The Children Left Behind:

Education and Race Reconstructing San Antonio, 1865-1877

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Introduction

The city of San Antonio turned three-hundred years in 2018. Community events focus on the celebration of the long, rich history the city holds, but much remains to be uncovered. After pouring over books and articles in search of the birth of education in San Antonio, I found a significant gap in its historiography of the city. The approach commonly taken when studying the history of education is racially segregated and infrequently discussed on a local basis. To this day, Kenneth Mason is the only scholar with a book section dedicated to education during Reconstruction solely in San Antonio. To fully understand the marginalization in education and the community after the Civil War, my approach includes the three major demographics of the city during the nineteenth century; the Mexican and Mexican American, Anglo, and African American. Therefore, I decided the best approach would be to collect the municipal records concerning education and historical documents regarding each of the demographic groups and write the histories together. Through comparative analysis, I hope to illuminate further how the education system was set up in San Antonio, Texas during the Reconstruction Era. My analysis will help fill the current historiographical gap.

San Antonio is situated nearly one-hundred and fifty miles from the border of Mexico, giving it an identity as a borderland. The United States had a relatively fluid and open border during the nineteenth century, and this openness allowed the people to move more transiently to establish themselves in communities in Southwest Texas. The requirements of stating citizenship, through records, did not arrive until the twentieth century. During this time San

¹ Kenneth Mason's work, *African American and Race Relations in San Antonio, Texas, 1867-1937*, was the only scholarly book published with a dedicated section on African American education. There are many articles on education in Texas and some on San Antonio education, but these are generalized and, in all cases, segregated. I have yet to find a comprehensive comparative analysis of the three main demographics established in San Antonio, Texas during the Reconstruction Era, 1865-1877.

Antonio had an established multiracial-multiethnic population, which allowed for unique opportunities in education.

The terms in my work will be fluid with the use of vernacular of the nineteenth century and the more modern use of terms. African Americans were identified as *colored* within the primary sources on San Antonio and will be used interchangeably with African American depending on the reference needed to emphasize societal understanding. The term *Freedmen* will be used to identify freed slaves in the United States of American Reconstruction initiatives.

Mexican and Mexican American will be used to identify the Tejano population of the Mexican community referenced in the minutes of the council meetings' journals of San Antonio. Tejano, as an identity, was not used before the twentieth century. Although it was possible people migrated from other Latin American countries other than Mexico, the records do not seem to exist within the San Antonio Council Minutes and United States Census Bureau. The term Anglo will be used for the identification of the demographic identified as White in the primary records of San Antonio for anyone who was of European descent.

The San Fernando de Bèxar Mission erected during the colonial period of San Antonio taught Christianity, Spanish language, as well as the arts.² During the colonial period, education was meant to Christianize and domesticate the local population living in the area now known as Texas. After the Mexican War for Independence in 1821, the efforts for education in the new country of Mexico was left to the individual states to fund and erect a public-school system; however, efforts failed. Texas declared independence from Mexico in 1836. Within the document for Independence, the delegates claimed that the Mexican government did not

² Max Berger and Lee Wilborn, "Education," *Texas State Historical Association*, accessed April 21, 2018, http://tshaonlline.org/handbook/online/articles/khe01.

establish a free public-school system though the resources were available.³ Once Texas had established itself as a nation, the efforts of education fell to its Congress.

The results of the Reconstruction Era initiatives in education formed the systematic marginalization of the African American community within the public education system in Texas. San Antonio developed a quasi-functioning public education system for the three largest communities in the city Tejanos, African Americans, and Anglos. The Republic of Texas failed in its efforts to establish a free public-school system, because of the lack of funds and the little involvement of Texas citizens. Texas later the United States annexed Texas and the state Congress of 1845 called for the establishment of free schools. Texas now received ten million in bonds from the United States government and set aside two million to establish the free school system and funds. The following years until the Civil War, initiatives for the free and public-school system waxed and waned. The Civil War significantly impacted the state's education funds because it no longer received the ten million dollars in bonds from the United States government. My work examines the state attempts at education and the trickle down affect the laws had on the city of San Antonio and the children served in each community.

The Black Codes in Texas established during the 1866 Convention created the harsh segregation that continued through the Reconstruction Era and into the twentieth century. These codes re-established a subservient position of African Americans by White Texans. The Codes

³ The Unanimous Declaration of Independence made by the Delegates of the People of Texas in General Convention at the Town of Washington on the 2nd day of March 1836, Texas State Library and Archive Commission, accessed April 21, 2018, https://www.tsl.texas.gov/treasures/republic/declaration.html. The term "free public-school system" will be used for twenty-first century general understanding of the functions of a free and public school. I will use this term when addressing general understanding of the system; however, the vernacular of identifying the school system established fluctuated and evolved throughout the Reconstruction Era. Texas state documents and San Antonio documents used the following terms: Common School, Free School, and Public School. The ages of children attended fluctuated over 1865-1877 with the youngest age at four and the oldest at 18.

⁴ Max Berger and Lee Wilborn, "Education."

⁵ Max Berger and Lee Wilborn, "Education."

excluded African Americans from sharing in the school funds provided by the state; however, the *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention of 1868* abolished these laws. Segregation persisted, though, as White societal expectations in the South were still considered in the establishment of state public-school systems. In attempts to sooth the southern Democrats in Texas, the Convention established separate school funding. The requirements to start a school for African Americans were far more stringent than their White counterparts in Texas. The effects of the Black Codes continued through segregation in Texas education to only morph into the Jim Crow laws after Reconstruction ended.

Texas State Education Initiatives

White settlers cited the lack of a proper education system as a grievance against the Mexican government in their bid for independence from Mexico. Due to the lack of established laws, funding for education was difficult to obtain. The attempts to develop schooling were admirable, but the infantile country did not have the experience, support, or the means for developing the system.

During 1839, the Congress of the Republic of Texas required that three leagues of land to be set aside for public schools. Citizens in the Republic of Texas still viewed education as a private matter. Though the attempts did not establish an educational system, the state created the identification of the school levels primary, common, collegiate. The levels offered for education began at the primary level through the collegiate level for residents. These school levels established during the state's time as a country were the only educational legacy passed down

⁶ Ralph W. Steen, "Texas Declaration of Independence," *Handbook of Texas Online*, Texas State Historical Association, June 15, 2010, modified November 7, 2016, accessed April 11, 2018, https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/mjtce.

⁷ "A Brief History of Public Education," *Texas State Historical Association*, accessed March 21, 2018, http://texasalmanac.com/topics/education/brief-history-public-education.

once the state entered the Union. The country's annexation into the United States allowed for the State Legislation of 1845 to establish taxes for the creation of free education.

Texas did not have a comprehensive school law until Elisha Pease ran for governor.

Elisha Pease ran his election campaign to include the establishment of a sustainable free education system for the children of Texas. In 1854, the birth of the Common School Law manifested an education system complete with a School Fund. The Fund relied on the taxes from one-tenth of state revenue and the United States government bond which allocated \$2 million for educational costs. Schools established in Texas allowed for all free citizens to attend school not requiring the separation of the Mexican, Tejano and Anglo populations. Texas law required Chief Justices of each county to establish school districts related to the size and number of citizens in their county. Annual elections in each district would elect a board of Trustees to the School and charged them with the interests of the schools. The only exception to educational access was for freed African Americans and slaves, because of the lack of schools established for this demographic.

The position of the Mexican population within the state of Texas lacked depth in the nineteenth-century education system. Laws established to shape the curricula to envelop this demographic included loose regulations regarding the instruction of English and Spanish in the classrooms. Texas educated Spanish-speaking and English-speaking students at the public-school houses in the state. The regulation of languages in the schools did not appear in Texas legislation until 1856. This legislation expressed the English language to be taught in any schoolhouse

⁸ *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention, which met at Austin, Texas, June 1, A. D., 1863*, Austin: Tracey, Siemering & Co. (1870), accessed March 21, 2018, UTSA Database: HathiTrust, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uiug.3011206804428, 66.

receiving state funding.⁹ The indications of this legislation express the lawmakers' wishes to regulate the school houses by adding the requirement of language instruction. After two years, the State Legislation took up the effort to restrict the languages again. The Common School Law in 1858 established that school houses not teaching the English language would not receive state funding.¹⁰ Texas did not have the means necessary to enforce this regulation, and it ultimately was widely ignored. Advertisements within the state almanacs in the 1850s consist of composition, arithmetic, histories, English grammar, and geography, but no Spanish language books. The physical segregation of Mexican and Tejano demographics never truly existed within the education system outside of the curricula established.

The Texas education system allowed for the counties to begin the efforts for erecting and maintaining public schools in the area. However, funding issues were common throughout the early years of the system. After the deductions for expenses from building and maintaining schools, the School Fund amounted to \$40,587. The School Fund disbursed the total amount of \$40,587 amongst all scholastic-aged students amounting to 62 cents per child in 1854. The School Fund consisted of the United States government bond, taxes, and the census report information. This information was based on tax revenue collected from the population of the counties and state. The poor returns in tax revenue received from participating counties could not support the School Fund indefinitely.

⁹ Carlos Kevin Blanton, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas, 1836-1925* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004), UTSA Special Collection: Rare Books, San Antonio, Tx, 18.

¹⁰ Carlos Kevin Blanton, The Strange Career of Bilingual Education, 18.

¹¹ The Texas Almanac for 1857, with Statistics: Historical and Biographical Sketches, & C., Relating to Texas, Galveston: Richardson & Co. (1856), accessed March 18, 2018, UTSA Database: HathiTrust http://hdl.handle.net/20207/njp.32101074863834, 140.

The Common School Law changed in 1856, to fix funding issues due to the lack of attendance and revenue. The state changed the age of attendance for Texan residents from the previous ages of six through sixteen to six through eighteen allowing more citizens to be taxed for tuition costs. Texas Superintendents required school-house teachers to identify the students unable to pay for tuition and create an affidavit for each student to send to the treasurer.

Although it seemingly meant to improve education, the 1856 law worked to increase funding for the school system by changing the age requirement.

Railroad companies and the School Fund became intertwined in the 1854 Common School Law. State legislation allowed for the railroad companies to borrow against the School Fund at six percent annual interest and up to \$6,000 per mile to fund their construction costs. In 1860, the three major railroad companies in Texas during this time borrowed \$906,000 against the School Fund. The Governor Comptroller and Attorney General used the ability to borrow from the School Fund to encourage railroad development across Texas. Railroad development in Texas was significant for the frontier state and linking the funds for the school allowed for expansion. The decision to use the School Fund for the railroad companies would affect the laws established after the Civil War.

The Civil War erupted in 1861 profoundly impacting the further development of schools in Texas. In 1862 the School Fund became insecure and unable to support the monetary needs of the county schools. The Abstract of the Treasurer's Report from the 1862 Almanac, cited the "repudiation of the United States bonds" as the main reason the state was unable to achieve the

¹² The Texas Almanac for 1857, 140.

¹³ *The Texas Almanac, for 1860*, Galveston: Richardson & Co., (1860), accessed March 18, 2018, UTSA Database: HathiTrust http://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101013381684, 221.

necessary funds for school houses.¹⁴ Texas lost the United States government bonds when it seceded from the United States ultimately losing the ten million dollars (two million dollars for education) in funds. Many schools closed their doors due to the lack of funding from the state.

The cost of war impacted the School Fund by diverting money away from education. In 1862, the government of Texas only had enough funds to stay operational until the summer. The state Treasurer recommended that the state is relieved of all expenses to support the war efforts in the Confederate States. ¹⁵ Operations of state and local governments slowed due to funding the war efforts. The School Fund diverted fifteen thousand dollars for the construction of hospitals for the sick and wounded soldiers. Schools lost revenue throughout the war halting education in many parts of the state. However, the support for the war effort in supplying soldiers from Texas exempted teachers in the state allowing for some protection from the impact of the Civil War. The requirement for enlistment fell on the surplus teachers of a schoolhouse per chapter forty of the Ninth Legislature. ¹⁶ The ratio of twenty students per every one teacher protected some of the educators within the state. The war impacted not only the monetary funds of the schools but the lives of students that lost their teachers to the war effort. The education system continued to wax and wane throughout the 1860s.

The Civil War impacted the state's education system in many ways. The Tenth

Legislature of 1863 expressed the importance of the availability and funding of education in

Texas. Again, the state needed to improve and shore up the education system. Congress called

for a requirement from the government to provide suitable provisions from the state to support

¹⁴ The Texas Almanac for 1862, Galveston: Richardson & Co., (1862), accessed March 18, 2018, UTSA Database: HathiTrust, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101074864867, 46.

¹⁵ *The Texas Almanac for 1862*, 47.

¹⁶ *The Texas Almanac for 1862*, 16.

and maintain the public schools.¹⁷ A renewed effort for proper funding and development of the public-school system began. The state allotted to protect the School Fund by establishing a law that managed the funds strictly for maintaining current schools and restricting the establishment of new schools.¹⁸ The state eliminated the ability to purchase land from the school system, leasing the grounds, and imposing a one-tenth educational tax on residents of Texas. Education waxed and waned on its importance and availability to all Texas residents, but the Civil War had the most significant impact on educational efforts within the state.

The Civil War ended in 1865 and Reconstruction efforts began across the southern states impacting the Texas education system. Texas had an established Common School system in the 1850s because of the efforts by Governor Pease; however, the schools only educated White students. A requirement for re-admittance into the United States rested on the ability of the Confederate State to establish a Common School system to include the education of freedmen and their children. The fear of White tax dollars used for the education of African Americans created push back against this federal initiative. Texas established separate taxation for the African-American schools and the Anglo schools to appease the Anglo population in the state. The Convention of 1866 re-established the requirement for a Board of Education and Superintendent of Schools in Texas. This separation of tax dollars began the long history of unequal funding for African American schoolhouses.

¹⁷ General Laws of the Tenth Legislature of the State of Texas, Houston: Galveston News (1864), accessed March 15, 2018, UTSA Database: HathiTrust, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/jau.318581716274, 41.

¹⁸ General Laws of the Tenth Legislature, 41.

¹⁹ Camille Walsh, *Racial Taxation: schools, segregation, and taxpayer's citizenship, 1869-1973*, (University of North Carolina Press, 2018), 17.

²⁰ A term defined—Common School the vernacular of the nineteenth century for today's term of public school. These terms will be used interchangeably throughout the essay.

After the Confederate states fell and before the Provincial Government began, Texas started its segregation efforts. The Senate Journal of 1866 passed tax collection for the School Fund, "collected from African or persons of African descent, shall be exclusively appropriated for the maintenance of a system of public schools for Africans and children." Texas separated the White tax dollars from the African American tax dollars to fund the schools separately. This requirement led to poorly established colored schools throughout the state. The state legally established the system for the education of African Americans but did nothing to fund the system equally to White schools.

Reconstruction efforts in the state of Texas pushed for progressive regulation of education and advocated for a functioning free education school system. The Provisional Governor addressed the railroad companies and their abuses to borrow against the School Fund. Six railroad companies, collectively, had borrowed nearly two-and-a-half million dollars against the School Fund and remained in debt.²³ The disruption of the Civil War and the movement away from the educational fund pushed the companies further into debt. The Republican government did not excuse the Confederate state and money used for the war effort and not the funding of the education system. In order to reconcile the school Fund account, the railroad

The individual amounts owed by the railroad companies were followed:

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\$495,390.00	
\$499,800.00	
\$595,166.25	
\$202,625.00	
\$366,790.87	
\$43,684.96	

The Journal cited multiple extension from the Texas government regarding the requirement to pay the loans against the School Fund to be paid in full. Constant abuses of the Schools Funds resulted in an underfunded school system halting the growth of a functioning free education system.

²¹ Journals of the Senate of the State of Texas. Eleventh Legislature, Austin: Office of the "State Gazette" (1866), accessed March 16, 2018, UTSA Database: HathiTrust, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/chi.78123910, 521.

²² Journals of the Senate of the State of Texas. Eleventh Legislature, 521.

²³ Journal of the Reconstruction Convention Which Met at Austin, Texas, June 1, A. D., 1868, Austin: Tracey, Siemering & Co., Printers (1870), accessed March 27, 2018, UTSA Database: HathiTrust: http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uiug.3011206384428, 275 and 279.

companies were sold in a public auction for the amount owed to the School Fund. To prevent further abuses of the railroad companies, the Legislature passed a law which halted any use of the School Fund outside the support and maintenance of the public-school education system.²⁴ The attempts to reconcile the accounts of the railroad companies against the School Fund continued through the Reconstruction Era.

The laws passed during the Reconstruction Conventions restructured the system of educational hierarchy in the state school system. This structure of authority removed the position of the governor as a voting position into a non-voting position and required two members of each Congressional district to act as School Board members to represent the district. The following graph displays the new positions in the education system.

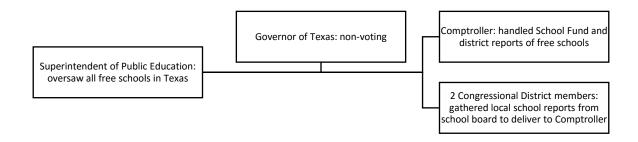


Table 1: System of Hierarchy in Texas Education²⁵

The system established an understanding of who to report to within the state for educational efforts and gave representation to the local governments. In the past, Texas attempted to develop a reporting system, but without enforcement, the efforts failed. Laws created during the

²⁴ Journal of the Reconstruction Convention, 1868, 611.

²⁵ *Journal of the Reconstruction Convention, 1868*, 610. The information gathered to create Table 1 found in the text of Journal of the Reconstruction Convention, 1868.

convention of 1868 established a pathway for Congress to grant enforcement of the new regulations.

The size of Texas proved difficult to enforce the establishment of schools in the rural areas; however, the establishment of schools in areas of twenty or more students became a requirement for the state. Texas Congress required the school system to establish a uniformed method of instruction throughout all public schools. ²⁶ This requirement included the same support and maintenance of public schools regardless of the race, color, or the previous condition of enslavement. The Convention took heed of the precarious relationship of the newly freed slaves and the Anglo population in Texas. A request to keep the two races separate, but equally supported and maintained, exemplified the social structure wanted by the Anglo population. This request established the separate education of the African American population and the Anglo population within the state.

The next session of the Texas legislation addressed the several demographic groups which make up the population. Though the law that required the local schoolhouses to instruct in English eventually changed to a more inclusive language initiative in the state. Foreign language instead became an avenue to for local schoolhouses to include the diverse demographic makeup of the students. The law allowed for the public schools to teach any foreign language in connection to the English branch of education.²⁷ The funding of schools that regarded the use of the English language changed to include the right to teach foreign languages. However, the constant issue of the railroad companies and the indebtedness to the School Fund continued, but

²⁶ Journal of the Reconstruction Convention, 1868, 611.

²⁷ House Journal of the Twelfth Legislature, State of Texas, First Session, Austin: Tracey, Sienering & Co., State Journal Office (1879), accessed March 27, 2018, UTSA Database: HathiTrust: http://hdl.handle/2027/nyp.334330855, 817.

a challenge to reconcile the account referred to the need of railroads to connect students to the schoolhouse. The interest accrued on the debt inflated the amount owed ending in a sum over two point seven million dollars, which caused the Executive Officer of the Senate citing the need to absolve the debt of the railroad company and support a uniform and functional education system. The suggested reason for the lack of a functioning system throughout the whole of Texas rested on the lack of rail lines to connect the rural areas to schoolhouses. The Provisional Governor foresaw the potential for continued abuses of the Fund and established a law to keep the state from using school funds for anything other than the use for school maintenance and support of the educational system.

The passage of the 1870 state laws renewed efforts to fund the education system in Texas and established requirements for teachers. An identified requirement of teachers rested on good moral character and graduation from a university. Teachers then received a certificate to teach in the state school system. However, if the individual was not a graduate of a university they only needed to show their ability to teach reading, writing, English, grammar, arithmetic, and geography along with their ability to prove their good moral character. Addressing the requirements of teachers, but not the salary, and left it to the local districts to establish a system of pay for the teachers. The attempt to adequately fund the system started again during the 1870 legislation session.

The state began receiving federal bonds during the Reconstruction Era. Texas received a two-million-dollar bond which the state required five percent to be set aside to fund the public-

²⁸ House Journal of the Twelfth Legislature, 516.

²⁹ A Digest Laws of Texas: Containing Laws in Force, and the Repeal Laws on which Rights Rest. Carefully Annotated by George W. Paschal, Washington D. C.: W. H. & O. H. Morrison, (1870), accessed March 15, 2018, UTSA Database: HathiTrust: http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hl3cg2, 579.

school system. The state established a requirement for the cities to erect a "good and substantial schoolhouse without any state funds before the five percent set aside for the local treasuries was disbursed.³⁰ The earlier provision was segregating not only the schools but the funding as well created local issues for the African-American community. Many of the laws passed shifted much of the burden from the state government to the local governments for the establishment and continuation of schoolhouses in Texas.³¹

The laws established during the Reconstruction Conventions to protect the School Fund remained in place, but the Texas legislature created a new pathway to funding the railroad companies with the School Fund. This law compromised the School Fund, and new provisions established a fund for the railroad companies. The creation of the Special School Fund allowed for a lean against the land used by the railroad companies.³² The funds from this account were loaned to railroad companies to purchase lands from the School Land Office, and then the School Land Office would place a lien against the property bought by the companies.³³ As the Reconstruction initiatives ended in Texas, the citizens elected a Democrat named Richard Coke in 1874. Governor Coke attacked the public education system in Texas by decentralizing the system which in turn cut funding for education.³⁴ Coke's actions against the education system prompted outrage in the local newspaper, *San Antonio Express*. The article described Coke and

³⁰ A Digest of Laws, (1870), 571.

³¹ Chief Justices and County Commissioners became responsible for them to appoint district trustees to oversee the election and appoints of the local Committee of Schools, i.e., School Board of Education. The responsibilities of the School Trustees were vast and encompassed. They regulated the academic year length passed by a vote within the patrons of a school, the salary of teachers, what type of teacher was desired and to be employed, oversee all teachers under the employment of the schoolhouse(s), and the discipline of pupils. The Texas government shifted the burden of creating a coherent and functioning educational system on the local governments which were underfunded by the laws requiring a schoolhouse to be built first before the distribution of funds.

³² A Digest of Laws, (1870), 573.

³³ A Digest of Laws, (1870), 573.

³⁴ John W. Payne, Jr. "Coke, Richard (1829-1897)," *Texas Handbook Online*, accessed April 18, 2018, https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fco15.

his administration's actions as a betrayal to the children born and unborn across the state citing the "robbery" of the education fund.³⁵ The article further described the unpopularity of the Republican government before Governor Coke election, but explicitly described Governor Coke's actions as a disgrace and embarrassment against all Texans.³⁶ Texas and its inability to adequately fund schools would continue to cripple the education system throughout the 1870s.

While the Reconstruction of the southern states winds down, the feelings of the White population ramped up their requests to dissolve the progressive reforms of the Federal Republican government. Mr. Erhard of the Texas Senate placed propositions for the restructuring of the education system.³⁷ The propositions requested surrounded the funding of the system to place the sole burden of supporting and funding the school on the community itself relieving the State and counties of such responsibilities. He requested schools charge tuition of two dollars per student. Mr. Erhard believed the teachers for the African-American schools should require a higher standard of examination for fitness to teach than the teachers at White schools. Erhard's views reflected the many of the Democrats in the Texas Congress and their attempts to suppress the African Americans in Texas. Throughout the Constitutional Convention of 1875, members suggested a multitude of different options of how best to address the status of the African American population. This convention recorded one of the most extensive conversations of the public education system in Texas.

³⁵ "What is our remedy against the robbery of the school fund?" *San Antonio Express*, July 28, 1876, accessed April 18, 2018, https://access-newspaperarchive-com.libweb.lib.utsa.edu/us/texas/san-antonio/san-antonio-express/1876/07-28/page-2?tag=education+school+teacher&rtserp=tags/education-school-teacher?pr=30&psb=dateasc&pc=25699&psi=94&pci=7&pt=10775&pd=1&ndt=bd&pe=31&pem=12&py=1865&pm=1&pey=1877&search=, 2.

³⁶ "What is our remedy," 2.

³⁷ Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Texas, Begun and Held at the City of Austin, September 6th, 1875, Galveston: "News" Office, (1875), accessed April 2, 2018, UTSA Database: HathiTrust, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.3511220345378, 55.

San Antonio: Private Education and Latinos

The origins of the borderland city offer a long history of private education initiatives from the beginning of the Spanish colonial period through the Missions. Though it was not successful, Governor Pease attempted to establish a free school system. Systematically, it failed because the lack of enforcement on taxpayers required attendance by students and the lack of a funding system. The location of San Antonio on the borderland frontier gave the city a unique position of a multi-ethnic makeup. The Anglo settlers from different states in the country, as well as, European nations, Latinos, and Mexicans make up the population in San Antonio.

The roller coaster of educational policy coming from the state level put the cities in a parlous position regarding how best to provide education for the residents. The system of education in San Antonio during the Reconstruction Era of 1865 through 1877 reflected the State's initiatives in education with varying degrees of success. San Antonio's location gave it very diverse population with many being of Mexican heritage. Even before the first real education laws began to pass in 1854, San Antonio had a strong presence of education due to its beginnings as a mission city. The 1860 census did not separate individuals who were born in Mexico as Mexican. The census did not directly address this population but instead grouped persons born or of Mexican descent as White. Enumerators would ask the person for their country of origin and would merely identify them as White.³⁸ The enumerator classified an individual's race by the color of their skin, not by the individual's self-identification.

The Civil War shaped the social position of Mexicans and Tejanos in San Antonio. The question of active members in the city and statewide rested on their allegiance to Texas. While

³⁸ "1860, Free inhabitant questionnaire," United States Census Bureau, accessed April 17, 2018, https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/index_of_questions/1860_1.html.

the politicians discussed secession and the future of slavery in the state of Texas, Tejanos and Mexicans gained the ability to participate in political and social events as part of the Anglo community.³⁹ The education of Mexicans and Tejanos rested on the efforts of Bishop Odin. The public education system established in San Antonio never addressed the needs of the Spanish-speaking population. San Antonio's geographical position made the city a borderland metropolitan area and the unique history of Spanish and Mexican educational history. The Spanish intentions of the missions were to educate the indigenous population the structure of Catholicism education. This tradition continued through the city's transition into the United States. The local Spanish-speaking population sought out either sectarian or religious intuitions for the education of their children.⁴⁰ The City Council records regarding the education of this demographic were never addressed or assigned a separate school from Anglo children.

The council members never directly addressed the question of education between the Tejano and Mexican, African American, and Anglo communities. Though, the actions of the city council members offer a unique look into educational efforts for the town inhabitants. The identity of Tejanos was not established in the historical documents such as the United States census, state legislation, and local records. This identity has been developed through historians, and their study in the construction of identities understood in today's world. The public education efforts slowly established itself, but private education began in the early 1850s by the Society of Mary building the St. Mary's Institute, now known as St. Mary's University. Bishop Odin of the Society of Mary advocated for a school in San Antonio to target the Mexican

³⁹ Raúl A. Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo: Forging Mexican Ethnicity in San Antonio, 1821-1861*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2008), 228. In the endnote, Raúl Ramos discussed the debate in Mexican American historian community over the term "whiteness."

⁴⁰ Arnaldo De Leon, *The Tejano Community*, 1836-1900, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 187.

population.⁴¹ In 1853 the St. Mary's Institute opened its doors for the male students of San Antonio. Acceptance into the institute did not rely on the religious identity of the student. The St. Mary's Institute accepted non-Catholic and non-Mexican students.⁴² The school opened its door to young boys in primary education through high school in the institution's beginnings.

Inclusive and multicultural, St. Mary's Institute did not only serve the Mexican and Tejano population, but also the French and German populations in San Antonio as well. The beginning of the institute proved difficult due to lack of funds and properly trained Brothers to teach a Spanish dominate student body. The student makeup also included the German and French families in San Antonio. Fortunate for the Bishops helped arrived before the Civil War erupted with more funding and Brothers were able to support the student body. Throughout the Civil War, Brother Edel, a teacher, expressed his loyalties to the Confederate States; "Long life to the Southern Confederacy" with the expression that the "Black Republicans" lie and were hypocrites when they would report to the Archdiocese in Dayton, Ohio. Hard's generally remained unaffected by the war, aside from the typical shortages of paper, writing material, etc. During Reconstruction initiatives, the private institutions remained unaffected by the progressive policies supporting the education of African Americans.

San Antonio and African American Education

The inequalities surrounding the establishment of and funding for the African-American schoolhouses and teachers continued through the rest of the nineteenth century. In efforts to educate Freedmen and colored children, the Republican-held state established day school for

⁴¹ Joseph W. Schmitz, S. M., *The Beginnings of the Society of Mary in Texas*, *1852-1866*, San Antonio: Naylor Company, National Archives of the Marianist Province of the United States in San Antonio, TX, 10.

⁴² Joseph W. Schmitz, S. M., The Beginnings of the Society of Mary, 10.

⁴³ Joseph W. Schmitz, S. M., *The Beginnings of the Society of Mary*, 16.

⁴⁴ Joseph W. Schmitz, S. M., The Beginnings of the Society of Mary, 18.

children, night school for adults, and Sunday school for both children and adults.⁴⁵ The emancipation of slaves and the educational efforts made by the Republican government influenced the record takers to start identifying the schools by race.

The efforts to establish an education system for African Americans in San Antonio started in January of 1867. He four-established schools within San Antonio previously serviced only Anglo students; however, the stated requirement of the records forced one of the four schools to be used solely for the education of colored students. He city or state did not run the operations of the African-American school, but at the federal level, by the Bureau for Freedmen and Refugees. The location of the first school room for freedmen and colored children was located on what was then known as Solidad Street. Teachers of the colored school continued their efforts to build a larger schoolhouse for the increasing number of students. The Bureau offered federal authority in the once Confederate state to regulate the interactions, laws, and fundamental rights for the newly freed slave population.

The educational efforts by the Freedmen Bureau in San Antonio show a quick increase of attendance and need for a larger schoolhouse and more teachers, by May 1867 the total attendees of the colored school were one hundred and fifty-nine scholars.⁴⁹ During 1876, the Bureau

⁴⁵ "Records to the Superintendent of Education for the State of Texas, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1870," *National Archives Microfilm Publications*, Microfilm Publication M822 Roll 2: Registers of Letters Received Volume 1 (14), Volume 2 (3), November 1866-Dec 1870, Texana Room Central Library, San Antonio, TX, 2. The letters in this collection were organized by date with no corresponding page number. Any references to the letters will be identified with the Volume number and time to help reference the location on the microfilm roll.

⁴⁶"Records to the Superintendent of Education for the State of Texas, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands," Volume 1, January 28, 1867.

⁴⁷ Council Journal Book C, San Antonio, 588.

⁴⁸ "Records to the Superintendent of Education, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands," Volume 1, 15, 1867.

⁴⁹ "Records to the Superintendent of Education, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands," Volume 1, May 16, 1867.

established and maintained a schoolhouse for the African American population. The teachers of the colored school sent a request to have a larger schoolhouse built to help with the overcrowding and inadequate space. The city did not spend money on the schoolhouse because the Bureau was still in control and had not turned the schoolhouse over to the city. In July the question arose if the city would ever establish a self-sustaining school for African American. The attendance of children during the fall of 1867 totaled to ninety-six children. The colored school teachers and Anglo teachers received the same amount of seventy-five dollars a month; however, by October of 1867 the Anglo school teachers petitioned the City Council for an increase of pay to one hundred dollars. Over the next year, efforts to educate the African-American population continued as the number of students grew larger. The Bureau established and maintained the Rincon Street school since its beginning, and the state and local government would eventually be the wards of the schoolhouse in 1871.

Governor Coke's aggressions against public education did not seem to locally affect the efforts of the city's Council to run a quasi-functional school system. The efforts made throughout the end of the Reconstruction Era and in the ten years after only advanced in the school system. The Board of Education and Committee of Education did not receive attention in any of the council's proceedings from 1871 until 1873. Between 1873 and 1875 efforts the city established

⁵⁰ "Records to the Superintendent of Education, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands," Volume 1, May 13, 1867.

⁵¹ "Records to the Superintendent of Education, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands," Volume 1, July 22, 1867.

⁵² *Council Journal Book C, 1856-1870, San Antonio*, Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through E Minutes, San Antonio Municipal Archives and Records in San Antonio, Texas, 615. This number included day school, night school, and Sunday school attendees.

⁵³ Council Journal Book C, San Antonio, 619.

⁵⁴ Council Journal Book C, San Antonio, 622.

⁵⁵ Raymond Kreysha, "A History of Douglass Academy," San Antonio ISD (2008), accessed April 18, 2018, https://schools.saisd.net/upload/page/9922/docs/A_History_of_Douglass_Academy.pdf, 2.

four free schools in three of San Antonio's four wards.⁵⁶ San Antonio's efforts in education went far beyond anything the state government attempted. The local efforts in conjunction with the local Freedman Bureau allowed for the establishment and function of the colored school. From 1868 through 1875 Nace Duval petitioned the city council to pay the rent of the schoolhouse and for his earned wages.⁵⁷

In many of the secondary sources, surveyed the issue of violence against colored teachers and teachers at colored schools surface frequently. Violence against local educators did not appear in the local newspapers in San Antonio. The lack of violence suggests a somewhat progressive environment for the race relations in San Antonio. It is not to say there was overwhelming joy in educating African Americans, but to say physical violence against educators was scarce.

San Antonio and Anglo Education

The other private option for the community in San Antonio included the specific demographic of German settlers in the city. The establishment of the German-English school in 1858 stipulated the equality of the German language regarding the English language. The strict difference between the efforts of the St. Mary's Institute and the German-English school was in the creation of bilingual cultural instruction. The arguments within the school atmosphere centered around the understanding that to be genuinely bilingual a mixture of non-German speaking and German speaking students needed to be established. A petition from Mr. C.

⁵⁶ Council Journal Book D, 1870-1879, pg 135-265, City of San Antonio, Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through E Minutes, San Antonio Municipal Archives and Records in San Antonio, Texas, 188.

⁵⁷ The records within *Council Book C* and *D* show multiple requests of forty dollars to pay rent and for his and the other teachers' salaries in the colored school. The council voted and always passed, never unanimously though; this suggests the lack of cohesion regarding the efforts to educate the African American community.

⁵⁸ Carlos Blanton, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education*, 36.

⁵⁹ Carlos Blanton, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education*, 37.

Plagge which he requested the permission of the School Committee to use the schoolhouse which previously had housed a free school to be instead reopened for the German-English community. ⁶⁰ This effort along with several other failed to continue the education of the San Antonio population through the Reconstruction Era. The original establishment of the German-English school that began in 1858 continued to thrive in San Antonio until the public-school efforts solidified the position of free schools by the 1890s. ⁶¹

San Antonio suffered from the inadequate funding and lack of established education laws in the state. The 1854 School Law created a mere idea of what a free school system would function, but no tangible way to enforce the law. The fate of local education relied on the local leaders of the counties. San Antonio at the end of the Civil War had very few functioning schools due to the lack of funds from the states. The *City Journal of Council Minutes of 1865* only referenced a schoolhouse on Market Street. ⁶² Much of the local treasury was diverted to the initial war effort of the Confederate position on the frontlines. The observance of state laws and how they affected the local community in San Antonio revealed a disconnect between the state and local government and a strict outline of how the education system should function. The city established positions of the superintendent, school trustees, teachers and assistant teachers, and the establishment of the Committee of Education, but the Council Members' actions of supporting Common Schools waxed and waned in importance throughout the Reconstruction Era.

⁶⁰ City Council Proceedings Collection 1849- Present, San Antonio City Municipal Archives and Records, San Antonio, Texas.

⁶¹ Carlos Blanton, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education*, 37.

⁶² Council Journal Book C, 1856-1870, San Antonio, 462.

When the United States military authority established itself within the local community of San Antonio, the mayor relinquished his authoritative rights to the Republican government. October 18, 1865, the Council referenced their commitment to establishing a "harmonious" relationship with the United States military. ⁶³ Throughout the beginnings of the Reconstruction Era on the local level, there was an increase in local educational efforts. By June 28, 1866, the United States government reinstated Texas to have civil jurisdiction and passed legislation to restore Municipal Officers in San Antonio. ⁶⁴ The Committee of Education established before the Civil War was reinstated and held new elections. However, this was the last mention of any educational efforts within San Antonio until February 26, 1867. ⁶⁵ The lack of educational efforts and reforms within the city gives light during the time between June 1866 and February 1867 to the priority of the Council Member Officers. Much of the reforms and efforts centered around city improvements with the lack of effort towards education, signifying the absence of thought in educating the young minds of the city.

The question of a teacher's salary is still as relevant today as it was in the beginning of the Texas education system. During the time leading up to and through the Civil War, teachers actively petitioned the Council for their salaries. ⁶⁶ Texas law established the School Board to decide how much the salary would be for the teachers. Before the Civil War ended, the city had two assistant teachers by the name of Mrs. Fannie Pryor and Miss. A. L. Wright with a salary of one-hundred-dollars a month and the city's Superintendent was Sam Newton with a wage of

⁶³ Council Journal Book C, 1856-1870, San Antonio, 500-501.

⁶⁴ Council Journal Book C, 1856-1870, San Antonio, 536.

⁶⁵ Council Journal Book C, 1856-1870, San Antonio, 552-588. Much of the actions of the City Council surrounded the re-establishment of the Ditch Commissioner, Committee on Finance, Committee on Public Improvements, and the Committee on Petitions and Ordinances.

⁶⁶ Council Journal Book C, 1856-1870, San Antonio. In efforts to establish a cohesive timeline for this essay, I began my journey the year before the Civil War ended in 1864 and finished in December 1877. I looked in the 1880s to look at the trajectory of local education efforts. The salary mentioned first on the June 1st, 1864.

two-hundred-dollars a month unanimously voted into position on January 4, 1864.⁶⁷ The city established its Committee of Common Education on January 9, 1864, with F. Schurk as the Chair and E. Hickman and A. Moyè; these members will change from month to month or year to year. In the 1870 City Charter the states that the positions of all Committee members must serve two years until their successors were elected.⁶⁸ The people who fill the positions of the teachers, Superintendents, and the Committees change over the twelve years of the Reconstruction Era, however several of the names will stay active throughout the local government or the local education system.

The Council occasionally discussed the education system and schoolhouses through all the Council Journals of the Reconstruction Era at times more often and at other times very rarely. In 1864, the schoolhouses requested books totaling three-hundred-and-sixteen dollars. Teachers of this time in history often experienced the cutbacks in educational funding due to the Civil War efforts. The city required a new salary regulation for the teachers to support the war effort. The Council met on June 1^s, 1864 to regulate the salaries of the two teachers in the city and dropped it from one-hundred dollars to seventy-five dollars for the schoolhouse teacher and sixty-dollars for the assistant teacher. The positions of Mrs. Pryor elevated to the schoolhouse teacher and Miss. A. L. Wright as the assistant teacher.⁶⁹ San Antonio held four established wards during the 1860 census; however, the city had two established schoolhouses from January 1853 until the Republican government take over at the start of the Reconstruction initiatives in Texas in 1865.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ City Council Journal Book C, 1856-1870, San Antonio, 424.

⁶⁸ City of San Antonio Charter, 1870, San Antonio Municipal Archives and Records, Sec. 139, accessed April 17, 2018, https://webapp9.sanantonio.gov/ArchiveSearch/Viewer2.aspx?Id=%7bA2AD440E-602C-4B3A-8334-BA469871520C%7d&DocTitle=City+Charter%2c+August+13%2c+1870&PageNo=1&TotalPages=55&MimeType=image%2fjpeg&RelatedDocs=, 25.

⁶⁹ Council Journal Book C, 1856-1870, San Antonio, 435.

⁷⁰ "Detailed Chronology of San Antonio Education 1789-1973," UTSA LibGuides: http://libguides.utsa.edu/ld.php?content_id=23575951, accessed April 16, 2018.

San Antonio's efforts to keep the two local schoolhouses that survived the lack of funds during the war open for the local Anglo school children.

According to the council journals' records, school teachers, members of the Committee of Education, and position of superintendent would be new appointments for each new calendar year. 71 In 1865, Mrs. Pryor and Miss. A. L. Wright continued as schoolteachers and the Committee of Education only slightly changed Mr. Hickman left the board, and Mr. F. Cassino joined, the Superintendent changed to John Mussey. 72 It was not until John Mussey became Superintendent that the attendance of San Antonio children in school was recorded. The total regular attendance of thirty-two children was recorded in the council minutes, but these children were Anglo students.⁷³ The difference in pay between a female and male teacher did not present itself until W.W.H. Hudson became employed by the city. The city appointed Hudson with a salary of one-hundred-and-twenty-five dollars per month while the female teachers collected seventy-dollars per month depicting a drastic hierarchy of importance between male and female educators. 74 The discrepancy in wages continued not only for female teachers but also colored school teachers. This difference in pay signifies the hierarchy ladder of importance within the educator community based on the significance of gender. The city finally regulated the salaries of teachers based on their teaching certificate obtained from a university or the ability to comprehensibly teach the subjects of the state.

⁷¹ Council Journal Book C, San Antonio, 1856-1870. Throughout the journal, every two years a vote was taken, however, the situation often required a vote more frequently for the positions of a school teacher, Committee of Education, and Superintendent. The posts did change throughout the year to replace or remove a person from any of the three positions. The observance of new schoolhouses being established sometimes caused for a new vote.

⁷² Council Journal Book C, San Antonio, 451.

⁷³ Council Journal Book C, San Antonio, 461.

⁷⁴ Council Journal Book C, San Antonio, 522.

In 1875, the city passed the regulated salaries of teachers based on the class of certificates they had; first class ninety dollars, second class seventy-five dollars, and third class fifty dollars.⁷⁵ During the time Governor Coke was elected, the efforts of the state attempted to break down the centralized system of education, and San Antonio rose to the challenge to continue to educate the children of the city. San Antonio regulated the pay of teachers and the school schedule to five days a week with a recess at noon until 1:30 PM as well as fund the colored schools and filled positions as needed.⁷⁶ The issue of pay continued to turn up in the *Journals*, and finally, in 1876, the city regulated all teachers to be paid a sum of sixty dollars per month no matter the class of certificate they possessed. 77 The continued decrease of pay illustrates the decline in funding from the state and the continued disconnect between the local government in San Antonio and the state government. By the end of the Reconstruction period, the city found itself in a perilous state of the future for education. The state's mismanagement of funding during Governor Coke's stay in office trickled down to the local level. The mayor of San Antonio, J. H. French feared that all the schoolhouses would be close at the end of April. ⁷⁸ Mayor French suggested the Peabody Fund to help the city's schools to stay in operation; however, the lack of the required attendance worried the mayor about the ability to receive the money.⁷⁹

The Peabody Fund originally intended for the use of educating the poor communities in the Southern states. The donor requested the funds be distributed to the Anglo population,

⁷⁵ Council Journal Book D 1870-1879 Pg 135-265, City of San Antonio, Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through E Minutes, San Antonio Municipal Archives, and Records in San Antonio, Texas, 188.

⁷⁶ Council Journal Book D, Pg 135-265, 201.

⁷⁷ Council Journal Book D, Pg 135-265, 249.

⁷⁸ *Council Journal Book D, 1870-1879, Pg 265-400,* Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through E Minutes, the San Antonio Municipal Archives and Records in San Antonio, Texas, 287.

⁷⁹ *Council Journal Book D, Pg 265-400, 287.*

leaving the funds for targeted schools.⁸⁰ The provision in the wording and the *City Charter of 1870* gave the city its ability to use the funds for all the schools established in the public-school system. Peabody gave one-million dollars to the "destitute children of the Southern states." San Antonio Council approved funding for the next scholastic year which comprised of ten calendar months and received assistance from the Peabody fund of two-thousand dollars.⁸²

Throughout 1877 the city went through a tumultuous time of finding funding for the local schools and discovered mismanaged school funds. By mid-year, the city requested the Public-School Fund to be adjusted for the mismanagement which occurred during several periods of time when the records were not kept, and the funds abandoned. The four wards of San Antonio did not have schools in each ward until August. Hinally, by the end of Reconstruction, the city had an established schoolhouse in each ward, including a colored schoolhouse. The education efforts of San Antonio continued to be refined, and the attendance of students by 1879 was up to nine-hundred and fifty-seven students including two-hundred-and-eighteen African Americans. San Antonio's educational efforts have continued to progress and surpass the efforts of the State. The local efforts regarding the education of all inhabitants of San Antonio may not have been equal in attention and funding of the schools, but the system functioned better than the quasifunctioning statewide public-school system.

Conclusion

⁸⁰ Earle H. West, "The Peabody Fund and Negro Education, 1867-1880," *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1966), accessed April 18, 2018, Cambridge University Press, http://www.jstor.ord/stable/367416, 4.

^{81 &}quot;George Peabody, 1795-1869: His Influence on Education Philanthropy," *Peabody Journal of Education*, Vol 78, No. 2 (2002), 111-118, Taylor & Francis, Ltd., accessed April 18, 2018, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1492946, 111.

⁸² Council Journal Book D, Pg 265-400, 298.

⁸³ Council Journal Book D, Pg 265-400, 302.

⁸⁴ Council Journal Book D, Pg 265-400, 311.

⁸⁵ Council Journal Book E, 1879-1884, City of San Antonio, Collection: physical Council Journal Books C through E Minutes, San Antonio Municipal Archives, and Records in San Antonio, Texas, 78.

Education in Texas lacked the proper funding during its time as a country through the Reconstruction Era. The private and public education institutes in San Antonio served the Mexican and Tejano population, as well as, the Anglo community. Council members did not differentiate between these two groups of people throughout the minute journals. Bishop Odin came to San Antonio to create educational opportunities to the Spanish-speaking population giving birth to the St. Mary's Institute. The Institute served as a place for the Latino population to educate their children and provided a chance for education to the pauper and orphaned children. The private establishment of the German-English school allowed for the elite communities of the German and French populations to educate their children. Public education suffered from the volatility of Texas school laws and the Civil War hindering the state to create a fully functioning free school system.

Schools in Texas before the emancipation of slaves served the Anglo communities. The city had one public school continue its operations through the Civil War. The Common School laws established from 1850 up to the Reconstruction Convention allowed the School Funded to be abused in efforts to build up the railroad infrastructure in Texas. United States' bond money given to Texas allowed for the funding of a public education system for San Antonio's Children. When Texas seceded, the monetary assistance from the federal government stopped. The outcome of the lack of school funds severely impacted the state to fund schools. Schools within San Antonio lost funding during the Civil War because the state pushed funds to the war efforts.

When the Civil War ended, the bond money from the federal government began to flow into Texas. The laws established during the Reconstruction of Texas protected the School Fund from future abuses. This law functioned in the best intent, however, Governor Coke's attempts to defund the school system was met by frustrations in San Antonio. Tax separation laws

established by the Black codes allowed for the discrimination and unequal funding between the colored schools and the Anglo schools. The Bureau of Refugees and Freedmen erected and funded the educational efforts for the African Americans in San Antonio. The community of Freedmen and funds from the Bureau built one school in the city for education in 1868. The aid from the Bureau only lasted two years. Once the Bureau left, the future of the school laid undecided. The citizens of San Antonio petitioned for funding of the schoolhouse to keep it operational until the full inclusion of the school into the public-school system. The efforts of Mayor James P. Newcomb to change the vernacular of the 1870 city charter called for all schoolhouses regardless of color, religion, or sex be included in the city's public education system. Newcomb's efforts gave the Rincon Street school its protection in school funding and no longer referred to as the "colored" school.

By the end of the Reconstruction period, San Antonio had established four Anglo schools and one school for the education of African Americans throughout its four wards. The state-level laws left much of the burden to create free schools at the local level. This freedom allowed for San Antonio to address the needs of the city and enforcement of compulsory attendance to the Council. Though San Antonio appeared more progressive in its educational efforts, the city still exhibited the racial discriminations common in the South. The difference between funding Anglo schools and African-American schools created a quasi-functioning education system. Though there were efforts to educate the African American community the funding lacked equality which created a seemingly functioning system for equal education. The Reconstruction Era created a quasi-functioning system of education that continued throughout the 1950s. While the Mexican and Tejano children floated in and out of the private and Anglo schools, this

community was never given much attention until the Americanization effort began in the twentieth century.

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