whole, the shift in trade links left many commercial enterprises at a disadvantage. Losses to business leaders were translated to employees and their families as well, impacting the whole Mexican-American community. Finally, Anglo Protestant boosters worked actively to re-shape the atmosphere of Tucson, emphasizing the importance of Protestant institutions and organizations over their Catholic predecessors. For example, Josephine Brawley Hughes, wife of the territorial Governor, Louis C. Hughes, helped establish the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches in Tucson. She was also among the most active advocates for temperance, anti-gambling laws, and public schooling. Occasionally Josephine Hughes framed her arguments for civic organization in opposition to what she perceived as an old-fashioned and dangerously-foreign Catholic Church.⁸⁴

After the 1880s, the Catholic Church was less helpful in mediating between the Mexican-American community and Tucson's growing number of Anglo Protestant residents. In part this is because the Catholic Church itself was struggling to generate respect within American society. This was a moment when the cultural citizenship of Catholic-Americans was as fragile as that of

⁸⁴James Officer argues that the inter-ethnic relations remained far more equitable in Tucson than in other southwestern cities. Officer attributes this to a number of factors: Indian wars fostered mutual interdependence, relatively extensive intermarriage between well-to-do Anglo and Mexican-Tucsonans, the isolation of Tucson, the retail business successes of Mexican-Tucsonans with ties to Sonoran shippers, and the relatively low immigration from Mexico following the Mexican revolution. Nevertheless, Officer acknowledges that the Mexican-American community did suffer a loss of political and economic influence in mainstream Tucson affairs in the 1890s and again in the 1930s, which he ascribes to competition for reduced resources during economic crises. James Officer, "Historical Factors in Interethnic Relations in the Community of Tucson," *Arizoniana* Vol. 1 (Fall 1960): 12-16. Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses*; Gonzales, *The Hispanic Elite of the Southwest*; Griswold del Castillo, "Tucsonenses and Angelenos," p. 59.

Mexican-Americans. Catholicism had been under renewed attack in American popular culture since the 1850s nativist movements of the Know-Nothing Party and other similar groups. These were largely responses to increases in immigrants from Catholic countries, such as Ireland and Italy. These immigrants, in the minds of many white, Protestant Americans, presented an economic and cultural threat. As Anglo-American Protestants moved into Tucson from the east coast and other western states they brought these prejudices with them. Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies may have only been partially successful at deflecting criticism leveled against the Mexican-American community because convents themselves were suspect to a vocal portion of these newcomers.⁸⁵ Convents and the phenomenon of female celibacy were uncomfortably foreign to Anglo Protestant Americans, who saw them as unnatural and assumed that convent life was forced upon unwilling women. The Sisters of Saint Joseph, in their unmarried state and living together in an all-female environment, seemed strange to Protestant Tucsonans. Additionally, historians have found that the Catholic Church became distanced from Mexican-American groups throughout the Southwest during this period, hoping to portray itself as more, rather than less, familiar and safe to Anglo Protestants. By the 1880s, the American Catholic Church was under pressure to define itself as American, while still maintaining its internal theological and social coherence.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ As historian Patricia Byrne notes: "The Sisters of Saint Joseph became American in the sense that the Catholic Church became American—that is, ambivalently." Byrne, "Sisters of Saint Joseph," 271.

⁸⁶ Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses*; Griswold del Castillo, "Tucsonenses and Angelenos," 62-63; Manuel G. Gonzales, "Carlos I Velasco," *Journal of Arizona History* Vol. 25.3 (1984):265-284; Jay Dolan, *In Search of American Catholicism: A History of Religion and Culture in Tension* (Oxford University Press, 2002); Hinojosa, "Mexican-American Faith Communities," ; "St. Joseph's Academy," *The Tucson Citizen*, July 4, 1874; Names from 1912-1913 Academy Register, ASJC-LAP.

After the 1880s, there is evidence that Tucson's Mexican-American community may have begun to have less influence in daily administration of the Catholic Church. The San Agustín Church, which had been built by hand of adobe bricks mostly by Mexican-American community members was re-modeled in the 1880s with a stone Romanesque facade and two towers designed by a French stone mason. At the same time that the adobe church was re-styled, relationships within the church were beginning to change. Soon after the church was built, wealthy Tucson families, both Mexican-American and Anglo, began to have pews made. The well-off sat in their personal pews at the front of the church, while poorer families would stand or sit on the dirt floor at the back. As time went on, the pews were increasingly occupied by Non-Hispanic Catholics, creating an ethnic, as well as class, divide in the congregation. This did cause resentment, as one woman recalled poorer parishioners pinching the legs of the Anglos as they made their way through the church to the pews in front. By 1896, the adobe San Agustín was abandoned and an entirely new brick Romanesque Saint Augustine's Cathedral was erected. This indicated a new perception of proper church design among those in the Catholic community who raised money and organized the building project. The change in architectural styles reflects a loss of influence for the Mexican-American men and women who had been involved in the construction of the original San Agustín Church. Saint Joseph's Academy, too, reacted to the influx of Anglo-Americans in the 1880s, and may have been only partially useful to the Mexican-American community with these changes. While the Academy continued to list primarily Hispanic surnames on its registers, in 1886 it moved from the old centrally located adobe convent and school into a new stone and brick building near the train station. This was a neighborhood of newly built Victorian homes housing primarily Anglo-American white-collar workers, leaving the impression that because the school no longer bridged ethnic neighborhoods,

it may have been less effective at bridging ethnic groups. However, its primary usefulness to the Mexican-American population – providing a moral education for future wives and mothers – remained important to the proper internal ordering of that community.⁸⁷

In the late 1860s, when Tucson's civic leaders – Mexican-American and Anglo – were planning for the future, they chose to invest their money in education for girls and funded the Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies. When the results of that choice are analyzed, it becomes plain that these civic leaders understood their situation well. As did other Tucson residents who contributed labor and money toward building the Academy. They were members of two ethnic populations with distinct histories and cultural practices living together in a small village isolated by miles of desert, caught in the cross-fire between Indian raids and military retaliation. For Anglos, attracting more immigrants to Tucson, meant creating a "civilized" town with schools, parks, and churches. The Academy was an attractive part of this plan because of its image of gentility and refinement. For Mexican-Americans, the Academy run by the Sisters of Saint Joseph was not only a civilizing project – building up a town where families could live – it was also a useful tool for maintaining a specific social ordering. The ideology of honor and shame, when appropriately observed by all family members, could cement the high status of certain families, creating a social ranking that they saw as imperative for maintaining order and creating a stable society. At the same time, Tucson's Mexican-American families were mostly northern pioneers who had developed their own family-oriented practice of Catholicism that relied heavily on wives and mothers to sustain religious practices. The particular role of women

⁸⁷ Anne Nequette and R. Brooks Jeffery, *A Guide to Tucson Architecture* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2002); George Callahan, "San Agustín Cathedral," (unpublished manuscript in Arizona Historical Society Ephemera file, Places-Arizona-Tucson-Schools-Saint Augustine, 1954); "Sacrifice of Pioneers Recalled As Walls of Old Convent Tumble," *Tucson Daily Citizen*, June 30, 1932.

within this cultural philosophy required careful attention to their moral instruction. The Sisters provided, not only the equivalent to a high school education, but careful moral training that would benefit families and the Tucson Mexican-American community. The Academy was worth the considerable expense to individual families and to the wider community, because this moral training met specific needs and because the school also contributed to the civilized image of the Mexican-American community.

Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies continued to play a part in Tucson's civilizing project after the 1880s, and, although its contribution was less central to the development of the town, it continued to be useful to the Mexican-American community. Both the Catholic Church and the Mexican-American community faced increasing prejudice from incoming Anglo Protestants, which made the Academy and the role it played in providing prestige and social cohesion to the Mexican-American community all the more important. Bishop Salpointe and the Sisters of Saint Joseph knew that their attempts to build a Catholic infrastructure in Tucson would not have been successful without the generous and ongoing support and involvement of the Mexican-American community. But because all Tucson Catholics felt themselves to be under attack from Protestant proselytization, the Church was less helpful to that community. Some Anglo Protestants, who brought with them intolerance of the Catholic Church, saw the Mexican-American community through these prejudices and developed a new disdain that was both religious and racial. In these cases, neither the Mexican-American community nor the Catholic Church could do much to protect each other from this bigotry. While Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies played an essential part in the relationship between Mexican-American Tucsonans and the American Catholic Church, it was only partially successful in bridging the

divide between these two groups and Anglo Protestant newcomers. Instead, its importance shifted to maintaining internal community cohesion for Mexican-American Tucsonans.

Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies continued to provide a structure for an alternative vision of American citizenship. In the 1930s, the Academy was renamed Villa Carondelet and was moved to an east-side mansion left to the Sisters of Saint Joseph by a wealthy patron. It maintained its reputation as a relatively exclusive high school for the daughters of wealthy Tucson families, including many with Spanish surnames, until it closed for good in 1969, nearly a hundred years after it opened. The history of the academy reveals a much more complex relationship between the American Catholic Church and Mexican Americans living in the U.S. Southwest than has previously been acknowledged. While the church faltered sometimes in its defense of Mexican-American Catholics, its institutions remained useful to that community in Tucson. The academy provided a convent education to reinforce the expectations of families. The emphasis on moral and religious purity for young girls who would grow into Tucson's wives and mothers was central to a vision of Mexican-American citizenship that was communal in nature. In this vision wives and mothers continued to form the moral center of Mexican-American families and family life formed the core of a stable social structure. This ideal of cultural citizenship was constructed in opposition to the bigotry of newly arriving Anglo-Americans who had not shared the frontier life with early Tucsonans and brought with them anti-Catholic and racist assumptions currently in vogue nationally. It was an ideal of citizenship that did not demand conformity with American Protestants, but affirmed the right of Catholics to be good American citizens in their own way and for Mexican-Americans to be hyphenated but still fully American.

CHAPTER TWO

“May the Two Republics Go On Hand in Hand:” Tucson’s Public School

On a hot sunny July fourth in 1875, sixteen-year-old public school student Ignacio Bonillas stood up in front of the collected residents of Tucson, Arizona, and read a patriotic speech first in English and then in Spanish. While the crowd, like the town, was at least one-third Anglo, Bonillas spoke directly to those who shared his background: “Although we are Mexican by birth and love our native land, still we are American by adoption and as we love and revere the land that gave us birth, so we do the land of our adoption.”⁸⁸ Bonillas went on to explain to his fellow Mexican-Americans how to balance the love for two nations: “We will twine the garlands of our affection around the hallowed Fourth of July that gave birth to the American Independence, as also the Sixteenth of September, a day which marks the Independence of Mexico from the crown of Spain.”⁸⁹ He described his vision of how the United States and Mexico should work together: “May the two republics go on hand in hand with brotherly unity in the march of prosperity, and may the purity and freedom of their governments become beacon lights to lead all other nations from tyranny and despotism to liberty and equality.”⁹⁰ Bonillas did two things with his July fourth speech: he attempted to soothe the anxieties of Tucson’s Anglo-American residents that Mexicans might not be loyal Americans and at the same time he claimed a unique model of Americanization for his fellow Mexican-born Tucsonans. Bonillas was describing a citizenship model that brought together bi-national patriotic sentiments rather than dividing sympathies. This young public school student was

⁸⁸ “The Fourth in Tucson,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, July 10, 1875, page 2.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

articulating a hyphenated-Americanization to his fellow Tucsonans, ardently proclaiming that the two traditions combined created a stronger citizenship.

Only four years before, Ignacio Bonillas had moved to Tucson with his family from Sonora, Mexico, in order to attend the newly opened public school. Bonillas was an ambitious young man and would later in his life go on to become the Mexican ambassador to the United States. Even at sixteen, Bonillas showed early signs of diplomatic talent as he skillfully linked American with Mexican patriotism. His impassioned speech showed how aware he was of the tense political situation in Tucson. A crisis of cultural misunderstanding had come to a boiling point by 1875, as advocates for public schooling butted heads with supporters of religious education. This battle in Tucson reflected national Catholic-Protestant battles for educational dollars and cultural authority, but Tucson's border location and the mix of races, ethnicities, and languages in the small town created both unique compromises and unique arguments for alternative models for full American belonging.⁹¹

Earlier that warm July Fourth morning in 1875, before Ignacio Bonillas gave his bilingual speech, there were other signs that Tucsonans were preoccupied with issues of education, citizenship, and patriotism. Organizers had planned typical Fourth of July activities such as a thirteen gun salute, speeches, a picnic, and a horse race. There was also a parade of all the notable territorial officials, pursued by a "triumphal car" carrying thirty-eight girls dressed in

⁹¹ Ignacio Bonillas was Mexican Ambassador to the United States between the years 1917 to 1920. It was Bonillas who used all the diplomatic skills that he had earlier exhibited as a young student in Tucson to soothe relations between the two countries after the U.S. intercepted Germany's infamous Zimmermann telegram, which offered to return the lands lost under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo—including Tucson—if Mexico joined Germany's efforts in the war. Ignacio Bonillas, "Reminiscences of Ignacio Bonillas, Nogales, As told to Dr. Frank C. Lockwood, April, 1940," Biofile, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona (Hereafter noted as AHSLA); Thomas Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses: The Mexican Community in Tucson, 1854-1941* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1986); Barbara Tuchman, *The Zimmermann Telegram* (New York: MacMillan, 1966).

white, each representing a state or territory. It was the banner that immediately followed the young girls that tips the viewer off about the tension in Tucson. The banner read, innocuously enough: “Our Public Schools: The Century’s Glory.”⁹² To appreciate why this banner set Tucsonans one against another, the viewer would have to trace the public debate about education back five years to the development of the first schools in Tucson.⁹³

The development of schools in Tucson mirrored the national trend in the 1860s toward increasingly available schooling. Education was also becoming more and more rhetorically linked to citizenship nationally because of concerns about the emancipation of large numbers of former slaves in the southern states. The Emancipation Proclamation was signed in January of 1863. In December of that same year, when President Abraham Lincoln appointed the first Arizona Territorial Governor, John Noble Goodwin, education was high on the priority list for the new territory. Governor Goodwin remarked soon after he arrived in Arizona that: “Self-government and universal education are inseparable. The one can be exercised only as the other is enjoyed.”⁹⁴ Governor Goodwin chose to locate the first capital of Arizona Territory in north-central Arizona in a relatively unpopulated area because he had been advised that the largest settlement in the territory—Tucson—was primarily Hispanic and Indian, and that the Anglos living in Tucson were Confederate sympathizers. Indeed, the Arizona Territory was part of the Confederate States of America between 1861 and 1863. Many Union sympathizers, already in Tucson, chose to leave the area for the duration of the war. In this sense, for Republican

⁹² “The Fourth in Tucson,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, July 10, 1875, page 2.

⁹³ “The Fourth in Tucson,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, July 10, 1875, page 2; “The Fourth of July: Grand Celebration in Tucson,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, July 3, 1875.

⁹⁴ James Cooper and John H. Fahr, “The First Hundred Years: The History of Tucson School District 1, Tucson Arizona, 1867-1967,” Manuscript, AHSLA, page 2.

Governor Goodwin and his fellow Lincoln territorial appointees, Arizona in the 1860s mirrored the conditions in the slave states.⁹⁵

The Arizona territory was populated by what Lincoln's cohort perceived to be a racially different and perhaps difficult population: Hispanics and Indians who must be newly incorporated into the political and civic body of the United States. In many ways this process was seen as similar to the new incorporation of freed southern slaves. These Arizona Territorial officials also had to work with a potentially hostile or indifferent population of Anglo-Americans, many of whom had been confederate sympathizers. Governor Goodwin announced that: "The first duty of the legislators of a free state is to make, as far as lies within their power, education as free to all its citizens as the air they breathe."⁹⁶ Certainly, in 1864, while the Civil War was still ongoing, it was not clear that Arizona would be a free state, but it was Governor Goodwin's mandate to construct a territorial government along free lines. Before he could do this he had to deal with the local impact of the Civil War as well as ongoing military conflicts with Apaches. It is not surprising that Arizona Territorial legislators did not enact any public school tax laws at this time. It was not until the very late 1860s, after the Civil War ended and the Territorial government was moved to Tucson, that the issue of free public education would be taken up by the legislature again.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ L. Boyd Finch, "Arizona in Exile: Confederate Schemes to Recapture the Far Southwest," *The Journal of Arizona History*, vol. 33 (spring 1993): 57-84; Deren Earl Kellogg, "'Slavery Must Die.'" Radical Republicans and the Creation of Arizona Territory," *The Journal of Arizona History*, Vol. 41 (Autumn, 2000): 267-288.

⁹⁶ Cooper, "The First Hundred Years," page 2.

⁹⁷ According to historian Deren Earl Kellogg, Radical Republicans in the US Congress encouraged President Lincoln to appoint John Goodwin as the Arizona Territorial Governor. Goodwin was well liked by the abolitionist segment of the US Congress and had served a term in Congress before this appointment. This was in accordance with one strategy of the abolitionist Republicans: to ensure that territorial offices be filled by their friends and supporters in order to add pressure to the US government to back their plans to end slavery. Kellogg, "Slavery Must

That issue would be taken up most enthusiastically by another Republican-appointed Territorial Governor, Anson P. K. Safford. Many years later, in 1940, when an eighty-two year old Ignacio Bonillas was interviewed about his early life he recalled the great concern that Governor Safford, had for the education of Tucson children. Bonillas reminisced that: “Governor Safford, who was responsible for the establishment of public schools in Arizona was much interested and used to visit us [in class] once or twice a week.”⁹⁸ Anson P. K. Safford, who was appointed governor by President Ulysses S. Grant in 1869, came into his position very excited about instituting a system of tax laws that would support public education. Safford connected public education to republican government, saying: “The object most desirable to obtain is the adoption of a school system for free public schools, so that the rich and poor alike can share equal benefits. In a country like ours, where the power to govern is derived from the consent of the governed, it becomes a matter of vital importance and necessity, if we are to protect and make permanent our republican institutions, that the people shall be educated.”⁹⁹ For three years Safford worked to settle issues of Arizona Territorial law and was not able to address the full legislature.¹⁰⁰ When the legislature eventually met in 1871, Safford later remembered: “I

Die”: 267-288; John S. Goff, *Arizona Territorial Officials Volume II: The Governors 1863-1912* (Cave Creek, Arizona: Black Mountain Press, 1978); Jed Woodworth, “Public Schooling in Territorial Arizona: Republicanism, Protestantism, and Assimilation,” *The Journal of Arizona History*, 46.2 (Summer 2005); “the Emancipation Proclamation,” National Archives and Records Administration,

http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/featured_documents/emancipation_proclamation/, accessed online October 5, 2011; David Berman, *Arizona Politics & Government: The Quest for Autonomy, Democracy, and Development* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); John Goff, *Arizona Civilization* (Phoenix: Hooper Pub. Co., 1968).

⁹⁸ Ignacio Bonillas, “Reminiscences of Ignacio Bonillas,” Biofile, AHSLA.

⁹⁹ Governor A.P.K. Safford, “Message of the Governor of Arizona,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, January 14, 1871, page 1.

¹⁰⁰ John Wasson, editor of *The Arizona Weekly Citizen* in the 1870s, described Governor Safford’s arrival in Arizona Territory: “He [Safford] found the territory almost in a state of anarchy. Many officers refused to obey the laws. The payment of taxes was resisted by some.

prepared a school bill and presented it to the members as soon as they assembled. Scarcely a member looked upon [the education question] with favor. They argued that the Apache were overrunning the country; that through murder and robbery the people were in poverty and distress; that repeated attempts had been made to organize schools and that failure had always resulted.”¹⁰¹ Safford persisted and, by 1872, an Arizona tax law passed. Many of those working hardest to promote the law were among Tucson’s leading citizens: Estevan Ochoa, Samuel Hughes, Juan Elías, Gabriel Angulo, Francisco León, Judge John Anderson, Dr. F. H. Goodwin, William F. Scott, and James E. Baker. Several of these vocal public school advocates had very large families: Sam Hughes and his wife Atenacia Santa Cruz had fifteen children, and Francisco León and his wife Ramona Elías had twelve children. Large families were not always the driving motivation behind public educational advocacy, however: both Granville Oury and Estevan Ochoa had only one child respectively and Mariano Samaniego and his wife Dolores Aguirre did not have any children, but these men were among the most outspoken and supportive public school advocates. It is also clear that public school advocacy was a cooperative effort between Anglo- and Mexican-Americans—parents and non-parents—interested in improving Tucson’s civic character and promoting the town to settlers and investors.¹⁰²

Outlaws were coming from Sonora and robbing and murdering settlers along the border and as far north as the Gila River. The Apache Indians were atrocious in their thefts and murders and the military authorities were nearly useless. The commanding officer and many subordinates were not in sympathy with the people.” It was not until January 11, 1871, that Safford could create the peace and calm necessary for territorial legislative members to travel to Tucson to meet, and he was finally able to make his first Governor’s Address. Quote in Jay J. Wagoner, *Arizona Territory, 1863-1912: A Political History* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1970), 102-104.

¹⁰¹ Cooper and Fahr, “The First Hundred Years: The Congress Street School, 1870-1871,” page 6.

¹⁰² “Message of the Governor of Arizona: Delivered before the 6th Legislative Assembly in Joint Convention, Saturday, January 14th, 1871,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, January 14, 1871; “Proceedings of the Territorial Board of Education,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, October 21,

For Governor Safford, education was an issue of enough personal importance to support with his own money and time. As a young boy growing up on a farm near Crete, Illinois, Anson Safford had only been able to attend a little more than a year of Quaker schooling. When he was in his twenties he read his way through a set of encyclopedias to make up for his lack of schooling. His own struggles to gain an education are reflected in his efforts to provide schooling for Arizona children. Twelve year-old Ignacio Bonillas was one of the first 35 boys who attended the Tucson public school and he may not have succeeded without the help of Governor Safford. The Governor noticed that the young Bonillas was often absent and was told that Bonillas needed to work to help his family. So he hired Bonillas and continued to pay for his books and supplies enabling the boy to remain in school more consistently.¹⁰³ Safford helped many other students during his years in office. In 1871, the legislature granted Governor Safford the position of ex-officio Superintendent of Public Instruction with travel expenses but no salary. After the legislative session was over, Safford travelled by horseback to all of the settled

1871; "Free Public Schools," *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, March 2, 1872; "Common Schools," *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, May 11, 1872; "Education in the Territories," *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, August 17, 1872; "Governor's Message," *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, January 11, 1873; Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses*, page 46, Cooper and Fahr, "The First Hundred Years: The Congress Street Schools," page 1.

¹⁰³ Ignacio Bonillas, "Reminiscences," January 2, 1926. Biofile, AHSLA. "I will tell you how I knew Governor Safford. I went to the public school, and during the month I was away a week or ten days – I had to work to buy my books; the Governor used to visit once or twice a week, and when he noticed that I was away for eight or ten days he asked Mr. Spring why I was absent, and Mr. Spring told him that I was a poor boy and had to work; then the Governor told Mr. Spring that he would be very glad to furnish my books and paper and everything I needed if I would go to school regularly. I told my father and mother—my father was a blacksmith—Tucson was a small village at that time, and they gave me permission provided I would give something in return, and the Governor told me I could come over in the morning and feed his mules, black his boots, and sweep his office if I wanted to. So he took a great deal of interest in me and helped me go to school, and after the public school was over, he used to pay Mr. Spring to give me private lessons. It was not only myself that the Governor helped, it was scores of people, young boys and girls that he helped in educational matters, it was his whole heart," page 1-2.

communities in Arizona and promoted the idea of free public education.¹⁰⁴ The law required the establishment of local boards of school trustees and significant community-raised money to pay for buildings, furniture, and heating. Safford's promotional efforts generated enthusiasm in several parts of the territory. Along with another Tucson resident, John B. Allen, Governor Safford formed a Territorial School Board in October of 1871. The two members studied the California public school system and decided the same textbooks and teaching standards be mandatory in Arizona. Using his own money, Governor Safford ordered textbooks for several school districts. The Governor also wrote letters to people and organizations around the country and personally arranged teachers to emigrate to work in Tucson, Yuma, Prescott, and Phoenix, sometimes even helping to cover their travel expenses from eastern and mid-western states.¹⁰⁵

Members of the Tucson Board of School Trustees met late in 1871 and began their planning for Tucson's public school. They rented a single-room adobe building on the northeast corner of Meyer and McCormick streets and furnished it with rough wooden desks and a blackboard. The difficulty was finding an educated person willing to teach for the minimal salary covered by the school tax monies. They approached Johann Arnold Spring, a Swiss emigrant, then running a brewery in Florence, Arizona. Spring had become a naturalized citizen in 1870 and had married a Sonoran woman, Mariana Molino, that same year, settling down permanently in Arizona and beginning a family. Teaching may have seemed a secure, if not especially lucrative, employment opportunity for a new father. From these humble beginnings the Tucson newspaper enthused: "The people of Arizona ought to rejoice at this general application of the

¹⁰⁴ Ignacio Bonillas, "Reminiscences," page 3: "The Governor was very fond of horses, he used to ride horseback. . . he was always busy going from one place to another."; "Proceedings of the Territorial Board of Education," *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, October 21, 1871.

¹⁰⁵ "Proceedings of the Territorial Board of Education," *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, October 21, 1871; "Free Public Schools," *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, March 2, 1872.

free-school system. Nothing else can give the Territory a better name abroad, nor establish within its limits a surer basis of good society.”¹⁰⁶ At the same time, the newspaper made pointed criticism of the unenthusiastic support of the territorial legislature: “While a more liberal tax for schools would have accomplished more within a given period, yet the very fact that free, public schools are inaugurated in Arizona, insures their continuance, bespeaks their improvement, and is a guarantee of the undisputed good which everywhere follows the practical application of the system.”¹⁰⁷ It is clear that the public school system did not have universal endorsement from some territorial officials and, perhaps, local Tucsonans. This editorial comment was the first inkling that lines were being drawn between enthusiastic supporters who saw public schools as absolutely necessary to improve Arizona: giving the territory a better reputation “abroad,”—specifically in Washington, D. C.—and other Tucsonan’s who were either disinterested in education altogether or who embraced the alternative Catholic visions of educational improvement.¹⁰⁸

Although Governor Safford and others spoke in broad terms about the necessity for all Americans to be educated and informed citizens to maintain liberty and freedom, some Anglos had concerns about the specific population of children in Arizona. Referring to the Mexican-born residents of Arizona, Safford said: “The people of these Territories have suddenly been transferred from another government to our own. Speaking a foreign tongue, we call upon them

¹⁰⁶ “Free Public Schools in Arizona,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, September 28, 1872.

¹⁰⁷ “Free Public Schools in Arizona,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, September 28, 1872.

¹⁰⁸ “Teacher Spring’s Quarterly Report,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, June 15, 1872; “Free Public Schools,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, March 2, 1872; John S. Goff, *Arizona Territorial Officials: The Adjutants General, Attorneys General, Auditors, Superintendents of Public Instruction, and Treasurers* (Cave Creek: Black Mountain Press, 1991); Cooper and Fahr, “The First Hundred Years”; John Spring, “Teaching School in the Early Days: Address Delivered Before the Teacher’s Institute in Tucson, December 31, 1897,” Manuscript, AHSLA; “Public School Rooms and Grounds in Tucson, etc.,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, September 1, 1873.

to adopt our customs and obey our laws. They are generally well disposed to be willing citizens and have but little opportunity. They have and will continue to have an important influence in the governing power of the country, and it seems essential that they should be educated in the language of the laws that govern them.”¹⁰⁹ Improved communication between Anglo- and Mexican-Tucsonans was a concern for other influential locals as well, with the editor of the Tucson newspaper commenting about the opening of the public school: “Here is the first hopeful attempt to truly harmonize the Mexican and American elements of this population. These elements are here and will remain. The prevailing inability of each to speak the other’s tongue prevents a just understanding of the motives of each. The free public school will frame the children’s minds aright in this respect.”¹¹⁰ Improved communication was to move only in one direction, however, as Spanish was not an academic subject taught in the early Tucson public schools and all children were expected to read, write, and speak English. If, for these prominent Anglo men, education was a matter of one-direction cultural change, we know that while many Tucson students, such as Ignacio Bonillas, willingly learned English, they continued to speak Spanish and retained much affection for Mexico.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Governor A.P.K. Safford, “Message of the Governor of Arizona,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, January 14, 1871, page 1. Thomas Sheridan pointed out that both Governors Richard McCormick and Anson Safford got along well with the elite Mexican-born business men in Tucson, such as Estevan Ochoa and Mariano Samaniego, and were encouraged by these individuals to provide public schools in Tucson. Sheridan describes this as a pragmatic combination of “selective assimilation and determined cultural preservation,” because a public education could help non-elite Mexican-born Tucsonans compete successfully with Anglo immigrants, while the Catholic education provided by the Sisters of Saint Joseph helped elite children maintain their connection to a long tradition of Catholic, European intellectual culture and civilization. Thomas Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses: The Mexican Community in Tucson, 1854-1941* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1997).

¹¹⁰ “Local Matters,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, March 16, 1872.

¹¹¹ “Teacher Spring’s Quarterly Report,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, June 15, 1872; John Spring, “Teaching School in the Early Days,” Manuscript, AHSLA; “Pima County School Affairs,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, January 2, 1875.

The public school grew rapidly over the next few years and the local newspaper continued to publish enthusiastic editorials. In a May 11, 1872 column entitled “Common Schools,” John Wasson, the editor of *The Arizona Weekly Citizen* wrote: “It is the peculiar institution embodying in itself the very essence of our form of government. Around its fire gather alike the children of the rich and poor, and on its broad platform the inalienable right of man is fully recognized, while child meets child with no question of birth or condition. . . It is the fountain that vivifies all our garden, and shall yet prove the only agent that can sustain us in life and vigor as a nation.”¹¹² These were lofty sentiments for the reality of public schooling in Tucson. For the first couple years, John Spring taught up to 138 boys in a single-roomed adobe building that contained rows of homemade desks on a dirt floor. Spring recalled that the benches showed a: “highly developed propensity for shedding splinters.”¹¹³ Spring also remembered that, since no schools had been available, boys of all ages wanted an education: “of whom a few showed already a forth-coming beard, while others could hardly manage to climb upon the benches.” A female school teacher, Josephine Brawley Hughes, was hired to teach girls in an abandoned brewery, but only taught for a few months, claiming health problems. Conditions improved slowly. A larger combined school building was built on Congress Street with three rooms. Several more teachers were hired: women teaching the girl students and male teachers working with boys. As was typical in nineteenth-century U. S. frontier schooling, older students, such as Ignacio Bonillas, taught classes to earn money for their further education. The school board of 1875 hired a Principal, W. B. Horton, who oversaw the hiring of teachers for an increasing number of classes and increased school terms from five months a year to nine or ten months. Still it remained difficult to meet the needs of the village. Only fifteen percent of eligible

¹¹² John Wasson, “Common Schools,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, May 11, 1872, page 4.

¹¹³ John Spring, “Teaching School in the Early Days,” Manuscript, AHSLA.

Tucson children were attending the public school in 1874.¹¹⁴ By the late 1870s, a few advanced classes were available for students who graduated from the elementary school, but no formal high school course was available through the public schools until the 1880s. Indeed, for the first two decades the classes were not age-graded and instead classes were divided simply between “babies” and older students.¹¹⁵

There was tremendous response to the public school: praise from community leaders, but also persistent attendance by the students and support from families. The public reaction in the early 1870s was most animated about the potential for improving the citizenry. At the end of year ceremonies in 1873, Francisco Solano Leon, well-to-do rancher, school-board member, and Territorial Legislator, spoke to the boys in Spanish, saying: “It is my earnest wish that you not relax in your studies for a single moment, for remember that time lost can never be regained. . . the poorest boy in this community can now receive an education without money compensation, and by which he may make of himself an ornament to society.”¹¹⁶ The newspaper again editorialized that: “[School] will be the means of making useful members of society of the boys and girls who are now growing up. It is a demonstrated fact that in proportion to the advance of education, vice and crime decrease.” But it was Francisco Leon who spoke to the motivations of

¹¹⁴ “The census returns show the whole number of children between the ages of six and twenty-one to be 751, of which 110 are reported to be attending public schools.” “Education in Arizona,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, February 7, 1874.

¹¹⁵ Until the 1880s, classes were separated by gender, as was typical of many public schools at this time. John Rury, *Education and Women’s Work: Female Schooling and the Division of Labor in Urban America, 1870-1930* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991); Cooper, *The First Hundred Years*”; Thomas D. Snyder, ed. *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait* (Washington D.C.: U. S. Department of Education: Office of Educational Research and Improvement, 1993).

Josephine Brawley Hughes taught from December 1872 to May, 1873. Mrs. Hughes was a strong advocate for temperance, founding Arizona’s first temperance organization. She may have found teaching in a brewery offensive. “Local Matters,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, December 21, 1872, May 3, 1873.

¹¹⁶ “Tucson Public Schools,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, April 5, 1873.

at least some of the students, when he said: “If you achieve any position in public life, which I am sure that some of you will, never forget that our Governor gave you the first opportunity to be educated.” Personal ambition drove Ignacio Bonillas to do well in school and other Tucson boys were as interested in improving their future prospects. Being useful citizens may have been less comprehensible to young boys than landing a better job, but, happily for Tucson, student ambitions to become economically successful through the benefits of education often coincided with those of the community leaders, who wanted students to become responsible citizens.¹¹⁷

The public school muddled on for a few years with cramped and rustic accommodations in several different rented adobe buildings, but in the fall of 1874, parents began to organize to raise money for a better situation. A group of mothers met to organize a charity ball to be held in December. These public-spirited mothers worked hard to promote the ball as an opportunity to socialize while doing good for the children of the community. The excitement of the planning swept through the town until even the Territorial Legislature met to pass a resolution that the legislative assembly rooms, as the largest public space in the town, were to be used for the winter ball. Exhibition dances, a potluck supper, and a cake raffle would add to the charitable collections. Mamie Aguirre remembered that one cake at the raffle was auctioned off for nearly \$1,000 and was ultimately cut into tiny pieces and distributed among the public school children.¹¹⁸

At the height of the anticipatory preparation for the ball, Bishop Jean Baptiste Salpointe, alarmed by what he perceived to be the increasing threat of free “irreligious” education, passionately preached against “good Catholics” attending this charity event that would not

¹¹⁷ “It is a demonstrated fact that in proportion to the advancement of education, vice and crime decrease.” “Public Schools,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, April 25, 1874.

¹¹⁸ Mamie Bernard de Aguirre, “Spanish Trader’s Bride,” *The Westport Historical Quarterly* 4.3 (1968): 5-22.

benefit Catholic schools. Many Catholics had been offended by recent debates in the Territorial Legislature against Governor Safford's suggestion that the Sisters of Saint Joseph be remunerated with only a small \$300 payment for their educational efforts.¹¹⁹ In 1873, Safford had suggested that the Sisters be rewarded for the educational opportunities that they offered students who otherwise would not be served by over-crowded public school. Several members of the legislature insisted that the school tax law included restrictions against the public funding of religious institutions. While the money was appropriated from the general Territorial fund, these members blocked its payment to the religious order. The issue dragged on and the money was never paid to the Sisters. Like Salpointe, many Tucson Catholics felt neglected by the Legislature and threatened by the enthusiasm for the public schools. Accordingly, there was a wide-spread Catholic boycott of the ball.¹²⁰

Although, there was no major public protest and though many Catholics did participate in the planning for the public school charity ball, the boycott by a core group of leading Catholic Tucsonans was seen by the public school supporters as an attack, not just on the charity dance, but on the very foundation of the republican form of government. The ball itself was quite successful and enough money was raised to begin the process of building a brand new school house. Strangely, this success hardly dulled the animosity generated by what was perceived by

¹¹⁹ When the bill to appropriate \$300 for Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies came up in the Territorial Legislature, Senator A. E. Davis of Mohave County remarked: "The bill proposes to take from the school fund a sum of money and appropriate it to a sectarian school. Whether the sum is great or small is of little consequence. I am opposed to the principle involved. . . The chief corner stone of their education would be bitter and relentless hatred to opposing creeds. . . The would turn our free and enlightened republic back to the tenth century and bring on a religious war, and again introduce the instruments of human torture used in that period to compel obedience to bigotry and intolerance." "Public School Education," *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, February 20, 1875.

¹²⁰ Bernard de Aguirre, "Spanish Trader's Bride," 22; "The Tucson Public School," *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, February 21, 1874.

public-school supporters as the Catholic abandonment of the civic improvement of Tucson. Suddenly, after two years of ignoring the bill appropriating money for the Sisters of Saint Joseph, it became an issue of debate in the Territory Legislative Council. A. E. Davis spoke fervently in the Council meeting, saying: “Mr. President. . . Divide this [general education] fund up, as is contemplated by this bill, and what will be the result? . . . those who would be called upon to govern and control the destinies of this nation, would, by force of education, be religious bigots regarding the advancement of their church as of more importance than country, republican institutions or anything else on earth, and the ignorant masses would be swayed and controlled by these bigots.”¹²¹ It was not just alleged Catholic bigotry that offended this legislator, but Davis also made the connection to Tucson’s Hispanic population when he said: “Sir, I ask you to turn your eyes toward our sister republic, Mexico, and see the poverty and destitution that have been brought upon that unfortunate country by the system of sectarian education that is now attempted to be forced upon us.”¹²² Many public school supporters felt that if common schools were essential to the republic, as the rhetoric so often claimed, then to refuse to support the public school was to oppose the American republican form of government. An economic concern

¹²¹ “Public School Education,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, February 20, 1875.

This controversy paralleled similar passionate debates in New York City in the early nineteenth century when Irish and Anglo-American New Yorkers began to build schools systems. In 1806, the New York state legislature authorized the public funding of all free schools in an effort to improve the civic character of the state. St. Peter’s Academy, a free Catholic school for boys, was included in this funding. Debates broke out about the fitness of Catholics as citizens anticipating many of the same arguments made in Tucson some seventy years later: that Catholics could not make independent political choices if they had pledged allegiance to a foreign potentate, the Pope. Public School funding issues returned throughout the early nineteenth century and, in 1841, when Catholic-school supporters were able to pass a law allowing separate wards to distribute money according to local laws, mob violence resulted with Protestants attacking the residence of Bishop Hughes among other Catholic targets. Leo Hershkowitz, “The Irish and the Emerging City: Settlement to 1844.” In *The New York Irish*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996): 11-26.

¹²² “Public School Education,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, February 20, 1875.

for the development of Tucson powerfully combined with a formerly latent anti-Catholicism and nativism and some of Tucson's Anglo-Americans began to connect religion and race in their minds.¹²³

Into this emotional fray entered Chief Justice Edmund Francis Dunne who attempted to act as a mediator between the two sides.¹²⁴ In March of 1874, President Ulysses S. Grant nominated Dunne for the position of Arizona chief justice, and the senate confirmed the appointment later that same month. In June of 1874, the Irish-American Judge Dunne, his wife, Josephine, and their baby daughter arrived in Tucson via stage coach. That summer and fall, Dunne heard several court cases on debt and mining claim disputes, issuing thoughtful written opinions which did not attract the attention of many Arizonans. He and his family seemed set to settle into the local community for the period of his appointment. The public-school charity ball was held in December and, by February, the public uproar over what was held to be the rebellion of the Catholics from their civic duties and a breach of their republican loyalties had reached such an intensity that Dunne felt obliged to speak up to present his viewpoint as a staunch Catholic.¹²⁵

¹²³ "The Tucson Public School," *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, February 21, 1874; "Public School Education," *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, February 20, 1875; "Compulsory Education," *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, February 27, 1875; "The Public Schools," *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, May 1, 1875; "Judge Dunne's Lecture," *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, May 29, 1875.

¹²⁴ John Goff, *Arizona Territorial Officials, Volume One, The Supreme Court Justices, 1863-1912*, (Cave Creek: Black Mountain Press, 1975): 68-71; "Edmund Francis Dunne," Biofile, AHSLA; Honorable Edmund F. Dunne, "Our Public Schools: Are They Free for All, Or Are They Not?: A Lecture Delivered in the Hall of the House of Representatives of the Territorial Legislature at Tucson, Arizona, February 2, 1875," (New York: T. D. Egan, 1875): 1-35.

¹²⁵ John Goff, "Edmund Francis Dunne, Chief Justice, 1874-1876," in *Arizona Territorial Officials I: The Supreme Court Justices, 1863-1912* (Cave Creek: Black Mountain Press, 1975): 68-71; Mary E. Gill and John S. Goff, "Edmund Francis Dunne and the Public School Controversy, 1875," *The Journal of Arizona History*, Vol. XX (1984): 369-384.

At the invitation of the Arizona Territory legislature, Judge Dunne presented a speech on February 2nd, entitled: “Our Public Schools: Are They Free For All Or Are They Not?”¹²⁶ Before the full legislature and many local notables, Dunne tried to explain to Tucson’s non-Catholics, the seeming unfairness of taxation for a service that intentionally contradicted Catholic religious conscience. In the course of his argument, Dunne proposed an alternative model for a good American citizen: one based on separate religious convictions developed in overtly-religious schools, rather than a unified but only nominally non-sectarian system of public education. Ironically, ten years before his appointment as Chief Justice for Arizona, Edmund Dunne had been an advocate of public schooling in his legislative position in Nevada. Dunne had been a faithful representative for his Nevada constituents and argued in that territory’s constitutional convention for tax money to be levied for the support of public schooling.¹²⁷ In Arizona, Dunne’s defense of Catholic education was in response to actions already taken by Tucson’s Catholic-education supporters. In other words, Dunne was not directing a Catholic protest of public schooling. The Catholic-school—public-school dispute had been going on for several years before Judge Dunne had arrived in the Arizona territory. Bishop Salpointe had already taken action by directing his parishioners to avoid the charity ball. Of course, Salpointe had been entreating his parishioners since 1870 to send their children to Catholic schools and to raise

¹²⁶ Dunne, *Our Public Schools*.

¹²⁷ Historian D. K. Sessions notes that an anti-sectarianism school law was passed in Nevada by 1865, restricting any mention of religion in publically funded schools and prohibiting public funding of sectarian schools. That same year, Dunne served in the Nevada constitutional convention and would have had an opportunity to speak out against that law. There is no record that he did so, and indeed, Nevada officials communicating with Arizona lawmakers in 1875 noted that Dunne had not voted against the anti-sectarian provision during the Nevada convention. D. K. Sessions, “School History of Nevada,” in Thompson & West, *History of Nevada 1881, With Illustrations And Biographical Sketches of Its Prominent Men And Pioneers* (Berkeley: Howell-North, 1958): 219-233; “The Chief Justice Abroad,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, October 23, 1875.

money to build more parish schools. As Bishop to Arizona's Catholic population, Salpointe could hardly be expected to do otherwise. Dunne stepped into the dispute in defense of a majority population that seemed—unfairly to Dunne—to have been forced into a minority position in local politics.¹²⁸

Judge Dunne's presentation to the legislature was organized as a legal argument with three general propositions: that the state has no right to teach religion, or to teach irreligion (as Dunne labeled it), and, furthermore, had no inherent right to teach at all. Dunne assumed that his listeners would all agree with his first proposition. He presented his second proposition as a logical extension of the first: the state, he advocated, cannot do indirectly that which it is forbidden to do directly. It cannot preach against any religion if it is prohibited from advocating for a particular set of beliefs. His third proposition rested upon an extensive argument about the debilitating effect of the tyranny of the majority. As he led his listeners through his argument about the limitations of the state's right to impose upon citizens views repugnant to their beliefs, Dunne was most careful to acknowledge the right of the state to educate children in "virtue, morality, and knowledge, in order that they might become good citizens,"¹²⁹ but balanced that with an argument about the right to choose one's own interpretation of morality. He was essentially making a careful point about the right of citizens to have a difference in opinion about what makes a good citizen. So while good citizens should all be morally educated they should also have the right to define morality for themselves. For two reasons this was a tricky argument. First, it ran counter to the impetus behind common or public education: that citizens all receive a similar education so that they shared a common morality, which was meant to reinforce national

¹²⁸ "Chief Justice Dunne," *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, November 13, 1875; Goff, *Arizona Territorial Officials I: The Supreme Court Justices, 1863 to 1912*: 68-71; Gill and Goff, "Edmund Francis Dunne," 376.

¹²⁹ Dunne, *Our Public Schools*, 9.

cohesion. Second, he was not only asking for a minority view to be protected, but also financed from the general tax fund. Perhaps it was this last demand that went too far. His biographer notes that: “One of the local newspapers commented that Dunne had, “talent, industry and honesty,” and except for the single matter of his views on schools he would have been entirely “popular and successful” in his post.”¹³⁰

Response to Judge Dunne’s speech began with a local grumbling and slowly spread beyond the Territory and grew increasingly zealous. Within days, Mohave County Representative A. E. Davis gave his impassioned speech in Council, excoriating the religious bigotry of those opposed to public schooling.¹³¹ Other Territorial newspapers published editorials in support of public education, such as Prescott paper, *The Arizona Miner*, which claimed that Arizona teachers were: “strictly enjoined to inculcate good morals, politeness and civil deportment, leaving to the churches and home discipline, at the option of the parent or guardian of the child, indoctrination in the mysteries of theology.”¹³² A *New York Herald* editorial was re-published in several Arizona papers vilifying a New York priest, Father Walker, for his protests against public schooling in that state. The Tucson paper made the comment that: “Arizona people will readily enough think of another name that would exactly fit in the forgoing articles, instead of that of the holy Father Walker.”¹³³ By referencing a local Father Walker, they could have meant either Bishop Salpointe or Judge Dunne. In fact, it did not matter because as further news articles revealed, by this time all Catholics had become suspects of disloyalty and religious bigotry. Further news was re-printed from national papers with titles such as: “What the

¹³⁰ Goff, *The Supreme Court Justices*, 71.

¹³¹ “Public School Education,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, February 20, 1875.

¹³² “Compulsory Education,” *The Arizona Miner*, February 12, 1875.

¹³³ “Father Walker’s Attack on the Public Schools,” *New York Herald*, March 17, re-printed in *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, April 10, 1875 and *The Arizona Miner*, April 23, 1875.

Infallible Pope Demands of Spain—Free Schools and Liberty or Sectarian Schools and Slavery,” “Are the Mandates from Rome Supreme over the Laws of the United States?,” and “Priests Against Civil Law.”¹³⁴

In May of 1875, Judge Dunne and several un-named “friends” had his February speech printed in pamphlet form and distributed throughout Tucson and possibly to other Western urban areas as well. At this point, the editor of the Tucson paper, John Wasson, reported the opinion, of a likewise un-named group of leading Tucson citizens: “We believed then and believe now that the many errors that are found in his lecture would not have appeared had he resided here long enough to have been familiar with our educational interests from the commencement to the present time.”¹³⁵ Wasson makes a point by point counter-argument against Dunne’s speech, most adamantly against Dunne’s assertion that the state has no inherent right to educate the populace at all. Wasson writes that: “any government has the inherent right to do all necessary things to protect its own existence, that a republican form of government is based upon the intelligence and patriotism of the people. . .” and therefore a Republic must inculcate that intelligence and patriotism in its citizens.¹³⁶ Wasson also claims that Judge Dunne misunderstood the general outcry of the public-school supporters. The public-school supporters were not religious bigots, nor were they anti-Catholic, but, instead he referred to the earlier mutually cooperative atmosphere in Tucson: “The friends of the public schools had contributed at least four fifths of the money to build the Catholic Church and school house in Tucson; they had been among the

¹³⁴ *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, June 12, 1875, June 19, 1875, June 26, 1875; Gill and Goff, “Edmund Francis Dunne,” 379-380.

¹³⁵ John Wasson, “Judge Dunne’s Lecture: A Division of the School Fund Considered . . . Shall We Have A Union of Church and State,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, May 29, 1875.

¹³⁶ Wasson, “Judge Dunne’s Lecture,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, May 29, 1875.

best paying patrons of the school taught by the Sisters of Saint Joseph.”¹³⁷ Now it was time for the Catholics to come to the aid of the public schools. Toward the end of his editorial, Wasson takes up a claim that would become the core of the argument against Catholic education in Tucson: that Catholic religious instruction was responsible for the obvious lack of progress in Catholic countries. Wasson writes: “The system of education that Judge Dunne would bring upon us brought Italy so low that the government was compelled to take the education of the people out of the hands of the priests.”¹³⁸ Wasson goes on to claim that Catholic education caused Austria to suffer defeat at the hands of the Prussians, France to plummet to the bottom ranks of European countries, Spain to live in ignorance and poverty, and Mexico to struggle for bare survival.¹³⁹

In the following months, the *Arizona Weekly Citizen* waged a steady campaign in protest of Judge Dunne’s speech, which drew much of its strength from the national anti-Catholic movement. The public school systems of Germany and Switzerland (largely Protestant countries) were praised, while the parochial school systems of France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Mexico (more strongly Catholic countries) came in for furious criticism.¹⁴⁰ Nationally, anti-Catholic dogma was certainly not new. It came to the continent with the early English colonists and had since been a steadily reoccurring aspect of Anglo-American nativism. The high point of anti-Catholic sentiment came in the mid-1800s, when Catholic immigration combined with economic downturns and the Protestant religious revival of the second Great Awakening to create the politics of the Know Nothings or American Party. From the tone of the New York and Boston

¹³⁷ Wasson, “Judge Dunne’s Lecture,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, May 29, 1875.

¹³⁸ Gill and Goff, “Edmund Francis Dunne,” 379-381; Wasson, “Judge Dunne’s Lecture,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, May 29, 1875.

¹³⁹ Wasson, “Judge Dunne’s Lecture,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, May 29, 1875.

¹⁴⁰ *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, June 12, 1875, June 19, 1875, June 26, 1875; Gill and Goff, “Edmund Francis Dunne,” 379-380.

newspaper articles, anti-Catholicism had not disappeared on the east coast by the 1870s. News of anti-Catholic activity in other parts of the country certainly provided fuel for the Tucson public-school supporters. But, because the late nineteenth century was a period of widespread public school development that coincided with a robust Catholic parish expansion, the tone of nativist propaganda had changed. Now the concern was with education that would create appropriate kinds of patriotism and loyalty to ideals about religious and civil liberties.¹⁴¹

Although many people fondly remembered an earlier state of mutual cooperation and civic boosterism in Tucson, the anti-Catholic tensions in Tucson were exacerbated by the anxieties over Arizona statehood preparation. Boosters living in the large original territory that encompassed both current day New Mexico and Arizona had begun its process of appealing to the United States Congress for full statehood prior to the Civil War. In the late 1850s, statehood for the greater New Mexico Territory was delayed as Congress debated the issue of admission of free and slave states. The abolitionist Republicans in Congress were reluctant to admit another state below the 36th parallel, which would have tipped the scales to southern pro-slavery advocates. In 1857, the Supreme Court ruled in the Dred-Scott decision that slavery could not be prohibited in the territories, including New Mexico. The Dred-Scott decision should have opened the way for New Mexico, including what is now Arizona, to enter the Union. Instead, Congress

¹⁴¹ Historian John Pinheiro notes that the Mexican War was itself a source of anti-Catholic anxiety. American nativists tended to see the Roman Catholic Church as a monolithic entity that could demand perfect extra-national loyalty from its members. Pinheiro sees anti-Catholicism as a major driving force of sentiments of Manifest Destiny. John C. Pinheiro, ““Religion Without Restriction”: Anti-Catholicism, All Mexico, and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo,” *Journal of the Early Republic*, 23.1 (Spring 2003): 69-96; Gill and Goff, “Edmund Francis Dunne”; Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (New York: Macmillan, 1938); Sandra Frink, “Women, the Family, and the Fate of the Nation in American Anti-Catholic Narratives, 1830-1860: 237-264; Jay Dolan, *In Search of American Catholicism: A History of Religion and Culture in Tension* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

continued to stall for the next several years. All new state admissions were suspended for the interim of the Civil War. In 1863, Arizona and New Mexico were created by a split between north and south halves of the Territory, but by 1866, that split had been re-mapped to separate the New Mexico Territory in the east from the Arizona Territory in the west: matching the current state boundaries. After the war and certainly by 1875, it had become clear that some characteristic of the region was creating hesitation among U. S. legislators to incorporate either New Mexico or Arizona as a full member in the national union. Religion and race were obvious markers of difference for much of the local population. Many local Anglo-Americans shared the anxieties of the U.S. legislators about the newly arriving Mexican-immigrants attracted to the economic opportunities in the territory and the large and mostly “unpacified” Indian populations. In Tucson, during the summer and fall of 1875, much of this anxiety was re-directed explosively at Chief Justice Edmund Dunne.¹⁴²

By September, several groups of state and local office-holders submitted separate petitions for Dunne to be removed from his position as Chief Justice for the Arizona Territory. Writing directly to Edwards Pierrepont, the Attorney General of the United States, these groups of Arizona Territorial and Pima County officials specifically noted: “the opposition of Judge Dunne to our public school system, is so open and determined, and his efforts to subvert it have been so unceasing as to have aroused in our people a general feeling of indignation against

¹⁴² Finch, “Arizona in Exile”; Kellogg, “Slavery Must Die”; Wagoner, *Arizona Territory*; Sheridan, *Arizona*; Goff, *Arizona Civilization*; Goff, *The Governors, 1863-1912*; Eric Biber, “The Price of Admission: Causes, Effects, and Patterns of Conditions Imposed on States Entering the Union,” *The American Journal of Legal History*, 46.2 (April 2004): 119-208; H. A. Hubbard, “Arizona’s Struggle Against Joint Statehood,” *Pacific Historical Review*, 11.4 (December 1942): 415-423.

him.”¹⁴³ Many of the men signing the petitions had been actively involved in the public school fundraising efforts, but there were also many new names, indicating that the issue was spiraling out and pulling more people into the debate. The Tucson Board of Supervisors justified its petition for Dunne’s removal by noting that, along with his unwanted educational opinions, Dunne had been involved in fraudulent election returns, but the board members gave no specific details and no stories about a contested election appear in the local papers during the same period. The petition, signed by some Pima County officers, notes that Dunne’s misbehavior might lead to a loss of respect for the Judiciary within the community. This concern with proper judicial respect was one sign that they were worried about the civic attitudes of Arizonans with the ultimate goal of preparation for statehood in mind. The overall tone of the petitions is indignant and decisive about the intent of Arizona officials to oust Edmund Dunne from his appointed position. *The Arizona Weekly Citizen* editor, worried that some Tucsonans had not read the petitions the first week and so re-printed them in October with explanatory comments.¹⁴⁴

Reports of Edmund Dunne’s speech on behalf of Tucson’s Catholic schools travelled to other Western regions. Re-printing articles and editorials from other papers was a routine method of adding “foreign” material to papers, but *The Daily Alta California* out of San Francisco went beyond reprints of Tucson articles and published newly written editorials with strong opinions about Judge Dunne and about religious education. One editorial claimed that: “No man is fit to hold or worthy of the office of Judge of a Supreme Court, or any other, for that matter, who takes

¹⁴³ “Chief Justice Dunne: The Estimate of Him by Members of the Bar, County, and Municipal Offices, and the People,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, September 25, 1875.

¹⁴⁴ Edward Fish, Juan Elias, L. C. Hughes, William Oury are some of the gentlemen who had long been involved with the public school effort in Tucson and whose names appear on the petitions to the U. S. Attorney General for Edmund Dunne’s removal. Other names, such as Jesus Pacheco, S. R. DeLong, J. E. McCaffry, J. W. Clark, R. N. Leatherwood, Briggs Goodrich, Manuel Vasquez, Felix Ruebas, Pedro Aguirre, John Bartlett, and Albert Steinfeld, are names that are new to the Catholic/public school debate.

upon himself to advocate or oppose laws which may come before him for interpretation, or to discuss as a partisan a particular principle in the government of which he is part.”¹⁴⁵ An earlier article from *The Alta* was published in *The Arizona Citizen*: “For nearly a year past, Judge E. F. Dunne of the First District of Arizona, and Chief Justice of the Territory, has been in more or less hot water, because of his demagogical and useless denunciations of the public school system of the country at large.”¹⁴⁶ This communication between the papers of two localities served a dual purpose: on the one hand, it served California anti-Catholic campaigns to report on events in Tucson, and, on the other hand, it provided some Tucsonans with outside support for their anti-Catholic opinions. Like the New York and Boston articles re-printed in Tucson, printing anti-Catholic opinions about Arizona events in California served to threaten local San Francisco Catholic school activists and keep them from agitating for similar public funding for religious schooling. And, just as the Tucson paper used opinions from east coast papers to reinforce their own anti-Catholic bias, news about Judge Dunne had a similar local utility. *The Alta California* editorials, re-printed in the Tucson paper, also worked to generate a feeling of outside support or confirmation of homegrown anti-Catholic bigotry. *The Arizona Citizen* editor could point to editorials in California papers and claim justice in the actions of Tucsonans: “The two leading administration journals of the Pacific coast . . . explicitly call for Mr. Dunne’s removal from the office of Chief Justice.”¹⁴⁷ Remarkably, given the relative isolation of Tucson and the difficulties of communicating with Washington, D. C., when official mail could take several weeks to arrive, President Grant removed Edmund Dunne from the Chief Justice position by December of 1875. He remained in Tucson and in his position in a temporary status to oversee the January 1876

¹⁴⁵ “Chief Justice Dunne of Arizona,” *Daily Alta California*, October 27, 1875.

¹⁴⁶ “The Chief Justice Abroad,” *The Weekly Arizona Citizen*, October 23, 1875.

¹⁴⁷ “Chief Justice Dunne,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, November 13, 1875.

supreme court session. Thereafter he was admitted to the Arizona Bar to practice law privately for the following months. By 1877, Dunne and his family had moved to Santa Fe, New Mexico.¹⁴⁸

Into this great tension and a newly divided Tucson, stepped sixteen-year-old future-diplomat, Ignacio Bonillas, the grateful recipient of a free public education and a self-described American patriot. At the end of school ceremonies on June 18th, 1875, Bonillas presented a commencement speech in both Spanish and English, praising the Governor, the school-trustees, the hard-working teachers and above all singing the praises of public education. He began: “Teachers, scholars, and friends: We have assembled here today for the purpose of witnessing an examination of the public schools. . . where the rich and poor of any nationality and creed could go and, free of charge, receive . . . an education.”¹⁴⁹ Exactly during this moment of heightened xenophobia Bonillas reminded all public school supporters of the noble philosophies of the free school movement: that the rich and poor of any nationality and creed could go to school together. Bonillas did not mention the mudslinging between public and Catholic school supporters in Tucson, but simply emphasized the unifying message inherent in public school opportunities. It was a reminder all the more meaningful because the speaker was a Mexican-born youth: a member of exactly the population that Anglo-Tucsonans were anxious would not fit into the body politic, keeping Arizona from attaining full statehood. Instead, Bonillas was unerringly vocalizing those patriotic sentiments that most resonated with public-school supporters.

Less than a month later, Bonillas would be called to speak at the Fourth of July celebration where he would sing the praises of both American and Mexican democracies,

¹⁴⁸ Goff, *Arizona Territorial Officials*, 71.

¹⁴⁹ Ignacio Bonillas, “The Tucson Public Schools,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, June 19, 1875, page 1.

education, and freedom of religion. In his poetic language, Bonillas reminded Tucsonans that: “Under the ample folds of the Stars and Stripes, the downtrodden and oppressed the world over find an asylum of rest and security where they can come and enjoy equal privileges with the native born. By a system of public education, the poor are given an equal start in the race of life with the rich. . . While other nations shed rivers of blood to place one religious denomination ahead of another, we declare and maintain the right of every human being to worship God according to the dictates of our own conscience.”¹⁵⁰ Bonillas was tapping into a powerful tradition of rhetoric that, since the American Revolution a hundred years earlier, had held a special place of resonance in American patriotism. Promoters of the public school had been using this language of democracy, freedom, and liberty throughout their sponsorship of the Arizona school funding laws. It was therefore doubly-powerful for a young Mexican-born student to remind these important personages, assembled for the patriotic displays of the Fourth of July, of their own enthusiasm for common schooling and, at the same time, the inclusiveness inherent in American democracy. With his speech, Bonillas was depicting a vision that went a step or two beyond the narrow conception of American citizenship espoused by some Tucson Anglos – who were anxiously promoting a homogenous, nominally-Protestant, middle-class community that would meet with the approval of a critical United States Congress. Bonillas saw an American community that included equal opportunities for rich and poor, Catholic and Protestant, immigrants and the native-born. While reassuring Tucson Anglos that, indeed, Mexican-born Americans were every bit as patriotic as the native-born, Bonillas still emphasized an expanded version of patriotism: one that united classes, nationalities, and religions under the revered banners of freedom, liberty, and equality.

¹⁵⁰ Ignacio Bonillas, “The Fourth in Tucson,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, July 10, 1875, page 1.

This series of debates in Tucson about funding for public schools reveals that class, race, and religion may influence points of view, but they do not dictate their development. What is remarkable about the public school debate in Tucson is not that the public school supporters successfully blocked Catholic school public-funding, but that the positions taken by various community members did not develop along clear lines of race, class, and religion. Instead, individuals exhibited a variety of viewpoints, sometimes even espousing support for seemingly contradictory affiliations. Governor Safford, a passionate supporter of free education, was also one of the most dynamic sponsors of public funding for the Catholic schools. French-born Bishop Jean Baptiste Salpointe, while uncompromising about the need for religious education, was often critical of the habits of his Mexican-born parishioners. Irish-American Judge Edmund Dunne, who supported public schools in Nevada, risked his career to defend the point of view of Tucson Catholics. Good Mexican-born Catholics, such as Juan Elias, Gabriel Angulo, Estevan Ochoa, and Francisco León, while they may have done their part for the Catholic schools, also put money, effort, and zeal into the development of the public schools. Swiss-born teacher, John Spring, although married to a Sonoran-born woman, developed a pedagogy that emphasized the study of English only and American patriotism. Spring's Mexican-born student, Ignacio Bonillas, had absorbed four years of this public school version of American patriotism, and yet he was still able to articulate a more complicated image of inclusive democracy.

The actions and arguments of Tucsonans in the course of the development of their school systems expose just how complicated the history of defining American citizenship has been all along. Cultural citizenship, or the active and ongoing debates about what makes a citizen and who becomes a citizen, is an ideal constructed as much in small towns like Tucson, as it is in Washington, D. C. Although citizenship laws are passed and enforced by legislatures and courts,

ordinary Americans form opinions about the actions of a citizen and hope to influence others with their vision of the ideal citizen. Seen from afar, the situation in Tucson followed a pattern similar to all Western territorial expansion: Anglo-Americans arrive from the eastern states with a middle-class, Protestant value system and attempt to rearrange territorial cultures to fit this well-developed mold. In the process they expose their nativist, anti-Catholic, anti-Mexican, anti-Indian, anti-immigrant biases as they impose their institutions, their narrow definition of democracy, and their powerfully-co-opting Capitalist-economy on the unsuspecting, powerless, colonized populations. In the large frame, this scenario has proven over and over to be the general path of America's pursuit of Manifest Destiny. But when the focus is tightened to individual behavior, that story is less clear. Hispanic elite in Tucson often welcomed the chance to increase business access to the American market. Individual Catholics welcomed the opportunities of a free public education. Anglos and Hispanics cooperated in many ways to create the change that was occurring in Tucson in the 1860s and 1870s. And, most especially, all Tucsonans had the power to imagine how they were going to become American citizens and they engaged in this process of constructing an ideal of cultural citizenship. Some people with citizenship visions that significantly differed from the generic Anglo-American model, like Ignacio Bonillas or Judge Edmund Dunne, articulated those alternative models to their fellow Tucsonans, with differing degrees of success. If we skim over these alternative imagined citizenship models we lose sight of how complicated the Americanization process has really been. These contradictory visions hold the real history of this country's attempt to build a democracy with an amazingly diverse population.

CHAPTER THREE

“The Spectacle of a Farmer Bending Over a Washtub:” Tucson Indian Industrial School

On January 15, 1889, the busy superintendent of the Tucson Indian Industrial Training School sat down to write a letter to his counter-part at the Albuquerque Indian School. The Reverend Howard Billman began his letter: “My dear Mrs. Walker,” and went on to protest the practice of putting male Indian students to work doing laundry. Billman wrote: “As a farmer boy in my youthful days, I migrated from Ohio to Kansas and back again . . . and the spectacle of a farmer bending over a washtub is something that I never witnessed in all that time. Our Indian boys do not like to do such work. They will not do it when they go home. Why have them do it now?”¹⁵¹ Billman went on to urge the Albuquerque superintendent to avoid training boys to learn “the female position of the family,” because he feared that it would not teach them to become good providers for their families. Over and over in much of his correspondence the Reverend Billman expressed the hope that “his boys” would learn to become good farmers and “his girls” good homemakers. Reverend Billman and other school personnel promoted this gendered labor pattern as the only course to American citizenship for the Tucson Indian Industrial School students. This cultural ideal for American citizenship combined political philosophy, pragmatic considerations, and scholarly theories about race. For missionaries, citizenship-training also incorporated a strong evangelical impetus. In contrast to the Anglo-American conceptions of citizenship, the first generations of Tucson Indian Industrial School students, by selectively

¹⁵¹ Letter from Reverend Howard Billman to Mrs. Walker, Superintendent of the Albuquerque Indian School, January 15, 1889, Tucson Indian Industrial Training School Records, Arizona Historical Society Library and Archives, Tucson, Arizona (hereafter referred to as AHSLA).

adopting some of the school's philosophies and neglecting others, developed alternative visions of what it was to be an American citizen.¹⁵²

Between 1888 and 1895, the Reverend Howard Billman's letters simultaneously build a picture of the development of an industrial school and the growth of his thought process about the Americanization of Indians. Late each evening, the Presbyterian minister would sit at his desk and write letters to his Mission Society, to Sunday school teachers, to fellow missionaries, and to the Superintendents of other Indian schools. Soon after the Billman family had arrived in October of 1888, Reverend Billman wrote two letters to the director of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, one asking for three dozen eclectic first readers and another asking for a seed

¹⁵² The Anglo-American emphasis on "proper" gender roles in the process of Indian assimilation efforts has been noted by many authors, among them: Devon A. Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851-1909* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998); Katrina A. Paxton, "Learning Gender: Female Students at the Sherman Institute, 1907-1925," in Clifford Trafzer, *Boarding School Blues : Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006); K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools: The Power of Authority Over Mind and Body," *American Ethnologist*, 20.2 (May 1993): 227-240; Robert A. Trennert, "Victorian Morality and the Supervision of Indian Women Working in Phoenix, 1906-1930," *Journal of Social History*, 22.1 (Autumn 1988): 113-128; Trennert, "Educating Indian Girls at Non-Reservation Boarding Schools, 1878-1920," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 13.3 (July 1982): 271-290; Wendy Wall, "Gender and the "Citizen Indian,"" in *Writing the Range: Race, Class, and Culture in the Women's West*. Elizabeth Jameson and Susan Armitage, eds. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997); Margaret Connell Szasz, "Through a Wide-Angle Lens: Acquiring and Maintaining Power, Position, and Knowledge through Boarding Schools," in Trafzer, *Boarding School Blues*; K. Tsianina Lomawaima, *They Called It Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco Indian School* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994); Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000); Robert A. Trennert, "From Carlisle to Phoenix: The Rise and Fall of the Indian Outing System, 1878-1930." *Pacific Historical Review* 52, no. 3 (August 1983): 267-291; K. Tsianina Lomawaima and T. L. McCarty, "*To Remain an Indian*": *Lessons in Democracy from a Century of Native American Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2006); David Adams, *Education for Extinction : American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995); Margaret Connell Szasz, *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-determination since 1928* (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1999); Robert A. Trennert, *The Phoenix Indian School: Forced Assimilation in Arizona, 1891-1935* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988).

catalogue and 1400 pounds of “White Russian Oats of good quality seed.”¹⁵³ These two requests reflect the dual educational emphasis of the school: half of the day was to be spent teaching Tohono O’odham, Akimel O’odham, and other Indian students how to read and write in English, while the other half was to be spent teaching the students the Anglo-American work ethic. When Reverend Billman arrived, the Tucson Indian Industrial School was located a mile north of the village of Tucson on leased ranch land. When it first opened in 1887 it consisted of several small adobe buildings near a few cultivated fields. In 1888, a new building was built on the site, where the school continued until 1907, when new money allowed for the purchase of a larger ranch three miles south of Tucson. The Presbyterian missionaries stepped into an educational void because the Saint Joseph’s Academy for Young Ladies and the public schools in Tucson—regardless of their promoter’s pride in these school’s civilizing and unifying goals—did not accept Native American students.¹⁵⁴

The Tucson Indian Industrial School students in the 1880s and 1890s were the first generation among the desert Indians of the American Southwest to attempt to straddle both the Anglo-American and their own traditional worlds. It was this group of students who negotiated, not an assimilated Anglo-Americanism, but a Native-American citizenship for themselves and for the generations of Indians following their lead. They absorbed some of what the Reverend

¹⁵³ Letter from Reverend Howard Billman to Mr. Boyd, October 23, 1888 and November 28, 1888, AHSLA.

¹⁵⁴ Tohono O’odham (desert people) and Akimel O’odham (river people) were known by Billman and the other Presbyterian Missionaries by their Spanish names: Papago and Pima. The school also served small numbers of Apache, Mohave, Yaqui, Maricopa, and Yuma students in the 1880s and would later serve at least twelve different Indian groups by the 1930s, including Mono, Walapai, Hopi, Navajo, and Zuni students. Daniel Bruce Ferguson, “The Escuela Experience: The Tucson Indian School In Perspective,” (Thesis: University of Arizona, 1997): 78; Jeré Franco, “Howard Billman and the Tucson Indian School, 1888-1894,” *The Social Sciences Journal*, 26.2 (1989): 143-160; John Hamilton, *A History of the Presbyterian Work Among the Pima and Papago Indians of Arizona* (MA Thesis, University of Arizona, 1948).

Billman and the other mission teachers had to offer, but they used only what seemed most useful to them and wove it into their lives in ways that made sense to them—rather than the full cultural assimilation envisioned by Reverend Billman. Some students in this generation focused on the academic subjects or farming skills taught at the Indian School and other students absorbed the evangelical religion, but all of the students interpreted their new knowledge in light of their own life experiences. In addition, it was Indian schools, like the Tucson school, that fostered a pan-Indian environment that allowed Indian students from different language groups to come together and begin to forge an identity that was not O’odham or Apache or Yaqui, but for the first time “Native-American.”¹⁵⁵

The mission teachers did not intentionally contribute to this new Native-American citizenship, but hoped for a full Anglo-American assimilation for their charges. In another of the Reverend Billman’s letters to the superintendent of the Albuquerque Indian School he wrote: “In my judgment . . . the urgent need here is that our boys and girls should be taught to be productive of the necessities of life. The children know nothing at all in the line of self-support. Nor do their parents for that matter.”¹⁵⁶ This quote reflects the initial ill-informed response of many Anglo-Americans to the quite sophisticated subsistence strategies of Arizona desert Indians. However, as the Tucson Indian Industrial School grew from one small adobe building into a multi-building campus, the Reverend Billman’s assimilation ambitions for his students grew as well. Whereas in 1889, Billman expressed an urgency to teach Indians what he saw as the basic rudiments of subsistence farming, by 1891, he would write to a church group in Illinois that: “Here are the coming husbands and wives and fathers and mothers, and possible ministers and physicians and

¹⁵⁵ Ferguson, “The Escuela Experience.”

¹⁵⁶ Letter from Reverend Howard Billman to Mrs. Walker, Superintendent of Albuquerque Indian School, December 10, 1888, AHSLA.

teachers, a company of responsive children: shall we leave them to the blanket and straw house, or give them an education, habits of industry, and the faith of our blessed Lord?"¹⁵⁷ If in the beginning, Billman merely hoped for a more comfortable subsistence for his students, he quickly learned to hold greater ambitions for them in professional leadership positions.

The letters that Billman wrote also reflected new United States strategies for dealing with Indians. In 1869, President Ulysses S. Grant initiated his Peace Policy, which advocated assimilation and education over extermination. Education, in the minds of Anglo-American advocates of the Peace Policy, would teach Indians how to farm, to read and write, and to worship God in a Christian church – in short, education was expected to turn the Indian into an Anglo-American. Educational initiatives through the Peace Policy were responsible for the existence of the Tucson Indian Industrial School and much of the school's funding came from the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C. Reverend Billman sent quarterly claims to the Indian Bureau for \$31.75 per student. This money, when combined with funds from the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, allowed the school to serve between a hundred and two hundred students per year. The children learned to read and write from the eclectic reader series. They learned to add and subtract with special emphasis placed on teaching them the accounting necessary to run a farm and to do business with Anglo-Americans. As Billman wrote: "The Indian needs friends. He needs education. Otherwise he is at the mercy helplessly of unscrupulous whites."¹⁵⁸ School officials were very aware that, while they were teaching the Indian students to become as much like Anglo-Americans as possible, they must also teach them how to avoid the corruption and deceitfulness of some whites. It was a specific kind of Anglo-

¹⁵⁷ Letter from Reverend Howard Billman to Mrs. Robinson, Ladies of the Synod of Illinois, January 2, 1891, AHSLA.

¹⁵⁸ Letter from Reverend Howard Billman to Mrs. M. T. Scripps, October 14th, 1889.

American behavior that the school would hope to instill in their students: honesty, hard-work, and truthfulness were the qualities that they emphasized.¹⁵⁹

While the federal policy and the Protestant missionizing seemed to converge in the Peace Policy, the Grant administration and the Presbyterian missionaries were never in complete harmony. For the Grant administration, the turn to religious organizations to provide services to Indians was a pragmatic strategy to chip away at the widespread corruption in the Indian service. The Bureau of Indian Affairs had become notorious, with positions in the Indian service given out as political prizes and dishonest agents pocketing both money and resources meant for Indians confined to reservations. The assumption was that churchmen would be less tempted to fraudulence than other political office seekers. President Grant was also under increasing pressure from westward-moving whites to protect them from Indian attacks. When Grant was approached by a Quaker group wanting federal funding to run Indian schools, he agreed, saying “If you can make Quakers out of the Indians it will take the fight out of them. Let us have peace.”¹⁶⁰ In political venues other than the Bureau of Indian Affairs, President Grant was ordinarily a strong supporter of the separation of state and church and not personally a religious man. For the administration, promoting Christianity was of secondary importance to combating corruption or decreasing the violent, costly, and politically-damaging Indian-white confrontations.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ “Quarterly claim,” Reverend Howard Billman to US Indian Bureau, October 1st, 1889, AHSLA; David Sim, “The Peace Policy of Ulysses S. Grant,” *American Nineteenth Century History* Vol. 9, No. 3 (September 2008):241-268. For quarterly claims see letter books I-V, Tucson Indian Industrial Training School Records, AHSLA.

¹⁶⁰ T. C. Battery, introduction to Lawrie Tatum, *Our Red Brothers and the Peace Policy of President Ulysses S. Grant*, quoted in Sim, “The Peace Policy of Ulysses S. Grant,” 242.

¹⁶¹ David Sim notes that President Grant was not an atheist, nor was he a Christian. Grant’s son Fred remembered that “he was not a praying man.” Sim, “The Peace Policy of Ulysses S. Grant,” 266.

For the Presbyterians the funding available through the federal government's Peace Policy was the answer to a long-term mission goal of converting Indians and saving souls. The Presbyterian Church had sent exploratory groups to the southwest in the 1850s, soon after the new southwestern territories were taken from Mexico, searching for locations to establish evangelical outposts and home missions. The Women's Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church raised the initial funds to open the Tucson Indian Industrial School, but the availability of federal money allowed it to expand from thirty to seventy-seven students in its first year. This expansion was important because the Presbyterians strongly believed that incorporating the vast southwestern territories and the non-Christian southwestern populations into the American union could only happen if the people were properly evangelized. Although the Spanish had established Catholic missions to the O'odham over a hundred and fifty years earlier, in the eyes of the Presbyterians, Catholic Indians were almost as alarmingly un-American as were Indians in their original condition.¹⁶²

Presbyterian theology underlay every aspect of the day at Tucson Indian Industrial School. Each morning opened with a prayer and teachers used the bible for reading, writing, and even geography lessons. The mission teachers taught children to memorize psalms and encouraged older students to become members of Christian Endeavor youth clubs. Every

¹⁶² Letter from Reverend Howard Billman to "My Dear Brother Boyd," September 6, 1889, AHSLA; Hamilton, *A History of the Presbyterian Work*; Mark T. Banker, *Presbyterian Missions and Cultural Interaction in the Far Southwest, 1850-1950* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993); Michael C. Coleman, "Not Race, But Grace: Presbyterian Missionaries and American Indians," *Journal of American History* 67 (June 1980): 41-60; Coleman, *Presbyterian Missionary Attitudes Toward American Indians, 1837-1893* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1985); Jean Baptiste Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross: Notes on the Ecclesiastical History of New-Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado* (Banning, CA: St. Boniface's Industrial School, 1898); Women's Board of Home Missions, *Among the Pimas Or Mission to the Pima and Maricopa Indians* (Albany, NY: Ladies' Union Mission School Association, 1893); see also letter books I-V, Tucson Indian Industrial Training School Records, AHSLA.

Sunday, teachers and students would don their best clothes and walk several blocks to the Trinity Presbyterian Church for services. Most importantly, Reverend Billman noted that all of the children left the school as Christian ambassadors to their own people. To the Presbyterians, Christianity was a vital aspect in the development of Indians as eventual American citizens.¹⁶³

Although the federal government and the Presbyterians diverged in their interpretation of the Peace Policy, not all federal officials saw Indian education as merely a pragmatic solution to corruption or frontier violence. Some of the Reverend Billman's letters to the government were agonizing pleas for more resources, an indication of the generally inadequate funding and support for both the new Peace Policy and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The assimilation of Indians was simply not a high priority for the American government. In his second year at Tucson Indian Industrial School, Billman wrote to General Thomas Jefferson Morgan, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, about supplying necessary medical care on the nearby reservation: "I do wish our Government had an easy way of getting at this matter. Our Papago Indians lie out there in the desert and suffer and die, without one particle of relief."¹⁶⁴ Despite the failures of government agencies, Commissioner Morgan was also sympathetic to the goal of assimilation rather than extermination, reporting in 1889: "When we speak of the education of the Indians, we mean that comprehensive system of training and instruction which will convert them into American citizens, put within their reach the blessings which the rest of us enjoy, and enable them to compete successfully with the white man on his own ground and with his own

¹⁶³ See letter books I-V, Tucson Indian Industrial Training School Records, AHSLA; Ferguson, "The Escuela Experience"; Franco, "Howard Billman and the Tucson Indian School."

¹⁶⁴ Letter from Reverend Howard Billman to General T. J. Morgan, April 17, 1891, AHSLA.

methods.”¹⁶⁵ Even if he did not share the evangelical aspirations of Reverend Billman, Commissioner Morgan believed as strongly as the Presbyterians in the power of education to transform Indians into American citizens.

Billman and Morgan were part of a generation of Anglo-American Progressives who shared many of the same concerns and enthusiasms. In the 1880s, American democracy was still an experiment unfolding and many Anglo-Americans worried that the additional 525,000 square miles of territory ceded by Mexico after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo would be enough to unbalance the fragile democracy. The Civil War had intensified the perception that a democratic population must have unified goals and values and the vast new western territories were far from unified or homogenous. Reformers, such as Billman and Morgan, saw education as the solution to cultural unification. In part, this passion for education came from the conviction that democratic political participation required knowledge about civil and political activities that could be best understood by literate men. In addition they strongly believed that the attainment of political independence required economic independence. Small-scale farmers were understood to be the most independent members of the populace, since, in theory, they were free from the coercion of overseer or master. Reformers saw agricultural training as the ticket for creating a population of independent farmers. At the same time, newer ideas of social evolution developed by contemporary anthropologists helped reformers, like Billman and Morgan, understand how Indians would take their place in the larger context of American political development. Although the Reverend Billman clearly embraced the necessity for Christian evangelism more than

¹⁶⁵ Thomas Jefferson Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, “Supplemental Report on Indian Education,” *House Executive Document* no. 1, part 5, vol. 2, 51st Congress, 1st session, serial 2725, 1889.

Commissioner Morgan, they both espoused many of the same Progressive ideas about democracy, independence, and social evolution.¹⁶⁶

Only a year before the Reverend Billman and his family moved to Tucson, the United States Congress had passed the Dawes Act, which was intended to create the conditions for Indian citizenship. The 1887 Dawes – or General Allotment – Act stipulated that each Indian family could choose 160 acres of reservation land on which to farm. The remaining Indian land would be sold to non-Indians, creating a fund for education and agricultural training. The idea was that allotment of land would provide motivation for families to pursue the Jeffersonian pattern of small-scale, independent farming. It was hoped that helping Indians to become farmers and farm-wives would lead to cultural and political independence from the tribal group and foster a direct relationship between the state and the head of each household—resulting in widespread Indian citizenship. In this scenario, educational programs, like the Tucson Indian Industrial School, were essential to turn semi-nomadic, hunter-gatherer groups like the O’odham, into farmers. Despite this middle-class nostalgia, the American economy had been irrevocably transformed by the market economy.¹⁶⁷

The Dawes Act was intended to assimilate and homogenize all Indian groups in the Anglo-American mold. The Reverend Billman and the Indian Agents on the O’odham reservation, looked at the subsistence strategies of the Indians and did not see the richly varied diet of deer, peccary, quail, cactus fruit, tepary beans, squash, melon, mesquite pods, and wild

¹⁶⁶ México, United States, “El Tratado de Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848. Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848 (Sacramento, CA: Telefact Foundation, 1968); Richard Griswold del Castillo, “Manifest Destiny: The Mexican-American War and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo,” *Southwestern Journal of Law and Trade in the Americas* Vol. 5 (1998): 31-43.

¹⁶⁷ Sim, “The Peace Policy of Ulysses S. Grant;” Daniel McCool, Susan M. Olson, and Jennifer L. Robinson, *Native Vote: American Indians, the Voting Rights Act, and the Right to Vote* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

herbs, but saw, instead, a starving people who grew no wheat and kept no livestock. Rather than recognizing a fully functioning separation of labor in which women were responsible for the construction of homes and the planting and harvesting of crops, while men were responsible for group safety and for hunting, the missionaries saw a dangerously mixed-up gender pattern that emasculated men, while making drudges out of Indian women. The industrial education for Tucson Indian students attempted to re-create Anglo-American Victorian gender roles. The girls kept the dormitories clean, served at table, and worked in the kitchen and laundry. The boys planted and harvested crops, cared for animals, and repaired farm machinery.¹⁶⁸

The Reverend Billman's gendered goals for his Indian students overlapped with the impetus behind the Grant Peace Policy and the later Dawes Act, specifically around the idea that individual farm-owners were the ideal on which American democracy was built. The ideal of the independent farmer dates back to the early republic. In the election of 1800, the Jeffersonian Republican Party had positioned itself as different from the Federalist Party in its confidence that "plain folk," working their own farms could uphold a democracy. In fact, President Thomas Jefferson considered yeoman farmers the strong core of a democracy who could balance a self-interested upper class against a mass of degraded wage workers. In his 1781 volume, *Notes on*

¹⁶⁸ McCool, Olson, and Robinson, eds., *Native Vote*, 6. Dietary information from Juan Dolores and Madelieine Mathiot, "The Reminiscences of Juan Dolores, an Early O'odham Linguist," *Anthropological Linguistics*, 33.3 (Fall 1991): 232-315; Alberto Celaya, Paul H. Ezell, Henry F. Dobyns, "An Interview with Alberto Celaya, 1952," *Journal of the Southwest*, 49.3 (Autumn 2007): 433-487; and Reverend Issac T. Whittemore, "The Pima Indians, Their Manners and Customs," in Women's Board of Home Missions, *Among the Pimas Or Mission to the Pima and Maricopa Indians*.

Many historians have described the specific emphasis on assimilation of Anglo-American gender roles in Indian school, important among them are: Lomawaima, "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools"; Trennert, "Victorian Morality and the Supervision of Indian Women Working in Phoenix, 1906-1930"; Trennert, "Educating Indian Girls at Non-Reservation Boarding Schools, 1878-1920"; Mihesuah, *Cultivating the Rosebuds*; Paxton, "Learning Gender: Female Students at the Sherman Institute, 1907-1925," in *Boarding School Blues*; Wall, "Gender and the "Citizen Indian."

the State of Virginia, Jefferson wrote: “Those who labour in the earth are the chosen people of God, if ever he had a chosen people, whose breasts he has made his peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue.”¹⁶⁹ Virtue was vital in a democracy in which public honor and confidence resulted “not from birth, but from our actions.”¹⁷⁰ The Jeffersonian notion of democracy as rooted in “those who labour in the earth” lingered on as a foundational component of conceptions of American democracy by the late nineteenth century. Over and over the federal government upheld this ideal in homestead acts between 1804 and the 1870s, which were intended to create a nation of independent farmers. As a former farmer himself, the Dawes Allotment Act would have had special resonance for Reverend Billman as a way to introduce Indians to the virtues of labor and the ideology of American democracy. Central to this project was ensuring that Indian men learned to take the primary role of farmer, while their wives learned to provide domestic comforts in the Anglo-American fashion.¹⁷¹

Although the federal government was still actively supporting a rural agricultural lifestyle in the late nineteenth century, the irony of the Dawes Act was its coincidence with a national shift toward urbanization over the nineteenth century. Urbanization was accompanied by the industrialization of the work force and a move away from land ownership as the basis of citizenship rights such as voting. Throughout the century, the right to vote was won by wider and wider groups of American men. First non-property-owning white men demanded the franchise in

¹⁶⁹ Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Query XIX. Electronic Text Center, University of Virginia Library (<http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/toc/modeng/public/JefBv021.html>). Accessed on June 12, 2012).

¹⁷⁰ Thomas Jefferson, “First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1801, quoted in Sean Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy: Jefferson to Lincoln* (New York: Norton, 2005), 96.

¹⁷¹ For an analysis of the Federalist-Republican clash, see especially Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy*; Bernard Bailyn, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge: Belknap, 1967); David N. Mayer, *The Constitutional Thought of Thomas Jefferson* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1994).

state after state during the antebellum and, after the Civil War, the fifteenth amendment made voting a legal right for all black men, until by the 1880s, political participation was open to a greater percentage of American males than ever before. Citizenship for white or black men was, at least constitutionally, not dependent on property ownership, farm productivity, nor adherence to proper gender roles. Just by being born in America, white and black men gained at least the legal right to full citizenship. To open citizenship up to American Indian men, however, both the Presbyterian missionaries and the Bureau of Indian Affairs officials fell back on the Jeffersonian ideal of yeoman farmer and wife as the appropriate goal for Indians. The fact that the farmer-citizen was an outdated model on which to base citizenship standards never seems to have bothered Billman, who continued to promote it during his tenure at the Tucson Indian Industrial Training School.¹⁷²

Reverend Billman's support of farming and the agricultural training provided to male O'odham students at the Tucson Indian Industrial School ultimately failed to win citizenship

¹⁷² The federal support for small farm ownership is evident in The Land Act of 1804 for settlement along the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys; The Military Land Act of 1812; The Donation Land Claim Act of 1850 for Oregon; and The Homestead Act of 1862. Robert M. Utley and Barry Mackintosh, *The Department of Everything Else: Highlights of Interior History* (The National Park Service, 1989. Accessed on June 13, 2012. http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/utley-mackintosh/index.htm); Hans Krabbendam, Marja Roholl, Tity de Vries, *The American Metropolis: Image and Inspiration* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 2001); Alexander Keyssar, *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States* (New York; Basic Books, 2000). This is not to say that Universal Manhood Suffrage, as legalized in the Fifteenth Amendment, was not discursively and violently contested across the country, but especially in the post-war South. Immediately following the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment many whites, north and south, began to construct gendered perceptions of blacks as inappropriately gendered for American citizenship. This Anglo-American anxiety about blacks was certainly a factor in the very similar anxiety about all non-whites, including American Indians. Historian Hannah Rosen notes that "the legal scaffolding for a biracial democracy would remain in place, but it could no longer be sustained in practice," after the period of Southern Reconstruction ended in the 1870s. Rosen, *Terror in the Heart of Freedom: Citizenship, Sexual Violence, and the Meaning of Race in the Postemancipation South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009): 16.

rights for Arizona Indians. In fact, the Dawes Act, although it would strip land from Indian tribal groups in Arizona, did very little to bring full political and economic citizenship to the O'odham or other Arizona Indians. If voting rights alone are considered an indicator of political citizenship, Indians in Arizona were kept from full citizenship for many more years. While the federal Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 brought the legal right to those American Indians who had not already abandoned their tribal affiliations, Arizona State officials continued to restrict Indian voting rights, maintaining that Arizona Indians who were tribal members or who received state or federal financial support of any kind should be considered wards of the state and therefore ineligible to vote. In 1948, through the action of an Arizona State Supreme Court decision, this practice was overturned. Into the 1970s, the state still managed to keep some Arizona Indians from voting by arguing that suffrage be withheld from non-tax payers or by establishing literacy restrictions. The agricultural training provided to Tucson Indian students, while it may have given many valuable skills, was a relative failure in terms of its primary goal of readying Arizona Indians for citizenship, or, more accurately, readying Arizona for Indian citizens.¹⁷³

If the Jeffersonian model of farmer-citizen was a primary impetus behind the Dawes Act and the agricultural training at Tucson Indian Industrial School, there were other ideas circulating that motivated reformers to create schools for Indians. American intellectuals in the 1870s were embracing the ideas of English theorist, Herbert Spencer, who felt that cultures evolved toward a state of higher complexity and civilization. American anthropologist, Lewis Henry Morgan, in particular, had applied the ideas of socio-cultural progress to American Indians. Morgan believed that cultures evolved from a savage state, through barbarism,

¹⁷³ McCool, Olson, and Robinson, eds., *Native Vote*.

ultimately progressing toward civilization. According to Morgan and his fellow anthropological enthusiasts, this evolution occurred through a specific sequencing of developments: the use of fire for savages, the domestication of animals for barbarians, and the development of a written alphabet for the civilized. Morgan published his major work, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, in 1871.¹⁷⁴ According to his biographer, Daniel Moses: “the publication of *Systems* catapulted Morgan into the middle of the transatlantic scholarly debates about the evolution of the family.”¹⁷⁵ Not many lay people read the full 600-page book, but the publicity generated by these scholarly debates pushed Morgan’s theories fairly quickly out to the general public.¹⁷⁶

While Morgan was primarily interested in the scientific classification of cultural development, his ideas entered the popular imagination as a prescription for possible progression for living groups of people. Reform groups such as the Friends of the Indian, the Indian Rights Association, and the Women’s National Indian Association celebrated the possibilities of Indian evolution in books, articles, and at conferences, such as the annual Lake Mohonk conference. “We have learned,” claimed one conference attendee, “that education and example, and, preeminently the force of Christian life and Christian faith in the heart, can do in one generation most of that which evolution takes centuries to do.”¹⁷⁷ Because the members of these reform groups were primarily Anglo-Americans from mainline Protestant denominations, they

¹⁷⁴ Lewis Henry Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997).

¹⁷⁵ Daniel Moses, *The Promise of Progress: The Life and Work of Lewis Henry Morgan*. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2009), 194.

¹⁷⁶ Moses, *The Promise of Progress*; Alexandra Harmon, “When Is An Indian Not An Indian? “The Friends of the Indian” and the Problems of Indian Identity,” *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, 18.2 (Summer 1990): 95-123.

¹⁷⁷ *Lake Mohonk Conference Proceedings* (1900), quoted in Harmon, “When Is An Indian Not An Indian?” 14.

interpreted Morgan's anthropological descriptions of evolution into an agenda for Christian charitable work. This belief in the possibilities of Indian progressive evolution marks a positive transformation from earlier convictions that "the only good Indian is a dead Indian," and it explains the urgency many reformers felt for launching educational projects. Reverend Billman and the other missionaries at the Tucson Indian Industrial Training School moved in circles where new anthropological ideas freely circulated and it is clear from their correspondence that they hoped to accelerate the social evolution of their Indian students through education and exposure to Christianity.¹⁷⁸

If the Bureau of Indian Affairs officials and the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions wanted to create "civilized citizens" from "savage Indians," according to the precepts of socio-cultural-evolution they must encourage their charges to move through the progressive stages of savage, barbarian, to civilized citizen. Missionary-teachers constructed the industrial training at the Tucson Indian school to teach students the basic skills necessary to run a small farm or a farm household as the first step towards civilization. Reverend Billman and the other teachers felt strongly that the use of the English language, the constant reinforcement of the Protestant work ethic, and the immersion into the Christian environment were essential for jump-starting an accelerated evolution. In addition, many of the fund-raising pamphlets describe first-year children arriving at the Tucson Indian Industrial Training School, paying particular attention to the new student's reaction to the material life of civilization: light switches, water taps, and stair

¹⁷⁸ Harmon, "When Is An Indian Not An Indian?"; Moses, *The Promise of Progress*, 249; Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Kim Cary Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship: African American and Native American Citizenship in Kansas, 1880-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010). Warren notes that many of the same Anglo-American reformers also met at Lake Mohonk to discuss the "Negro Question," during the same periods.

cases. For Anglo-Americans the Indian use of such markers of civilization was an indication of an evolutionary change within that child, which promised to transform all Indians, if not entirely in that generation, then surely in the next.¹⁷⁹

The intense focus on the evolutionary necessity to remove Indian children from their homes collided with the stated fundamental goal of the Tucson Indian Industrial School: assimilation. The Women's Board of Home Missions designed the boarding school to completely remove children from their home environment and drop them into a type of "laboratory" meant to propel their evolution from savage to civilized. School organizers were so busy creating an idealized Anglo-American home for Indian children that they ultimately created an environment that was also completely isolated from the rest of Tucson. By 1906, when the town grew up around the first school location north of the downtown area, the perennially cash-strapped Board of Home Missions somehow found the money to relocate the school three miles south of town. While the goal of Indian social evolution was to assimilate them into the Anglo-American way of life, the Presbyterian missionaries seemed remarkably reluctant to allow them to mingle with Anglo-Americans. This isolation may have been due to a reluctance to expose Indian children to non-Presbyterians or a measure to protect the students from white racism, but it had the effect of segregating Indian children from all Tucson non-Indians. In the 1920s and 1930s, as day schools were established on nearby reservations, the Tucson boarding school was slowly transformed into a high school, which meant that Tucson Indians were never required to come into daily contact with Anglo-American students at any level in local schools. The young people at the Tucson Indian Industrial School were among the most segregated students in

¹⁷⁹ Catherine Culnan, *Indian Sketches* (New York: The Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., 1930), 4; see letter books I-IV, Tucson Indian School Records, AHSLA.

Tucson. When the Women's Board of Home Missions noted in a pamphlet that: "We always keep in mind the desired fruit of all our labor, to send out a company of clean, thrifty, self-reliant, self-supporting men and women—Christian home-makers and home-keepers," it becomes clear that they only ever intended to send them "out" to the reservation.¹⁸⁰

Although the assimilationist intentions of the school were hampered by the segregation of the boarding school, the school organizers remained dedicated to the ideals of social-evolution for Indians. Occasionally impatience got the better of this urge to ensure that individual Indians and the tribal groups as a whole progressed through the appropriate stages. In 1891, Reverend Billman got tired of waiting for the children in his school to grow up before they could influence their non-schooled peers. That year, the Tucson Indian Industrial School created a special program for five adult men and their wives. Instead of living in the dorms, the families lived in a detached building and had separate lessons. Billman wrote to a mission society colleague: "The men are in school, learning to be teachers and evangelists for their own people, the women are being taught to be good housekeepers. This is just what we are hoping will result from our work in the case of many of our boys and girls; but we hope by this means to send out very shortly five Christian families to be leaders in so many [Indian] communities. The way is long, often

¹⁸⁰ The Tucson Indian Industrial School did not engage in "outing"—or sending students to live and work with local Anglo-American families—to the extent of other regional Indian boarding schools, such as the Phoenix Indian School. There was some limited outing for girls beginning around 1900, but always with carefully chosen Presbyterian families. Reverend Arthur T. Pierson, "Industrial School for Indians . . . Tucson, Arizona," (New York: Women's Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., 1902), 7, Elsie Prugh Herndon Records, AHSLA.

Frederick Hoxie describes the efforts of Thomas Jefferson Morgan, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs between 1889 and 1893, to integrate Indian children into public schools near reservations. Soon after Morgan's tenure as Commissioner, the Bureau abandoned that effort and returned to the practice of segregating Indian children, which has continued to the present day in Bureau-funded schools. Hoxie, "Redefining Indian Education: Thomas J. Morgan's Program in Disarray," *Journal of the Southwest* 24.1 (Spring 1982): 5-18.

wearing, and very perplexing; but Christian intelligence, Christian industry, and Christian love will certainly triumph.”¹⁸¹ This program for married adult students is one of the clearest signs that the citizenship goals for Tucson Indian Industrial School students were different from those for other Tucson area students. No other schools intentionally enrolled adult married students and carefully trained male students to be evangelists and their wives to be homekeepers.

The Reverend Billman’s impatience to train adult Indians to be Christian leaders reveals the passion behind the most important of his motivations to create the Tucson Indian Industrial School: evangelism. Nineteenth-century American Presbyterians had generally relaxed in their adherence to the Calvinist principals of innate human depravity and predestination, but they had grown stronger in their conviction of a direct link between Protestant Christianity and what they saw as the remarkable achievements of the United States. Protestant Christianity meant progress. Presbyterians had thrown themselves passionately into the revivalism of the Second Great Awakening in the early part of the century and that exhilarating experience had convinced them that American religious activism would triumphantly evangelize of the whole world. In fact, many American Presbyterian missionaries firmly believed that the evangelization of the world must occur before the second coming of Christ and the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth. With so much at stake, it is no wonder that Billman tried to jump the gun by training older men and women to spread the gospel among their fellow O’odham. Indeed, understanding the Presbyterian evangelical motivations makes it clear that, although they were willing to cooperate with the federal government on a mutual goal of Indian education, the Presbyterian missionaries had ulterior motivations that were not necessarily shared with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The routing of corruption and the generation of new American citizens, while important, must have

¹⁸¹ Letter from Reverend Howard Billman to Miss Moore, March 26, 1891.

surely taken second place to the ultimate goal of attaining the millennium in Christ. This fact was ever present for Billman and for the other Anglo-American missionaries at the Tucson Indian Industrial School. While they might praise a student for learning quickly or working hard, they kept their highest praise for those students who professed a love for Christ. As Reverend Billman wrote about students over and over: “She is a hard working young woman, and, best of all, she is a good, consistent Christian girl.”¹⁸²

Anglo-American reformers interested in the “Indian question” shared enough assumptions about Indian assimilation to be able to work together relatively successfully, but ultimately they held several distinct visions of American citizenship. Most Progressive reformers agreed about cultural hierarchies, the necessity of unity and uniformity for American democracy, the virtuousness of independent farmers, and the possibilities of social evolution. Leaders like President Ulysses S. Grant, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Thomas Jefferson Morgan, the members of Indian reforms groups, and missionaries, like Reverend Howard Billman all believed that education was the key to creating American citizens out of Indians. They did not necessarily agree, however, on the specifics of that program. Political officials pragmatically looked to

¹⁸² Letter from Reverend Billman to Miss Anna Long, May 1, 1890.

Banker, *Presbyterian Missions and Cultural Interaction in the Far Southwest*; Letter books I-V, Tucson Indian Industrial School Records, AHSLA; Robert Berkhofer, *Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965); Henry Bowden, *American Indians and Christian Missions: Studies in Cultural Conflict* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Mary Huber, *Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Discourse and Practice*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999); Francis Prucha, *The Churches and the Indian Schools, 1888-1912* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979); Dana Robert, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1996); Wilbert R. Shenk, ed., *North American Foreign Missions, 1810-1914: Theology, Theory, and Policy* (William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2004); Barbara Welter, “‘She Hath Done What She Could:’ Protestant Women’s Missionary Careers in Nineteenth-Century America.” *American Quarterly* 30, no. 5 (Winter 1978): 624–638; Susan Yohn, *A Contest of Faiths: Missionary Women and Pluralism in the American Southwest* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

education to provide the necessary tools to generate an intelligent voting population, individuals who were civically involved, and capable workers who would contribute to the national economy. For most government officials, education was the means to transform a multi-cultural population into a cohesive and patriotic unit. The end goal was social stability and a unified American citizenry.

Presbyterian missionaries, on the other hand, were focused on a millennial future in the second coming of Christ; a unified American population was only a pleasant by-product of their labors. Presbyterian missionaries certainly did not approve of all of the educational efforts of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, for instance. The Tucson Indian Industrial School superintendents often worried about the educational curriculum and agendas of the near-by government-run Indian schools. Reverend Billman's letter to the superintendent of the Albuquerque Indian school was highly critical of their practice of having male students work in the school laundry. Billman was wedded to the idea of proper gender-relations as essential to his particular vision of American manhood and, ultimately, citizenship. A later Tucson superintendent, Haddington Brown, worried about the lack of religious training in the non-sectarian government schools: "Are the religious denominations of our land going to permit all of this generation of Indians to receive a mental training without any thought to their spiritual welfare? Training them to be farmers, blacksmiths, and carpenters . . . and still permit them to go on in their pagan religions as in their former condition, or even worse make infidels of them?"¹⁸³ To superintendent Brown, the formation of a generation of Indians who shared Anglo-American habits of industry and who would contribute to the American economy was, by far, secondary to the goal of Christianizing the world. On the surface, the assimilation efforts of Anglo-American reformers seem uniform

¹⁸³ Letter from Haddington Brown to Mrs. Rogers, November 30, 1908, AHSLA.

and well-harmonized, but it is in their definitive goals for citizenship that the distinctions become most visible.

Just as the Presbyterian missionaries and officials of the Bureau of Indian Affairs conceived of slightly different versions of American citizenship based on their own requirements and experiences, American Indians also developed their own perceptions of how they would become American. Like all students, the students at the Tucson Indian Industrial Training School—children and adults—had their own agenda for the education and training that they received. Regardless of the best laid plans of the Reverend Billman, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, or the Presbyterian Church Home Mission Society, Indian school graduates made use of their education in ways that met their own personal needs. They also interpreted the prevailing discussions of Americanization, assimilation, and citizenship through the filter of their own experiences. Rather than striving to become as Anglo-American as reformers hoped they would, Indian students combined aspects of Indian and Anglo-American cultures to create their own perceptions of Indian-American citizenship.

One student who had no intention of being a Christian Leader or independent farmer attended the school in the 1880s. Juan Dolores hated the Tucson Indian Industrial School and ran away several times. Dolores recalled that: “They were not kind these Presbyterians. They were just clever. They were just waiting for the time when our parents had gone back home to teach us God’s rules the hard way, by beating us with a stick, by making us work hard, by making us go hungry.”¹⁸⁴ Dolores certainly recounts being beaten many times, but to be fair, he also recounts playing practical tricks on students and teachers, organizing an unauthorized night-time trip to the circus, and regularly inciting misbehavior among other students. Dolores continued on in

¹⁸⁴ Dolores and Mathiot, “The Reminiscences of Juan Dolores, An Early O’odham Linguist,” 307.

school after attending the Tucson Indian School, and graduated from the Hampton Institute in Virginia in 1898. In 1909, Dolores travelled to Berkeley, California, to meet anthropologist Alfred Kroeber, at which time he began to work with Kroeber on the study of O'odham linguistics. Dolores continued to work with Kroeber and other linguists, until ultimately taking a permanent position as a preparator in the University of California - Berkeley Museum of Anthropology. Although Dolores was initially resentful of his experiences at Tucson Indian School he would make use of his education to establish a career as cultural mediator.¹⁸⁵

The use that Juan Dolores made of his Tucson Indian Industrial School training was not assimilation as the Reverend Billman understood it; instead, it was a type of adaptive integration. Dolores took what he needed from his Anglo-American education to honor and protect his O'odham knowledge and to establish outside respect for the O'odham culture. Dolores did not accept everything from his Tucson education comprehensively. He entirely ignored the Presbyterian religion and the agricultural training; but he did learn to appreciate the power of the written word, and would go on to publish several academic articles discussing different aspects of O'odham linguistics. Neither did Dolores run away from the Anglo-American world and retreat to an entirely O'odham space in the far reaches of the reservation. Even though he remembered hating his first taste of education, Dolores continued to try to make a distinctive space for himself by pursuing his Anglo-American education and yet still honoring his O'odham knowledge. Rather than narrowly following the prescription for American citizenship as laid out

¹⁸⁵ Dolores, "Reminiscences," 232-315; A. L. Kroeber, "Juan Dolores, 1880-1948," *American Anthropologist* 51.1 (1949): 96-97; J. Alden Mason, *The Language of the Papago of Arizona* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1950); Theodora Kroeber, *Ishi in Two Worlds: A Biography of the Last Wild Indian in North America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961): 156-162.

Theodora Kroeber describes Juan Dolores as a close friend of Ishi, while they were both living on the campus of the University of California, Berkeley between 1908 and 1916, when Ishi died.

by Reverend Billman and other Presbyterian missionaries, Dolores, through the choices he made during his life, articulated an alternative American citizenship: an O'odham-American citizenship.¹⁸⁶

Many other former students of the Tucson Indian Industrial School managed to subvert the prescribed usage of their education by pursuing paid jobs. Rather than establishing yeoman farm households, these students engaged in wage work, integrating their paid labor into older patterns of migration for seasonal-gathering or religious reasons. While Reverend Billman insisted that the only way for Indian students to become American citizens was to settle into an outdated model of independent farmer and farmer's wife, former students took their technical skills – both agricultural and domestic – and made use of them in the region's modern wage-economy. Ironically, their agricultural and domestic training allowed them the freedom to follow O'odham habits of seasonal movement and yet make use of those aspects of Anglo-American life that appealed to them. Juan Dolores, himself, is an example of a student who chose wage labor over independent farming, as he worked as a teamster before he met Kroeber in 1909. Another former student, Anna Shaw, remembered traveling alternately between paid wage labor and work on the reservation-farms of relatives: “Threshing was always a kind of holiday, even though it was hard, hot work. Here was our chance to exchange news and gossip with our friends . . . often romances developed under the summer moon.”¹⁸⁷ Another student, Alberto Celaya, described to anthropologists a long history stretching back to the middle of the nineteenth century of integrating wage work for non-Indians with the production of desert foods such as saguaro pitayas or mesquite bean pods. Nomadic travel was an aspect of Indian life that Presbyterian missionaries had specifically set out to eradicate, but ironically the agricultural

¹⁸⁶ Dolores, “Reminiscences,” 232-315.

¹⁸⁷ Anna Moore Shaw, *A Pima Past* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974), 78.

training at the Tucson Indian School gave the students marketable skills usefully suited for occasional wage labor which meshed nicely with seasonal migrations. Like Juan Dolores, these former students were expressing with their life choices and their daily activities, a multi-cultural vision of a combined O'odham-American citizenship.¹⁸⁸

Even students who ostensibly followed exactly the path that Reverend Billman had planned—as Christian evangelists—adapted Christianity to meet their own needs. Sallie Simms Lewis, a student who attended Tucson Indian School in the 1920s, did become the wife of an Indian minister and was active in Presbyterian evangelism. Lewis' interpretation of evangelism, however, involved a more multi-cultural Presbyterian church that drew together Anglos, Blacks, Mexican-Americans, and Indians. Lewis recalls: “I was on the board a number of times, helping with programs for all the Presbyterian churches.”¹⁸⁹ While Reverend Billman had hoped that his students would go back to the reservation to evangelize other Indians, Sallie Lewis saw herself, not as an Indian evangelist, but as a Presbyterian evangelist. The reverse situation occurred in the life of Reverend Joaquin Lopez. Lopez was the first ordained O'odham Presbyterian minister. Unlike Sallie Lewis, Reverend Lopez returned to the reservation, translating his evangelical message into O'odham. Lopez did not see the training at the Tucson Indian Industrial School as a complete and integrated package with the English language and Anglo-American farming. Instead he took the message of Christianity and combined it with the O'odham language and integrated Indian notions of spirituality. Both Lewis and Lopez disregarded the Anglo-

¹⁸⁸ Eric Meeks, “The Tohono O'odham, Wage Labor, and Resistant Adaptation, 1900-1930,” *The Western Historical Quarterly*, 34.4 (Winter 2003): 468-489; Eric Meeks, *Border Citizens: The Making of Indians, Mexicans, and Anglos in Arizona* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007);

Celaya, Ezell, Dobyns, “An Interview with Alberto Celaya, 1952”.

¹⁸⁹ Sallie Simms Lewis interview in Mary Logan Rothschild and Pamela Claire Hronek, *Doing What the Day Brought: An Oral History of Arizona Women* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1992): 94-95.

American's assumptions that the Tucson Indian Industrial School should completely transform their cultural allegiance. Instead they both created adaptive fusions of O'odham and Anglo-American culture that suited their own needs. In doing so, Lewis and Lopez, just like Dolores and generations of other Tucson Indian Industrial School students, also generated new ways to be O'odham-American citizens.¹⁹⁰

One ironic aspect of Anglo-American assimilation and the efforts of the Tucson Indian Industrial School mission teachers was that the school created several outspoken generations of graduates who envisioned a tribal citizenship to balance their American citizenship. While the Anglo-American reformers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries tried for forty years to remove individual Indians from the tribe or, as the saying went, "remove the tribe from the Indian," by the late 1920s they ended up contributing to the official recognition of tribal sovereignty. In 1928, the US government shifted direction in response to the "Meriam Report" and began to allow Indian tribal self-government for groups that adopted federally approved constitutions and elected governments.¹⁹¹ The O'odham and other Arizona Indian people who were most prepared to act as cultural intermediaries and work within a formal tribal government structure were those who had attended programs like the Tucson Indian Industrial School and could work as cultural intermediaries to forward tribal demands. A later superintendent of the school, Joseph Poncel, wrote in the 1940s that: "Most of the important members of the Pima Tribal Council, including the council head, have attended the Tucson Indian School. Nurses, government workers, Sunday school teachers, Christian farmers and housewives have been

¹⁹⁰ Lewis interview, *Doing What the Day Brought*, 37-39, 94-95; Ferguson, "The Escuela Experience:," 14, 119.

¹⁹¹ Brookings Institution and Lewis Meriam, *The Problem of Indian Administration; Report of a Survey Made at the Request of Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, and Submitted to Him, February 21, 1928*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1928).

trained here.”¹⁹² O’odham parents were telling school officials by the 1930s and 1940s that they were sending their children to the Tucson Indian School, not to learn how to become Christian farmers and housewives, but to be tribal leaders. As another Tucson Indian School superintendent wrote: “We are also serving a group, many of whom are children of former students ,who have very definite ideas that their children must be prepared with a higher education that will allow them to go far in the management of community and governmental affairs.”¹⁹³ The Indian students had been patient and persistent in the pursuit of their alternative image of an O’odham-American citizen. This implacability in the face of decades of Anglo-American assimilation effort, ultimately paid off as the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 made it legally possible to be both a tribal citizen and an American citizen.¹⁹⁴

Native-American students not only pictured themselves as Indian-Americans, they also convinced Anglo-Americans to begin to think more multi-culturally. From the beginning in 1889, O’odham families and the children referred to the “Escuela” when talking about the Tucson Indian Industrial School. Although one primary goal of the teachers was to teach the children English and they imposed a stern English-only rule, all the school staff soon began to refer to the “Escuela” in their correspondence. Eventually, Escuela would become the semi-official name for the school used by Anglo-American Tucsonans, Presbyterian Board of Home Missions officials, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Anglo-American reformers came to the southwest intending to remake Indian students into their own image and, instead, often found themselves integrating Indian behavior into their daily lives. As one school publication put it: “One deals with Indian pupils most successfully by adopting to some degree their own silence

¹⁹² Quoted in Ferguson, “The Escuela Experience,” 110.

¹⁹³ Quoted in Ferguson, “The Escuela Experience,” 94.

¹⁹⁴ McCool, Olson, and Robinson, eds., *Native Vote*; Vine Deloria, and Clifford M Lytle, *American Indians, American justice* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983).

and deliberation.”¹⁹⁵ This Anglo adaptive assimilation of Indian habits was aided by the increasing national popularity of traditional native life and customs. The Bureau of Indian Affairs tried to showcase their boarding schools at national fairs, such as the 1891 Columbian Exposition, the 1899 Greater American Exposition, the 1901 Pan-American Exposition, and the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition, but the public ignored exhibits of well-mannered school children and flocked to see teepees and peace pipes, baskets and mock cliff-dwellings, Wild-West shows and feathered headdresses. Prominent Anglo-American artists and art-promoters, such as Mary-Russell Colton and Mabel Dodge Luhan, encouraged Indian artists to create salable works for the international art market. A romanticized version of Indian life was adopted by the Boy Scouts and the Campfire Girls, while adults adopted Indian symbolism in their fraternal lodges. The ever-increasing symbolic presence of Indians in commercial American culture made it ever more difficult for missionaries to remake their Indian students in the Anglo-American mold. Popular culture itself was moving farther and farther away from a uni-cultural, Anglo-American model.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ Catherine Culnan, “Indian Sketches,” 9.

¹⁹⁶ William James Burns, *We Must Grow Our Own Artists: Mary-Russell Ferrell Colton, Northern Arizona's Early Art Educator and Advocate* (Dissertation, University of Northern Arizona, 2010); Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 95-127; Robert A. Trennert, “Selling Indian Education at World's Fairs and Expositions, 1893-1904,” *American Indian Quarterly* 11.3 (Summer 1987): 203-220; Banker, *Presbyterian Missions*, 145; Leah Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest: Persistent Visions of Primitive Past* (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1996); Helen Carr, *Inventing the American Primitive: Politics, Gender and the Representation of Native American Literary Traditions, 1789-1936* (New York: New York University Press, 1996); Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*; Margaret D. Jacobs, *Engendered Encounters: Feminism and Pueblo Cultures, 1879-1934* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999); Molly H. Mullin, *Culture in the Marketplace: Gender, Art, and Value in the American Southwest* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001); Wava Gifford and Bill Higgins, *The Story of the Smoki People, Prescott, Arizona: Dedicated to the Preservation of Indian Ceremonial Dances and Artifacts* (Prescott: s.n., 1974).

The great irony of the Tucson Indian Industrial School was that, while it set out to “remove the tribe from the Indian,” it ended by provided the common ground for this first generation of students in the 1880s and 1890s to meet each other and begin to forge a multicultural identity. The school provided a way to access those aspects of Anglo-American culture that they could then incorporate into their own lives, and once they had done so they had the tools to begin to make demands for Indian self-government. As the first few generations successfully absorbed academic achievement, knowledge of farming techniques, or evangelical religion they incorporated and interpreted these ideas into their lives in ways that made the best economic or cultural sense to them individually. The example of strategic cultural adaptation pursued by the first generations of Tucson Indian Industrial School students were passed down to their children, giving these subsequent generations the strength required to demand a multicultural citizenship from the American government that had so recently been intent on eradicating all American Indians. It is ironic, too, that the one group of Arizona residents who would be restricted from legal citizenship for the longest, would go the furthest toward creating not only a cultural citizenship that combined both their Indian and American aspirations, but also the legal right to be Native-American.

While President Grant’s Peace Policy and the educational aims of the Bureau of Indian Affairs were certainly more humane than the earlier U.S. goal of Indian extermination, their expectations that Indians must assimilate fully before becoming citizens were never realized. Although the Tucson Indian Industrial Training School continued to work towards creating independent farmers out of their Indian charges, most students entered the wage-economy, while retaining ties to the reservation. The idea that Indian students would use the education they received at the Tucson Indian School to integrate useful aspects of Anglo and Indian life into a

personally meaningful whole would not have occurred to early BIA officials or to Reverend Billman. Anglo-American Bureau of Indian Affairs officials and missionaries, like Reverend Billman, were hampered by their Victorian conceptions of appropriately gendered families and popular ideas of socio-cultural stages of evolution. They could not imagine the development of a multi-cultural society in which Anglo-American cultural values were only one choice among many. Luckily the first generation of graduates of the Tucson Indian Industrial Training School had more imagination. These students actively worked to become cultural mediators, to adapt aspects of the modern wage economy or of Christianity that met their needs, and saw themselves as both Indian and American. It was the Tucson school and others like it that gave this generation of Indian students the economic tools and the pan-Indian community that they needed to push for tribal recognition and self-government.

CHAPTER FOUR

“They May Segregate Pupils of the African from Pupils of the White Races”: Paul Laurence Dunbar School

At the beginning of the school year of 1913, the local newspaper enthused that “for the first time in the history of Tucson negro pupils will have their own school and their own teacher when the city schools open next Monday.”¹⁹⁷ Four years earlier, the 25th Legislative Assembly of Arizona Territory approved a bill allowing for—but not mandating—the segregation of African-American students if there were more than eight students in a local school district. In 1912, the Tucson city school board minutes noted that a group of African-American parents made a special request for a separate school for their children. Since segregation seemed to be looming on the horizon, perhaps these parents were pursuing what W. E. B. Du Bois called the “advantage of the disadvantage” in the freedom to have some control over their children’s education.¹⁹⁸ Other groups of black parents would vigorously protest the idea of segregated education in Tucson, submitting petitions several times in 1912, making a “strong protest against this unfair decision.”¹⁹⁹ At the end of this contentious year, the Tucson public school district opened its first segregated school for black students in a small wooden house at 215 E Sixth Street. By 1913, just after achieving statehood, Arizona’s newly elected state legislature passed a more aggressive

¹⁹⁷ “Negro School To Open Doors Next Monday,” *The Arizona Daily Star*, September 18, 1913.

¹⁹⁸ W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Negro in Business* (Atlanta, Georgia: Proceedings of the Fourth Conference for the Study of the Negro Problems, 1899): 15. Du Bois was referring to the advantages created by segregation for black businessmen who catered to a group of consumers whose choices were restricted by Jim Crow customs and laws. There is evidence that some African-American parents saw similar advantages in segregated schools that allowed them more scope to influence the direction of their child’s education. See Ronald E. Butchart, *Schooling the Freed People: Teaching, Learning, and the Struggle for Black Freedom, 1861-1876* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2010).

¹⁹⁹ *Minutes of the Board of Trustees for 1912* in Ida O. Williams Zanders, *Negro Education in Tucson, Arizona* (Thesis: University of Arizona, 1946): 26.

law, this time mandating segregation in all Arizona public grammar schools with enough enrollment. Despite the local debate in Tucson, Arizona state law now required segregation.²⁰⁰

Segregation in Tucson, Arizona, was not a simple battle of white versus black, but the result of a more complex situation in which various Anglo-American and African-American groups pursued contesting visions of African-American citizenship. I argue in this dissertation that cultural citizenship is created within the context of public discussion of who can be a full citizen, and whose citizenship should be limited because of race, class, gender, or religion. For African-Americans in Tucson, citizenship—although legally defined in the Fourteenth Amendment—was culturally limited by the introduction of segregated schooling and other social constraints, such as segregated neighborhoods, restaurants, and access to public facilities. Jim Crow racism after the turn-of-the-century only intensified debates among African-American groups advocating different goals for education. During the same time, Anglo-Arizonan officials were under pressure as the critical eyes of the country were on them while they negotiated for

²⁰⁰ “Negro School to Open Doors Next Monday,” *The Arizona Daily Star*, September 18, 1913; “Death Comes to C. C. Simmons, Negro Leader,” *The Arizona Daily Star*, June 12, 1927; Andrea J. Lightbourne, “Shining Through the Clouds: An Historical Case Study of Dunbar, A Segregated School in Tucson, Arizona,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Arizona, 2004); James F. Cooper, *The First Hundred Years: The History of the Tucson School District I, Tucson, Arizona, 1867 to 1967* (Tucson: Self-Published, 1967); Ida Carter, *Rise of the Public Schools of Tucson, 1867-1936* (Thesis: University of Arizona, 1937); Zanders, *Negro Education in Tucson, Arizona*; Harry Lawson, *The History of African Americans in Tucson: An Afrocentric Perspective* (Tucson: Lawson’s Psychological Services, 1996); James Walter Yancy, *The Negro of Tucson, Past and Present* (Thesis: University of Arizona, 1933); Hayzel Burton Daniels, *A Negro High School in Tucson, Arizona* (Thesis: University of Arizona, 1941); Thomas Conrad Jackson, *Negro Education in Arizona* (Thesis: University of Arizona, 1941); *Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials of the Regular Session . . . of the 25th Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Arizona* (Prescott: Office of the Arizona Minor, 1909): 171-172; *The Revised Statutes of Arizona, 1913, Civil Code* (Phoenix: The McNeil Company, 1913), 921.

The hope for the uplifting possibilities of segregated schools was not limited to Tucson. Henry Davis, an African American man in Phoenix, was quoted in the paper as saying: “If we can have our own teachers and buildings and our children can get as good an education as they would in white schools, I believe that segregation will work out to the advantage of us all.” *The Arizona Daily Star*, March 27, 1909, 2.

statehood. Rocked by financial scandals and allegations of territorial mismanagement, officials in Arizona were repeatedly reminded of their duty to prove the Territory's worthiness before admission to the union. Even while the U.S. Congress was charging Arizona with fiscal mismanagement, the Arizona Territorial and State legislatures passed expensive school segregation measures, indicating their conviction that African-American school segregation was somehow vital for territorial worthiness. In this tumultuous environment, thirty small children attending the new Tucson "Colored School," as it was initially named by the district, were hard pressed to imagine how they might demand the equal right to Arizona and American citizenship as their school-age Tucson peers.²⁰¹

²⁰¹ On the history of African American education, please see: Butchart, *Schooling the Freed People*; James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Titus Brown, *Faithful, Firm, and True: African American Education in the South*. (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 2002); Ronald E. Butchart, *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction: Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980); Adam Fairclough, *A Class of Their Own: Black Teachers in the Segregated South* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007); Valinda W. Littlefield, "I Am Only One, But I Am One: Southern African-American Women Schoolteachers, 1884-1954" (Thesis: University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 2003); Donald G. Nieman, *African Americans and Education in the South, 1865-1900* (New York: Garland, 1994); Katherine Chaddock Reynolds and Susan L Schramm, *A Separate Sisterhood: Women Who Shaped Southern Education in the Progressive Era* (New York: Peter Lang, 2002); Heather Andrea Williams, *Self-Taught: African American Education in Slavery and Freedom* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004). For western experiences, please read: Kim Carey Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship: African American and Native American Education in Kansas, 1880-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Jackie Lynn Byrd Thul, "African-American School Segregation in Arizona From 1863-1954" (Thesis: Arizona State University, 1993); Karen Vanae Carson, "Black Phoenician Women as Educators During the Era of Jim Crow, 1896-1954" (Thesis: Arizona State University, 2000); Andrea Juliette Lightbourne, "Shining Through the Clouds: An Historical Case Study of Dunbar, A Segregated School in Tucson, Arizona" (Thesis: University of Arizona, 2004); Quintard Taylor, "From Esteban to Rodney King: Five Centuries of African American History in the West." *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 46, no. 4 (December 1, 1996): 2-23; Quintard Taylor and Shirley Ann Wilson Moore, *African American Women Confront the West: 1600-2000* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003); Quintard Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the American West, 1528-1990* (New York: Norton, 1998);

Even within the tiny population of black families in Tucson—only one and a half percent of Tucsonans were African-American in 1912, fewer than 50 families—it is clear from the debates about the establishment of a segregated school that local sentiments about education reflected national disputes. Several national African-American leaders had developed and advanced distinct tactical goals for education and for “racial uplift.” The founding officers of the *National Association for the Advancement of Colored People* (NAACP), formed in 1909, were the most publically vocal advocates of direct confrontation and opposition to institutionalized racism in the early twentieth century. Some of these public figures, such as W. E. B. Du Bois, configured themselves in opposition to what they saw as accommodationist practices of other leading African American educators, in particular Booker T. Washington who founded the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in central Alabama. As segregation became established in Arizona, Tucson’s African-American families found themselves addressing the same stark challenges as national black leaders: conform to outward agreement with segregation in order to build skills and pursue economic security or confront the racism inherent in segregated schools out of principle and risk unleashing violent reprisal. Just as on the national scene, Tucson groups held adamantly opposed views of how to achieve the same end goal: equality and a full American citizenship.²⁰²

James T. Patterson, *Brown v. Board of Education: A Civil Rights Milestone and Its Troubled Legacy* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001).

²⁰² United States, 13th Census of the United States: 1910, Supplement for Arizona (Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1912), 588; Oswald Garrison Villard, “The Objects of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People,” *The Crisis*, 3.3 (January 1912): 81-84; Mark Bauerlein, “Washington, Du Bois, and the Black Future,” *The Wilson Quarterly* 28.4 (Autumn, 2004): 74-86; Louis R. Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901-1915, Volume 2* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983); Booker T. Washington, *The Future of the American Negro* (Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1900); Washington, *Up From Slavery: An Autobiography* (New York: A. L. Burt Company Publishers, 1901); Washington, *My Larger Education* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1911); Washington, “Industrial

The racial uplift ideas of Booker T. Washington permeated the early establishment of a separate African-American school in Tucson. Although acting in response to segregationist state-law, when the Tucson school board decided to open a school to separate black children from all other school children, they hired activist African-American teacher, Cicero C. Simmons. It is possible that the Board of Supervisors hired Simmons at the request of the initial group of parents who were actively advocating a separate school for their children or at the recommendation of other local African-American leaders. Cicero C. Simmons was a graduate of the Tuskegee Institute and had been a student of Booker T. Washington. The newspaper mentions that before taking the position as principal and teacher at Tucson's "Colored School," Simmons had been traveling throughout the Southwest as a field agent for the Tuskegee Institute. Tuskegee field agents travelled the country giving presentations on the educational work of the Institute and soliciting funds to promote that work. Shortly before taking the position in Tucson, Simmons had given at least one presentation about Tuskegee in Tucson and, according to the Arizona Daily Star, had been actively promoting "the work of uplifting his race in Phoenix" for some months.²⁰³

Cicero Simmons may have had ulterior motives for choosing to work in the Southwest, but ultimately the local perception was that he was promoting Booker T. Washington's vision of

Education for the Negro," in *The Negro Problem: A Series of Articles by Representative American Negroes of Today* (New York: J. Pott & Company, 1903): 7-30; W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1903); W. E. B. Du Bois, "The Talented Tenth," in *The Negro Problem*: 31-76; Carter G. Woodson, *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (New York: Oshun Publishing, 1933).

²⁰³ "Negro School to Open Doors Next Monday," *The Arizona Daily Star*, September 18, 1913; "Death Comes to C. C. Simmons, Negro Leader," *The Arizona Daily Star*, June 12, 1927; Cooper, *The First Hundred Years*; Carter, *Rise of the Public Schools of Tucson*; Zanders, *Negro Education in Tucson, Arizona*; Yancy, *The Negro of Tucson*; David H. Jackson, *Booker T. Washington and the Struggle Against White Supremacy the Southern Educational Tours, 1908-1912* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

racial uplift. Simmons may have had health reasons for wishing to relocate to Tucson: parents later complained that he was a consumptive and were worried that he might infect their children with tuberculosis. Tucson boosters had for at least a decade been promoting the benefits of dry desert air for curing consumption and marketing Tucson as a healthful place to live. It is possible that Simmons was drawn to apply for a teaching position in Tucson because of the hope that the local environment would help him combat the lung disease. Simmons had also recently married and would be bringing his new bride to Tucson. It is easy to imagine that as a married man he would be less inclined to undertake the extensive travel required of a Tuskegee field agent. What is clear is that local Tucsonans, both black and white, were impressed that Simmons arrived with a letter of recommendation from Booker T. Washington. Washington was the most well-known African-American leader of the time. In the late 1890s, after a public address at the Chicago Peace Jubilee, journalists began titling him “The Leader of His Race.” By 1913, he was reaching the prime of his national fame with journalists all over the country reporting on his meetings with presidents, his many public speeches, and his involvement in a wide variety of Negro uplift organizations. A letter from Washington would have impressed both Anglo- and African-Americans in Tucson.²⁰⁴

As a field agent, Cicero Simmons was a cog in what W. E. B. Du Bois called the “Tuskegee Machine,” which put him squarely in one of the opposing camps about how to pursue

²⁰⁴ Zanders, *Negro Education in Tucson, Arizona*; Bauerlein, “Washington, Du Bois, and the Black Future”; “Negro School To Open Doors Next Monday,” *The Arizona Daily Star*, September 18, 1913; C. M. K. Paulison, “Arizona, The Wonderful Country: Tucson, Its Metropolis (Tucson: Printed at the Office of the Arizona Star, 1881); Tucson Chamber of Commerce, “Tucson: Arizona’s Playground, Home of Health and Sunshine,” (Tucson: Chamber of Commerce, 1906); Tucson Chamber of Commerce, “Health, Wealth, and Golden Opportunities: Scenes in and About a Prosperous Southwestern City” (Tucson: Chamber of Commerce, 1904); E. E. Gill, “Tucson: The World’s Sunshine Center,” (Tucson: Consolidated National Bank, 1925); “New Life in the Land of Sunshine,” (Tucson: unknown publisher, 1936).

African-American equality. According to Du Bois, the “Tuskegee Machine” was the attempt of Booker T. Washington and his associates to dominate national and even international fund-raising and publicity in order to promote a particularly limited and marginalizing vision of African-American citizenship. Du Bois initiated his criticism of what he saw as Washington’s conciliatory practices in his 1903 book *The Souls of Black Folk*. Du Bois was joined in this criticism, long after Washington’s death in 1915, by other prominent African-American intellectuals, such as Carter G. Woodson, in his 1933 book *The Mis-Education of the Negro*. According to these authors, industrial and agricultural schools such as the Tuskegee Institute and the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in southeastern Virginia, where Washington attained his own education, intentionally limited black children to manual and wage labor futures and therefore to a marginalized American citizenship. To add fuel to their critique, in an 1895 speech to the Atlanta Exhibition, Washington stated that, for blacks: “It is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top”²⁰⁵ and that, for blacks and whites: “In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.”²⁰⁶ To his critics, Washington seemed not only to be pandering to white racism, but to be positively encouraging segregation and the limitation of blacks to menial positions.²⁰⁷

Washington defended himself from these accusations in many of his publications by carefully describing the necessity for economic security as the basis of full African-American citizenship. In his 1901 book, *Up From Slavery*, Washington decried education that had no

²⁰⁵ Washington, *Up From Slavery*, Atlantic Exposition speech reprinted as chapter 10.

²⁰⁶ Washington, *Up From Slavery*.

²⁰⁷ Harlan, *Booker T. Washington*; Bauerlein, “Washington, Du Bois, and the Black Future”; Washington, *The Future of the American Negro*; Washington, *Up From Slavery*; Washington, *My Larger Education*; Washington, “Industrial Education for the Negro”; Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*; Du Bois, “The Talented Tenth”; Woodson, *The Mis-Education of the Negro*; Washington, *Up From Slavery*.

immediate benefit: “To teach the Negro to read, whether English, or Greek, or Hebrew, butters no parsnips.”²⁰⁸ Instead Washington advocated for an education that would give African Americans an immediate highly-paid skill: “To teach the Negro to do skillful work, as men of all the races that have risen have worked,—responsible work, which IS education and character; and most of all when Negroes so teach Negroes to do this that they will teach others with a missionary zeal that puts all ordinary philanthropic efforts to shame,—this is to change the whole economic basis of life and the whole character of a people.”²⁰⁹ Washington would say over and over that he never wished to limit those African-American students who wanted to attend college, he merely wanted to help the masses of working-class and poor blacks become highly skilled and highly paid. Outside criticism did have an effect on the Tuskegee Institute and on Washington’s outlook on education—it made him more and more careful to ensure a thorough academic education of all Tuskegee students and strengthened the development of the Normal—or teacher training—department on the Tuskegee campus. While Cicero Simmon’s degree was in carpentry, he also received a thorough Normal School training and was well-prepared to pass the Arizona State teacher certification requirements.²¹⁰

Tuskegee’s field fund-raising agents, like Cicero Simmons, not only disseminated this particular “up by your bootstraps” message about economic security as the basis for full citizenship, but also collected money. Booker T. Washington often funneled these funds towards

²⁰⁸ Washington, *Up From Slavery*, xvi.

²⁰⁹ Washington, *Up From Slavery*, xvi-xvii.

²¹⁰ Harlan, *Booker T. Washington*; Bauerlein, “Washington, Du Bois, and the Black Future”; Washington, *The Future of the American Negro*; Washington, *Up From Slavery*; Washington, *My Larger Education*; Washington, “Industrial Education for the Negro.” Cicero Simmons also attended the University of Michigan for two years before arriving in Tucson. While teaching at the Tucson Dunbar School, Simmons attended the University of Arizona part time and received a bachelor of arts degree in 1922 at the age of 52. “Negro School to Open Doors Next Monday,” *The Arizona Daily Star*, September 18, 1913; “Death Comes to C. C. Simmons, Negro Leader,” *The Arizona Daily Star*, June 12, 1927.

anti-racist activities such as legal action against the segregation of public facilities. More than that, Washington envisioned the Tuskegee field workers as evangelists for a future of black and white cooperation. As Washington wrote in 1901: “Wherever our graduates and ex-students go, they teach by precept and example the necessary lesson of thrift, economy, and property-getting, and friendship between the races.”²¹¹ Washington believed strongly that: “every individual and every race must work out its own salvation.”²¹² To this end segregation in education was not so much a limitation as an opportunity to develop a system of education that could teach black children how to succeed in a white world and as a space to develop race pride. Cicero Simmons was in full agreement with Washington about the possibilities of segregated education. The *Arizona Daily Star* reported that: “The new teacher, Professor Simmons, comes very highly recommended and is one of the leaders of his race in the southwest. Not long ago, in a public address in Tucson, he publically advocated the employment of negroes for the purpose of teaching negroes in order to foster race pride and to aid in race progress.”²¹³ Simmons arrived in Arizona promoting the Tuskegee message of racial uplift and of the potential usefulness of segregated schooling before the Tucson school board had proposed a segregated school. This message may have so inspired one group of Tucson parents by his ideas about how separate educational facilities might be used to give their children race pride, that they acted at his suggestion to request a separate school before the Tucson school board made a move in that direction. These families knew that the board would create some segregated facility and perhaps they hoped if they were actively involved they could influence its planning.²¹⁴

²¹¹ Washington, *The Future of the American Negro*, 106.

²¹² Washington, *My Larger Education*, 212.

²¹³ “Negro School to Open Doors Next Monday,” *The Arizona Daily Star*, September 18, 1913.

²¹⁴ Washington, *Up From Slavery*; “Negro School to Open Doors Next Monday,” *The Arizona Daily Star*, September 18, 1913.

Although some parents must have been motivated by Cicero Simmons' race-pride speech, when the first day of school rolled around on September 18th, 1913, there was a general strike against the "Colored School." No African-American parents chose to send their children to school. Local residents remembered later that the school was empty, except for Simmons and his wife, for some days after the beginning of the year. One of the main concerns—aside from what petitioning parents noted as the basic injustice of segregation itself—were the nearby railroad tracks. As the protest to the Board of School Trustees stated: "thirty small children whose ages range from six to ten years, who will be compelled to cross railroad tracks at the peril of their lives."²¹⁵ As was the situation across the American South, black children had to travel from all parts of Tucson to get to the "Colored School" rather than walk to the closest public school in their neighborhood. Another concern was the age range of the students, since Cicero Simmons would eventually teach first through the tenth grade students in the same room. Finally, those parents who originally petitioned for a separate school were among the first to break the "strike."²¹⁶

Between 1913 and 1917, parents opposing segregation continued to submit petitions or threaten legal action in attempts to improve the conditions and crowding of the "colored" school facilities. As intrinsically unfair as the Jim Crow segregation laws were, African-American parents still returned to the letter of the law in arguing their rights: "And since we are a part of the great commonwealth, we demand a hearing, for we will not submit to further humiliation or

²¹⁵ Petition filed with the Minutes of the Board of Trustees for 1912 quoted in Zanders, *Negro Education in Tucson*, 26.

²¹⁶ Zanders, *Negro Education in Tucson*, 26; Butchart, *Schooling the Freed People*; United States; *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Supplement for Arizona* (Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Office., 1912): 588; "Dunbar School History," in *Dunbar School Reunion*. (Tucson: priv. print, 1987) Arizona Historical Society Library and Archives, Tucson (AHSLA).

to anything less than the law provides.”²¹⁷ Disturbingly, the Arizona School Laws of 1913 did not stipulate separate but equal facilities, they stated only: “They shall segregate pupils of the African race from pupils of the white races, and to that end are empowered to provide all accommodations made necessary by such segregation.”²¹⁸ The 1892 Louisiana case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, had set the precedent for “separate but equal” for public services and had been used to justify the increasing introduction of racial segregation throughout the nation. Over twenty years after *Plessy v. Ferguson*, however, Arizona legislators were so comfortable in their legal right to segregate that they did not bother to include the notion of equality of facilities, materials, or supplies in their school laws.²¹⁹

Finally, after years of parent complaints, in 1917, the Tucson school district responded to the African-American parents’ petitions by building a new school. The board approved bonds, called for construction bids, and purchased land. When the new school building was finished, the all-white school board met and decided to name it Paul Laurence Dunbar School. There is no record that naming suggestions were solicited from Tucson African Americans, but it is likely that at least Cicero Simmons, so strong an advocate for race pride, campaigned to honor the school with the name of the most well-known black poet of the time. Because the new school now had two rooms, there was finally a chance to separate the younger from the older children: another teacher was hired to teach the lower grades. In addition to being principal and teacher, Cicero Simmons also acted as janitor, cleaning and hauling wood for winter heating for four years. For the new school, a janitor was hired to take over that work. Ironically, the students in

²¹⁷ Zanders, *Negro Education in Tucson*, 25.

²¹⁸ C. O. Case, Superintendent of Public Schools, *The School Laws of Arizona, 1913, Chapter IX, Paragraph 2733, section 2* (Phoenix: The State of Arizona, 1913): 33.

²¹⁹ William James Hoffer, *Plessy v. Ferguson: Race and Inequality in Jim Crow America* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2012); C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974).

Dunbar school enjoyed new facilities and the lowest teacher-student ratio of any school in the city. As one researcher noted in the 1930s, the tax money generated by Tucson African Americans—who were mostly limited to unskilled, low wage positions—paid for only a small portion of the educational costs of the Paul Laurence Dunbar School. The Tucson school board had to enlarge the school again and again as the city’s black population increased throughout the 1930s and 1940s. The maintenance of a separate school cost the tax payers much more than if the African-American students had been allowed to attend schools in their neighborhoods. The racism of Tucson’s segregationists was expensive to maintain.²²⁰

If many Anglo-Tucsonans were willing to pour tax money into racially separate schools, not all Anglo-Arizonans agreed with segregation. The initial passage of the segregated school law in the legislature did not go unchallenged and Anglo-Arizonans exhibited the same sorts of abruptly divergent points of view over racial issues as the nation as a whole. It has long been noted that turn-of-the-century white Progressives, while they were exposing political machines, prohibiting alcohol, and championing pure milk, were remarkably quiet about challenging racism or segregation. Historians have identified different motivations for Progressives: business Progressives with their emphasis on efficiency in production, political Progressives bent on exposing corruption, and purity Progressives promoting prohibition, maternal welfare, and eugenics. While a few Anglo-Americans calling themselves “Progressives” actively objected to the rise of Jim Crow, other Anglo-Americans—again self-styled “Progressives”—promoted segregation as an ideal solution for public peace. Many Arizona territory and, later, state officials

²²⁰ Zanders, *Negro Education in Tucson*, 29-30; “Death Comes to C. C. Simmons, Negro Leader,” *The Arizona Daily Star*, June 12, 1927. Yancy records that “The amount of taxes that go to District No. 1 out of Negro money is \$554.00. It can readily be seen that this meager sum could not start to pay for the cost of Negro education in Tucson, which is an average of \$7,485.70.” Yancy, *The Negro of Tucson*, 76.

during these crucial years saw themselves as political Progressives, but the primarily Democratic Arizona territory legislatures and constitutional convention members fell in line with party tendencies nation-wide. Nationally the Democratic Party was in support of Progressive issues such as direct election of senators, elimination of political machines, and increased corporate oversight. The Democratic Party did not extend its Progressivism to issues of racial and ethnic tolerance, however, and many Arizona Democrats were no exception.²²¹

Arizonans had greater than usual reason to be aware of national politics, because they hoped and strategized for new Arizona statehood. All Arizona Territory officials after the turn of the century kept one eye on the United States Congress as they went about their daily business. For more than fifty years, Arizonans had been engaged in elaborate attempts to achieve statehood. By the first decade of the twentieth century, statehood anxiety had risen to a fever pitch. Other western territories, like California and Oregon, had been made states before the Civil War. Almost all other western territories had become states by the end of the nineteenth century, except for Arizona and New Mexico. While national newspapers and magazines made snide comments about the “barbarism” of a territory with a population that was forty-one percent non-white, the U. S. Congress was more concerned about the inability for Arizona officials to

²²¹ David Traxel, *Crusader Nation: The United States in Peace and the Great War, 1898-1920* (New York: Knopf, 2006); William Link, *The Paradox of Southern Progressivism, 1880-1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992); Jeanne Petit, *The Men and Women We Want: Gender, Race, and the Progressive Era Literacy Test Debate*, (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2010); Ray Stannard Baker, *Following the Color Line: American negro Citizenship in the Progressive Era* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964); David Southern, *The Malignant Heritage: Yankee Progressives and the Negro Question, 1901-1914* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1968); Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967); Richard Hofstadter, *The Progressive Movement, 1900-1915* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1963); Arthur S. Link and Richard L. McCormick, *Progressivism* (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1983); Grace Hale, *Making Whiteness : the Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940*. 1st ed. New York: Pantheon Books, 1998.

balance their budgets, and because the Democratic party membership of many Arizona voters was threatening to Republican national officials.²²²

Arizona's budget troubles started back in the 1870s and 1880s. At that time several successive territorial legislatures had floated bonds for the construction of a prison and three short-spur railroad lines. The Thirteenth Legislature nearly doubled that debt in the mid-1880s when it voted to supply public funds for a road, several bridges, an insane asylum, a university, and a normal school. That legislature paid itself more than was federally authorized and paid bonuses to many sundry legislative employees, from two janitors to a highly paid attorney general. Although subsequent governors and legislatures tried to reign in the improvident spending, the Territory had already gained the suspicions of the federal government. Arizona also suffered during the national depression of 1893 as markets for the products of its major extractive industries—mining, forestry, and large-scale ranching—declined. The US Congress had to bail Arizona out of debt in 1894 and the Territory reneged on several more debts in the

²²² Howard W. Allen, Aage R. Clausen, Jerome M. Clubb, "Political Reform and Negro Rights in the Senate, 1909-1915" *The Journal of Southern History* 37.2 (May 1971): 191-212; William H. Lyon, "Arizona Territory and the Harrison Act of 1886," *Arizona and the West*, 26.3 (Autumn 1984): 209-224; Eric Biber, "The Price of Admission: Causes, Effects, and Patterns of Conditions Imposed on States Entering the Union," *The American Journal of Legal History* 46.2 (April 2004): 119-208; John D. Leshy, "The Making of the Arizona Constitution" *Arizona State Law Journal* 20.1 (July 30, 1988); John Braeman, "Albert J. Beveridge and Statehood for the Southwest, 1902-1912," *Arizona and the West* 10.4 (Winter 1968): 313-342; Mary Dale Palsson, "The Arizona Constitutional Convention of 1910: The Election of Delegates in Pima County," *Arizona and the West* 16.2 (Summer 1974): 111-124; H. A. Hubbard, "Arizona's Struggle Against Joint Statehood," *Pacific Historical Review* 11.4 (December 1942): 415-423; Linda C. Noel, "'I am an American': Anglos, Mexicans, Nativos, and the National Debate Over Arizona and New Mexico Statehood," *Pacific Historical Review* 80.3 (August 2011): 430-467; William H. Lyon, "Arizona Territory and the Harrison Act of 1886," *Arizona and the West*, 26.3 (Autumn 1984): 209-224.

1890s. The legislature's overspending and increasing debt created a reputation for fiscal mismanagement that dogged the Territory into the twentieth century.²²³

By the turn-of-the-century, not only fiscal mismanagement, but the increasingly outspoken Democratic electorate in Arizona was creating suspicions among federal officials in Washington, DC. In 1902, a Republican-led subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Territories toured the Southwest interviewing both New Mexico and Arizona residents. That committee decided that neither Arizona nor New Mexico were ready for statehood. The reasons for this decision include the committee's impression that Arizona's population was still very small, that one in four residents did not speak English, that 29 percent were illiterate in any language, that there were no laws requiring saloons to close on Sundays, and the lack of water precluded the small-scale farming that would have made the region seem familiar to the Senators. Because the populations of Arizona and New Mexico were so small some national commentators felt that these territories should be admitted as one larger state with the capital in Santa Fe. Democrats in Arizona, with the financial backing of Arizona's mining and railroad corporations, rose up in opposition to this proposal of joint-statehood. This overwhelmingly Democratic political agitation in Arizona alienated even more potential federal allies, including, by 1909, newly elected Republican President William Howard Taft.²²⁴

While federal officials were concerned about Arizona's fiscal irresponsibility and the possibility that admitting so strong a Democratic state would upset the balance of party power in Washington, other national voices were more concerned about Arizona's population mix. There

²²³ Lyon, "Arizona Territory and the Harrison Act of 1886," 212, 221, 223; Biber, "The Price of Admission," 207.

²²⁴ Braeman, "Albert J. Beveridge and Statehood for the Southwest, 1902-1912"; Hubbard, "Arizona's Struggle Against Joint Statehood"; Noel, "'I am an American': Anglos, Mexicans, Nativos, and the National Debate Over Arizona and New Mexico Statehood"; Palsson, "The Arizona Constitutional Convention of 1910."

were grumblings in many newspapers or magazines about the “scandalous unfitness” of the southwestern territories for statehood.²²⁵ As one newspaper remarked about Arizona: “The southern half of the territory is populated by Mexicans, who know little about the United States government and care considerably less.”²²⁶ One Arizonan responded defensively about the racial and religious make-up of the population: “The Chinese have not made their way here in any great numbers, and are lost in the much larger white population. . . As to the Mormons . . . the great natural boundary between Utah and Arizona of the Grand Cañon of the Colorado acts as an effectual bar to any large migration. . . The Mexican population also is not large, and is confined to the south.”²²⁷ However Anglo-Arizonans might protest, the reality in Arizona was great ethnic and racial diversity. The chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories, Albert Beveridge, noted after visiting Arizona that: “in determining the policies of the Republic it shall be the people who shall be represented, and not merely square miles.”²²⁸ The Committee and many other Anglo-Americans were quite concerned that the people in Arizona, many of whom seemed to them to be so clearly racial or religiously unassimilable, were not prepared for democratic political involvement.

All those worried about Arizona statehood paid great attention to the numbers and locations of these unassimilable Arizonans. By 1910, nearly 40% of Arizona’s population was made up of “Anglo-Americans,” only 7.5% of whom could actually trace their heritage back to England itself. Other “Anglo-Americans” had become Anglicized by assimilation and had joined the “white” population with varying degrees of success. The 10% of the Arizona population who

²²⁵ Albert Shaw, ed., “Two More Undeveloped States,” *The American Review of Reviews* 41.3 (March 1910): 268-270, 268.

²²⁶ Emerson Huff, “Statehood; The Present Congress to Decide as to Their Claims,” *Deseret Evening News*, Saturday, January 27, 1906.

²²⁷ “Arizona As A State,” *The Nation* (April 4, 1889): 281.

²²⁸ Braeman, “Albert J. Beveridge and Statehood for the Southwest,” 318.

were descendants of Irish, French, Spanish, Hungarian, and Italian Catholic immigrants were considered nominally Anglo-Americans only if they were willing or able to behave as such: speak English or reject the Catholic faith in favor of Protestantism. Mexican immigrants or people with one or two Mexican-born parents made up 25% of Arizona's population. Those Mexican-descended individuals whose families had opted for American citizenship under the stipulations of the 1859 Gadsden Treaty were considered "white" by the federal government for census purposes. By 1910, the local status of Mexican-descended Tucsonans as white depended upon their willingness to adopt Anglo-American habits, and even then, there was a persistent sense of racial otherness about Arizona's Mexican-American population. African Americans made up just one percent of the Arizona population in 1910 and that percentage had actually dropped from one and a half percent in 1900, although the Tucson population remained a little higher at 1.6%. Arizona's black population was not growing at the time that the segregation law was passed—except in the minds of the territorial legislators.²²⁹

Arizona Territorial leaders were so concerned about the perception of Arizona as racially unfit to join the Union that they began plans to limit the political access of certain populations. In 1909, the Democratic Arizona Territorial Legislature passed an English-language voting requirement law which the legislature hoped would appease those outside the territory who were most worried about its large non-English speaking population: primarily Mexican-American and Eastern-European immigrants. Arizona's Native Americans, because they were effectively disenfranchised already by national laws, did not factor into this anxiety. This English-language voting law may have soothed some anxieties about race, but it triggered a different response in

²²⁹ United States. *Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Supplement for Arizona* (Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Office., 1912): 579; Thomas Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997): 220-225.

the Republican US Congress. It was seen as a blatant attempt to disenfranchise the mostly-Republican Spanish-speaking voters of Arizona. The Senate Committee on Territories promptly moved to require that Arizona's election of constitutional convention members be held under the older electoral law that did not stipulate English-language fluency. Arizona went on to elect a mostly Democratic constitutional assembly anyway, leading some speculators to argue that intentional misinformation about the law had limited the Mexican-American Republican vote.²³⁰

The territorial legislators and the later-elected constitutional convention members were part of an Arizona social environment that was growing ever more secure in its racism as the twentieth-century opened. In the 1880s and 1890s, Tucson's Anglo-Americans had begun to build neighborhoods separated from the older Mexican-American barrios, which became isolated by distinct dividers, such as railroad tracks. Other non-Anglo groups also clustered together in the same neighborhoods. The Tucson Chinese-American population was tiny and limited to the Mexican-American barrios.²³¹ Tucson's African-American population was also very small and scattered among several Mexican-American barrios mostly along the western-most edge of town near the railroad tracks or across the Santa Cruz River. Businesses downtown self-segregated, choosing to serve one type of customer only, either an all-Anglo-American clientele or serving, by default, all others considered non-whites. Tucson residents later remembered that hotels, restaurants, and taxi services all divided their business by skin color. Businesses that did not

²³⁰ *Session Laws of the 25th Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Arizona*, 18-21; Braeman, "Albert J. Beveridge"; Palsson, "The Arizona Constitutional Convention of 1910"; Hayostek, "Douglas Delegates to the 1910 Constitutional Convention."

²³¹ Rhonda Tintle, *A History of Chinese Immigration into the Arizona Territory: A Frontier Culture in the American West* (Thesis: Oklahoma State University, 2006); Lawrence Michael Fong, "Soujourners and Settlers: The Chinese Experience in Arizona *The Journal of Arizona History* Vol. 21 (Autumn, 1980): 1-30; Grace Peña Delgado, "Of Kith and Kin: Land, Leases, and Guanxi in Tucson's Chinese and Mexican Communities, 1880-1920s," *The Journal of Arizona History* (2005): 33-55; Wensheng Wang, "The First Chinese in Tucson: New Evidence on a Puzzling Question," *The Journal of Arizona History* (2005): 369-380.

restrict non-whites altogether, provided less-comfortable accommodations. Movie theaters directed non-Anglo patrons to the balcony and some downtown saloons kept smaller back rooms for blacks, Hispanics, and Indians. Each of these segregation regulations reinforcing a culturally second-class citizenship for non-Anglos. By 1901, the Arizona civil statute declaring that “all marriages of persons of Caucasian blood, or their descendants with negroes, Mongolians or Indians, and their descendants, shall be null and void,” was hardly necessary, because custom had begun to limit the contact between races altogether. Indeed, Tucson schools, situated as they were in customarily segregated neighborhoods, were, for the most part, racially segregated by the early twentieth-century. Mexican-American and African-American children attended school in their own neighborhoods, hardly mingling with Anglo children at all. A Chinese mission school had opened in the 1890s and the very small population of Chinese-American children all attended this school.²³²

In this already segregated context, it is bewildering that the 1909 Arizona Territorial Legislature also needed to initiate legal segregation of schools for the tiny percentage of African Americans in Arizona. A year later, several constitutional convention members strategized to make school segregation a permanent part of the Arizona constitution. Benjamin Moeur, a

²³² African-American Tucson resident, Shirley Robinson Sprinkles remembered that: “Mexicans were just as victimized by Jim Crow practices as were blacks; neither they nor we could sit downstairs in the town’s movie theatres (our seats were located only in the balcony); we couldn’t eat at the counter of the local five-and-dime store; and before desegregation, those of us who had lived far away from the one public school designated to serve our kind were packed into the one school bus that was assigned to our school as it circulated around the city to pick everyone up, regardless of how many students needed a ride.” Shirley Robinson Sprinkles, *From Dunbar to Destiny: One Woman’s Journey Through Desegregation and Beyond* (Tucson: Wheatmark, 2008): 58; Harry Lawson, “Floyd Thompson interviewed by Lanetta Denise Patterson,” *African American Settlers in Tucson: A Report of the African American History Internship Project* (Tucson: Arizona Historical Society, Pima Community College, 1991): 30-34; Lawson, “Elmer G. Carrier interviewed by Rita Wilson,” *African American Settlers in Tucson*, 8-10; “Marriage and Divorce,” *The Revised Statutes of Arizona Territory, 1901*, Title XLV, 3092, section 6 (Columbia, MO.: Press of E. W. Stephens, 1901): 809.

Democratic committee member from Maricopa County, who had moved to Arizona in 1896 from Tennessee, argued on the floor of the assembly: “If the gentlemen of this convention want their children to go to school with colored children they have my permission, but I for one will never vote for white and colored children to attend the same school.”²³³ Moeur’s segregationist proposition was supported by several other committee members, almost all Southern immigrants from Texas, Kentucky, North Carolina, and Virginia. It was finally defeated, but only by a tie vote. However, the constitution was passed with a requirement that all public schools be conducted entirely in English, and another requirement that: “the ability to read, write, speak and understand the English language sufficiently well to conduct the duties of the office without the aid of an interpreter, shall be a necessary qualification for all State officers and members of the State Legislature.” These legal restrictions of citizenship the result of an Arizona environment more and more dedicated to Jim Crow racism.²³⁴

Not all Anglo-Arizona officials welcomed racial restrictions. Joseph Kibbey, Arizona’s Republican Governor, appointed by Republican President Benjamin Harrison, was adamantly against the idea of segregation. When the legislature sent the 1909 bill to his office, he promptly vetoed it, writing: “It would be unfair that pupils of the African race should be given accommodations and facilities for a common school education, less effective, less complete, less convenient or less pleasant so far as the accessories of the school and its operation are concerned than those accorded pupils of the white race in the same school district; and the bill in terms

²³³ John S. Goff, ed., *The Records of the Arizona Constitutional Convention of 1910* (Phoenix: The Supreme Court of Arizona, 1991): 537, 1393-1394. Benjamin Moeur would later be a governor of Arizona between 1933 and 1937.

²³⁴ Arizona Constitution, Article XX, Seventh, Eighth, quoted in John D. Leshy, “The Making of the Arizona Constitution” *Arizona State Law Journal* 20.1 (July 30, 1988): 1-57; Mary E. Gill and John S. Goff, “Joseph H. Kibbey and School Segregation in Arizona,” *The Journal of Arizona History* 21.4 (1980): 411-422.

contemplates nothing less.”²³⁵ Kibbey was certainly correct. The legislators saw no need to insert the common phrase “separate but equal” into Arizona’s segregation bill. It is clear that they intended for Arizona’s public school facilities to be separate, not equal. The legislature overrode Kibbey’s veto on March 17, 1909, the same day that it arrived back at the capitol building. Only seven out of the twenty-seven members of the territorial legislature voted with Kibbey against segregation. Other members either supported segregation or kept silent for political reasons.²³⁶

Governor Kibbey continued to work against segregation, because he felt strongly that it was setting a precedent for future injustice. Kibbey predicted exactly what would occur later in Tucson when he wrote that: “If, for the advantage of the various grades for white children, certain apparatus, experimental or illustrative, books, maps, laboratories, etc., are supplied, certainly they should be supplied for the African race. This affords so incongruous a situation that I imagine it will hardly occur.”²³⁷ Dunbar school teachers always struggled to do their jobs with left-over school books, tattered maps, and no science lab facility. In 1910, when Samuel F. Bayless, an African-American car cleaner for the Southern Pacific Railroad, sued the state for making his two daughters walk one and a half miles and cross two railroad tracks to go to the colored school in Phoenix, Joseph Kibbey acted as his lawyer. The court case dragged out until after Arizona statehood was achieved in 1912. The new Democratic-appointed justices on the Arizona State supreme court found that segregation placed no unusual burdens on Arizona’s black school children.²³⁸

Other Anglo-Arizonans resisted the racial divisions legalized by the legislature. In some counties with African-American populations, school boards simply chose not to build separate

²³⁵ Gill and Goff, “Joseph H. Kibbey and School Segregation in Arizona,” 414.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 414, 416.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 416.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 414, 416; Zanders, *Negro Education in Tucson, Arizona*, 19.

school buildings and not to segregate. After 1921, when the state legislature expanded the segregation law to cover high school students, the Tucson school district chose not to segregate its brand new high school which opened in 1924. Students who had been attending Dunbar school through the 10th grade switched to the Tucson High in the 9th grade. The African-American students who elected to go to high school were still segregated in a “colored” home room, and kept from competing on sports teams; but after attending segregated schools through the 8th grade, they were suddenly integrated for the rest of their schooling. Other Anglo-American teachers resisted Arizona’s racist policies by teaching Mexican-American children in Spanish, by failing to report the races of the students enrolled in their small one-room ranch schools, or by assigning lessons on multi-cultural topics. Some Anglo-American teachers chose specifically to remain in non-Anglo classrooms and others advocated racial tolerance and even celebrated the racial diversity of their students.²³⁹

²³⁹ Mary Melcher, ““This is Not Right”: Rural Arizona Women Challenge Segregation and Ethnic Division, 1925-1950,” *Frontiers: A Journal of Women’s Studies* 20.2 (1999): 190-214; “Jean Nuttal,” Arizona Historical Society Oral History Project, August 10, 1971, Arizona Historical Society Library and Archives, Tucson (AHSLA).

Gladys Kendall related her story of choosing to teach Mexican-American children for most of her fifty-four year teaching career: “So at the end of the [1916] term the principal thought he was giving me quite a promotion, said I could go to one of the All-American primary schools. And he got an awful surprise when I said, “Well, thank you, but I’d much rather stay with my little Mexican children,” which I did, because they really enjoyed it, and they learned English and did the school work, and I had a good time with them.” “Gladys Kendall,” Arizona Historical Society Oral History Project, November 7, 1971, AHSLA.

Minnie Bisby clarified her views about racism in teaching: “I believe a person who undertakes to teach Mexican children should be in sympathy with them – neither fear nor despise them, nor even patronize them. Those whom I have heard speak with the greatest scorn of the Mexicans were persons whose education would not bear inspection and whose breeding was of none the best.” Letter from Minnie Bisby to Miss Toles, May 27, 1918, Pomerene School District Records, AHSLA.

African-American students in the Tucson High School had segregation hanging over their heads, as one student remembered: “They had the option of making it an all-white school any time the number of Black students exceeded 25. . . I suppose then they would have placed us in a little hole somewhere with two or three teachers and called it Tucson Black Senior High School.

In 1911, Booker T. Washington accepted an invitation to visit Phoenix, Arizona, for the Emancipation Day celebrations in September of that year. Racial issues in Arizona had become regular fare in the national news and Washington may have been curious to investigate conditions for himself. Although he was asked to present two speeches on the development of negro education and the “race problem,” he was able to mingle at the celebrations and ask questions. Washington later reported his fascination with the diversity of the Phoenix people: “I was even more impressed with the variety and contrast in the colors of the different elements of the population. . . Phoenix seems to be a sort of melting pot for all the races of the earth.”²⁴⁰ He stayed in a white-owned hotel and was served dinner by the owner of a local Chinese restaurant. In the short time that he was in Phoenix, Washington investigated the conditions in the Phoenix Chinatown, Japanese truck gardens, Indians, and negro farmers and business owners. His primary curiosity was about “Mexicans” as the “most numerous of the different colored peoples in Arizona [who were] . . . performing much the same tasks that the masses of the colored people are performing in other parts of the South.”²⁴¹ Washington’s interest, as always, was in how these disparate groups might help themselves to become financially secure and raise themselves up to a competent and active citizenship. He was also interested to see how they interacted with each other. He imagined that he would find jealousy between these people of color competing for

Fortunately, I say fortunately because we knew we couldn’t adequately teach the children [or] give them the education they give white kids at a large school, during my tenure there it never exceeded 25.” Harry Lawson, “Floyd Thompson interviewed by Lanetta Denise Patterson,” *African American Settlers in Tucson: A Report of the African American History Internship Project* (Tucson: Arizona Historical Society, Pima Community College, 1991).

²⁴⁰ Booker T. Washington, “The Race Problem in Arizona,” *The Independent: A Weekly Magazine* 71.3282 (October 26, 1911), 909-913, 909.

²⁴¹ Washington, “The Race Problem in Arizona,” 912.

the same sorts of jobs. Instead he came to the conclusion that they were “getting along pretty well together.”²⁴²

With acerbic insight, Washington pointed out similarities between Arizona and the South. As he was asking questions about race in Arizona, Washington found that “as a rule, people do not speak very respectfully of the Mexicans.” He wrote: “I noticed that both political parties were actively organizing “Spanish-American” clubs. Ordinarily a Mexican is known along the border as a “cholo” or greaser. But as soon as he becomes desirable as a voter he receives another name; he is called then a Spanish-American, just as the Negro, wherever he is a voter, is likely to be referred to as an Afro-American.”²⁴³ This comment explains in part why no Arizona legislator proposed to legally segregate Mexican-American students. The Mexican-American population in Arizona was much larger than the African-American population and had formed an active voting bloc for some time. The English-language voting requirement law of 1909 was meant to begin to chip away at that bloc. Increasingly residential segregation separated the majority of Anglo from Mexican-American students, creating in fact what had not been spelled out in Arizona law. While Booker T. Washington was fascinated by the diversity of Arizona’s racial mixture, in the end he decided that the “race problem” in Arizona was much the same as throughout the South. John Barber, an African-American living in Phoenix around the same time

²⁴² Washington, “The Race Problem in Arizona,” 910; “Liberty is on the Way: Negro Orators to Show it Yet Coming,” *The Arizona Republican*, September 11, 1911, 10; “White City in the Park: Getting Ready for the Celebration of Emancipation,” *The Arizona Republican*, September 20, 1911, 3; “Day’s Events at East Lake: Dr. Washington Delivered Two Addresses Yesterday,” *The Arizona Republican*, September 24, 1911, 4; “Living in Harmony: White Man, Mexican, Indian, Chinaman, Negro,” *The Arizona Republican*, November 17, 1911, 4.

²⁴³ Washington, “The Race Problem in Arizona,” 912.

agreed: “When I first came here it wasn’t much different than the South. The only difference here was that they didn’t lynch you.”²⁴⁴

When segregation became a reality in Tucson, some people did work to see that it was less harmful than it could have been. Booker T. Washington’s hope for African-American education was that it become self-perpetuating through the creation of successive generations of educated workers and a growing force of thoroughly trained teachers. Segregation, in Washington’s pragmatically optimistic viewpoint, could be embraced as an opportunity to create a protective space for children and inculcate them with ideals of racial uplift. Some families in early twentieth-century Tucson were also optimistic about the positive possibilities of segregation when they asked the board of supervisors for a separate school. Generations of teachers in the Paul Laurence Dunbar school in Tucson struggled to make Washington’s optimism become reality in this tiny western town. Shirley Robinson Sprinkles, a student who attended Dunbar school in the 1940s, remembered her teachers as working very hard to create a safe, encouraging space for students to learn. The school principal in the 1940s was Morgan Maxwell, who often told Dunbar students: “You are the finest boys and girls in the world.” Sprinkles remembered that Maxwell tried to create the best school for his students: “During the height of the Jim Crow era, he eloquently and fiercely fought for better books, better facilities, and better teachers. He spent his summers traveling to the Midwest (Kansas, Illinois, and Indiana) to recruit the best black teachers he could find.” Although Sprinkles remembered being in awe of Morgan Maxwell’s serious demeanor and authority, she was genuinely grateful to him:

²⁴⁴ Richard E. Harris, *The First Hundred Years: A History of Arizona Blacks* (Apache Junction: Relmo Publishers, 1983), 125, 51. Lynching statistics compiled at the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama record that there were 31 lynchings in Arizona between 1882 and 1968, and all of those who were lynched were white. No black lynchings were recorded for Arizona in that time. <http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/shipp/lynchingsstate.html>. Accessed on August 8, 2012.

“Speaking impeccable English and carrying a heavy, sincere burden in his heart for the future of the eight hundred or so black kids that populated classrooms in his Dunbar School, Mr. Maxwell soldiered steadfastly and valiantly, winning many a battle.”²⁴⁵ If Arizona’s Anglo-American legislators helped to create and enforce an environment of racism and bigotry in the new state, Dunbar school teachers could at least mitigate that environment to some extent by creating an oasis of respect and encouragement within the walls of the segregated school.²⁴⁶

Although some hoped that segregation could create a space for racial uplift, the legal and social ostracism and oppression inherent in school segregation were damaging in the long run. As one university student researcher dryly remarked: “The negro child . . . is faced early with the realization that to some other members of society there is an opprobrium attached to being a Negro.”²⁴⁷ When Shirley Robinson Sprinkles transitioned to the newly integrated junior high school in 1951, she remembered that the Anglo-American students in her new school seemed to have been raised in another place: “Never having to deal with the stigma of Jim Crow repression, everyone in this new environment was truly free. They were used to speaking their minds anywhere, anytime, without fear.”²⁴⁸ But Sprinkles remembers the tensions racism caused for African-American children: “We Negro students, by contrast, were taught both at home and at school to hold our tongues lest our remarks be considered rude, inappropriate, or disrespectful (especially to white folks). . . We were not allowed to run amok—anywhere. Dunbar students were often told to “sit down” and to “shut up!” . . . One could say with some accuracy that we were socially repressed. Whereas the white kids at Mansfeld [Middle School] were encouraged

²⁴⁵ Shirley Robinson Sprinkles, *From Dunbar to Destiny: One Woman’s Journey Through Desegregation and Beyond* (Tucson: Wheatmark, 2008): 31.

²⁴⁶ Lightbourne, “Shining Through the Clouds.”

²⁴⁷ Thomas Conrad Jackson, *Negro Education in Arizona* (Thesis, University of Arizona, 1941),

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²⁴⁸ Sprinkles, *From Dunbar to Destiny*, 61.

to express themselves with impunity.”²⁴⁹ For citizens of a democratic political system, for which full-access requires the ability to express one’s needs and goals, the repression of self-expression limits citizenship. African Americans were not disenfranchised legally in the new Arizona state, as were most Native Americans, Chinese Americans, and non-English-speaking immigrants, especially those from Mexico, but access to voting alone does not equal full democratic participation. Cultural citizenship is the process of creating a hierarchy of access to political power. In early twentieth-century Arizona, African-Americans often found themselves at the bottom of that culturally created hierarchy, regardless of their legal citizenship status.

Tucson African Americans had several political clubs that promoted “the economic well-being of the negro,”²⁵⁰ but the political power of these groups was ultimately limited to offering votes in exchange for low-level government jobs. No elected position was open to an African-American until the civil rights era of the 1950s and 1960s. Dunbar students may have been the finest boys and girls in the world, but as they moved into adult life, they could not hope to gain positions of real political power. As one researcher noted: “by 1920 the Negro political situation was in a chaotic situation. . . Getting out the Negro vote was done under the tyranny of Negro Political bosses. These Negro bosses were handed out ten and fifteen dollars from the whites to get the Negro votes.”²⁵¹ Although political clubs banded together to create blocs of votes, their only aspiration was for patronage from the Republican Party, primarily to obtain jobs for some club members as public-works laborers and government building janitors. These jobs—as humble as they were—were always contingent upon the status of the Republican Party within Tucson local government. The Democratic Party received no votes from Tucson’s African-American

²⁴⁹ Sprinkles, *From Dunbar to Destiny*, 61.

²⁵⁰ Yancy, “The Negro of Tucson,” 104; Lightbourne, “Shining Through the Clouds.”

²⁵¹ Yancy, “The Negro of Tucson,” 104.

voters and did not bother to offer patronage. Without access to elective or appointive offices, African-Americans were not able to influence policy in any substantial or permanent way.²⁵²

The rise of the Civil Rights movement in Arizona looks different depending upon the perspective of the chosen tactic for racial uplift. From one viewpoint, advocated most forcefully by NAACP members such as W. E. B. Du Bois, the demand for full civil and political rights was the fruitful outcome of many years of organization and networking at the highest levels in state, local, and school board government. Alternatively, the Tuskegee Machine presented a tactic for uplifting all African-Americans by giving as many children as possible the technical skills to gain economic security, which people like Booker T. Washington and Cicero Simmons felt was necessary before a demand for political power could be made. Each of these tactics represents a vision of cultural citizenship for African-Americans, both acknowledging, even celebrating hyphenated citizenship; differing only in their emphasis of political or economic action.

African-American activists worked with like-minded Anglo-Americans in Arizona to pursue legal suits and support legislative bills that would establish new precedent and desegregate public services, businesses, and residential neighborhoods. African-American leaders in Arizona banded together to form organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Arizona Council for Civic Unity (ACCU), and, more locally, the inter-racial Tucson Council for Civic Unity (TCCU). In Tucson the NAACP and the TCCU worked closely with local community leaders, the Tucson school board, Arizona state legislators, the Dunbar School principal Morgan Maxwell, and Anglo-American school superintendent Robert D. Morrow for several decades to bring about the desegregation of Tucson schools in 1951. This was four years before *Brown v. Board of Education* made

²⁵² Yancy, "The Negro of Tucson, Past and Present," 104-110.

desegregation a national goal. Morgan Maxwell and Robert Morrow both began their jobs as Dunbar principal and Tucson superintendent in the late 1940s. Together they began to chip away at educational restrictions in Tucson: homerooms at Tucson High School were desegregated, black students were encouraged to join sports teams, and the school stopped playing against other high schools who segregated team members. With encouragement of the NAACP and TCCU, Superintendent Morrow, went before the school board to demand complete desegregation. With board approval, Morrow then made the decision to desegregate all grades in Tucson schools on the first day of school in September 1951. That there were no incidents of racism when students returned to school is an indication of the groundwork established by African-American and Anglo-American anti-racism activists leading up to this point in Tucson.²⁵³

According to people like Cicero Simmons and other supporters of the Tuskegee method for grassroots empowerment, the Civil Rights movement started with the racial pride inculcated in humble segregated schools. This was a long-range tactic that seemingly settled for less initially, but worked to lay a strong foundation of economic success for later political activism. Schools like Tucson's Paul Laurence Dunbar school struggled with overburdened facilities, few books or supplies, and awkward locations for many years. These small schools not only provided a safe, encouraging environment for all African-American children, but they also helped a few children each year leave the ranks of the unskilled laborer and move into the ranks of the small-business owner, the teacher, the minister, the doctor or lawyer. Men like Cicero Simmons got up

²⁵³ Bonnie Henry, "For Many Long Years Dunbar School Was It," *The Arizona Daily Star*, Sunday, November 5, 1989; Matthew Whitaker, "Shooting Down Racism": Lincoln and Eleanor Ragsdale and Residential Desegregation in Phoenix, 1947-1953," *Journal of the West* 48.4 (2009): 46-55; Tucson Council for Civic Unity Records, University of Arizona Special Collections, Tucson.

every morning, laid a fire in a wood stove and taught ten grades of children how to read and write, add and subtract, and how to survive and thrive in a “white-man’s world.” This was Booker T. Washington’s plan for long-term racial uplift. The Tuskegee Machine sent out thousands of men like Cicero Simmons to establish small schools in communities beleaguered by segregationist racism. Students like Shirley Robinson Sprinkles, educated at Dunbar School, who went on to become a teacher and earn a PhD in education, was given her initial opportunities by her caring teachers at Dunbar.²⁵⁴

Although the two tactics for racial uplift, the NAACP policy of direct and immediate confrontation and the Tuskegee plans for long-term economic improvement, have been portrayed as exclusive strategies, in fact, in Tucson they worked as separate paths leading toward the same goals. While all African Americans were legal citizens, their status was challenged every day in very local ways: segregated schools, marginal neighborhoods, or seats at the back of the theater. Citizenship for African-Americans was created culturally through everyday encounters with school officials or business owners, as well as legally by Arizona Territory and State legislators. While the legal activism of the NAACP and the TCCU were essential to pushing change at a state political and legal level, it was also vital for African-American students to pursue the higher training that would help them become the teachers, business owners, and professionals who paid

²⁵⁴ Melcher, “This is Not Right”; Melcher, “Blacks and Whites Together: Interracial Leadership in the Phoenix Civil Rights Movement,” *Journal of Arizona History* 32.2 (Summer 1991): 195-216; Matthew C. Whitaker, “Desegregating the Valley of the Sun: *Phillips v. Phoenix Union High Schools*,” *Western Legal History* 16.2 (Summer/Fall 2003): 135-157; Matthew C. Whittaker, “Shooting Down Racism” Lincoln and Eleanor Ragsdale and Residential Desegregation in Phoenix, 1947-1953. *Journal of the West*, 48.4 (Fall2009): 46-56; Bradford Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix: A Profile of Mexican American, Chinese American, and African American Communities, 1860-1992* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994).

the organizational bills and could, in turn, support the aspirations of the following generations of African-American students becoming activists.

Like Tucson's African-Americans, Anglo Americans in Arizona disagreed about their views of segregation, but unlike local African-Americans they were adamantly not working toward the same goals. Some Anglo-Arizonans believed in a completely segregated social world – not just schools but theaters, swimming pools, and restaurants as well. Jim Crow segregation constituted a particular vision of cultural citizenship that was enjoying a national spurt of support during this era. Although few Anglo-Tucsonans spoke out publically in support of school segregation, their inactions were louder than words in the end: few spoke out condemning segregation while Jim Crow became the Arizona reality for forty years. African-American students were not allowed to attend any Tucson school but Dunbar and a great deal of money—even during the fiscally disastrous 1930s—was spent to implement Arizona's segregation law. Neighborhoods, businesses, and public facilities were all segregated along the lines of color. Tucson's racism was quiet but pervasive and powerful: it created a divided citizenship, with Anglo-Americans filling all positions of power and prestige and African-Americans, Mexican-Americans, and others filling those necessary but unskilled and poorly paid positions that made the city run. Other Anglo-Arizonans, like Governor Joseph Kibbey, believe that segregated schools were fundamentally wrong and worked vigorously to outlaw the discrimination. By the 1940s and 1950s, sympathetic Anglos had learned organizational tactics from African-American leaders—like school superintendent Robert D. Morrow who relied on the support of the Tucson NAACP—joining the battle for desegregation and a fully integrated American citizenship. Other Anglo-Americans made more modest but just as earnest efforts: teaching in Spanish, developing multi-cultural lesson plans, and integrating public spaces.

While African Americans in Tucson had no trouble imagining themselves as full American citizens, their struggle was to communicate this vision to others. The process of advocating for an expanded African-American citizenship was part of the construction of cultural citizenship that was going on in all parts of the United States. The Tucson parents who advocated for the segregated school and the parents who protested it vigorously were both in pursuit of the same goal—full civil and political rights. Tucsonans struggled, just like national African-American leaders such as W. E. B Du Bois and Booker T. Washington, to figure out what tactic would take them further toward their goal: create a safe space in their own school to develop race pride and economic security or confront racism face-on and demand integration and a full African-American citizenship. Cicero Simmons had a vision for his student's inclusive American citizenship and the segregated Dunbar school was a tool for the development of a safe place to promote that vision. Later school officials also worked, against difficult odds, to make Dunbar School a safe and encouraging place for students, always with the hope that they could give them the skills to move a little further up the economic, civil, and political ladder. Those who did move up the ladder, through their involvement in the NAACP and the TCCU, turned to give a helping hand to those who followed.

CHAPTER FIVE

“Class Prophecy:” Mary J. Platt Industrial School for Mexican Girls

In the spring of 1928, Hortense Durazo, an eighth-grade student at Mary J. Platt Industrial School for Mexican Girls, wrote a prophecy for her class yearbook. She described how her future-self travelled to France to pursue a career as a film actress and how she met up with some of her old school chums on board the trans-Atlantic steamer. In this imagined future, Hortense discovered that her long-lost friend, Maria Rivera, owned the steamship line on which they were traveling and that another school friend, Henrietta Doll, was taking a position as an executive secretary in France. Upon arrival in Europe, Hortense, Maria, and Henrietta found their friend Herminia Pisano had married a film producer and was living in a lovely mansion in Paris with her family. In the 1920s, the era of silent films and pulp romance novels, these were not unusual fourteen-year-old fantasies about the future. This prophecy was only exceptional in the context of the evangelical mission of the Mary J. Platt School for Mexican Girls. The hopes of the Women’s Home Mission Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church were that their students find good Protestant husbands and settle down to a life as homemakers and Christian leaders in Mexican neighborhoods. But, although the students seemed very fond of their teachers, their imagined futures resembled a Hollywood-style life of world-travelling, high-powered careers, and wealthy husbands. Going to the movies allowed them to imagine a more expansive view of the possibilities for their own American citizenship. Their vision of American citizenship transcended not only the boundaries of their neighborhoods, but also the borders of the United States. For these students, the romantically imagined possibilities for world travel

made their Mexican-American status more sophisticated than limiting; more American, because Hollywood's appreciation of the exotic foreign was making the foreign more American.²⁵⁵

Going to the movies as a Mexican-American mission-school student in the 1920s would have meant experiencing a fantasy world completely unlike the southern Arizona reality and this alternative reality helped girls like the Mary J. Platt students form a more cosmopolitan cultural citizenship. The films showing in 1928 at Tucson's three movie palaces – the *Lyric*, the *Rialto*, and the *Opera House* – portrayed a glamorous world that was hardly replicated in Tucson's dusty streets. For instance, playing at the *Lyric* in January was director Raoul Walsh's production of *The Loves of Carmen*, a screen version of the French opera. In the movie, Carmen, a gorgeous and fiery gypsy, acted by Delores del Rio, seduces a naïve young soldier, Escamillo, portrayed by Victor McLaglen. The director, who started out life as Albert Walsh and took the screen name of Raoul to cater to Hollywood's penchant for the exotic, made "old Spain" the setting for the movie, with beautiful period costumes and rustic Spanish courtyards. Everything about the movie emphasized the beauty and romance of "old Spain" and critics praised Delores del Rio for carrying out the role of an alluring Spanish gypsy to perfection.²⁵⁶ Mary J. Platt students, who, like the actress Delores del Rio, were of Mexican-American descent, paid the regular entrance fee of a dime for their movie tickets, but were required to sit in the balcony because in Tucson theaters the lower floor seats were restricted to whites only. Similarly, if Hortense Durazo and her friends had wanted to walk a couple blocks to look at pictures of Del Rio in the movie magazines at Martin's drugstore, they were not allowed to sit at the counter, because the seating was for whites only. This contrast between the Hollywood admiration of "old Spain" and Mary J.

²⁵⁵ "Mary J. Platt School Yearbook," 1928, Arizona Historical Society Library and Archives, Tucson, Arizona (hereafter referred to as AHSLA).

²⁵⁶ "Loves of Carmen Playing at the Theater This Week," *Tucson Citizen*, January 15, 1928, 4.

Platt student's daily experiences of Tucson racism created an uncomfortable dissonance for all of Tucson's Mexican-American population, but probably more so for impressionable eighth-grade girls. It is no wonder that the Mary J. Platt students chose to emphasize the Hollywood version of life in making an eighth-grade prophecy about their own futures.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁷ *The Songs of Carmen* was actually finished and showing in East Coast theaters in 1927, but Tucson theaters tended to get movies six to nine months behind release dates. Robert K. Klepper, "Review of *The Loves of Carmen*," in *Silent Films 1877-1996: A Critical Guide to 646 Movies* (London: McFarland & Company, Inc., 1999); George Hadley-Garcia, *Hispanic Hollywood: The Latins in Motion Pictures* (New York: Carol Publishing Group, 1990); "Map of Tucson showing location of stores," Arizona Historical Society, <http://parentseyes.arizona.edu/ronstadtfamily/pharmacy/ss56phot6.html>, accessed on October 28, 2009; Frank Capra and Richard Schickel, *The Men Who Made the Movies: Interviews with Frank Capra, George Cukor, Howard Hawks, Alfred Hitchcock, Vicente Minnelli, King Vidor, Raoul Walsh, and William A. Wellman* (New York: Atheneum, 1975); Thomas Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses: The Mexican Community in Tucson, 1854-1941* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1997); Booker T. Washington, "The Race Problem in Arizona," *The Independent: A Weekly Magazine* Vol. 71, No. 3282 (October 26, 1911); James Walter Yancy, "The Negro of Tucson, and Present" (Thesis, University of Arizona, 1933); Mark Reisler, "Always the Laborer, Never the Citizen: Anglo Perceptions of the Mexican Immigrant during the 1920s," *Pacific Historical Review*, 45.2 (May 1976): 231-254; Vernon Monroe McCombs, *From Over the Border: A Study of the Mexicans in the United States* (New York: Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement, 1925); Blaine P. Lamb, "The Convenient Villain: The Early Cinema Views the Mexican-American," *Journal of the West* 14 (October 1975): 75-81.

My contrast of Tucson racism and Hollywood glamorization of Old Spain is not meant to overlook the strains of anti-Mexican racism fully evident within the Hollywood film industry. Films like *Bronco Billy and the Greaser* (1914) or *Pedro's Treachery* (1913), were frankly anti-Mexican. Histories such as Francisco A. Rosales', *Chicano!: The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (Houston, TX: Arte Público Press, 1997) and Cynthia Orozco's, *No Mexicans, Women, or Dogs Allowed: The Rise of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, 2009) analyze the racism confronting Mexican-Americans and their civil rights activism in response. Tucsonans were active in this respect as well, For instance, in 1919, *El Mosquito*, Tucson's Spanish-language weekly newspaper launched a protest campaign against anti-Mexican films at the Tucson Opera House. Other scholars, such as Chon Noriega in his *Chicanos and Film: Representation and Resistance* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992) and Kevin Brownlow in *Behind the Mask of Innocence* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990), make absolutely clear that Hollywood reflected back Anglo-American racial prejudices, in some cases virulently. For the purposes of this chapter, however, I am choosing to focus on the possibilities for a more expansive vision of Americanism generated by Hollywood films. As one Mexican-American woman in California remembered that in the 1920s: "We would sell our souls to go to the movies," so, despite the

The Methodist Episcopalian Home Mission Society had started the Mary J. Platt School for Mexican Girls in 1907, to serve a population they felt were particularly in need of assistance. Methodist deaconess—Isabel Horton—had arrived in Tucson in 1906, to recuperate from a respiratory illness. Her paid companion, Miss Newhouse, began writing to the Methodist Episcopal Home Mission Society with stories about the poverty of Mexican-Americans in Tucson and racism in the local public schools. In the eyes of Newhouse, there was a terrible lack of training opportunities for young Mexican girls, who, it seemed to her, were allowed by parents and public school authorities to run freely on the streets. Horton and Newhouse soon started a school in a rented cottage to teach girls reading, writing, homemaking skills, and the Methodist Episcopalian style of worship. By 1911, the Mission Society had provided funds for a roomy two-story school building on the corner of east 7th and Santa Rosa streets. There was space for about 60 to 70 girls between the ages of six and twenty. Each family paid on a sliding scale between \$1 and \$8 per month. This tuition covered about twenty percent of the costs of running the school for each year, donations and subscriptions from Home Mission Societies and money received from the state of Arizona made up the difference. The girls attended the first through the eighth grades of academic work combined with training in “cooking, sewing, house work and special courses in Bible.”²⁵⁸ The students attended Sunday school and church services twice a day at the nearby Methodist Episcopalian Church: Spanish services each morning and English services each evening. Every semester several graduated students continued living in the dormitories and attended Tucson High School, which was within walking distance. Several

racism, movies exerted a tremendous attraction for young Mexican-American girls. Quote: José M. Alamillo, *Making Lemonade Out of Lemons: Mexican American Labor and Leisure in a California Town, 1880-1960* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 90.

²⁵⁸ Jay S. Stowell, *A Study of Mexicans and Spanish Americans in the United States: Home Missions Survey Department of the Interchurch World Movement* (New York: Home Missions Council and the Council of Women for Home Missions, 1920), 28.

students during the course of the 1920s continued living on the school grounds while attending the University of Arizona, also just a few blocks away.²⁵⁹

The Mary J. Platt School campus in the 1910s and 1920s impressed outsiders as unusually comfortable and pleasant. In 1917, the school allowed a group of local Tucson public school teachers to come and take a tour of the school. What they saw charmed at least one teacher: “After doing about half a mile through sage-brush and sand, we came to a pretty green yard with trees, among which stood a large, square, two-story stucco house. . . On either side of the glass door hung swings, and under one was stretched a big, fat, brown spaniel. But for the inscription over the door we would have thought the place belonged to a wealthy ranchman because it looked so well-kept and comfortable.”²⁶⁰ The teachers toured the dormitories, kitchens, and dining rooms, making note of the results of the girl’s domestic science and art training. They completed their visit by watching a “hotly contested” baseball game in the large, green backyard. The public school teacher concluded that: “All in all, it was the happiest bunch of youngsters that I’ve seen in a very long while.” There was one large school building built in the newly popular “Spanish” style, a dormitory for the students with sleeping porches off either side, and one small demonstration cottage for the classes on the domestic arts and sciences. The classrooms included an “adequately equipped” scientific laboratory and a small library and study

²⁵⁹ Belva Macklem, *The Mary J. Platt Industrial School as Seen by an Outsider* (New York City: Women’s Home Missionary Society Methodist Episcopal Church, 1917): 1-4; “History of Platt School,” Mary J. Platt School Yearbook, 1928, AHSLA, Tucson; Stowell, *A Study of Mexicans and Spanish Americans in the United States*; Mary Kidder Rak, “The Mary J. Platt Industrial School,” in *A Social Survey of Arizona*, University of Arizona Bulletin No. 11, Extension Series No. 10 (Tucson: University of Arizona Extension Division, May 1921): 72-73; McCombs, *From Over the Border*; Bertha Leemong, “School Days at Mary J. Pratt (sic) Industrial School,” *Woman’s Home Missions*, 35.10 (October 1918):8

²⁶⁰ Macklem, *The Mary J. Platt Industrial School as Seen by an Outsider*, 2.

room.²⁶¹ The school was ideally located, being four blocks from Tucson High School, seven blocks from downtown Tucson and the *Rialto*, *Lyric*, and *Opera House* theaters. Since 1897, the number six trolley car had been making regular trips directly past the front of the school and, from there, into downtown. As one local Tucsonan noted: “The school and living quarters are excellent and the location, on a whole city block near the State University, is very desirable.”²⁶²

As comfortable as it was, the Mary J. Platt School was not meant to be a luxury boarding school, but a mission to help Americanize Mexican girls. Racism was an issue that missionaries linked to the imperative of Americanization work. As one mission research paper described it: “There is no more serious obstacle, however, to the continuance of the school work than embarrassment on the part of the Mexican pupil himself and prejudice on the part of the American pupil in the same school.”²⁶³ The embarrassment felt by Hispanic students was a result, not only of prejudice expressed by students, but also Anglo-American public-school teachers and officials. Anti-Mexican-American sentiment among Anglos increased following the beginning of the Mexican Revolution of 1910. The disruptions of the war in Mexico had increased the numbers of Mexican immigrants arriving in Arizona, roughly doubling the number of Mexican-born residents of Tucson between 1910 and 1920; although Hispanics continued to make up only about twenty percent of Tucson’s population, because of simultaneous Anglo immigration from other states. Whereas earlier in the century, Arizona’s mines had drawn immigrants from mining areas all over the world, by the 1920s, immigrants of Mexican descent

²⁶¹ “Mary J. Platt School,” *Tucson Daily Star*, 1915, University of Arizona Special Collections clipping files.

²⁶² “Mary J. Platt School,” *Tucson Daily Star*, 1915, University of Arizona Special Collections clipping files; Macklem, *The Mary J. Platt Industrial School as Seen by an Outsider*, 4; “Map of Tucson, showing location of stores,” 1925, AHSLA; Rak, “The Mary J. Platt Industrial School,” 72.

²⁶³ McCombs, *From Over the Border*, 99-100.

made up most of Tucson's foreign-born population.²⁶⁴ It was this shift in the make-up of Tucson's recent immigrant population that unnerved local Anglos. The first generation of Tucson's Anglo-Americans arriving in the 1850s and 1860s might have shared frontier hardships with local Hispanics and maintained amicable relationships, but by the late 1920s, Tucson's Anglo-Americans had grown to see Mexicans as a distinct racial minority. In the minds of many Anglos the skin color, poverty, and lack of urban-living skills of many of Tucson's Mexican-born population made them naturally subject to Arizona's increasingly restrictive Jim Crow laws. Just as Tucson's African-Americans were increasingly segregated and kept from pursuing opportunities, Mexican-Americans were likewise restricted by customs and laws regulating home purchases, education, and access to public services.²⁶⁵

In setting up the Mary J. Platt School, the Methodist Episcopalian Mission Society was responding to the inequities of this growing racism. But, rather than defend their students by protesting against Tucson's racism, the solution proposed by the school was to train these Mexican-American girls to avoid racism simply by becoming as much like Anglo-American Protestants as possible. In the 1920s, Americanization was but one step toward the evangelization goals of the Protestant Home Mission Societies of the various denominations.

²⁶⁴ Mark Reisler, *By the Sweat of Their Brow: Mexican Immigrant Labor in the United States, 1900-1940* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, Press, 1976); Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses*, United States, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, State Compendium, Arizona: Statistics of Population, Occupations, Agriculture, Irrigation, Manufactures, and Mines and Quarries for the State, Counties* (Washington, D.C.: G.P.O., 1924), 19.

²⁶⁵ Thomas Sheridan traces the path of increasing racialization and increasing racial discrimination in Southern Arizona during the first decades of the twentieth century in his book *Los Tucsonenses*. Events such as the Zimmermann Telegraph affair seemed to indicate to Anglo-Americans that Mexicans could not be trusted and constituted a threat to American democracy and safety. The anti-Mexican-American discrimination would only become more harsh after the Wall Street Crash of 1929, when Mexicans were suddenly seen, not as people who would work at jobs no one else would take, but suddenly as competition for unemployed Americans. Thomas Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses*, 166-167.

Several decades earlier, in the late nineteenth century, America's Protestant denominations and their mission societies, having been significantly enlivened by the Second Great Awakening, began to plan for the millennium in earnest with the hugely popular foreign and home mission movement. Preparing the nation for Christ's Second Coming was the primary mover for many home mission efforts, including the Methodist Episcopalian work in the American Southwest, which began in earnest in the 1870s. By the early twentieth century, the Women's Board of Home Missions was an efficient, well-organized machine, with institutions throughout the greater West with plans to assimilate and convert what they saw as the most alien portions of the American population: the Mormons, the Chinese and Japanese, the Indians, the Mexicans, and even Puerto Ricans and Hawaiians on their own islands and Alaskans in the far northwest. In the Southwest, in the words of the Home Missions Secretary: "The Indian woman in her smoky tepee won womanly pity and consideration, and the Spanish-speaking people of our great Southwest made pitiful appeal for the gospel of truth and purity."²⁶⁶ Young girls, like the students at Mary J. Platt School for Mexican Girls, were a special focus for the Board of Home Missions. According to a Home Missions fund raiser, Mrs. Anna Kent: "These girls will make the mothers of the by and by. On them depends the future of the Southwest. Neglected, they become a menace to pure living. Given the chance to learn, they respond like tropical flowers and create a safe and pure, as well as patriotic, home life."²⁶⁷ It was the self-imposed burden of the Methodist Episcopalian Board of Home Missions, using boarding schools like the Mary J.

²⁶⁶ Ward Platt, *Methodism and the Republic: A View of the Home Field Present Conditions, Needs, and Possibilities* (Philadelphia: The Board of the Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1910), 324. Reverend Ward Platt was a corresponding secretary of the Board of Home Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Episcopal Church and husband of Mary J. Platt. Mary J. Platt began working with the Board of Home Missions in 1910, where she became acquainted with the "Spanish Work" in the Southwest. "The New Treasurer," *Woman's Home Missions* 37.6 (June 1920): 3.

²⁶⁷ Platt, *Methodism and the Republic*, 333-334.

Platt School for Mexican Girls as a tool, to Americanize and Protestantize as much of the Southwestern population as possible. The goal was not only to prepare the populations in question for a Protestant, Anglo-American style of citizenship, but also, and most importantly, to prepare the nation as a whole for the second coming of Christ. Reports on the school always mentioned the numbers of students who had converted to Protestantism, specifically noting those students who had become members of the Methodist Episcopal Church after attending Mary J. Platt School. Religious conversion of the Southwest Catholic population was, in the minds of many missionaries, key to, and even more important than, Americanization.²⁶⁸

The 1928 Class Prophecy of the eighth-graders at Mary J. Platt made no reference at all to their future as Americanized and Protestant mothers, and instead they imagined becoming world-travelling actresses, business owners, and wives to wealthy and influential men. It was clear that the fantasies of Hollywood played some formative part in the lives of Mary J. Platt students – despite the best laid plans of the Women’s Board of Home Missions. In contrast to the Americanization training provided by the curriculum, Hollywood movies provided an ironic potential source for an expanded Mexican-American citizenship for Hortense Durazo and her friends. Ironic, because many adults, both Anglo and Hispanic, worried about the negative effects of Hollywood excesses of consumerism and sexuality. Historian Vicki Ruiz has noted that Hispanic parents often resisted the influences of the American consumerism glamorized by silent films.²⁶⁹ Family disagreements over cosmetics, bobbed hair, and short skirts were blamed directly on the bad examples of Hollywood starlets and the slew of movie magazines that tracked

²⁶⁸ Stowell, *A Study of Mexicans and Spanish Americans in the United States*, 28; Platt, *Methodism and the Republic*, 327-328; Bessie K. Van Scyoc, “Present Condition Among the Mexican People,” *Woman’s Home Missions*, 39.5 (May 1922): 26.

²⁶⁹ Vicki Ruiz, ““Star Struck”: Acculturation, Adolescence, and the Mexican-American Woman, 1920-1950,” in *Building With Our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies*, eds. Adela de la Torre and Beatriz M. Pesquera (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993): 109-129.

changes in fashion. The movies were compelling. Teenage viewers became so enamored with what they saw on the screen that they would return home and act out the most enthralling scenes from the films they watched. The commercialism of the cosmetics and the new fashions was also difficult to resist. The perceived bad example of Hollywood and popular culture tended to make girls and young women the focus of more and more inter-generational battles throughout the 1920s. There were larger issues at stake than personal expression. Many Mexican-Tucsonans felt that women, in their role as mothers, were the center of the family unit and the family was what strengthened the community in the face of Anglo bigotry. Hispanic parents did not want their daughters emulating what they considered morally-loose Anglo women. Not only was it personally offensive to their sense of aesthetics, but they linked the “flapper” lifestyle to the larger worry of social breakdown. To these parents, inexpensive and ubiquitous Hollywood movies seemed to be the source for all this nonsensical behavior.²⁷⁰

Sociologists and psychologists of the 1920s were also concerned about the effect of Hollywood films on children and young adults. These social scientists worried that the picture-show portrayal of love as a “common, cheap thing” which would lead young girls down the slippery path from parental disobedience, excessive consumerism, unseemly public displays of made up faces and inappropriate clothing, and inevitably to the final dissipation of smoking, alcoholism, and prostitution.²⁷¹ Researchers were fully aware of the power of moving films to teach children new ideas. “Movies are a school,” proclaimed one study. Sociological research in the 1920s showed that children could remember remarkable detail from films they had seen only once. Ominously, issues of love, sex, and crime were the most memorable for children. With

²⁷⁰ Ruiz, “Star Struck”; Alamillo, *Making Lemonade Out of Lemons*, 86-92.

²⁷¹ Rosalie B. Fowler, “Motion Picture Shows and School Girls,” *Journal of Applied Sociology* 7.2 (November-December, 1922): 76.

over 28 million young Americans attending the cinema at least once a week, social investigator Alice Miller Mitchell noted: “Any institution that touches the life of a child with this persistent regularity becomes of high importance to his welfare.”²⁷² Psychological investigators initiated some of the largest-scale studies to date. Children in these studies could remember details of plot, music, and many could re-enact whole scenes days, and even weeks, after watching a film. Groups of friends reinforced long term memories of the movies through the social re-hashing of favorite scenes on street corners and playgrounds. Upon hooking filmgoers to electrical instruments, such as the “psycho-galvanometer,” psychologists found that children and adolescents became two or three times more “excited” than adults when they were exposed to particular film scenes. The persistence of film in the early twentieth century had lasting effects on children. Motion pictures entered the childish imagination at every point: school essays reflected film plots, scrap-books were filled with film stars, books were re-interpreted in light of their “production” suitability. As Professor Blumer pinpointed the troubling issue: “A larger part of the average child’s imagery used for interpretation of experience in every-day life has its source in motion pictures.”²⁷³ Despite their evangelical school atmosphere, the Tucson Mary J. Platt eighth-graders were not immune to this nation-wide enthusiasm for films, Hollywood starlets, and “flapper” culture. Their yearbook reflected the intense interest in Hollywood-style themes: acting, world-travel, sophisticated clothes, and romance. No frumpy cast-off clothes for Mary J. Platt girls, their individual yearbook photos show carefully curled and bobbed hair, fashionable dresses, neat stockings and heels.²⁷⁴

²⁷² Henry James Forman, *Our Movie Made Children* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1934), 54.

²⁷³ Forman, *Our Movie Made Children*, 159.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 141; Stuart Ewen and Elizabeth Ewen, “City Lights: Immigrant Women and the Rise of the Movies,” in *Channels of Desire: Mass Images and the Shaping of American Consciousness*

The early twentieth-century excitement about film influenced both missionaries and educators in at least one way: each group saw the potential for disseminating information and awakening interest in religious or educational topics. One mission magazine called movies “a new force for use in the church.”²⁷⁵ Christian film promoters imagined a future where every Sunday school and every church service would include film clips that would take parishioners to the farthest reaches of the foreign and home mission field to follow along with the “weatherbeaten and wiry” Yukon missionary and his dog team or “the college-trained surgeon in India, plowing through the dust and stifling humidity . . . in his little Ford.”²⁷⁶ To attract viewers, Christian producers rushed to film the entire sequence of bible stories, using many of the same techniques developed by secular film producers – eye-catching actors and actresses, lavish costumes, and exotic locales.²⁷⁷ Educators, too, thought of film as a new tool to promote positive, improving messages. In the 1920s, several educational film organizations sprung up to promote the use of film and radio in schools. The National Academy of Visual Instruction, the Visual Instruction Association of America, and the Society for Visual Education all vied to endorse this new medium for instruction. Arizona teachers were encouraged to incorporate films into the classroom for a variety of uses: “The motion picture with the phonograph will soon be regarded as a necessary part of the public school equipment.”²⁷⁸ The movies might have potential, but it was still clear to both missionaries and educators that the vast majority of Hollywood films did

(New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1982); Fowler, “Motion Picture Shows and School Girls,” 76-83, 76; Forman, *Our Movie Made Children*; P. W. Holaday and George D. Stoddard, *Getting Ideas from the Movies* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1933); W. W. Charters, *Motion Pictures and Youth: A Summary* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1933); Platt, *Methodism and the Republic*, 324.

²⁷⁵ “A New Force For Use in The Church,” *Woman’s Home Missions* 40.4 (April 1923): 11-12.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

²⁷⁷ Terry Lindvall, *Sanctuary Cinema: Origins of the Christian Film Industry* (New York: New York University Press, 2007).

²⁷⁸ “Motion Pictures,” *The Arizona Teacher* 12.1 (1915): 17.

not meet this potential and could be dangerous. As one mission magazine editorial declared: “The stage and the moving-picture show, properly guarded, could become powerful factors in the uplift of humanity, but Christian people should speak out boldly against their frequent insidious teachings.”²⁷⁹

If “movies were a school,” early silent-films were also a distinct type of cross-cultural educational experience. During the 1920s, the producers, directors, and script writers for the Hollywood movie industry were primarily young, well educated, and self-consciously urban. Anglo Americans worked alongside a new generation of ambitious immigrants, often Jewish or Eastern European, who had themselves drawn their inspiration from the mostly French, German, and Italian silent films of the 1910s. Until 1927, with the advent of “talkies,” films from all over the world were relatively easy to adapt to an American viewing audience. The title cards that were interspersed with the film clips could be easily translated, or in some cases removed altogether, without causing confusion to the silent-film audience. Actors across the world used the same sorts of dramatic emphasis and expression to portray common human emotions. Silent-film audiences had become adept at following complex story lines through the body movements and facial expressions of the actors. Because it was relatively inexpensive to adapt foreign films, they were often shown in American theaters, and American film makers built on many of the aesthetic conventions of the European film industries. Over half of the films shown in the U.S. in the 1910s, came out of France, Germany, and Italy. As American film production picked up in the 1920s, this percentage shifted slightly (and American films began to be viewed widely in

²⁷⁹ Lindvall, *Sanctuary Cinema*; “Editorial,” *Woman’s Home Missions*, 39.10 (October, 1922): 12.

European movie houses). But by this time, both the American audiences and the film producers were thoroughly familiar with the European aesthetic.²⁸⁰

Historian Lary May has argued that because this generation of film makers had been so influenced by foreign films, they were actively engaged in a process of mixing this cultural richness into Hollywood-produced movies.²⁸¹ Certainly there were opportunities for a generation of immigrant actors to make an impact on American filmmaking. Foreign-born silent film stars of the 1920s, like Mexican-Americans Delores del Rio, Ramón Navarro, and Lupe Vélez, French-born Claudette Colbert, Swedish-born Greta Garbo, Polish-born Pola Negri, and Italian-born Rudolph Valentino, were wildly popular with a whole generation of young Americans who aspired to be as much like their idols as possible.²⁸² Even the new theaters—or “movie palaces”—being built nationwide during the 1920s reflected this new appreciation of the foreign exotic: the palaces experimented with French Baroque, Moroccan, Spanish Gothic, Hindu, Babylonian, Aztec, Mayan, Egyptian Revival, and Italian Renaissance styles. A California firm designed Tucson’s *Rialto Theater*, for instance, to evoke a medieval Venetian covered bridge,

²⁸⁰ Lary May, *Screening Out the Past: The Birth of Mass Culture and the Motion Picture Industry* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1980).

²⁸¹ May, *Screening Out the Past*. “Uncle Sam’s Adopted Children,” *Photoplay* 29.2 (January 1926): 68-69.

²⁸² May, *Screening Out the Past*; William Everson, *American Silent Film* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); Gregg Bachman, *American Silent Film: Discovering Marginalized Voices* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2002); Richard Koszarski, *An Evening’s Entertainment: The Age of the Silent Feature Picture, 1915-1928* (New York: Scribner, 1990); Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986); Stuart Ewen and Elizabeth Ewen, “City Lights: Immigrant Women and the Rise of the Movies.” in *Channels of Desire: Mass Images and the Shaping of American Consciousness* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1982), 53–74; Lauren Rabinovitz, *For the Love of Pleasure: Women, Movies, and Culture in Turn-of-the-Century Chicago* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998); Elizabeth Ewen, *Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars: Life and Culture on the Lower East Side, 1890-1925* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1985); David Menefee, *The First Female Stars: Women of the Silent Era* (Westport: Praeger, 2004); Dawn B. Sova, *Women in Hollywood: From Vamp to Studio Head* (New York: Fromm International Pub., 1998).

with tile frescos and trellised balconies. The movie industries' emphasis on glamour and consumerism may have caused parents and missionaries anxiety, but the young producers, directors, writers, and actors used exoticism and glamour as a tool in the process of creating a more cosmopolitan Americanism. May notes that: "As Anglo-Saxon city dwellers became more like their former "inferiors," it facilitated mobility from below. . . . Aspiring foreigners could elevate themselves without shedding all of their cultural past."²⁸³ Hollywood movies were widening the American ideal to incorporate much that had formerly seemed alien and inassimilable to many Anglo-Americans and, in this process, this new cosmopolitanism allowed non-Anglos to picture themselves as part of the American ideal. Similarly, film historian Paula Marantz Cohen has noted that silent films provided incredibly dynamic visual models for how to be American. Individuals with no "breeding," education, or social standing could become figures of great authority and magnetism on the screen, democratizing the process of Americanization. The Mary J. Platt eighth graders responded to this dynamism when they prophesied their world-travelling futures. The new cosmopolitanism portrayed by Hollywood and the popularity of European films provided an example for how to be both "foreign"—Mexican-American—and, at the same time, glamorous, successful, sophisticated young women. Hollywood was offering the raw material for the Mary J. Platt girls to construct a new type of cultural citizenship for themselves.²⁸⁴

It is interesting that, although Hollywood glamorized consumerism and frivolity, it was the sub-message of autonomy and competence in the 1920s New Woman style of feminism that showed up so clearly in Hortense Durazo's prophecy. National woman's suffrage was newly

²⁸³ May, *Screening Out the Past*, 175.

²⁸⁴ Paula Marantz Cohen, *Silent Films and the Triumph of the American Myth* (Oxford University Press, 2001), 14.

won in 1920, women had entered the professions in law, politics, medicine, and higher education, and Hollywood's flappers were pushing social norms to include unheard of freedoms for women: the freedom to travel alone, the freedom to choose your own career, the freedom to marry for love, to divorce, or to remain unmarried. In the class prophecy, Hortense Durazo was travelling to Paris to pursue an acting career, while her friends owned lucrative businesses, married for love, or sought out high-paying professions as single women. The fact that all of these forms of feminist freedom show up in the eighth-grader's fantasies about the future, is a clear sign that Hortense, Josephine, Eusebia, and Maria were able to see through the superficial glitter to the core feminist values of the New Women who were involved in the production, direction, and writing of Hollywood movies.²⁸⁵ Historian Karen Ward Mahar has charted the particular spaces for women to attain power and influence creative decisions in the 1910s and 1920s.²⁸⁶ Although this power diminished with the rise of the studio system and the advent of the Great Depression, early Hollywood provided young girls with many strong women models to emulate. A film playing in Tucson's *Opera House* in April, 1928, linked the careers of two such Hollywood feminist models: Mary Pickford and Lupe Velez. Mary Pickford made a cameo appearance in *The Gaucho*, which was Lupe Velez' first feature-length role.²⁸⁷ Mary Pickford was the daughter of a seamstress and widow who raised three children on her own. Pickford began her acting career making \$10 a day for the Biograph Company and had attained superstardom by the early 1920s. In 1919, Pickford co-founded United Artists with D.W. Griffith and Charlie Chaplin. After divorcing her first husband, Pickford married Douglas Fairbanks and the couple worked together to produce and star in a series of tremendously successful films. Pickford

²⁸⁵ "Mary J. Platt School Yearbook," 1928, AHSLA.

²⁸⁶ Karen Ward Mahar, *Women Filmmakers in Early Hollywood* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

²⁸⁷ "The Gaucho," *Tucson Citizen*, Wednesday, June 9, 1928.

was the most powerful woman who worked in Hollywood and her example, and the example of other powerful Hollywood women, provided the Mary J. Platt students with an expansive view of their own potentials. By 1927, when United Artists produced *The Gaucho*, Lupe Velez was just beginning her career. Born in Mexico, Velez would go on to make the difficult transition from silent films to talkies by carefully cultivating her reputation as the “Hot Baby of Hollywood.”²⁸⁸ But in 1928, when *The Gaucho* was playing in Tucson, the idea that a young Mexican-born starlet, Lupe Velez, could star opposite Douglas Fairbanks, one of Hollywood’s most famous actor/producers, opened up a world of imagined possibilities for Mary J. Platt students.²⁸⁹

In this sense the educational opportunities at the Mary J Platt School did coincide with the Hollywood message about women’s expanded life choices and the pursuit of a career. The school offered young Hispanic girls the opportunity to complete the eighth grade, to board in and attend Tucson High School, and, potentially, to continue on to attend the University of Arizona. Despite the claim of the Women’s Home Board of Missions that the school met the needs of poor students, by the 1920s, Mary J. Platt students were generally from families who could afford at least the tuition and room and board that was charged by the school governors. For the families of the girls, the attainment of a boarding school education and the possibility of a further education through the school’s boarding program for Tucson High School students, was worth the sacrifices they made to ensure their daughter’s education. And the families did sacrifice. Even the charitably-funded education offered at Mary J. Platt School required the families to pay tuition, forgo their daughter’s potential wages, pay travel expenses from their hometowns in

²⁸⁸ Alicia I. Rodríguez-Estrada, “Delores Del Rio and Lupe Velez: Images on and off the Screen, 1925-1944,” in *Writing the Range: Race, Class, and Culture in the Women’s West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997); Hadley-Garcia, *Hispanic Hollywood*, 27.

²⁸⁹ Mahar, *Women Filmmakers*, 154-157.

Cananea, Nogales, Superior, and Bisbee, purchase special clothes and supplies, and forgo their daughter's company for extended periods. These sacrifices make it clear that these were families with an eye on the future earning power and status of their children in this era of increasing professionalization, when an education could open so many more doors. One mission publication even bragged about the fact that some students at Mary J. Platt School came from the homes of "high government officials" in Mexico, who presumably recognized the worth of a good mission-school education.²⁹⁰ Although it was not the original intention of the Methodist Episcopalian missionaries who ran the school, Mary J Platt School did offer the means to a professional career and, taking into account the sacrifices made and the constant waiting list of other interested students, this possibility was enthusiastically embraced by the girls and their families.²⁹¹

During the 1880s and 1890s, religious and secular groups around the country began to strategize on the incorporation and cultural assimilation of large groups of immigrants. By the turn of the century, these Americanization reformers were increasingly organized.

Americanization was the largest single social movement that spanned both the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era. By the peak of the movement in 1920, that the United States Bureau of Education listed 108 official public and private agencies promoting Americanization around the

²⁹⁰ McCombs, *From Over the Border*, 112.

²⁹¹ Macklem, *The Mary J. Platt Industrial School as Seen by an Outsider*; "History of Platt School," Mary J. Platt School Yearbook, 1928, AHSLA; Stowell, *A Study of Mexicans and Spanish Americans in the United States*; McCombs, *From Over the Border*; "Mary J. Platt School," *The Arizona Daily Star*, 1915; Van Scyoc, "Present Condition Among the Mexican People," 26; "School Notes," *Woman's Home Missions*, Vol. 39.7 (July 1922): 23-24; Miss Susie Mangum, "Is It Worth While?," *Woman's Home Missions*, Vol. 35.10 (October 1918): 10; Miss Bertha Leemong, "School Days at Mary J. Platt Industrial School," *Woman's Home Missions*, Vol. 35.10 (October 1918):8; Rak, "The Mary J. Platt Industrial School."

nation.²⁹² In 1919, the Committee on Public Information and the National Americanization Committee compiled a list of 15,000 agencies, clubs, churches, or civic organizations purporting to work with immigrants in some capacity.²⁹³ For the most part, it was assumed that, immigrant men would be exposed to American values at work, immigrant mothers should be targeted by settlement houses and home teachers, and children were to be Americanized at school. While some small portion of this training covered the United States structure of government, the legal system, the power of the vote, and public duties such as jury service, most Americanizers were interested in ensuring that the immigrants became exposed to and assimilated into American culture. Women were the primary targets for this emphasis on cultural, rather than political or legal, integration. The U.S. Department of Labor, in a published pamphlet titled “Suggestions for Americanization Work among Foreign-Born Women,” warned that: “America is no better than its homes,” and “the mother determines the kind of home and the health and happiness of the family.”²⁹⁴ Although this Labor Department leaflet goes on to note that: “thousands of foreign-born women have or will have the right to vote and they must be able to do this intelligently if a high standard of citizenship is to be maintained”²⁹⁵ it was clear that the home and domesticity was determined by the majority of Americanizers to be the center of cultural transmission and therefore the most important focus of Americanization work. Despite this great interest in Americanization and the boost given through the “Red Scare” during the war years, by the mid-1920s the movement was in decline. The Johnson-Reed Immigration Act

²⁹² John F. McClymer, ““Gender and the “American Way of Life”: Women in the Americanization Movement,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 10.3 (Spring 1991): 3-20.

²⁹³ Howard C. Hill, “The Americanization Movement,” *The American Journal of Sociology* 24.6 (May 1919): 609-642.

²⁹⁴ The U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Naturalization, “Suggestions for Americanization Work Among Foreign-Born Women” (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921): 2.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

of 1924 limited the number of people immigrating each year to 2% of immigrants from each nation present in the U. S. prior to 1890. The severe limitation of immigration effectively calmed the anxieties of “native” Americans and reformers changed their focus to assimilating those immigrants who were already in residence. In the case of Mary J. Platt Industrial School for Mexican Girls the Board of Home Missions and the teachers emphasized assimilation through training for homemaking and “home economics” skills.²⁹⁶

The Home Economics movement in schools, which had been around at least since the 1860s, began its expansion when support for Americanization reform declined. Formal organization of the movement began in 1908 with the development of the American Home Economics Association. While the enthusiasm and funding for Americanizing foreign-born women in their homes dropped off when immigration was limited by the Immigration Act of 1924, reformers saw young girls in school as the ideal focus for their continued Americanization efforts. School officials intended Home Economics to be for girls what industrial training in

²⁹⁶ Helen Varick Boswell, “Promoting Americanization,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 64 (March 1916): 204-209; McClymer, “Gender and the “American Way of Life””; Gayle Bullett, “Women Progressives and the Politics of Americanization in California, 1915-1920,” *Pacific Historical Review* 64.1 (February 1995): 71-94; Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge*; Diana Selig, *Americans All: The Cultural Gifts Movement* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008); Jeffrey Mirel, *Patriotic Pluralism: Americanization Education and European Immigrants* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010); George Sanchez, ““Go After the Women:’ Americanization and the Mexican Immigrant Woman, 1915-1929,” *Stanford Center for Chicano Research Working Paper Series*, No. 6 (June 1984), accessed online May 23, 2013: <http://ccsre.stanford.edu/pdfs/WorkingPaperSeriesNo6.pdf>; Benny J. Andrés Jr., “‘I Am Almost More at Home with Brown Faces than with White:’ An Americanization Teacher in Imperial Valley, California, 1923-1924,” *Southern California Quarterly*, 93.1 (Spring 2011): 69-107; Mirel, *Patriotic Pluralism*; James R. Barrett, “Americanization from the Bottom Up: Immigration and the Remaking of the Working Class in the United States, 1880-1930,” *The Journal of American History* 79.3 (December 1992): 996-1020; Jonathan Hansen, “True Americanism: Progressive Era Intellectuals and the Problem of Liberal Nationalism,” in *Americanism: New Perspectives on the History of an Ideal* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Dennis Downey, “From Americanization to Multiculturalism: Political Symbols and Struggles for Cultural Diversity in Twentieth-Century American Race Relations,” *Sociological Perspectives* 42.2 (Summer 1999): 249-278.

agriculture, carpentry, construction, and mechanics was for boys. Domestic science training would provide a thorough grounding in the running of a household. In this view, marriage and homemaking were a vocation, and Home Economics enthusiasts declared it essential for girls to receive training for their future work. Social feminists, who believed that maternal instincts should be a powerful force for cleaning up not just the home, but all of society, saw in Home Economics training a way to promote women in their role as homemakers and mothers as a key component to maintaining the strengths of American culture. “The house has become largely the woman’s affair,” as one homemaking textbook author put it, “and it is reasonable to feel that she must be taught how to select it and how to manage it, just as any scientific worker is taught his profession. The home is really the most important factor in the nation’s life.”²⁹⁷ While girls were attending school, especially high school, in greater than ever before numbers in the 1910s and 1920s, female enrollment in traditional academic courses—particularly math and science—began dropping off. The Mary J. Platt School emphasis on domestic art and science classes followed this blueprint for the incorporation of future generations born to immigrant families through the training of young girls in the homemaking arts.²⁹⁸

In 1928, the school faculty of seven female teachers included both a Domestic Science teacher, Caroline Jenkins, and a Domestic Art teacher, Sarah Cotton. The only other specialized teacher not assigned to specific grade levels was the Music teacher, Elise Claggett, making it clear that the Methodist Episcopalian Board of Home Missions regarded Domestic Arts and

²⁹⁷ Mabel Hyde Kittredge, *The Home and Its Management: A Handbook in Homemaking with Three Hundred Inexpensive Cooking Receipts* (New York: The Century Co., 1917): 4.

²⁹⁸ John L. Rury, *Education and Women’s Work: Female Schooling and the Division of Labor in Urban America, 1870-1930* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1991); Megan J. Elias, *Stir It up: Home Economics in American Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Sarah Stage and Virginia Bramble Vincenti, *Rethinking Home Economics: Women and the History of a Profession* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997).

Sciences as highly important. Every month the students were rotated through a Domestic Science curricular schedule that included laundering and ironing clothes, preparation of nutritionally sound meals, baking, light housework, such as dusting and sweeping, and heavy housework, such as the proper way to clean windows. Fortuitously for the school finances, this training schedule meant that the students did all of the daily housekeeping at Mary J. Platt School: the Board of Home Missions saved on salaries for cooks, housekeepers, and custodians. The Domestic Arts curriculum included setting a dining table with white table clothes, napkins, and appropriate place settings, making paper and wax flowers for table decoration, embroidery, and fashion design and sewing. The girls also learned child care, as each older student was paired with a younger student, who she must wash and dress each morning. Home economics was a space for a curious convergence of Progressive and religious goals during the late teens and early 1920s. While Progressives encouraged the development of the domestic arts and sciences as an “industrial” subject in schools, meant to prepare students as scientific homemakers or domestic servants; the Mary J. Platt School particular fear of “the heathen at home” made clear their primary emphasis was on the “development of Christian home life” among the Mexican-Americans of the Southwest. The Methodist Episcopalian mission education effort was ultimately aimed at creating what they felt would be the most worthy and welcoming atmosphere for Christ’s second coming.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁹ Rak, “The Mary J. Platt Industrial School,”; Macklem, *The Mary J. Platt Industrial School as Seen by an Outsider*; “History of Platt School,” Mary J. Platt School Yearbook, 1928, AHSLA; Myrtle Alford, “Home Life in the Mary J. Platt Industrial School,” *Woman’s Home Missions* 37.5 (May 1920): 27-28; Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue : The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Vicki Ruiz, *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Gullett, “Women Progressives and the Politics of Americanization”; Sánchez, “Go After the Women”; Andrés, Jr., “I Am Almost More at Home with Brown Faces than with White”.

Despite the best hopes of the Methodist Episcopalian Home Mission Society, the Mary J. Platt students found their preferred models for a new more-cosmopolitan American citizenship in Hollywood films. Even within the official format of their school yearbook, Hortense Durazo and her eighth grade friends did not envision lives in which they became Anglicized Protestant housewives, but instead imagined futures that would have them travelling the world in pursuit of acting careers and romantic love lives. Hollywood embraced the foreign and the exotic in its search for more sophistication and worldliness, creating subtle new ways to be American. Mary J. Platt students tapped into the fantasies of the silent films to rise above the humiliation of daily bigotry, rather than absorbing the racism developing in Jim Crow-era Tucson and letting it constrict their plans for the future. There is no record that Hortense, Maria, Henrietta, or Herminia went on to travel the world as famous actresses, but they did leave the Mary J. Platt School for Mexican Girls with a full set of role models to help them negotiate their futures: not only their Domestic Science and Art teachers, but also glamorous Mexican-American starlets like Dolores del Rio and Lupe Velez. By imagining futures for themselves that transcended the mean reality of twentieth-century American race prejudice, they were also actors in a process that would help re-shape a more multi-cultural American citizenship.

CONCLUSION

In October of 2013, State Attorney General, Tom Horne, presented a legal opinion to the Arizona Legislature, arguing that Arizonans who register to vote using federal voter forms, should be eligible to vote only in federal elections, not in state or local elections. This would require Arizona to print two sets of ballots: one set for those voters who registered using state forms, and another set for voters who registered using the federal forms. This action was in response to the June 2013 decision of the Supreme Court of the United States to strike down Arizona’s Proposition 200, passed in 2004, which required proof of legal U.S. citizenship to vote in federal and local elections. The “Arizona Tax Payer and Citizen Protection Act,” as it was called by the State Legislature, required all voters to provide proof of citizenship in the form of birth certificate or passport.³⁰⁰ An editorial in *The Arizona Republic* called this a “separate but unequal voter registration scheme.”³⁰¹ A couple of years earlier, in April of 2010, the Arizona legislature issued two bills, SB 1070 and HB 2162, that required all aliens over the age of 14 to carry with them proof that they had registered their arrival with the federal government.³⁰² Critics of these two laws say that they mandate racial profiling.³⁰³ These contentious laws have also subsequently been overturned by federal courts. This recent and ongoing Arizona debate about the boundaries, rights, and responsibilities of American citizenship, which has been

³⁰⁰ “Arizona Law May Restrict Voting in Local Elections,” *The Washington Post*, October 9, 2013; “ARIZONA ET AL. v. INTER TRIBAL COUNCIL OF ARIZONA, INC., ET AL.,” Syllabus of the Supreme Court of the United States, No. 12–71., Argued March 18, 2013—Decided June 17, 2013. The US Supreme Court found that the 1993 National Voter Registration Act already required ample “documentary evidence of citizenship.”

http://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/12pdf/12-71_7148.pdf.

³⁰¹ “Nice Voting Trick, Boys, But It Won’t Work,” *The Arizona Republic*, October 7, 2013.

³⁰² National Conference of State Legislatures web site, accessed November 4, 2013:

<http://www.ncsl.org/research/immigration/analysis-of-arizonas-immigration-law.aspx>.

³⁰³ Rick Su, “The Overlooked Implications of Arizona’s New Immigration Law,” *The Michigan Law Review*, 108.76 (2010), <http://www.michiganlawreview.org/assets/fi/108/su.pdf>.

followed (gleefully) by the national and state press, makes it clear that Arizonans are still in the process of constructing cultural and, subsequently, legal ideas of citizenship.

The lack of clear and explicit citizenship specifications in the American founding documents has left a legacy of more than two centuries of argument and debate about what makes a good American citizen. Arizona's early history vividly illustrates the results of this ongoing legal fuzziness. Political scientist Rogers Smith describes a four-part hierarchical citizenship that developed culturally—if not unequivocally legally—in the United States by the Progressive era: the excluded, colonial subjects, second-class citizens, and full citizens.³⁰⁴ In turn-of-the-century Tucson these four categories of non-citizen and citizen rubbed shoulders on the streets daily. The Chinese merchants, farmers, and students at the Chinese Mission School, who had arrived after 1882, were excluded entirely from legal American citizenship and were only precariously living in Tucson, while still important contributors to the economy of early Tucson. Arizona's Native Americans, despite the earnest labour of the Reverend Howard Billman at the Tucson Indian Industrial School, were essentially colonial subjects until well into the twentieth century. While the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo offered Mexicans in the new Arizona territory full American citizenship, Anglo-American racism and cultural constrictions chipped away at Mexican-American economic and cultural stability as the territory became a state, creating a second-class citizenship. Tucson's African-Americans, while promised full citizenship by the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, were badgered and hedged in by restrictive Jim Crow segregation that pushed them into a cultural second-class citizenship. In some cases the legal definitions of American citizen were more lenient than the Tucson reality—for Mexican-Americans and African-Americans, the law allowed for more political and civic

³⁰⁴ Rogers M. Smith, *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997): 429.

inclusion than the daily reality. For Native-Americans the law was far more restrictive than, at least, Presbyterian missionaries' beliefs about the Indian potential for full citizenship. It is clear that cultural understandings of citizenship were not always consistent with laws governing citizenship. It is the gap between cultural and legal definitions that I describe as cultural citizenship in this dissertation: the combined cultural beliefs and actions that shape the citizenship privileges of various American groups—and that go on to shape citizenship law. Cultural citizenship is highly contingent upon local custom and local historical events. Something as minor as a charity ball to raise money for public schools can trigger a local polarization and a reassessment of the values assigned to the ideal good citizen, as was the case in Tucson the winter of 1874.

Cultural debates about what makes a good American citizen are not always reflected in legal definitions of citizenship, and so to adhere to a strictly legal description of citizenship is to miss the rich variety of aspirations for belonging to the American polity. Many Tucsonans did not fit the Anglo-American prototype of the “good” citizen promoted by Americanizers in many Tucson schools; their citizenship was marked by religious, ethnic, or racial difference. While the hyphenated status of Mexican-Americans, Native-Americans, and African-Americans was seen as problematic by Anglos, many Tucsonans believed their hyphenated status to be a source of strength for their communities and, possibly, for the nation as a whole. For instance, when the Mexican residents of early Tucson were offered American citizenship, they approached it with the same pragmatic response that helped them meet so many other challenges of living on the in isolated desert villages. To these early Tucsonans, good citizenship was akin to community stability. In the eyes of Tucson's Mexican-American Catholic school supporters, Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies was not a space for girls to learn how to be individual American

citizens in the Anglo-American fashion, but a place to learn how to nurture a stable community through their roles as pious, honorable daughters, wives, and mothers. This vision of membership in the political and civic life of their new nation was based firmly on the requirement for a well-established social order within the community, in which everyone knew their places and honor was maintained. This was a distinctly different tactic for attaining citizenship than the Anglo-American quest for a rugged “frontier” individualism that corresponded with the Protestant expectation of an individual relationship with God, and, eventually, with the definition of the citizen as an individual voter. Anglo- and Mexican-Tucsonans might agree on the civilizing effect of a new school, but the particular form of Catholic education available at Saint Joseph’s Academy for Young Ladies was more useful in the long-term to the communal approach to national belonging as practiced by Tucson’s frontier Mexican-Americans.

Cultural construction of citizenship was occurring in small towns in every region of the United States, but Tucson’s border location, great ethnic diversity, and precarious relationship to the nation make this process of cultural deliberation more historically visible. Initially these debates about the appropriate requirements for citizenship were intensely local—as was the case when Saint Joseph’s Academy looked like the key to civilizing Tucson—but increasingly by the twentieth-century these local opinions were tied to national debates or even to international popular culture—such as the silent films that influenced Mary J. Platt School eighth-graders. Between the 1870s and the 1920s, Tucson fully integrated into the national economy, changing the local patterns permanently. In the 1870s, when Tucson was a tiny village far away from the centers of American politics and commerce, a Catholic girl’s academy run by French nuns and paid for by a multi-religious, multi-ethnic coalition of businessmen seemed a great idea for

boosting Tucson's reputation to new settlers. Ironically, that boosterism was successful in attracting many Anglo-Americans to come settle, which was the beginning of the end of Anglo- and Mexican-American collaboration because Anglo newcomers insisted upon a greater racial divide. Whereas Mexican-American girls were once the center of Tucson's civilizing efforts, by the 1900s, when the Methodist Episcopal Women's Board of Home Missions looked around the Southwest, they saw Mexican-American girls in Tucson as excluded from what Tucsonans now considered civilized. The shift that occurred between the founding of these two schools is not represented so much by a change in the legal understanding of Mexican-American citizenship—which continued to be defined by the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo—but by the turmoil of contending cultural definitions of American citizenship among Tucsonans. The Anglo-American misapprehensions about Mexican-American loyalties have to be understood within their borderlands context of other anxieties about religion, revolution, and race-mixing. In the 1870s, the unified and unifying celebration of the founding of Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies faded into the sectarian Protestant-Catholic bickering about school funding. The 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act denied the possibility of citizenship for all Chinese immigrants who had not already naturalized. In 1888, well-meant ambitions for Native-American "progression" separated Indian students from the public-school population at the Tucson Indian Industrial School. By the twentieth-century, Anglo-Tucsonans worried about the perceived incursion of immigrants during the Mexican-Revolution. Shortly after statehood, Progressive era enthusiasm about the establishment of schools devolved into anxiety about race-mixing, resulting in laws mandating African-American school segregation. In the course of fifty years, Tucson had become a place with lines drawn between each group, and particularly

between Anglo-Americans and others. Some of these lines were customary, and others began as custom and became law, but all make up cultural definitions of American citizenship.

If we focus on legal definitions of citizenship at the turn-of-the-century we risk seeing primarily the Anglo-American perspective of appropriate criteria for citizenship and overlooking the courage of hyphenated-Americans as they predicted a more inclusive national participation. The young Ignacio Bonillas, who moved with his family to Tucson from Sonora, Mexico, in search of an education, was brave enough to articulate his vision of an honorable hyphenated citizenship to all of Tucson in 1875. In the middle of a sectarian and political battle about funding for Tucson public schools, the 16-year-old Bonillas spoke in English and Spanish to Anglo- and Mexican-Tucsonans, members of the Territorial legislature, and city officials, reminding them of their pride in the American traditions of religious freedom, of democratic equality of rich and poor, and of welcoming immigrants. Bonillas then went one step further when he described a vision of hyphenated Mexican-American citizenship, in which loyalty to two nations creates a stronger citizen: “We will twine the garlands of our affection around the hallowed Fourth of July that gave birth to the American Independence, as also the Sixteenth of September, a day which marks the Independence of Mexico.”³⁰⁵ If Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, along with the many people involved in the 100% American movement, would later worry about hyphenated-Americans in the 1910s, Ignacio Bonillas argued in the 1870s that hyphenated citizenship—dual patriotism—was a positive good for both America and Mexico. Indeed, Bonillas saw hyphenated citizenship linking the two nations for the benefit of both nations and the world: “May the two republics go on hand in hand with brotherly unity in the march of prosperity, and may the purity and freedom of their governments become beacon

³⁰⁵ “The Fourth in Tucson,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, July 10, 1875, page 2.

lights to lead all other nations from tyranny and despotism to liberty and equality.”³⁰⁶ There is no record of a public outcry against Bonillas’ advocacy of Mexican-Americans with twin loyalties. For many Tucsonans listening to Bonillas in 1875, hyphenated citizenship may have seemed a double-strength political and civic engagement, rather than a state of divided allegiance.

Focusing only on legal definitions of citizenship also masks the many ways in which Americans have insisted on claiming both difference and belonging. Multicultural theorists tend to portray the introduction of culturally pluralistic ideas as inventions of twentieth-century intellectuals, but this dissertation makes it clear that, even in the face of energetic assimilation efforts, many Americans were determined to retain their cultural habits, combining them with Anglo-American practices as they saw fit. For example, the Tucson Indian Industrial School was the result of three coinciding impulses in Indian policy: pacification, evangelization, and social evolution. President Ulysses S. Grant’s Peace Policy was a governmental switch from Indian extermination to Indian pacification, through funding for education. Presbyterian missionaries, who passionately believed in the possibility for Indian evangelization and civilization, accepted the funding and the mandate from Washington to establish schools for this purpose. Tucson Indian Industrial School, as a boarding school, was the kind of resource that also appealed to the evolutionary ideas propounded by the Indian reform organizations springing up in the late nineteenth century. Social evolutionists felt that human groups moved through developmental stages from Savage to Civilized. They felt that Christian schooling could speed up the evolutionary process, bringing Indians to the level of Anglo-Americans within a couple of generations of intensive education. To this end, the students at Tucson Indian Industrial School were isolated from all other school populations. The boarding school took them away from their

³⁰⁶ “The Fourth in Tucson,” *The Arizona Weekly Citizen*, July 10, 1875, page 2.

families for years at a time on a ranch where students learned to farm and keep house in a manner that seemed appropriately gendered to their Anglo-American instructors. Their segregation from other Tucson school children indicated their colonial status even as Presbyterian missionaries envisioned a future in which they would fully adopt Anglo-American work habits, religion, and family structures. But the O'odham, Apache, Yaqui, and other Indian students of the school had both a more inclusive and, yet still different, anticipation of their own national belonging. Many students chose to adapt the education they received at the Tucson Indian School to enter the wage economy rather than settle down as Anglo-style independent farmers. Graduates chose this option, in some cases, because wage-work was the direction the modern American economy was headed or, in some cases, because it melded well with their families' migratory subsistence strategies. Some adapted evangelical Christianity to their own plans either to promote religious inclusiveness or to re-interpret Christianity through O'odham beliefs. Some also used their school training to prepare to run tribal governments after the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act made it possible to be both a tribal member and an American citizen. Legally Arizona Indians were not American citizens until the 1940s, but to attend only to their legal status is to miss their active construction of their own American identities.

Seeing citizenship as a cultural construction is the only way to explain the gap between the legal citizenship of African-Americans and their actual lack of political access. The formal status of citizen was granted to African-Americans with the 1868 passage of the Fourteenth Amendment but, in Arizona, the declining access to political rights created by Jim Crow legislation and the actions of Anglo-Americans advocating segregated schools, neighborhoods, and public services created an increasingly second-class citizenship. As political scientist Rogers Smith points out, there is no legal second-class citizenship in the United States, but cultural

actions created this status for African-Americans in Arizona.³⁰⁷ The new Arizona State Legislature strengthened the existing school-segregation law in 1913, singling out only African-American students for exclusion. Shortly thereafter a group of African-American parents requested a separate school from the Tucson Public School Board. Other African-American parents protested by refusing to send their children to school when it opened. These two groups of parents represent the two national African-American responses to segregation: taking “advantage of the disadvantage” versus direct confrontation and protest. Some families hoped that segregated schools would allow for the creation of a safe space for their children to absorb race-pride along with a sound education to help them move up the economic ladder. Other families vociferously protested the injustice of segregation and its reinforcement of a second-class citizenship. Both groups were very much involved in the cultural construction of a more inclusive, more equal American citizenship. Anglo-Arizonans, as well, revealed their interpretations of American citizenship in either their advocacy of segregation or their protest and work against legal and *de facto* segregation. Segregation laws did not appear—and then disappear—without many decades of cultural debate about the expectations of full citizenship.

The effect of popular culture on political aspirations makes no sense given a completely legal account of American citizenship, but the cosmopolitanism of Hollywood movies helped Tucson Mexican-American girls at Mary J. Platt School picture themselves living lives outside of the racialized boundaries established by missionaries. Instead of abiding by mission-school expectations and becoming Protestant housewives and Christian leaders in Mexican barrios, Mary J. Platt students predicted that they would pursue exciting careers, international travel, and romantic marriages. These dreams came from movies and from a movie industry that could be

³⁰⁷ Smith, *Civic Ideals*, 429.

racist, but also provided a model of a multi-racial, multi-national sophistication that was new to America. If Tucsonans, from the 1870s into the 1920s, saw benefits in claiming a hyphenated-Americanism—an American citizenship that some claimed was strengthened by difference, rather than weakened—then Hollywood was eager to portray the exotic possibilities of hyphenated citizenship. The giant popularity of silent film stars, such as Dolores del Río, Lupe Vélez, Greta Garbo, and Rudolph Valentino all proved to Mary J. Platt school girls that you could be foreign and still idolized by millions of Americans. The success of the female stars, such as Mary Pickford, also provided the students with a model of female accomplishment, talent, and executive power. Parents, churches, and social scientists in the 1920s all acknowledged the formative power of film in young people's lives and we should also acknowledge that popular culture has the capacity to affect political culture. Hollywood films could empower eighth-grade girls to imagine a wider citizenship for themselves and imagine playing a part not just in their barrios, but in the nation as a whole. Mary J. Platt School created educational opportunities that were embraced by the students, who, like more American women in the 1920s, were interested in pursuing careers before, or in spite of, marriage. The possibilities revealed in Hollywood films joined the academic, religious, and industrial training provided by Mary J. Platt School to give the graduating students a more complete set of prospects for American belonging.

Comparisons between Tucson schools indicate the change happening as the century turned as well as the effects of racialized notions of citizenship. Although Saint Joseph's Academy for Young Ladies and Mary J. Platt School for Mexican Girls were both mission projects intent on Americanization, and they both promoted a similar style of virtuous femininity, their students held entirely different ideas about American citizenship. The priests,

teaching-sisters, and families sending their children to Saint Joseph's Academy imagined Catholic education as reinforcing requirements for pious, honorable mothers to strengthen family and community. Mary J. Platt students, by the late 1920s, anticipated voting in American elections, dreamed of traveling the world, pursuing careers, and marrying wealthy executives. The world had changed and students—even mission-school students—were excited about those changes. Unlike American Indians, African-Americans had no well-meaning missionaries advocating full assimilation – but they also had control over their own education in a way that was not possible in Indian boarding schools. Tucson Indian Industrial School students were segregated entirely from the main Tucson school population, but, more importantly, they were removed entirely from their familiar home environment. Students at Dunbar school were also segregated from other Tucson children, and no kindly Anglo missionaries spoke out in defense of their American citizenship. Instead, Dunbar students had African-American role models in their teachers who helped them negotiate race politics, achieve economic success, and, eventually challenge segregation. The great irony of the public school system in Tucson, promoted as a unifying foundation to the republic, was the way in which it became a tool to cleave greater fissures between Tucson groups. In 1872, an editorial in the *Arizona Weekly Citizen* proclaimed that: “It is the peculiar institution embodying in itself the very essence of our form of government. Around its fire gather alike the children of the rich and poor, and on its broad platform of inalienable right of man is fully recognized, while child meets child with no question of birth or condition.”³⁰⁸ But the public school generated religious antagonism at its outset, did not welcome Native-American or Chinese-American students, increasingly separated Mexican-American students in their barrios, and created an isolated, second-class outpost for its

³⁰⁸ “Common Schools,” *Arizona Weekly Citizen*, May 11, 1872.

African-American students. The founders of all of these schools busily promoted the education that they felt would best support the American ideal—often a very restricted vision which placed Anglo-Americans at the pinnacle of that ideal. Students who attended these schools recognized the benefits of educational opportunities, but almost always adapted that education to meet the needs of their more expansive visions of American citizenship.

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