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"George Sánchez and
Testing." In Humanidad:
Essays in Memory of
George I. Sánchez [typescript],
1977

HUMANIDAD

ESSAYS IN MEMORY
OF
GEORGE I. SANCHEZ

Editor
Americo Paredes

Part I

Paredes, Americo

HUMANIDAD

Essays in Memory of George I. Sanchez

Part I & II

H U M A N I D A D

Essays In Memory

Of

George I. Sánchez

Editor

Américo Paredes

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Frontispiece: Photograph of George Sánchez

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FOREWORD

Humanidad has many meanings: mankind, human nature, human feeling, kindness, education, culture. All these things were part of George Sánchez's life as teacher, scholar, and advocate of human rights. Witness to the wide range of his activities is the variety of fields professed by his colleagues and friends, as well as by those who did not know him personally but were inspired by him [⊗] ~~and benefited from~~ ~~his work~~.

The contributors to this volume honoring George Sánchez's memory reflect the breadth of his work. They include scholars and men in public life, young Chicano activists who looked up to him as a predecessor and veterans of the education and civil rights battles of the forties and fifties, the young and the old, mexicanos and Anglos--a fitting testimony of the legacy George Sánchez left us.

The editor acknowledges with thanks financial assistance from the John Hay Whitney Foundation, which made publication possible. My appreciation also to Dr. Julian Samora, whose assistance in making the necessary arrangements assured publication of the volume. Most especially, my thanks to Dr. Luisa Sánchez, who was most helpful in giving ~~me~~ bibliographical and other information about her late husband.

SOMBRAS ANTIGUAS

shadows darkened by age

cast sueños antiguos

on wood fibers

on life nerves

path of corazón

independiente líquido sagrado

bajo el sol de rayos emplumados

la tierra de capas escamadas

los pechos, nourish mazorcas encueradas

maiz offerings

to, the temple of flesh

to the temple of bones

mortal offerings

to mortal bodies

to corazones eternos

to rostros mortales

peace exhaled by flowers in midafternoon

respeto a las carnes, huesos y sangre

ajeno a la violencia ante el derecho

respeto a lo vivo y lo muerto

propio encuentro con reflejos apagados y oscuros

paz entre los vivos en la luz

eternal transformation

never dead and gone

only absent flowersong

alurista

David Ballesteros, Dean
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DAVID BALLESTEROS

A Humanistic Approach to the Education of the Bilingual-Bicultural Student

"...the child's vernacular, his mother tongue,
is a valuable asset in any educational program
that is conducted in another language."

George I. Sánchez

Introduction

Bilingual-bicultural education is a lifelong process that needs constant reinforcement. It is an experience, a way of life, that needs to be maintained from early childhood through adult life. Spanish-surnamed students upon entering school bring with them a culture, a language that ought to be developed fully along with the study of English and other cultures that comprise this country. The school must not be an obstacle but a facilitator in seeing that students take full advantage of their bilingual-bicultural background.

The enactment of the Bilingual Education Act gives impetus to the education of the Spanish-speaking student. It provides a national commitment for significant changes in the educational policy of school districts and teacher training institutions. It gives moral and legislative recognition to the assets of a people whose mother tongue is not English. Bilingual-bicultural education serves five positive purposes for the student and the school: (1) *It* reduces retardation through ability to learn with the mother tongue immediately; (2) *It* reinforces the relations of the school and the home through a common bond; (3) *It* projects the individual into an atmosphere of personal identification, self-worth, and achievement; (4) *It* gives the student a base for success in the field of work; (5) *It* preserves and enriches the cultural and human resources of a people.

Bilingual education is the concurrent use of two languages. Bicultural education is the concurrent use of two ways of life, two cultural points of view. Language is an integral part of the culture. Thus, to be truly bicultural implies

being bilingual. However, a person may be bilingual without being bicultural. Knowing the language of the people with whom one works does not guarantee that one understands their way of life. Cognition of a culture is not enough; it must include feeling, experience, being. Biculturalism is a state that indicates knowing and being able to operate successfully or comfortably in two cultures.

A humanistic approach to education is equality of opportunity for all students. It is the respect ^{and} concern for students regardless of the language and culture they bring to school. It is the understanding of personal learning styles of students. It is the positive climate established for students to develop their full potential by taking advantage of their cultural and linguistic assets. It is the belief and dignity in all students regardless of race, color or creed.

A Pioneer

Dr. George I. Sánchez, whom I consider as the major exponent in bilingual-bicultural education among ~~the~~ Mexican-Americans, back in the 1930^s was promoting and analyzing the dual experiences of language and culture among the Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest. He was attacking IQ tests imposed on Mexican-American students. In one of his numerous papers on bilingual-bicultural education, "Bilingualism in the Southwest--a Tragi-Comedy," he admonishes the schools for not seizing upon Spanish as a natural cultural resource and as a means by which to bring about proficiency in the English language. Professor Sánchez viewed bilingual-bicultural education not only as a way to preserve our culture but also as a means for intellectual development and cultural understanding.

For over forty years Dr. Sánchez was an educator, a scholar, a spokesman. He influenced many Mexican-Americans to pursue higher education, and many ^{of those} presently hold key teaching and administrative positions at all levels of education throughout the United States. I was privileged in working with him at The University of Texas at Austin for two years. I can remember sitting in his office discussing

the problems and assets of Chicanos, of his concern that la Raza was not advancing fast enough, of strategies on how to beat the establishment, of methods and materials most suitable for Mexican-American students, of our Indian-Spanish-Mexican heritage in America.

Dr. George Sánchez was a fighter to the end. Using his experiences ⁱⁿ of his native state of ^{New} Mexico and his travels in other southwestern states, he began criticizing ^{an} the educational system ^{that} ^{ed} imposing a monolingual, monocultural curriculum on Mexican-American students. In 1968, during the hearings before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in San Antonio, Dr. Sánchez was asked if there was ^{any} reason why bilingual classes should not be taught. His response was that there was no reason under the sun, that way back in the ^{sixteenth} ~~16th~~ century in Mexico people sent their children to school where three languages were taught--Spanish, Latin, ^{and} Nahuatl--without any ill effects. ¹ A few months before his death, he was testifying in court against segregated practices conducted with Chicano students.

Educational Neglect

Better education for Spanish-speaking students ^{is} ~~is~~ no longer going to be a hope and a prayer [#] but a demand. The Mexican-American youth movement, which has raised so eloquently the cry, ya basta, has focused its efforts on destroying the belief that the bilingual-bicultural person is disadvantaged, handicapped. The participants are striking at the long-held debilitating syndrome that the school can educate only those whose mold fits the curriculum. They are saying that if that is the extent of the school's capacity, then truly the school ^s and training institutions are disadvantaged, handicapped, for they cannot cope with different manners of behavior. These schools and training institutions must change their programs to meet the students instead of trying to compensate the students for failure to meet the school. ^{Otherwise} ~~The~~ lower-class and ~~the~~ minority students who do not fit in the middle-class mold are less likely to be educated and more likely to become drop-out statistics.

Mexican-American and other Spanish-speaking students who begin school in our educational system without ^{knowing} speaking English run into the hundreds of thousands. The trend has been ^{to} ~~in~~ ^{re} forcing these students to repeat grade levels and to postpone all serious academic work until they learn English. This latter approach commonly leaves the Spanish-speaking student three to five years behind his Anglo counterpart by the time he is a teenager.

The notion of cultural superiority has seriously harmed the United States in its dealings with other nations and ^{with} minorities in this country. ² ✓ Whereas European children grow up with the notion of cultural diversity and frequently learn two or three languages in the courses ^f of their formal schooling, ^{students} ~~schools~~ in the United States commonly ^{are} ~~isolate~~ ^d ~~the students~~ from cultural exchange. This cultural isolation is reflected in the neighborhoods, in the churches, in the schools, and in club activities. If students in Europe can speak two or three languages, why not in the United States? We say yes, ^{because} ~~but~~ Europeans need foreign languages for economic existence; but don't we need this same type of exchange for social existence?

It is a striking contradiction that in this country millions of dollars are spent to encourage students to learn a second language--and Spanish is one of the most popular electives--^{but} ~~and~~, at the same time many school officials frown upon Chicano students speaking Spanish at school. It is easier and safer to prohibit the speaking of Spanish on the school grounds and in the classroom (the need being to learn English) than to take the imaginative step of teaching English and Spanish to both Anglo and Spanish-speaking students beginning in the elementary school. As a consequence, the "educated" Spanish-speaking person who has survived the school system is likely to be one who has been stripped of his native language, or at best speaks and writes it imperfectly.

By the time a student is old enough to begin learning in our public school system, much of his skill in language, much of his cultural behavior and his personality have already been developed and determined. What he finds when he gets to

school will either reinforce and stimulate the learning process he has begun or else bring such trauma that his intellectual growth will be stunted. The different ways students perceive, think about, and react ^{to} ~~with~~ their world must be observed and understood as precisely as possible if teaching is to meet the student where he is so as to maximize his development. Educability, for linguistically and culturally distinct students, should be defined primarily ⁱ as the ability to learn new cultural patterns within the experience base and the culture with which the student is already familiar.

Shortly after entering the primary grades, the Mexican-American child begins to realize that he is different and that his difference is taken by society at large as a sign of inferiority. And it is not only his schoolmates who teach him this; frequently the teachers themselves betray an ill-disguised contempt for the schools and neighborhoods in which they work. The opinions of the teachers are reinforced by history books, in which the youngsters read of the Spanish Inquisition, of Mexican bandits, of the massacre at the Alamo. The result of this kind of teaching--or lack of teaching--by both school and society is that the Chicano student is kept ignorant of the significant contributions that his forebears ^{is} made to developing this land, nuestra tierra. At a time when he should be developing pride in his history and his own unique kind of Americanism, he is made to feel ^{that} ~~that~~ he does not have a right to participate in the American enterprise, that he is an intruder in his own land.

A large percentage of Chicano students are still isolated in schools ^{that} ~~which~~ are predominantly Mexican-American, ^a ~~a~~ situation ^{caused} by de facto segregation or gerrymandered school boundaries. While the segregated Anglo-American students are equally ^{that} ~~which~~ deprived of a heterogeneous environment ^{which} could lead to increased educational development, they are rarely confronted with a school environment which directly rejects the culture of their home environment: lifestyles, food,

~~9-6~~
family relationships, holidays, ^{even} and physical appearance.

The use of achievement tests or aptitude tests for selecting people and sorting them out has persisted down through the ages and is unquestionably ~~the~~ most prevalent in our public school system today. The widespread use of tests for purposes of selection, for deciding from kindergarten on up who will succeed and who will fail, is endemic ^{to} ~~of~~ the kind of competitive culture that characterizes all ~~of~~ our social institutions, including our schools.

The full potential of an individual's contribution to society is sacrificed ^{if} when he is denied adequate educational opportunities. Failure to consider both the values as well as the handicaps of bilingualism and placement of a large number ^{of bilingual} ~~of these~~ students in remedial and special education classes, are examples of discrimination against Mexican-American students. Poor teaching cannot be protected in the schools through the assumption that the student does not have the ability to learn. Disproportionate numbers of Spanish-speaking students are placed in classes for the mentally retarded because they cannot cope with the placement tests given in English. Many are also placed in remedial and non-academic subjects. Frustrated and misunderstood, Spanish-speaking students are rushed through or pushed out. A major cause of dropping out is the general discouragement and low morale of minority students caused by their treatment in school. When the student begins to discover that the teacher does not understand him, he develops negative reactions not only to the teacher but to the educational process and finally to the entire culture and language ~~which~~ the teacher represents.

Teacher-preparation institutions have done and continue to do little to aid their students in coping with the problems and assets of minority students. Colleges ^{and} ~~universities~~ continue to certify teachers who will have life-long contact with students from different ethnic backgrounds, but do little or nothing to specifically prepare them. There are few special courses or sequences intended

to provide future elementary and secondary teachers with either the skills or ~~the~~ understanding of linguistically and culturally distinct students.

Why isn't the bilingual-bicultural student prepared to attend and remain in institutions of higher learning? The reasons are in the main that our education system is not geared to meet the educational needs of Spanish-speaking students, thus developing an atmosphere of discouragement. The Spanish-surname college population is very small, ^{fewer} ~~smaller~~ yet are ^{the} college graduates. In California, for example, which boasts a large college population, Blacks and Chicanos make up 18.3% of the state population, yet constitute only 3.8% of ^{the students in} universities, 5.8% of ^{the} state colleges, and 11% of community colleges. ³✓

The Spanish-speaking community needs more college graduates. The importance of an education cannot be taken lightly. One of the most important routes by which the Mexican-American may reach some measure of equal opportunity with other American citizens is schooling. For every successful man or woman of Mexican descent, there will be innumerable others who will be inspired and motivated to move ahead.

Identity

Chicano students can learn. Their language and culture should not be obstacles to their success in school, but effective tools for learning. To destroy their language and culture is to destroy their identity, self-image, and self-esteem. To ~~enable them to~~ survive in our monolingual-monocultural society they must be able to put into that society an extra ingredient, ^{one} that marks them as persons with a valuable asset ~~to be used~~ for the enrichment of the total society. That extra ingredient is their linguistic, cultural, and ethnic pride.

The word Chicano is an authentic expression of self-identity among us; it is a word of dignity, self-awareness, survival, brotherhood, ^{or} carnalismo, that is used within our own social world--la colonia, el barrio, or ^{the} extended Chicano community.

We Chicanos have roots in America. Our Indian-Spanish ancestors were here before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock in 1620. Our native language was the first European language spoken in America; ^{yet} Mayan and Aztec architecture was at its zenith long before Cortés^s landed in Mexico in 1519. The University of Mexico was established in 1542, nearly 100 years before Harvard. Aztlán, the Aztec word for Northwest Mexico, is the spiritual name among Chicanos for the Southwest. Our culture is still alive--only political boundaries have changed. Pride, dignity, concern, and feelings exist, especially among our youth, who are struggling for self-identity and a positive image recognition.

"Who am I? asks a Mexican American high school student. "I am a product of you and my ancestors. We came to California long before the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock. We settled California, the Southwestern part of the United States including the states of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado and Texas. We built the missions, we cultivated the ranches. We were at the Alamo in Texas, both inside and outside. You know we owned California--that is, until gold was found here. Who am I? I am a human being. I have the same hope that you do, the same fears, the same drives, same desires, same concerns, same abilities; and I want the same chance that you have to be an individual. Who am I? In reality I am who you want me to be." ✓

An Instructional Plan

The demand for a relevant educational experience is one of the most important features of the contemporary Chicano cultural renaissance. On high school and college campuses the demands for a relevant cultural experience has taken the form of proposals for Chicano Studies programs. A Chicano Studies curriculum organizes the Chicano experience, past, and present, in accordance with established cultural categories. The unity of Chicano being is based, in large part, on the Chicano heritage, la herencia del ser Chicano.⁵ ✓ This contributes to the shaping of an individual Chicano's personality through ~~the~~ living or experience^{ing} the Chicano culture, which, in turn, produces a sense of community. Thus, in the teaching of Chicano Studies, formal study is designed to influence the student's personal experience, or identity, and by doing so reveal to him,

either by showing him or eliciting from him, the diverse aspects of himself and of his community. In meeting the instructional needs of bilingual-bicultural students, both in the public schools and institutions of higher learning, standards must be reassessed regarding ~~the~~ achievement and IQ tests, ~~the~~ admission and academic requirements, and ~~the~~ teaching competencies for both preservice and inservice teachers. We must look at standards in terms of diverse ethnic groups, in terms of the changing times. We do not need fewer standards but better standards. To require that a teacher know the language and cultural background of the students ^{is} ~~are~~ ^a indeed ~~very~~ high standards, which will create a better teaching-training environment. The content of the curriculum and the teaching strategies used should be tailored to the unique learning and incentive-motivational styles of Spanish-speaking students.

It is most important that professional as well as paraprofessional personnel understand and recognize the unique cultural and linguistic differences among bilingual-bicultural students. We need competent, proficient teachers to teach our students. Let us not equate certification with properly being qualified; certified teachers are not necessarily qualified teachers. In addition to the content areas--including a knowledge of Spanish--techniques and methodologies, education curriculum, and educational psychology should include special sections of ethnic interest to allow preservice and inservice teachers to delve into cultural differences affecting classroom practices and teacher-student interaction.

An example of a sound teacher training program⁷ is the Teacher Corps project at the University of Texas at Austin.⁶ Instructional staff, corpsmen, and community are working together to develop goals, objectives, and criteria for the various project components. The general objectives^{are} to better prepare the teacher to do an effective job with bilingual-bicultural students ~~are~~:

- A. The teacher will come to understand his own attitudes, anxieties, insecurities, and prejudices through a program of sensitivity development.
- B. The teacher will understand the nature of the student's environment and culture (including language) through a program of teacher-interaction in the school and community.
- C. The teacher will become knowledgeable of and competent in effective teaching skills and techniques.

Objectives are designed to relate specifically to teacher understanding, attitudes, and skills which presumably will enable the teacher to provide an effective teaching-learning environment in the school. For the teacher candidate, "to strive toward understanding and respect of the child's cultural setting," specific objectives for this goal are:

- 1) To identify basic variables which comprise a cultural milieu (e.g., values, religion, customs).
- 2) To describe and compare effects of basic cultural variables on learning.
- 3) To identify effects of socio-economic status on the student's development (physical, mental, attitudinal, social-emotional).
- 4) To identify pressures and expectancies of the dominant culture as they shape the student's learning experiences.
- 5) To identify his own stereotypes of different groups.
- 6) To incorporate in the instructional environment activities and materials related to the native culture of students.
- 7) To respond to the students in such a way that participation in these activities is encouraged.
- 8) To accept the student's language patterns as the starting point for communication and instruction.

Another example of a successful teacher-training program was the Mexican-American Education Project at California State University, Sacramento. ✓ The Project had three components: (1) ✓ Early ✓ Childhood ✓ Education, (2) ✓ Prospective ✓ Teacher Fellowship, (3) ✓ Experienced ✓ Teacher ✓ Fellowship. The Mexican-American Education

Project was one of the few efforts nationwide proposing to train teachers to develop skills and understanding and provide knowledge to stimulate alternatives to past patterns within our public schools. The program proposed to institutionally change the University in building bilingual-bicultural teacher-training delivery capability. The third and most important objective was to build and develop community accountability into a program proposing to service a Mexican-American population. The program received national recognition and praise in serving as a model for training bilingual-bicultural educators and educational change agents.

The new ^{campus} ~~branch~~ of the University of Texas at San Antonio has placed the Division of Teacher Education in the College of Multidisciplinary Studies. The emphasis will be for the teacher to obtain a wide range of experiences outside the field of education, in particular as it relates to cross-cultural experiences. Teachers will be prepared to work in urban settings and in the process obtain a linguistic and cultural understanding of Black and Chicano students.

The sixth and final report of the Mexican American Education Study, Office of Civil Rights, "Toward Quality Education for Mexican Americans," February, 1974, recommends action at various governmental and educational levels which, if implemented, will provide educational opportunities and educational successes for Chicano students. It is an instructional plan geared to the needs and assets of bilingual-bicultural students of the Southwest.

Community.

An effective bilingual-bicultural program is characterized by community participation. The community must be involved in the planning and implementation of any program. The community should be involved in the training of staff and should participate in classroom activities. Otherwise, we are destined to failure because the participants may not be aware of the necessity and relevance of the

Communities have
program in question. ~~The community~~ in the past has not been involved in the planning and execution of their own programs. The community must recommend many of the elements of the program, and the community must become the main resource of the school, including participating in the evaluative process. There is no substitute for the personal communication between the home and the school; it is vital if bilingual-bicultural programs are to succeed. We must continue to encourage parents to participate in all phases of programs which affect their children.

Parent participation is particularly indispensable in bilingual-bicultural education programs. In most Spanish-speaking communities, parents have a considerable knowledge of the language and heritage. Curriculum should be developed in such a way that parents can teach portions of it to their children at home. The Spanish-speaking parent will support the goals and values of the school when the school begins to recognize the worth of his culture and realize^s that he can make a unique contribution to the educational process.⁸✓

The Spanish-speaking population views the community not only as a physical setting but also as a spiritual experience--an extension of the immediate family. Whether we live in the barrio or not, we are concerned for the welfare and education of Chicano students. We as educators depend on support from the community as the community depends on our support. The pursuit of academic excellence is fully compatible with service to the community. The educational institution is or should be, an integral part of the community and must exist primarily to service and to support it.

Summary and Conclusion

The need for recognizing the bilingual-bicultural student as a positive force in our society is beyond question. Demands by Chicano students for a better education and a more meaningful experience in school is a noble effort. Both schools and teacher-preparation institutions must change before any real

benefit will trickle down to our ultimate clients, nuestro hijos. The commitment in alleviating curriculum deficiencies in educational programs from pre-school through university levels must continue and must be intensified during the decade of the ~~70's~~ ^{Seventies}. There is no room for deprived, disadvantaged, and handicapped students in American education, regardless of color or ethnic background.

I would like to summarize by listing and commenting on certain points that I feel are germane in humanizing the construction for bilingual-bicultural students:

1. Encourage students, make them feel proud of what they are--they should be able to succeed without losing their identity.
2. Provide services to the community; articulate with parents--unless parents and school personnel become aware of each others' values and respect these values, conflicts will continue, with the students suffering the consequences.
3. Facilitate cultural awareness sessions for school personnel--teachers, counselors, administrators.
4. Form a coalition with other ethnic groups on campus to promote needs and desires of minority students.
5. Hire and prepare staff who understand and empathize with students.
6. Reassess standards; they do not have to be lowered--most standards were made for middle-class Anglo-America.
7. Seek research funds to make studies on personal characteristics of Chicano students, particularly their attitudes, values, and feelings toward teachers, subjects, parents, Anglo and other minority students, and to each other.
8. Promote legislation prohibiting discrimination against bilingual students in the testing and placing of such students in "tracks," special education or remedial programs on the basis of factors that do not take into account their language and culture.
9. Make available in Spanish, as well as in English, notices, booklets, and other parental correspondence.
10. Promote cultural democracy; make it clear that all minority groups have made a contribution and that this country was built by many different ethnic groups.

I feel strongly that as we admit more Chicano students into our colleges and universities, train more teachers to work in bilingual-bicultural programs, *and* hire more Spanish-speaking staff in our institutions of higher learning we will all gain from this cross-cultural exchange, ^{leading} ~~and lead~~ us to a better understanding of ourselves as a multicultural nation. The Hispanic world has a legacy of Humanism, The concern for man, the dignity of man, faith in mankind, belief in equality. We see this in men like Bartolomé de las Casas, the great Dominican ~~friar~~ ^{friar} priest who defended the Indian during the Conquest; Simón Bolívar, the Venezuelan, who gained freedom for his people; Benito Juárez, the Mexican, who believed in the respect for man (El respeto al derecho ajeno es la paz); José Martí, the Cuban, who fought for racial equality; Eugenio María de Hostos, the Puerto Rican, who through his efforts in education developed in his countrymen a new dignity. With more bilingual-bicultural instructors, students, and administrators in our institutions, I believe education will follow a more humanistic path ^{that} ~~which~~ will benefit all our students--both monolinguals and bilinguals.

Finally, I would like to stress the necessity of supporting educational services that will take the whole student along with the needs and understanding of his family, community, and cultural and linguistic background. We must take a positive approach to see that programs are designed to make students succeed, not fail, that programs include students, not exclude. ^{them} George I. Sánchez saw bilingual-bicultural education as a great asset, not only in our relations with the rest of the world and our fellow citizens, but as of incalculable worth in the enhancement of the human spirit, un verdadero sentido de Raza.

- 1 ✓ Hearing before the United States Commission on Civil Rights, ~~Hearing Held~~ in San Antonio, Texas, December 9-14, 1968, Washinton, D.C. U.S. Government Printing Office, p. 95.
- 2 ✓ Ballesteros, David, "The Foreign Language Teacher and Bilingualism," Hispania, Vol. LII, No. 4 (December, 1969) p. 877.
- 3 ✓ Kitano, Harry and Miller, Dorothy, An Assessment of Educational Opportunity Programs in California Higher Education, cited in Cottle, Thomas, Jr. "Run to freedom--Chicanos and Higher Education," Change (February, 1972).
- 4 Quoted in Educating the Mexican Americans by Henry Sioux Johnson and William J. Hernandez - M., Judson Press, Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, 1970, pp. 17 and 19.
- 5 See El Plan de Santa Barbara - A Chicano Plan for Higher Education, Santa Barbara, California: La Causa Publications, 1970, pp. 93-103
- 6 Cycle VII, Teacher Corps Proposal, University of Texas, Austin/Edgewood School District, San Antonio, November, 1971.
- 7 ✓ Mexican-American Education Project Final Report, California State University, Sacramento, March, 1974.
- 8 Ramirez II, Manuel, "Cultural Democracy: A new philosophy for educating the Mexican American Child," The National Elementary Principal, Vol. L, No. 2 (November, 1970), pp. 45-46.

JOE J. BERNAL

A Great American¹

~~Center Area, Union of~~

At the outset, I want to commend this group not only for conducting a meeting of this type, devoted to Human Resources and Leadership, but above all for your efforts in dedicating your conference to the late, great Dr. George I. Sánchez. Your choice of a dedication could not have been more appropriate, for no one ~~more~~ personified a human resource for all of us in this vital area ^{of} civil rights, minority rights, and discrimination ^{more} than he, and no one in the southwest provided more sustained leadership in the cause of Mexican-Americans than he did.

Many voices have been heard in this last decade or so, speaking out to protest the plight of the Mexican-American in the Southwest, but George Sánchez spoke out fearlessly ^{more than} ~~over~~ three decades ago, when his voice was the only one crying in the wilderness in this worthy cause. His task was a lonely one, speaking out against segregation and for better educational opportunities at a time when it was highly unpopular to do so in our society; yet, his words were listened to with respect because of the high-level manner of his criticism and because

insistence on such things as the need for bilingual education fell at first not upon deaf but upon resisting ears[⊗] ~~but~~ he persistently hammered away on this and other themes until the opposition ~~would~~ discover^{ed} the truth. Many of the things that he labored^{for} so long ~~have~~ ^{came} true, thank God, in his own lifetime.

For the benefit of those of you who may not have had the good fortune to know Dr. Sánchez personally, let me recount for you ~~briefly~~ the distinguished background of this man.

Jorge Isidoro Sánchez y Sánchez was born in Albuquerque, New Mexico, in 1906⁷ and spoke proudly ~~of~~ ^{of} both his Spanish-American heritage and ^{of} the fact that his ancestors were early ~~17th~~ ^{seventeenth-} century Spanish colonists in New Mexico. He grew up in a rough frontier mining town, and at age ~~17~~ ^{seventeen} began his teaching career in a one-room school in the mountains of New Mexico. He served ^{seven} years as teacher and principal, earning his B.A. degree at the same time from the University of New Mexico in Education and Spanish in 1930. From 1930 to 1935, with time out for further study, he directed the Division of Information and

Statistics of the New Mexico State Department of Education. In 1931 he earned his M.S. in Education at the University of Texas at Austin, and in 1934 the Ed. D. degree from the University of California at Berkeley in Educational Administration.

He was a bright, hard-working, ambitious man, and was aided financially in obtaining his last two degrees ^{by fellowships from} ~~as a fellow of the~~ General Education Board, a Rockefeller-endowed foundation. This led to considerable experience with education foundations. For two years, 1935-1937, he was research associate of the Julius Rosenwald Fund of Chicago and did surveys of rural schools in Mexico as well as of Black southern schools in the U.S. In 1937-38, he was in Venezuela as chief technical consultant to the Ministry of Education, directing the newly established National Pedagogical Institute in Caracas. From 1938 to 1940, he was research associate and associate professor of education at the University of New Mexico, working with the National Youth Administration and surveying the schools of Taos County on a Carnegie grant.

His association with the University of Texas and with the state began in 1940, when he came to Austin as professor of Latin American education.

He succeeded to the chairmanship of ^{his} ~~the~~ department in 1951, but after eight years of service in that capacity he returned to fulltime research and teaching in 1959.

education. He succeeded to chairman of the department in 1951, but after 8 years service in that capacity returned to full-time research and teaching in 1959.

His lengthy career of some ^{thirty-two} ~~52~~ years ~~here~~ at the University ^{of Texas}

was punctuated by frequent interruptions to accept important government assignments. He was on leave in 1943-44 as education specialist for the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. In 1947, he worked for the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, surveying Navajo Indian education problems on reservations in Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico, and ^{he} described their plight in his book The People (1948).

He was named to the Peace Corps Board of Directors in 1961, and also returned to Venezuela to study new Latin American school policies for the U.S. Office of Education. May of 1962 found him in Peru, representing the U.S. Agency for International Development.

George Sánchez was not only an outstanding educator and "resource person" for this nation's government, but he was also an active leader in Mexican-American affairs. He was a founder and

in of as well as of
president 1941-42, PASO, and the Southwest Council on the Education
of Spanish-Speaking People, of which he was president from 1945 until
his death.

He spoke out unceasingly against the injustice and ignorance
displayed toward Spanish-Americans. He started fighting many years
ago for the idea that Spanish-speaking children should be taught
bilingually in the schools of Texas and other southwestern states, all
of which is now accepted practice. He insisted that teachers who
spoke only English did not understand Spanish-speaking children when
they talked or laughed in their native language, and mistakenly believed
they were being ridiculed. This ignorance, he reasoned, was the main
thing behind the "speak English only" rule in many Texas schools.

What young Chicano activists are protesting about today are
the same things George Sánchez protested about in the ~~30's~~ ^{thirties} and ~~40's~~ ^{forties},
when it took even more courage to speak out.

^{Sánchez}
In 1960, he served on President-elect John F. Kennedy's

Citizens Committee for a New Frontier Policy in the Americas, together

with such luminaries as Averell Harriman, Adlai Stevenson, Wayne Morse, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and Judge Salinas of Laredo. In a position paper to that group he urged the ^(United States) ~~U.S.~~ to realign its policy toward the Latin American masses and work with the pensadores of Latin America such as Puerto Rico's Luis Muñoz Marín, rather than with reactionary politicians and the wealthy. He argued that our aid had made the rich richer and the powerful more powerful, in Latin America.

Turning his attention to Latin Americans in the U.S., he said,

"We must let Latin America know that we prize their language and that we recognize our heritage from them. We can't get away with protestation of our friendship for Latin Americans across the border when Latin Americans across the tracks in the U.S. are the most neglected minority group in this country."

Charges such as this levied against Texas political leaders made Dr. Sánchez a controversial figure and led to retaliation against him. He told associates that he was the lowest-paid professor at U.T., but that it was a small price to pay for speaking truth to abusive power. As late as ^{eight} 8 months prior to his death, he was still speaking out fear-

lessly, ~~is~~ testifying in a Dallas court on a school segregation case before a U.S. district judge. Dr. Sánchez insisted that the segregation problem lay with the schools, not with the Mexican-American child; that bilingual education should embrace all Texas school children, and that *the state of* Texas supported segregation of Mexican-American children by a combination of teacher certification, textbook policies, and financial aid.

He criticized both the public school curriculum and the preparation of teachers in Texas colleges and universities, saying they were best suited to Eastern or Midwestern schools. Bilingual classes in the lower grades, he urged, would help the Mexican-American child by not forcing him to think only in the strange language of English. The real problem, he often said, is that Texas teachers are not required to be fluent in both Spanish and English, and that they are ignorant of Texas culture.

Dr. Sánchez straight-talked with everyone including young Mexican-American militants. He spoke in Spanish at an "anti-gringo" meeting of young Chicanos in Austin in April, 1969, welcoming them to

~~the UTM campus and took honest exception with them on several of~~

their positions.

To sum up, then, what was Dr. George Sánchez? He was, first and foremost, an outstanding teacher and a renowned scholar whose list of publications is endless.

He was also an ardent civil rights advocate, a militant and outspoken anti-segregationist. He appeared at hearings on desegregation, calling for a system of public schools which discriminates against neither blacks nor Mexican-Americans, a system which would make possible first class education in public schools without regard for ethnic or national background or culture.

Dr. Sánchez was an author who wrote widely in the field of Education, his chosen field of ^(X) ~~labor~~. Even in his last years he was much in demand as public speaker and lecturer.

He was the intellectual leader of the Mexican-American movement in Texas and the Southwest, and ^{he} is the father of Mexican-American studies, an area in which he was far ahead of his time.

To me personally, Dr. Sánchez represented a person I held

in great admiration. I had heard of him during my "waking-up" years

~~upon my return from the service in 1945.~~
upon my return from the service in 1945. I read his books, and my
admiration grew deeper. Soon enough I registered at the University of
Texas for what is yet to come ~~my~~ my Ph.D. in Education and Dr. Sánchez
became my advisor². I got to know him better, and my admiration for
him grew even more.

He took pride in being blackballed by TEA bureaucrats--
for he was effective.

He was a critic--a critic of the establishment--of the

Frank Erwin types.

He knew what was wrong and tried to correct it.

He loved and he hated--but he loved the right and just and
hated the vain and the wrong.

where
He knew ~~when~~ the jugular vein was on the issues, and that's
what he went after.

He was persistent, consistent, and always true to the mark.

He suffered pain quietly.

He was my leader.

He was a man's man.

~~He had self-respect and was respected.~~

He set an excellent example. If all of us were to be but a bit of what he was, this world would be a much better place for all of us.

He was, in short, a great American; and you do right to honor him by dedicating this conference in his honor and memory.

Notes

1 A version of this paper was read at a Human Resources and Leadership Conference at ~~Austin, Texas, in June 1972~~ the University of Texas, Austin, in June 1972. Mr. Bernal's remarks were also read into the record of the (On June 27, 1972, Texas state legislature/as Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 15, adopted by both the Senate and the House "in memory of Dr. George I. Sánchez, distinguished educator, father of Mexican-American studies, intellectual leader of the Mexican-American movement in Texas and the Southwest, and servant of the citizens of the State of Texas and of the United States of America."

THE SPANISH LANGUAGE IN THE SOUTHWEST

The Spanish language in the Southwest reflects the history of the people who have spoken it since it was introduced by the Spaniards at the end of the sixteenth century. The language spoken by the colonials then was virtually the same as the one spoken in Spain, and not much different from the speech of other colonists in Latin America. Like all languages of the western world, Spanish maintained standards of usage through its written literature and also developed a language of the hearth among speakers who relied entirely on oral transmission because of their inability to read and write. Both levels of Spanish coexisted and fulfilled the varied needs of all sectors of society. As time wore on, folk Spanish and the language spoken by the educated classes developed differences in pronunciation along phonetic lines common to the language. Professor Aurelio M. Espinosa made a complete study of the morphological and phonetic changes in New Mexican Spanish back in 1909 which apply today as much as they did then.¹ The changes that occurred in the language of colonial literate society are developmental, while those ^{ing} which occurred in the oral language of the folk were a form of deterioration brought about by a relaxed pronunciation and by a limited familiarity with the written word. The folk's inability to read and write led them also to preserve many forms which were current in the seventeenthth century and which today are considered archaic or obsolescent.

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The current use of some of these archaic words among southwestern folk gives a charming historical flavor to the language, but it doesn't mean that the people speak today the language of Cervantes.

A small number of crown representatives, administrators, public functionaries, and churchmen in the principal cities of the Southwest such as Santa Fe, El Paso, and San Antonio were familiar with the language of the folk, but their duties required them to use also the more formalized language when attending to official dispatches, documents, contracts, and all legal matters connected with their offices. This type of language was less subject to change because it consisted for the most part of formulae, some of which are still current in the Spanish-speaking world. The language spoken by the educated criollos and by administrators was not static, however, and continued to develop along linguistic lines until it was replaced by English. The folk who lived outside of this small cultured circle did not keep apace of the normal language changes which occurred over the past three hundred years. They continued their brand of popular speech and preserved unchanged the expressions which now are considered obsolete, and at the same time developed the apocopations, elisions, and syllabic inversions which in linguistics are referred to as ellipsis, metathesis and epenthesis. Eventually, as the Hispanos merged into one class, the spoken Spanish became uniform, and the differences between cultivated

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Spanish and folk speech were erased. What is commonly heard today in the Southwest among the residents is traditional folk language together with Anglicisms, literal translations, and accretions from artificial sources such as Pachuco and what in Spanish is labelled jerga callejera or street slang. Ironically enough, a truer Spanish may be found in the isolated villages and in remote mountain valleys in New Mexico than in the cities where Spanish is taught in the public schools. The older Hispanos are more likely to greet a stranger by asking, "Where does your grace come from?" when they say "De 'onde viene su mercê?" They may drop the "d" in dõnde and the final one in merced but these are normal changes which occur in folk speech through^{out} the Spanish-speaking world.

The bulk of the population in the Southwest consisted until recently of pastoral folk, mestizos and Hispanized Indians who relied entirely on orally learned speech because they lacked, with few exceptions, the basic skills of reading and writing. As they were introduced to the English language, they Hispanized unfamiliar words and extended this habit to everyday Spanish idiom. Words like "park," "flunk" and "brake" were not common in Spanish days, so they simply converted them into parquear, flunquear, and breca. In other cases they transferred words which in Spanish were used in comparable situations such as arrear for "to drive." The word arrear is a standard Spanish word except that it is used in driving cattle and horses instead

(4)

of cars. The modern word in Spanish is dirigir. Another form of Anglicization is the literal translation of expressions from the English such as aplicar for "to apply" and the corresponding noun aplicación for "application." In Spanish one "applies" a compress, and aplicación means "laboriousness." The standard Spanish rendition is solicitar when applying for a job, and solicitud for application. Spanish began to deteriorate gradually as it ceased to be the language of commerce, industry, and public administration. The mandatory translations into Spanish of legislative proceedings in New Mexico, Colorado, and California helped to Anglicize the Spanish language. On the surface, it seemed that both languages were on a par with each other, but in reality they were not because English was the base on which the Spanish renditions were moulded. Gradually, as the Spanish speakers improved their English, the use and quality of Spanish began to diminish proportionately until it became a familial tongue used for interpersonal relations, among friends and for household needs. The diminishing quality of the Spanish language can be observed in the translations made in the New Mexican Legislature. The earlier translations were made in standard Spanish with occasional Anglicisms, but these increased in geometrical progression in the ensuing years as the translators and interpreters became more familiar with English and less so with Spanish. Those who witnessed simultaneous interpretations in the legislative chambers were greatly amused by the renditions given

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by interpreters who rushed to the side of some English-speaking legislator as he launched into a long and involved dissertation.

The substitution of English for Spanish at home and in public gradually pushed ^{Spanish} ~~the latter~~ into the background. This is not unique in the Southwest; the same occurred with the German of Pennsylvania, the Italian of New York, and the French of Louisiana. It is very difficult for people to become bilingual when they are surrounded by a unicultural society, unless a very special effort is made by those who wish to preserve their own language at the same level of proficiency of the dominant tongue. Bilingualism means, in effect, bicultural^{ism} as well.

There are many factors which have been instrumental in preserving the use of the Spanish language despite all the imperfections that characterize it today. First and foremost, the proximity of Mexico and the constant traffic of people coming and going has kept the language alive. Mexicans unable to speak English have to communicate with the Spanish speakers on this side of the border until they too fall in line before long and adopt the "Spanglish" of southwestern Hispanos. Moreover, these recent arrivals contribute additional words to the language and help ^{to} keep it current. In spite of the limitations imposed upon the use of Spanish by circumstance or by design, it continued to be used by Hispanos after the American occupation. In regions of the Southwest where the Anglo-Americans were a decided minority, the tables were turned and the Anglos learned Spanish in order to communicate with their friends and neighbors.

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Another factor ~~which was~~ instrumental in the preservation of the Spanish language was the church, particularly when Mexican or Spanish priests were assigned to the missions. The close association of the village priests with the inhabitants provided them with oral Spanish which otherwise they would not learn. Some of the more concerned padres provided instruction in the language to the young in their spare time. One of the well-known priests who worked diligently trying to provide schooling for the children of Taos was an independent priest named Martínez who published a few issues of a newspaper in Taos called El Crepúsculo. Some writers state that the printing press used by "El Padre Martínez" to publish his newspaper was brought into the Southwest by the well known merchant-historian Josiah Gregg, but in actuality, it was Antonio Barreiro who brought the press from Mexico City and sold it to Ramón Abreu, who in turn passed it on to Padre Martínez in Taos.

Shortly after the American occupation, Bishop John B. Lamy, a clergyman of French extraction, was assigned to Santa Fe where one of his main concerns was the strengthening of the educational system in the state. He brought along a number of French priests to help him revamp the church work under his jurisdiction, but their main interest lay in the establishment of educational institutions where Spanish was an incidental subject in the curriculum. Although these new padres spoke Spanish, they did not have the natural fluency of those who spoke the language natively. The schools founded by Lamy, such as the free school in Santa

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Fe established the same year he arrived, emphasized the teaching of English in a curriculum designed to meet the future needs of Hispanos living now in an Anglo-American nation. Less than fifteen years after the arrival of Bishop Lamy, the foundations for Catholic schools had been firmly laid with a thriving Loretto Academy for girls and St. Michael^{College} in Santa Fe. Another Jesuit college was built in Las Vegas in 1877⁵ where instruction was given in English and in Spanish. The extensive school work initiated and directed by Bishop Lamy was not designed to teach Spanish to the New Mexicans, but it did serve as a transition from Spanish into English for many new citizens under circumstances that were more favorably accepted by a predominantly Catholic population.

One year after the American occupation, Protestant church schools opened in New Mexico, led by the Baptists who established the first school in Santa Fe in 1849. After the Civil War, both the Presbyterians and the Methodists built schools in Santa Fe and in Albuquerque. Some of these institutions have continued as boarding schools until the present day. These Protestant schools ^{also} ~~too~~ emphasized an English curriculum and tried to act as a bridge between Spanish and Anglo-American culture. Spanish was included in the course of study with a view to preparing some of the young men for the ministry. Since the congregations they would eventually serve were Spanish speaking, it was necessary for these future ministers to improve their public

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speaking proficiency in ^{the} ~~this~~ language. Both Protestant and Catholic churches have conducted services in Spanish throughout the Southwest so that indirectly those who attended services during the week were exposed to a more formal version of the language than they used at home. Other activities supervised by the churches during the Christmas season and other church holidays gave the parishioners and the congregations an opportunity to use Spanish freely.

The publication of newspapers in Spanish from Colorado to California and all along the Mexican border was another means by which the Spanish language continued to live with a fluency that oral transmission alone could not have provided. There have been published over the past hundred and twenty-five years more than five hundred newspapers beginning with a periodical which Antonio Barreiro published in 1834 when he first imported a printing press from Mexico. Many of these newspapers had a very short life, but there was always another paper started to replace the one that terminated. El Crepúsculo in Taos had only a few issues in 1835, but the people in that village always remember their first newspaper. El Nuevo Mexicano in Santa Fe had the longest life of any newspaper published in Spanish in the Southwest. It continued with the same masthead from 1849 until 1965, and during the time that it was owned by Cyrus McCormick it made a definite attempt to upgrade the quality of the language and the content by employing an able editor from Chihuahua. Members of the Spanish faculty

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of the University of New Mexico and other state institutions were employed as contributors and feature writers. Many of the leading citizens of Santa Fe were also asked to contribute regularly, and for a number of years the traditional lore of the Hispanos was featured in every weekly issue.

~~The total number of newspapers published in the Southwest over the past century and a half is over 500, and,~~ although many ^{newspapers} were short-lived, they provided an outlet for literary expression of Hispanos interested in writing. The names of various newspapers are in some cases indicative of their objectives and editorial policy. Such newspapers as El Defensor del Pueblo or "The People's Defender" published in 1882 in Albuquerque alongside of Opinión Pública and Nuevo Mundo clearly indicate their mission. In the early nineteen hundreds there appeared El Independiente in Las Vegas, La Vía Industrial in the non-industrial town of Antonito, Colorado; La Opinión Pública in Walsenburg, Colorado; El Herald del Valle in Las Cruces, New Mexico; La Revista in Taos, and even a small village like Roy, New Mexico, had a short-lived paper called El Hispano Americano.

California had one of the most vocal newspapers, edited by a young Californio barely twenty years of age who gave his editorials an emphasis seldom seen in other parts of the Southwest. Francisco P. Ramírez was, according to Professor Leonard Pitt, a self-styled champion of the Spanish-Americans in California from 1855 to 1859. He named his newspaper El Clamor Público.

"The Public Outcry," and when he felt that the Californios were being "sacrificed on the gibbet and launched into eternity" he echoed his sentiments on the editorial page. The Californios had not been separated from the sources of ~~the~~ Spanish as long as the New Mexicans, so they were more familiar with a fuller and more current use of the language. There were other newspapers in California published in Spanish for the benefit of those citizens who were more accustomed to their original language than to the newly-arrived English. In San Francisco they read El Eco del Pacífico and La Crónica until 1856 when they too disappeared. It is interesting to note the variety of readers which El Clamor Público had in southern California when Ramirez complained that his paper was read more by the Yankees than by the Californios. The sum total of the newspapers published in Spanish was undoubtedly a factor in keeping the Spanish language alive and functional. There are many Hispanos and Mexican-Americans today who may not be able to read English, as is disclosed by adult education programs in San Antonio and other large population centers, but many of them are able to read Spanish and continue reading it in the local newspapers. Reading, like many skills in the Spanish Southwest, was transmitted by tradition, that is, a father who could read would teach his son enough to get him started, and if he was lucky to receive instruction from an itinerant school teacher or at a church school, he would learn not only reading but writing and arithmetic. The number of well-written letters and

official records found in the villages and towns throughout the Southwest attest to a greater literacy than is usually attributed to the inhabitants. Books were not very numerous in the province of New Mexico in colonial days and not particularly abundant in American territorial days, but newspapers provided reading material for those who could read. Occasionally there are interesting old editions of books found in the possession of Hispanic families. There have been found eighteenth century editions of Calderón de la Barca's plays and several volumes bound in vellum, dealing with agriculture, published in Spain in the seventeen hundreds. The mountaineers who owned these books complained that they were filled with spelling errors, not knowing the changes that have taken place in Spanish orthography in the past three centuries. In a study made in 1942 by Eleanor Adams and Dr. France V. Scholes of the University of New Mexico regarding books in the state between 1598 and 1680, they discovered that, outside of the missionaries and the Spanish governors of the province, the settlers were credited with only eleven titles, all of them but one consisting of religious publications.² It is quite likely that a close examination of old chests owned by many Hispanos would bring to light some interesting additions.

The most important factor in the preservation of the Spanish language is the rich body of traditional lore which abounds throughout the Southwest in the form of folksongs, proverbs, riddles, games, and folk plays. And even more important are the

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troubadours and village poets who for centuries have composed songs and ballads in every village of the region, and who in addition to their own compositions have recorded traditional songs and verse of years gone by. The language of these bards of tradition is surprisingly broad and rich in content. They can express themselves much better than most people in the villages. In trying to put across a message in rhyme they study and use forms of expression that the average individual seldom uses. Many present-day urbanized Spanish speakers find it difficult to express themselves in standard Spanish and recur to Anglicized expressions that are neither Spanish nor English but a bastardized form of communication used by those who have lost touch with the language of the people. There are many today who advocate that the atrocities which are currently used in the name of Spanish be taught and cultivated, under the impression that this is the language of the people. The real Spanish-speaking folk whom they are trying to emulate have always had a very respectable command of Spanish. The deteriorated forms of expression one hears today are for the most part arbitrary neologisms or Anglicized forms that would make their own ancestors turn over in their grave.

The Spanish language has had a different development in each of the principal regions that comprise the Southwest: New Mexico, California, and the Texas-Mexican border. New Mexico was the first province to be settled and was therefore the most isolated

from the very beginning. The region north of Albuquerque, which was where most of the original colonials settled, was far from the cultural centers of New Spain, as well as from those of Mexico after independence. The only contact the New Mexicans had with people to the south was during the annual Chihuahua fairs and through trading caravans over El Camino Real known today as Interstate 25. This isolation covering two and one half centuries gave the language of this northern region a distinctive character different from that of the other two regions. Language learning, like other skills in the country, depended to a large extent on oral transmission with the resultant dislocations and mutations to be expected in an isolated region without the modernizing standards of a written literature. In addition to the obsolescent words of seventeenth century vintage, there developed in northern New Mexico an intonation not found elsewhere and a pronunciation which is readily recognizable as a distinguishing characteristic of the northern New Mexican colonial. There are in current usage a number of expressions and words which have fallen into disuse in most sectors of the urban Hispanic world. These outmoded forms provide the linguist with interesting cases for study, but they also curtail the use of more current Spanish. The use of such historical forms as vide, truje, ansí, mesmo, dende, agora, and a host of other archaic words does not mean that the New Mexicans are speaking incorrect Spanish. It was the

language used in the Spanish world when the province was settled at the end of the sixteenth century. It simply means that part of the language these people speak is outmoded.

The relaxed pronunciation in northern New Mexico tends to pass over some of the sounds from off-glide to on-glide without the tension necessary to give phonemes their full value. As a result there are a number of intervocalic and final consonants which are dropped or elided, and "f"s and "s"s are turned into "j"s. Fuiste becomes juites and casa is pronounced caja.

The introduction of the English language in the Southwest affected spoken Spanish in all regions in much the same manner but with different degrees of intensity. In the northern villages of New Mexico, no immediate changes became apparent at first because the few Anglo-Americans who settled in this region learned Spanish and used their own language principally for official purposes. The central part of the state, where industry and trade centers were established with the coming of the railroad, had a larger influx of Anglo-Americans. The language lines were soon divided when the modern cities like Albuquerque and Las Vegas grew up near the railroad and the original settlement remained apart and separate about a half mile away, known soon after as "Old Town." This division was characteristic of many cities and towns in the Southwest and reflected the dichotomy of the two languages. English was the language used in business transactions on a larger scale, the official language of administrative and

legal matters and the language used exclusively in industry. The Spanish language gradually became the language of the hearth^h, used in familial situations that did not include the cultural growth of the community. ~~But~~ exposure to English forms of expression, however, expanded the language communication of the Hispanos^h, who found it more effective to translate literally the new concepts from English into a Spanish that was structured on English syntax. This gave rise to such forms as hacer su mente pa' arriba, for "to make up your mind," Tener buen tiempo was used for "having a good time," démelo pa' atrás for "give it back to me," etc. ~~etc.~~ These expressions, so widely used in northern and central New Mexico especially, are hardly conducive to true bilingualism and much less to the claim that the language of Cervantes is being spoken.

The influence of English on the Spanish of the borderlands was inevitable after 1848 because all official and business transactions were carried on in the national language. But it was a mutual influence in many cases. The taking over of the cattle industry included the language of the vaquero from the very beginning. Such words as lariat, lasso, horse wrangler, remuda, hack^amore, corral, mustang and buckaroo were not far removed from the original Spanish of la reata, lasso, caballerango, remuda, jáquima, corral, mesteño and vaquero. This phase of western English has been studied for a number of years and continues to interest those who first come upon it. ² Dr. Harold W. Bentley made a

significant collection about forty years ago of what he called
 "Spanish terms in English with particular attention to the
 Spanish Southwest." ³ ~~P~~ The constant traffic of Mexicans and
 Americans of Mexican descent along the border has served to keep
 the Spanish language, including regional Mexicanisms, current
 and alive in this part of the Southwest as already stated. The
 full meaning of expression available in Spanish from neighboring
 Mexico has also helped to maintain a fluency in the language
 which in the isolated north was difficult to attain. Full communi-
 cation developed along the borderlands with a minimum of Hispan-
 ized English until recently. There are great numbers of the
 population who are fluent in both languages and who are truly
 bilingual because they are bicultural. This is a normal conse-
 quence of people who grow up in a natural human laboratory where
 both cultures can be lived and where, as in this case, both Eng-
 lish and Spanish are used socially. ^{Don} Along the border cities,
 there are Anglo-Americans who know the Spanish language better
 than many Mexicans and conversely, there are also Hispanos and
 Americans of Mexican descent who have a better command of English,
 both written and spoken, than a large number of Anglo-Americans.
 There are actually three groups among the Hispanos of the border-
 lands from California to southern Texas: those who have cultivated
 English and are more at home in this language, those who prefer
 Spanish and know it well, along with a working knowledge of
 English, and the more fortunate ones who have become bilingual

for practical reasons. Many professionals of both cultures have found it greatly advantageous to be bilingual. Some of the universities in this borderland have helped to further the cross-cultural flow by undertaking programs in depth through their Centers of Latin American Studies. The Mexican universities too became aware of this interest half a century ago and began offering summer courses for Anglo-American students. From these early efforts the field has grown to such proportions that Mexican universities along the bordering states, as well as the better known ones in the interior, have developed extended programs by adding bi-cultural Anglo-Americans to their faculties, and many American universities, wishing to take advantage of the cultural climate of a Spanish-speaking country, hold summer sessions of their own all over the neighboring republic. The last step of this mutual program has resulted in an American university in Puebla called the University of the Americas and an extension of the National University of Mexico in San Antonio. Texans say that the southernmost city of their state is Monterrey, and Mexicans insist that their northernmost city is San Antonio.

In California many of the original settlers, particularly the more prominent rancheros, became assimilated through intermarriage with the incoming Anglo-American traders and sea captains who retired on the west coast. The larger part of their descendants eventually became English speakers. The Spanish-Mexican period in California was comparatively short compared

with the settlement of New Mexico which took place at the end of the sixteenth century almost two centuries earlier. Linguistically, this is why there are no archaisms in the language of the Californios and the later Californians, except those brought in by individuals coming from regions where these language forms developed from an earlier vintage of Spanish. The close relations between the original settlers and the Anglo-Americans in the southern part of the state gave rise to language mixtures which Mexicans have always referred to as pochismos. In the years that followed the American occupation, the nickname pocho was applied to any person who used an Anglicized version of Spanish, or expressions that were not strictly of Spanish provenience. Some mildly critical quatrains, tempered with Spanish wit sang the failings of the Californian pochos and chided them for their deculturation.

Los pochos de California
No saben comer tortilla
Porque solo en la mesa
Sirven pan con mantequilla

The pochos of California
 Can't even eat tortillas
 For at mealtime on the table
 All they serve is bread and
 butter

The influx of Mexicans ^{into} in the state over the past fifty years has created barrios where the Spanish language is almost exclusively used. But as the children enroll in the public schools where English is taught, Anglicization begins to take place. Unlike the Texas-Mexican border, California does not have good-sized cities adjoining each other along the border where people can freely come and go; as a consequence there isn't the

carry-over that occurs in cities like El Paso and ~~San Antonio~~ or Laredo. Both San Diego and Los Angeles require a definite trip of many miles in order to reach the Mexican border. The language situation is comparable to the one in Texas, nevertheless, but with a proportionately smaller number of individuals who speak Spanish exclusively. For one thing, the opportunities to work and mix socially in California are considerably better than they are in Texas, and the cultural climate is more conducive to acculturation. In Texas, with the exception of El Paso and to some extent Laredo, the cultural lines are more strictly drawn.

The one region of the Southwest which probably developed the most complete and ~~also more~~ colorful Spanish was El Paso Valley, extending north to the village of Doña Ana in southern New Mexico. Being at the crossroads of trade routes, it was never sufficiently isolated to preserve exclusive linguistic forms that eventually would become archaisms. It did preserve, however, a very rich agricultural vocabulary that was not totally current in other parts of the Southwest. Some of this vocabulary was composed of old expressions which disappeared only when modern methods of agriculture were introduced. A study of the Spanish language used up to the early thirties reflects the life that these people led in the country. The urban Hispano with constant contact with Mexico across the border spoke for the most part the language of northern Mexico. Naturally, as the Spanish-speaking population learned English in school and worked in

industries established by Anglo-Americans, they found it easier to Hispanize some of the concepts that did not come readily in Spanish, but hardly to the same extent that they did so in the north. The diversified agricultural² products of the valley, ranging from fruits, vineyards, cereals, cotton, and vegetables in addition to cattle, sheep, hogs, and horse-breeding needed a functional language to use in such broad and varied activities.

Since agriculture could only be carried on through irrigation, the first residents of the valley had to build a network of ditches based on the guidelines given by the Spanish crown whenever land was parcelled out to settlers. There was the acequia madre or mother ditch that took water from the river and distributed it throughout the valley farmlands by a network of smaller contra acequias. This called for a number of activities, and also necessitated a person to administer the distribution of water. The man in charge of this was called alcalde in the south and mayordomo in the north, later replaced by the less picturesque name of "ditch boss." In Arizona this official was known as zanjero. In El Paso Valley, the Alcalde de Agua² title for the supervisor of an acequia was used as a carry-over from Spanish colonial days, as was the name mayordomo in the north. The Anglo-Americans also perpetuated this title by using the English equivalent of "majordomo" which was close enough to the Spanish word from which it originated. But in the case of acequia they followed the southern mountaineer's tendency to use the

duonominal combination of "acequia-ditch" or "cequia-ditch" much as the mountaineers would say "man-child" and "rifle-gun."

The preparation of the land for planting had a varied vocabulary in El Paso Valley, where winter plowing was called barbecho. In the spring the land was molded into melgas or tablas for planting alfalfa and wheat, surcos and camellones for chile and sweet potatoes. The plow opened a besana in order to raise bordos to hold the water. After planting, they cultivated the plants by hoeing or escarda, and if the soil had to be dug deeper, it was called traspalar, for which they used an azadón rather than the lighter cavador used for surface hoeing. In the fall, farmers who had been working on la labor, which originally meant 177 acres of farmland, gathered the hay and stacked it in an harcina for the winter, or if there was a shed, the hay was placed in a tejaván. Perishables such as fruits and vegetables which the families wanted to keep for the winter were placed in an almárcigo⁴ dug partly into the ground.

Those who had vineyards of Spanish moscatel cured some of the grapes into pasas which travellers like Gregg and others praised so highly and which California has continued to prepare as a specialty for sale in delicatessens. With the juice of the grape, after making wine, they made a sort of jam called arrope to be eaten with queso añejo, the aged cheese of the valley. Asaderos, an instant type of cooked cheese in the shape of tortillas was a favorite for preparing chile con queso, a dish

which has become well known today and, incidentally, served at the inauguration of the late President Johnson in Washington not too long ago. From the whey or suero that was left after making cheese, the rancheros made a sort of cottage cheese called requesón, a dish that in Spain is considered a delicacy. They never used the first milk of a cow-come-fresh because they believed that the calostros were not fit for human consumption, but after the calf had "brought down the milk," the strippings, called leche de apoyo, was considered the richest.

When the colonials in the Valley raised hogs, called puercos, but marranos or cochinos in the north, they confined them in chiqueros or trochiles unless the farmers were the kind that did things al trochemoche, carelessly, and let them fend for themselves. In the fall when the pigs were slaughtered, instead of making ham or bacon like their Anglo-American counterparts from Virginia and Missouri, they preserved the ribs for future use in a sauce called adobo and the rest was turned into salchichas, chorizo and morcilla as they do in Mexico and Spain today. From the fat lonjas they rendered lard and made the usual chicharrones, or chicharrones de vieja when made from the rind, the same crackling that is sold today in plastic bags at supermarkets and filling stations.

This industrious valley where so much history has been made had occasion to use more of the Spanish language of colonial days because of its diversified industry, cattle raising, and constant

trade converging from all directions. In trading and selling they needed to measure their products or weigh them when they were sold by weight. So the almud, that ancient measure for dry cereals and grains used in northern Spain, was regularly employed until the turn of the century. Some of these quaint measuring boxes varying from one half to a full gallon, were still around in some of the old ranchos of the Valley during the early days of the current century. For larger quantities there was the arroba, four of which made a quintal, or approximately a hundred weight, and a fanega which amounted to a bushel and a half. (51)

Length and height had a non-verbal system consisting of a number of signs made with hand and arm. It was considered an insult to refer to the height of a boy, for example, by stretching the arm palm down to indicate how tall he was. The insulted party would say, "He's not a horse or a cow." The proper way to indicate the height of a boy was to hold up index finger and thumb outstretched with the index pointing up. An outstretched arm with hand palm down was used for an animal higher than a man's waist and the same arm with hand held vertically, to indicate the height of an animal no higher than the waist, such as a dog or a pig.

Before standards of measurement were established, the folk used the traditionally accepted system understood by all, and served well enough considering that there was no particular need for the precision of modern technology. Since they could not carry around measuring instruments, they used parts of the body

to indicate length. The shortest measurement was the inch, indicated by the first joint of the thumb, pulgada, derived from the name for thumb, pulgar. The next length was jeme, the distance between index finger and thumb outstretched, and like the old English equivalent, the Spanish colonials also used the span called cuarta or palmo. The unopened hand and the individual fingers were occasionally used in measuring liquids in a receptacle as in English. The next measurement was a codo, the distance between the tip of the middle finger and the elbow, and lastly the vara, measuring from the center of the chest to the tip of the fingers. There are other traditional ways of measuring length as in the case of mothers who went to market to buy a pair of trousers for a boy. They would ask him to hold the trouser legs outstretched across his chest, assuming that the length across the chest and arms was equivalent to the length of his legs. The same device was used in measuring the length of the saddle stirrup; by holding the stirrup under the armpit and touching the saddle with the finger tips, as any horseman knows today. In measuring land grants, they were not so exact; they calculated distances by so many cigarettes or a day's journey from sun-up to sundown, but when an official grant was made it was expressed in sitios, labores and haciendas, the latter consisting of five sitios or five square leagues.

Other interesting archaisms known around El Paso Valley, and not current usually in the northern part of New Mexico,

were words referring to everyday living. When speaking about a contemporary of the same age, a person in the Valley would say: "You and I are from the same camada," a term that originally meant from the same litter. They wore cotton shirts called cotones in the summertime for practical reasons; they were cool, had no buttons and fitted loosely like a slip-over sweater. The name derives from the cota de malla or coat of mail used by soldiers in colonial days. When these shirts were made of home-spun, they were called cotón de jerga. In Spain, the name jubón was generally adopted for this shirt, but in the Southwest the older name was preserved. Many old Spanish words had their origin in colonial military dress; capacete, is a good example. Originally it was the Spanish helmet worn by the army comparable to the morion. In the Southwest, and particularly in El Paso Valley, it was a covering, not for the head, but a shade for the front seat of a wagon or a buggy. Covered wagons were called carros encamisados, that is, wagons with a shirt. In addition to the old words, current since colonial days, the El Paso region also adopted linguistic forms with which they came in contact over El Camino Real. This contact with language currently in use has continued to the present day, giving the people of this region along the Mexican border a much broader and up-to-date Spanish vocabulary than those who led a simpler and relatively isolated life in the north. It is interesting to note that this same region gave rise to the much misunderstood urban argot called

pachuco, a sort of dialectical Spanish derived arbitrarily from a combination of old Spanish words, Anglicisms, and specially created neologisms understood at the time of their inception by young people, particularly newsboys, Western Union delivery boys, and those who worked at ice cream parlors and candy stores which had bicycle deliveries. At first, it was understood and used extensively in El Paso and nowhere else, but eventually it spread further north and particularly to California. Many original expressions of El Paso argot have become obsolete and have been replaced by a more modern dialect called pachuco today. If someone wished to call attention to a good looking girl going by, the girl-watcher would say to his buddy, "Echale agua, mano!" which literally meant, "Throw water on her brother!" If attention was being called to something before it passed out of the field of vision, the call was "Lícalo, lícalo!" Going out on the town, so to speak, was expressed by "dar verde," a different color for "painting the town red." If a baseball player pulled a grandstand play by catching a fly ball with one hand, he was said to be giving changúf. When a boy was looking for work, he wanted jale, but if the work was heavy it was called camello. When an El Paso young man was hungry he used to say he had jaspia, a condition he easily remedied by going home to his chante to martillar with his father to whom he respectfully referred to as jefe. After dinner, consisting of maromeros, the tasty pinto bean, he was ready to caldear with his huisa, and the girl he made love to did not object to being called by this strange

(27)

appellation, but if she did, she would tell him, "Pinte!" and that meant to "take off." These and scores of other similar expressions current before World War I were so unfamiliar to people in other parts of the Hispanic world that El Pasoans who were members of the clan delighted in speaking their amusing argot in the presence of outsiders in order to confuse and impress them. While this jerga callejera was originally contrived as a dialect for the street "Four hundred," it eventually spread all over the Southwest from California to Colorado and southern Texas where it expanded with numerous borrowings of English slang associated very often with questionable elements of Hispanic society. The region where this argot did not gain much acceptance was the northern mountain villages of New Mexico whose culture was more pastoral than urban.

Cultured individuals found the slang amusing and used a few expressions now and then when speaking to close friends. A medical doctor showing his new car to a friend would say in jest: "Échele agua a mi nueva catalanga," "Throw water on my new chariot." To which the other interlocutor, if he was "hep," would answer in like currency by saying: "Tres piedras, cuate, y un ladrillo adrenical!," meaning that he approved highly, although he actually said: "Three rocks, my twin, and a brick to boot!" Later, this street jargon called Pachuco assumed social implications and for awhile was associated with the dubious elements of Hispanic society in the Southwest. In many sectors of Texas and California

it was considered for some time the language of the marijuana smokers, the grifos, or los del tres, so called because they inhaled the smoke in three gulps. The name Pachuco is applied both to the speakers and to the dialect because the two go hand-in-hand, but it should not be assumed that those who are familiar with this dialect are also members of the group designated by this term. Like any artificial form of expression, this widely publicized speech lacks originality and has lost much of its former picturesqueness. It ascribes arbitrary meanings to words already known in Spanish lexicon; sometimes ^{it} ~~they~~ stumble upon archaic words unknowingly as in the case of calcos, from the Latin calceus, for shoes, but when ^{it} ~~they~~ refer to the same article as boris, ^{one has} ~~it becomes~~ an arbitrary invention which is made respectable by calling it a neologism. There is no attempt made to use figurative words or expressions that manifest a sense of beauty; on the contrary, Pachuco is somewhat depreciatory and inelegant. Oftentimes the Los Angeles zoot-suiters of World War II have been compared with Pachucos. The former attain their designation from their manner of dress and style of duck-tail haircut. The Pachucos originated as a linguistic group and have no distinctive dress style.

Folk speech, such as is heard among the mountaineers of New Mexico and the country folk in Mexico is based on observation of nature expressed in colorful figures of speech. For example, people who handle stock have learned that the way to hold a horse

with a rope is by leaning sideways on the hip, so they say figuratively, "Echele cuadril!" which English-speaking folk working with wagons would render by "Put your shoulder to the wheel." The same Hispanic cowhand speaks of "being thrown over the head" when let down by someone, and expresses it by saying, "Me echó por la cabeza." The Pachuco dialect, on the other hand, being a product of an urban environment, revives a few obsolescent words, makes up a number of Anglicisms and ascribes arbitrary meanings to current Spanish words. Students who have researched the Pachuco argot have assumed that all the vocabulary used is original, but a simple reference to the dictionary of the Spanish Academy or to a good Spanish-English one will reveal that such words as chavalo, hacer ronda, garras, greñas, controlar, chaveta and a number of others listed as Pachuco are standard Spanish words.

There are attempts being made today to reinstate throughout the Southwest the Spanish language among Americans of Mexican descent, Hispanos of New Mexico, and among the members of the Chicano movement. One of the problems faced by advocates of what is termed "bilingualism" is the selection of the Spanish that should be taught. Some object to the literary Spanish that forms the standard of Mexico, Latin America and Spain on the grounds that it is the academic language of the Spanish recognized by the English Establishment. Others go so far as to insist that the language be taught as "people speak it." The only problem is

the selection of the people ~~whom~~ to use as the standard for linguistic expression. If the object is to preserve the Spanish language as an instrument of communication among the Mexican-Americans, Hispanos, and Chicanos, the use of a dialect plagued with Anglicisms and syntactical forms derived from the English language would be counter-productive because it is partly molded on the very language they are trying to avoid.

Some Chicano activists advocate the use of what they call "Chicano Spanish" and insist that this is the language that should be taught to them in the public schools because it has more relevance to their culture. This would be a practical consideration if the Chicano adherents did not have to communicate with the rest of the world in which they live, if in reality they had a culture of their own. In the Hispanic world, the deteriorated dialect they propose is not acceptable; and since they are not self-sufficient, they must use a language that is understandable and acceptable to both the Spanish-speaking and English-speaking world. Moreover, the number of Spanish speakers who accept the name Chicano as the label by which they should be identified is indeed small. A recent survey made by the University of Texas Center for Communication Research revealed that 43 percent of the persons interviewed in Texas, Arizona, and California during research for Teletemas, a national program to create cultural and entertainment television programming for Mexican-Americans, preferred the term Mexicanos, while only six percent chose Chicanos.

This indicates that the Mexicanos who speak the Spanish spoken throughout the Hispanic world prefer to stay within the culture that gave birth to the Spanish language. Mexico has produced a literature that is recognized throughout the world, and the present advances in all fields of Mexican economy, industry, and education have found their language adequate for world communication. The Chicanos, who are an infinitesimal number in the Hispanic world, would isolate themselves completely if they adopted the dialect they choose in their attempts to create a Chicano literature. The Spanish language of the Southwest has a very long history, a history that dates back to Mexico and Spain. A fluent command of Spanish today is what Hispanic students in the Southwest are striving for and not a dialectical expression made up of Anglicisms and perverted Spanish idiom. This is probably the reason why an overwhelming majority prefer the term Mexicano, with a sprinkling of "Mexican-American," "Latin-American," and even Texano.

The Southwest will ideally continue to use Spanish and English for cultural and historical reasons. The problem arises when we try to keep both at an equal level of performance. Bilingualism, however, is another long story.

Those who insist that the few archaisms of sixteenth century vintage be preserved do not take into account what all students of history and language know, namely, that a language is a mirror of civilization and culture. A verb-form that became obsolescent

a hundred years ago does not reflect the society of a modern Spanish speaker. In order to be consistent, those who advocate the use of archaic speech should ride a horse instead of a car, and dispense with all modern home conveniences.

There is a third group of Spanish language advocates who use English and Spanish simultaneously on the assumption that this is the way the language is actually spoken today. It is not bilingualism, strictly speaking, because neither of the two languages appears in its entirety. It is a sort of mixture used particularly for writing verse. Four-letter words in English appear with their Spanish counterparts as part of the freedom of expression which versifiers feel should be used bilingually. The resulting effect from this combination is not a happy one because of the different manner in which scatological language is used in Spanish. There is a hoary tradition in this form of composition found in the unblowderized versions of the Middle Ages, especially among the poets of the literary court of Don Juan II. This tradition has continued unbroken throughout Latin America. Picardía Mexicana⁶² published by the Mexican contemporary scholar A. Jiménez is a collection of all types of scatological verse designed to be witty and entertaining but with no thought of being poetic. The picaresque language of Spain was also cultivated by the léperos and the pelados of Mexico who may be considered the forerunners of the modern pachucos. Even the traditional bards of the Southwest use the picardía very effectively in some compositions written in a lighter vein.

In the midst of these considerations, the Federal government has been asked to underwrite a program of bilingual education for

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the Southwest as a means of preserving the linguistic heritage of the Spanish speakers. Advocates of bilingualism have not yet reached a consensus regarding the type of Spanish which should be cultivated. It will be interesting to learn what criteria will be eventually adopted to determine the nature of the Spanish language which is to be taught if and when bilingual education becomes an accepted program. In some cases, recommendations have already been implemented by active advocates of bilingualism who are preparing materials for classroom use. The San Diego Public Schools publish a magazine called Materiales en Marcha⁷ under a Title VII grant which has attained a wide distribution in a period of a few months. The content of the publication is bilingual, although the Spanish contributions are too few, and the material is biculturally oriented with the expressed purpose of being "both educational and entertaining." The Spanish used by contributors is that of an educated native speaker with no attempt made to use the dialectal speech advocated by other groups. The same is true of Bilingual Educational Services⁸ published in South Pasadena. This is a catalogue of films, film strips and a variety of audio-visual aids taken directly from Spanish-speaking countries and consequently prepared in the current Spanish used universally. In an extensive workshop conducted at San Jose State for the preparation of materials recommended for bilingual education, the Director, Dr. Feliciano Rivera, obtained a good deal of material from the Ministry of Education in Mexico City. Again, the language was the current speech of the Mexican republic. In Berkeley there

is a quarterly with an entirely different orientation in regard to language and content. El Grito, as this quarterly is called, is a contentious publication which includes articles written in English or in Spanish, except that there is no fixed standard for the language used by the authors. All brands of language appear, from the literary lexicon to Pachuco and Chicano dialect. For example, "Nuestra Circunstancia Lingüística" by Rosaura Sanchez⁹ is not only a good study of southwestern Spanish phonology and morphology but also a good example of contemporary, academic style. The policy of the magazine is quite liberal, and since it is not intended as pedagogical material for use in the classroom, contributing authors are allowed to use their own choice of Spanish. The wide variety of efforts to further the use of the Spanish language in public education will eventually determine the choice of Spanish which will be taught when a formal program is implemented. The interest manifested in the preservation of the original language of the Southwesterners, whether Hispanos, Mexican-Americans or members of the Chicano movement, should produce something interesting and valuable. It is too early yet to appraise the results of these efforts, but in another decade or two there should be results of measurable magnitude, providing that the choice of what to teach and speak is allowed to develop freely and unhindered by contentious political considerations. Hopefully, this concern and renewed interest in the Spanish language and culture should eventuate in its restitution to a practical and effective level throughout the Southwest.

NOTES

- 1/ Espinosa, Aurelio M., Studies in New Mexican Spanish, Bulletin University of New Mexico, Vol. 1, No. 2, Language Series, December, 1909.
- 2/ Adams, Eleanor and France V. Scholes, Books in New Mexico, Reprint, New Mexico Historical Review, July, 1942, p. 44.
- 3/ Bentley, Harold W., A Dictionary of Spanish Terms in English, Columbia University Press, New York, 1932.
- 4/ The words harcina, tejaván, and almarcigo are characteristic of the changes made by the folk in the Southwest. The current Spanish is hacina, almácigo and tejavana. The first two words have added the trilled r, a reinforcement known as epenthesis, and tejaván is shortened by the relaxed pronunciation of the final a which eventually disappeared.
- 5/ When the merchants weighed the produce of El Paso Valley they used romanas, básculas, pesas or balanzas. The medieval romana, probably of Roman origin as the name indicates, was replaced by a newer model consisting of an encased spring with a vertical dial and a hook that held the article being weighed. When a container, carrier or receptacle was used in weighing they adjusted the scale for the tara or "tare." The adjustment was called destarar.
- 6/ Jiménez, A., Picardía Mexicana, Libro Mex Editores, México, D.F., 1960.
- 7/ Materiales en Marcha, ESEA Title VII, San Diego City Schools, 2950 National Avenue, San Diego, California, 92113.
- 8/ Bilingual Educational Materials, 1508 Oxley St., South Pasadena California, 91030.
- 9/ Rosaura Sánchez, "Nuestra Circunstancia Lingüística," El Grito, Vol. VI, No. 1, Fall 1972, pp. 45-72.

On Chicano History:

In Memoriam ~~of~~ George I. Sánchez

1906 - 1972

we do

our shadows live

Alurista

Given the nature of this encuentro, it may be that many of my co-contributors responded somewhat as I did when I first received Américo Paredes's invitation to contribute to a volume dedicated to the memory of George I. Sánchez. It did not take long for me to reply an acceptance. And I further suspect that many of us might have done the same pretty much for the same reasons. Although not having known him well personally--we were of different generations and only met twice--I knew of him since the mid-1950s and followed his work over the years. Entre nosotros in education, most everyone had heard of him and respected him and his work, and so for those of us joined in this volume it is, I am sure, a distinct honor to write some words in his memory.

As I recall, one of Sánchez's most important achievements and this should especially be taken to heart by Chicano youth, was his protest against so-called I.Q. Tests and the placement of Chicano children in public school tracking systems which he began as early as 1934. Very early in his professional life, Sánchez began his battle against the public schools for spoiling the learning capacities of our youth. At twenty-eight, he already recognized the impact of such losses on our human, cultural, and social status in this country. Over the years, as we all know, he continued his protest, and he always impressed us with his quiet confidence and infectious optimism.

I last saw him in July of 1971. We met on a quiet and sunny summer day on the University of Texas campus in Austin in his office, and despite his illness, the vigor of his confidence in our chances as people remained as strong and radiant as the Sun outside. We spoke a bit about the new Chicano politics and about the movement of the youth, and his words and gestures made it clear that his spirit still marched right alongside them in their protest. It also became clear, in an understated kind of way, that he was fully aware of some differences. From what I knew of him, and due to that brief encounter which remains a unique experience in my memories of the late 60s and early 70s, it is perhaps not

inaccurate or unfair to say that his life's work, and perhaps even his hopes, are being fulfilled in the efforts and hopes of that human practice which some of us know as the Chicano Movement.

We also share with him and with his generation a common history and culture (which ultimately represent the genetic pool of politics). We know of course that on more than one occasion he referred to our history as the history of a "forgotten people"--that was then the cry to make in the wilderness. However we of the generation of el sesenta, because of our different generational experience in this country, have chosen to call it instead Chicano History. Our respective views on history notwithstanding it still seems to me that these propositions on the value and meaning of Chicano History are in harmony with our remembrance of his life and work.

I.

It is well to remember that ~~that~~ Chicano History which is increasingly talked about today in educational and political circles first appeared as a category of history in the colleges and universities of California in the mid-60s. Those of us who then used the category might not have then had a

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clear idea of just what we meant by it, but we did know what it did not mean. It did not mean to us, (and our resistance to this part of our past was unquestionable) that so-called history which begins with a few chapters "about Mexico," and then concludes with a few chapters about Mexican-Americans in San Antonio and Los Angeles and raps about discrimination and police brutality. Neither did we mean those histories that invoke populist rhetoric about Pancho Villa and Zapata, or those that picture us as wayward sons and daughters of Mexican culture and history. For as we all know, nosotros no somos, como dice la canción, "mexicanos de acá de este lado." That is not the kind of history that we had in mind, though at the time about the only thing that we could say on Chicano history was that what we had in mind was knowledge of that unique and distinctive concrete social process which had shaped us as a people, ^{that} ~~it~~ ^{sub} having taken place at a certain time and in a certain place. Our earliest discussions on Chicano history, which took place among Chicano youth and which were truly extraordinary in range and depth, happened during the very active years of the Chicano Movement of the late 60s.

We talked of la cuestión chicana endlessly it seems, and continually thought of it and in time started to dream about it, sometimes as haunting nightmares that confused

us terribly. And we also discussed it at conferences, meetings, and caucuses; one weekend at Davis, another at Riverside, next at Los Angeles, then on to San Diego, Fresno, San Bernardino etcetera, on through the years starting in 1968. And in the years that followed, ~~every day~~ we lived through a thousand crises in our practice of a chicano consciousness, and after every crisis we asked ourselves in intense frustration: "Why do these things keep happening to us? to me?" But we kept on moving, going forward, and that is how we started becoming aware of our contradictions, at the personal and at the social level, and how we began to look toward Chicano history as a source of knowledge about our existential situation.

If we look back, ~~that is~~ those of us who lived those moments (and there were many of us), it seems rather clear that the main energy behind the idea of Chicano history came from a deeply felt need by our people for self-knowledge, for personal and social knowledge about our social and sexual past in this country since at least the middle of the nineteenth century. And along the way of piercing that initially veiled and dreamy encounter with our past we arrived at the category of "Chicano" as culturally, historically, and psychologically illuminating. Chicanismo simply came to mean asserting our very own distinctive and unique natures

and characters as a people. Así fue como descubrimos que no éramos simplemente pochos and certainly we were not Americans in any sense of the word that would have civil and economic validity. It seems quite clear that there existed a relationship between a socially expressed need to know oneself--which was the heart of the Chicano Movement--and the creative explosion of hundreds of literary works and newspapers; of the flowering of a militant poetry ringing with assertive cantos as in Corky's Joaquín and the soul-searing versos of Alurista; of the renaissance in mural arts in San Antonio, Fresno, or Oakland; of the farmworkers' and Valdez's teatro campesino; and of a social movement which produced a program of higher education called Chicano Studies and also Chicano history.

The novel spirit of Aztlán, of the myth of the eternal return, is the energy force that inspired one of the leading statements of the Chicano Movement in California college and university campuses, El Plan de Santa Bárbara, a collectively executed plan of action (the result of a conference originally proposed by Rene Núñez), brought together, among others, by Armando Valdez, Juan Gómez-Quiñones and Fernando de Necochea. There in El Plan we find in its first sentence expressed the spirit of the times in the words: "For all people, as with individuals, the time comes when they must

reckon with their history." We can go so far as to say that the Chicano Movement on the colleges and universities of California created the idea of Chicano history, and fragments of the idea or its entirety could be heard wherever and whenever Chicanos gathered on the many campuses and towns of California as far north as Davis in the late 60s.

It thus seems safe to say that Chicano history emerged as a product of the Chicano Movement because of our people's social and psychic need to gain self-knowledge. There were also other attributes which inspired Chicano history, such as that parallel to our need for self-knowledge we also gradually recognized that we were the social and cultural product of a racial and cultural mestizaje which had attained such a degree of deranged assimilation, that it had produced a monstrous distortion of our true past. Self-consciously we thus set out to identify and reconcile ourselves with our true past, which meant a positive identification with our indigenous forebears.

And that is the feeling which eventually engendered the rebirth of the myth of Aztlán, which prefigures the return of a cycle of time out of our past that is slowly emerging from the texture of our memories.

Yet the attributes of the Chicano Movement and of Chicano history did not always appear so arcane, and so we also

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conceived of ourselves in the rational sense of social class. That is why from the start Chicano history especially focused on workers in the fields or in the urban colonias.^{1/} That too reflected the reality of the Movement, for its social impetus essentially came from maturing workers and middle classes increasingly conscious of their political rights, and, more importantly, of new skills in exercising them. The fact that the farmworkers of California, the lumpen-proletariat of northern New Mexico, or the urban youth of Colorado and California, were initially among the most strident voices expressing the new mood of the 60s, is implicit and explicit to the writing, so far, of a Chicano history that has stressed problems such as the composition of the Chicano labor force, a variety of strikes in key industries, and the mobilization of several kinds of workers' organizations.

In sum, though there may not be complete agreement on this point of that, Chicano history, perhaps many of us would agree, shared from the start the fundamental attributes of the Chicano and Chicana Movement itself (which was the movement of Chicanos and Chicanas on the colleges and universities starting in the late 60s): a passion for self-awareness, for pursuing our own unique consciousness, and a deeply-felt need to know about the shaping influence of race and class on human society and on individual character and personality

as well as on culture.

Looking back over the last few years it seems clear that those were the problems that Chicano history initially set out to explain, and due to our most recent experiences we have begun to understand a few more, but before going any further along these lines we should now turn to a discussion of the nature of the past itself.

II.

Before passing on to the actual datum of Chicano history there are two questions, inter-related and inter-dependent, that must be taken into account; the first being the question of the relationship between Chicano history and culture and the history and culture of Mexico. What that question actually implies is an even larger one, or the vital question of whether we are, or are not, a unique and distinctive people in history. Most of us probably agree, or so it would seem, that these two questions figure among the most strategic problems dealing with our particular existential situation as a distinct people.

Ultimately what is the fundamental problem of Chicano history, but that of explaining the historical becoming of our distinctive and unique being, or existence? Only through

Chicano history can we truly answer the question of whether we are or are not ourselves; or whether we are simply the other (either the other from Mexico, or the other from the United States).

Perhaps such a manner of looking at ourselves will appear to some as an enlightened way for us to start dealing with our vital statistics as citizens of the United States. Who are we? Are we simply mexicanos who speak English, and who have forgotten our Mexican ways?

If we truly mean to explore Chicano history, then it seems to me that these are the kinds of questions that we must confront. And we are starting out by saying, then, that if we speak of Chicano history it is because we sense enough of its nature as to suggest its distinctiveness; a distinctiveness that derives from the unique experience of our forebears, beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century when we first appear as a unique community due to a fundamental conflict between the expanding capitalism of the United States and the weak neocolonial social structures of a Mexico beset by profound inner contradictions. Since those difficult times the major conditioner of our becoming an increasingly distinctive population has been the relative power relations between Mexico and the United States. All of the fundamental facts of life behind our vital statistics

have been affected by that basic relationship.

Seen in this light, obviously, Chicano history is not simply an extension of Mexican history, but potentially an autonomous variant. And I am not saying simply that we are a unique people in history because of our peculiar historical experiences which have produced a unique culture, but also because perhaps our historical aspirations may be different from those of Mexico. Asserting our distinctiveness should not however be construed as a denial of our origins in the culture and civilization of ancient and modern Mexico, for it mainly means that the historical origins most immediate to us, not only in time but also in space, are those experiences accumulated since the late sixteenth century in the lands called el norte, or the Spanish borderlands, or the American southwest, or by some of us, Aztlán. That is our true culture area, for in those lands appeared some of the most important distinctions between Mexican society and culture, and what in time will become known as Chicano society and culture.

Actually any proper discussion of our hypothesis should start with the sixteenth century. To do so we need but turn to George Sánchez's classic, Forgotten People, first published in 1940. "Fruits of Conquest," his first chapter, resounded with the somewhat bothersome noises "of trumpets"

and the blinding "glistening of armor," but nevertheless it included a good general description of the founding of New Mexican society. It tells a marvelous story of the origins of the New Mexican as the unfoldment of a new mestizo culture, part sixteenth-century Spain and part "pueblo...Navajo... Mexican Indian." Just as a new blood appeared in New Mexico, so did a new hybrid culture, both the product of the mixing of blood and culture of Spaniard and native of the place (or brought there from Mexico)--in effect a mineral synthesis of race, culture and environment. According to Sánchez, such early efforts soon produced a "simple agrarian economy," which in turn supported a unique pastoral culture and society characterized by forms of "communalism." Gradually social stratification also occurred, indeed it came with the original settlers. By and large a healthy patrimonialism reigned, occasionally highlighted by the celebration of "saints' days, marriages, christenings, and baptisms." Most of this happened in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in New Mexico, and in the 1700s a similar society and culture flowered in California and Texas. Some important differences of course existed between the society and culture which Sánchez described and, say, California--for example, the independence of Mexico deeply affected the economy of California but left New Mexico virtually untouched. Nevertheless, on the whole, the two societies shared relatively

similar social structures, in addition to sharing their common origins in Mexico. Our common origins in Mexico, however, as Sánchez pointed out, were gradually modified by the relative autonomy ~~which~~ the regions of the northern periphery enjoyed, and thus a kind of distinctive society evolved imperceptibly but surely.^{2/} Up to this point what distinguished our people from the people ~~from~~ Mexico was their peculiar, rustic ways of coping with their environment. Jacinto Quirarte, for instance, has recently drawn our attention to the distinctive regional art and architecture of our forebears.^{3/}

Up to the middle of the nineteenth-century (earlier in the case of Texas), then, we are dealing clearly with what we may tentatively call the colonial period of our entire social history, and there fortunately exists a formidable research literature on the subject. Our major task in relation to this period is therefore to conceptualize it from a Chicano perspective. As Gómez-Quirónes recently wrote: "The historiography related to Chicano history is richest in dealing with the period of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Perhaps in this period... research is not as imperative as is a re-examination and reinterpretation of the available sources."^{4/} It is vital that we develop a conceptual approach to this period, and then proceed to investigate the distinctive historical

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experiences of our people up to the middle of the nineteenth century. What we need are answers to such questions as, what were the peculiar social relations that characterized community life in Aztlán from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, and what type of culture did such relations produce? This means that we must start by conceptualizing the mode of production of those particular social relations--what were the reigning institutions, such as property and law, and what was the division of labor. Too we must determine the nature of the impact of such relations on consciousness and the making of culture--what were the reigning ideologies and what were relations between female and male like. It is important that in approaching this period we give critical attention not only to the conceptual problems, but also to the problems of method and ultimately for the research to extend beyond published materials.

Yet for all of the importance of the colonial period, the distinctiveness of our culture area essentially derives, most immediately, from the nineteenth century when starting with the secession of Texas and then with the Mexican War a major derangement took place in the lands of Aztlán.

III.

Although the drama of Chicano history as it is

understood here truly begins, in violent modern terms, in the second half of the nineteenthth century, at least some of its distinguishing features can already be delineated in the first half of the century. Relations between the native populations of Aztlán and Americans from the United States (as well as of other encroaching European populations) were characterized, gradually but inexorably, by the absorption of the former by the latter since early in the century. Fear of the encroaching North Americans was expressed as early as the late eighteenthth century by Spanish frontier authorities, and it is certainly significant how inter⁺marriage between the daughters of well-to-do Californio families and Yankee traders and men of adventure starts to take place with all of the rigor of a seemingly calculated policy by at least the 1830s. Other aspects of social relations tend to confirm this trend of events, such as in political terms the separation of Texas in the 1830s, and the economic fact that by the 1840s, due to the trade of the Santa Fe Trail, North Americans already dominated the economy of New Mexico. During the early part of the century perhaps the greatest weakness of the society and culture of Aztlán, from which stemmed its vulnerability, was its relative isolation and its small, scattered population which amounted to between 65,000 to 75,000 inhabitants prior to 1848; spread out in a vast rural backland and in

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towns such as San Antonio, Sante Fe, Tucson, San Diego, and Monterey. As one would expect, a marked localism characterized this society.

Beginning with the events of Texas in the 1830s, but more particularly due to the Mexican War of 1846-48, the entire culture area of Aztlán was conquered and assimilated by an expanding United States. From then on the native population became selectively absorbed, according to the needs and demands of the dominant society, from which there evolved a relatively perceptible pattern of social and cultural relations between the native Californios, Hispanos, and Tejanos and the Anglo population.

There already exists some relative agreement among Chicanos that the second half of the nineteenth-century is the crucial period for the emergence of the Chicano. Although Alvarez conceptualizes the period somewhat vaguely with the category of "the creation generation," he writes: "The Mexican-American people were created abruptly, virtually overnight, because Mexico suffered military defeat."⁵ (p. 19) Moreover, he characterized relations between Chicanos and Anglos as being conditioned by a "Thoroughly structured, thoroughly defined, social situation."⁶ What actually happened is that the social process engendered in the aftermath of the War progressively deranged the prewar society and culture of the area, and in time became the major

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conditioner of a new society and culture, one principally characterized by a structural dependency. Out of such peculiar social circumstances, a novel kind of bilingualism and biculturalism evolved, as well as a novel social type; the Chicano.

Not all the population fared equally badly under the new social order. Some "upper-class families...became so thoroughly Americanized as to be able to slip into Anglo-American society at will."⁷ In general, however, wholesale class and racial exploitation ensued which despite the efforts of social bandits such as Tiburcio Vázquez, Joaquín Murieta, Elfego Baca, Juan N. Cortina, Gregorio Cortez,⁸ and many others, produced in California the "alienation of the second generation" (between 1865 and 1890).⁹ Between the midcentury and 1900, the social history of the area now responded to new demands which created a social situation that has been characterized by Leonard Pitt thusly:

"Of the forty-five Californios representing the twenty-five families whom Thomas Oliver Larkin had enumerated in 1846 as the 'principal men' of the old régime, the vast majority went to their graves embittered. Indeed, the gentry had experienced what might be called California's only true social revolution: they were a ruling class militarily conquered, bereft of national sovereignty and a constitutional framework, and alienated from their land, homes, civil rights, and honor. They had retained little else besides their religion and a thin residue of honorary political influence."¹⁰

The lower classes of course fared even worse. Between 1854 and 1865, sixteen to twenty percent of San Quentin inmates were Californios or Mexicanos--"a high figure in view of the relative numerical decline of the Spanish-speaking."¹¹ In the case of Texas, "by 1900 the Mexican's role in Texas as a landless and dependent wage laborer was well established in all but a few insignificant areas."¹² Such were the adverse circumstances, the birth trauma, that marked our emergence as a people.

In view of such events, what can we make of the period on the whole. Well it means that once again we must turn to the conceptual problem. And in so doing we find ourselves a little more advanced than in dealing with the colonial or formative period. While we do not yet fully understand the period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth-centuries enough to conceptualize fully its meaning, discussion among us thus far has produced a tentative hypothesis about the nineteenth-century. Among Chicanos, the most advanced conceptual proposal made to date for explaining our social status in this country is the viewpoint which refers to our past and present situation as essentially the product of a colonialist experience.¹³ Without doubt the most developed historical particularization of that point of view has been the excellent essay by Rodolfo Acuña, Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation. Acuña's

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essay is the first full-length history of Chicanos to adhere to a Chicano chronology--that is, that starts in midnineteenth century and then proceeds forward. Early in the essay Acuña writes that:

"Central to the thesis of this monograph is my contention that the conquest of the Southwest created a colonial situation in the traditional sense--with the Mexican land and population being controlled by an imperialistic United States. Further, I contend that this colonization--with variations--is still with us today. Thus I refer to the colony, initially, in the traditional definition of the term, and later (taking into account the variations) as an internal colony."¹⁴

Acuña then continues in the following pages to characterize the colonial situation on historical and analytical grounds, and likens the social experience of Chicanos to that of Third World peoples.¹⁵ While others have also used the concept of "internal colony" in relation to the Chicano people, Acuña's essay is perhaps the most complete and extensive formulation to date.

Nonetheless, and despite the fact that analytically the colonialist thesis does make a lot of sense, it is perhaps not entirely valid historically. It is valid, say, up to the end of the Mexican period of Aztlán, but thereafter its application, and especially the application of the concept of "internal colony," raises some complex problems.

It is quite clear for example that if at a rather general level of analysis there does exist a parallelism

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between the social experience of Third World peoples and Chicanos, at a level of particularizing our historical experiences as Chicanos the historical record diverges.

Rather, I propose that we view ourselves as a dependent national minority, instead of as an internal colony. My major reservation to the concept of internal colonialism derives from the fact that in order for a colonialist situation to exist there must first exist an articulated and formal system of political control effectuated through an administrative system. While economic motivation may be the major impulse behind colonial aggrandizement, the colonial situation still requires a political rationale (ideology) and a system of control (the colonial administration). Also, for a colonialist situation to exist there must exist a colonial policy. As Chicanos, however, such has not been our lot. It is a point of legal fact that we have never been formally recognized as a conquered people, for the provisions of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo have never been formally recognized. As far as the federal government of the United States is concerned, and the states' and municipal governments, we do not exist as a people--for there does not exist either public policy or legislation which establishes such rights. That is why Sánchez referred to us as a Forgotten People, and it is from that source too that stems the notion of us being an "invisible minority." For in the eyes of nonChicanos we

do not exist^{we} we do not have a culture and neither do we have a history--we have no identity. If we were colonized we would at least have a name^{but} but we do not^{we} we are simply "the Spanish-speaking," a phrase which tells virtually nothing about us. Our situation therefore is not comparable to the status of the colonized, for a colonialist situation requires a formal recognition of the status of the colonized, and the establishment of a system of administration and public policy to perpetuate it. And that has not been our lot because we have never been granted formal recognition.

That being the case it behooves us to establish the basis of our own identity by first establishing the historical basis of our own unique and distinctive culture; and in order for us to do so it is well that we grapple with the problem of conceptualizing the meaning of that experience. To see ourselves as a dependent national minority means that we are able to assimilate at the level of social analysis the experience of colonized people, yet we do not lose sight of the important fact that we have never been granted formal recognition. Moreover the concept of dependent minority has the added advantage of proposing a nationalist character to the Chicano struggle. As a dependent national minority we struggle to vindicate our rights, which are first and foremost to eliminate our dependence on an alien culture and to give our community a just and necessary

measure of economic and political independence. On the matter of Chicano nationalism there is obviously a great need for further discussion, especially in relation to the need for formulating a revolutionary Chicano nationalism. All this is not to say that the Chicano Movement should not be a part of the international struggle for the vindication of the colored peoples of the world.

At this time the thrust of these remarks is intended mainly to invite comments on the suggestion that it was beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century that we first appeared as a new dependent national minority in the United States. It is in that era that begins our "national period"--or that period from 1848 to 1919 during which we were assimilated, according to an informal system of social relations, as a dependent racial minority. All of our history since 1848, is a reflection of that process, and it is only now, with the appearance of Chicano history, that we are becoming aware of our national existence and status.

Just as we proposed in relation to the colonial period the necessity for a certain kind of historiography, similarly there is a need to do the same for the period, 1846-1919. We have already seen how we are more advanced in dealing with the conceptual problem of this period than in dealing with the former; we also have, it seems, a

greater knowledge about this period. Or perhaps I should qualify this by saying that we seem to have greater materials about the kinds of institutions which the Anglos established, though not about the impact of those institutions on our society and culture. Indeed, that should become the first item on our research agenda for this period, the study of how Anglo institutions, culture, and language, affected our people in the course of the 1800s and early 1900s.

In focusing on this crucial aspect of social relations between Anglos and Chicanos, we should keep in mind especially the concept of dependency. We should first distinguish between psychological dependence, such as that involving mother and child, and social dependence, or that condition which assumes a social dependence of, in our case, a racially and culturally distinct people, on the institutions and culture of a dominant foreign institutional and cultural matrix. Unlike the Blacks, Asians, and even the Native Americans, we have a unique status of dependence--one whose distinctive feature is a presumed invisibility--and that has produced our distinctive consciousness (e.g., we still do not know what to call ourselves and lack a formally recognized status, both conditions of which redound to our political impotence) and our distinctive linguistic and cultural configurations. So the concept of dependence

is also central to any discussion related to the problem of how to approach conceptually the period/ 1846-1919. For the moment it is perhaps enough to draw attention to these two periods: the two periods which run from 1846 up to 1919, and the much larger one which begins with the sixteenth and culminates in the eighteenth century.

IV.

But, in the final analysis, what is the meaning and value of Chicano history? Will it, can it, contribute to our freedom in face of the harsh realities of our social circumstance? Surely only individual raza can render such a judgment, and surely too the struggle to verify and confirm our own perceptions and feelings about the past has ~~but~~ only begun. Nevertheless we can suggest some perhaps useful observations on what the value and meaning of such an idea of Chicano history might be, in time.

First, it is vitally important to realize that such an idea of Chicano history serves a social function, in that it can help illuminate problems in education, in anthropology, in social work, in politics, and even deeply personal problems of consciousness. ~~One~~ need only remind ourselves of the axiom that the way we view the past-- or now view it--is also the way we view ourselves, to grasp

the strategic importance of historical knowledge. Until a short time ago, Chicanos were so caught up with the constant and daily struggle of social and psychic living that we hardly had time for such things. Then, in the 1960s, our society experienced a kind of crisis, from which there appeared a need to enlighten ourselves about our past. At that moment, when our people assigned an importance to historical knowledge, we encountered and began a social process governed by historical time. To begin to consider the problem of Chicano culture in terms of history is indeed to achieve, in our social analysis and intuitive adventures, the depth of time.

Long before the 1960s, of course, we had known histories about ourselves--indeed George Sánchez's classic Forgotten People is representative of an old tradition--but the Chicano history of the 60s started something new with its thesis of the distinctive evolution of our society and culture. It further proposed that we measure, and assess critically, our community in terms of a social and cultural process extending over time. At the moment when a community begins to see itself as constituting a chain of events that occur within time, then perhaps one starts to understand a little about why certain things happen--to me, to you, to everyone.

One starts to learn about social institutions, about

their structural organization and spiritual natures; one begins to learn about culture, and how it comes to be formed and shaped, especially one's material and spiritual experience, and about individual consciousness, and how it is influenced and determined by race, class, sex, and language.

Certainly that is one value that historical knowledge has, that it can approximate and even become an experience of revelation; mainly because of its power to divine the mysteries of culture and also of consciousness. For history, seen as process or becoming, contains the elements of culture just as it also contains the elements of consciousness. Without a historical perspective rooted in the material as well as subjective conditions which have shaped our lives, we could never understand how it was that we came to be--our peculiar cultural situation which involves a unique speech, a particular arts, an increasingly peculiar scholarship and politics, in short, a peculiar Chicano style. True, the purists will surely shift restlessly at such bizarre suggestions, and in chorus chant that our culture is characterized mainly by its great and opulent variety, and who can deny it. It is certainly true that our way of life is marked by a rich and rare variety--one need only compare California to Texas--but it is also characterized by a fundamental unity at the level of structure.

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Despite the great variety of functions, determinations, and particularizations that exist among us, there also exist certain structural uniformities which when we finally start to recognize them will contribute to a greater solidarity of purpose among us. There are infinite variations in that continuum of relations that exist between Anglo society and culture and Chicanos in Texas and California, but are not such differences determined to a considerable degree by the relative development of the Anglo society and culture of Texas and California--i.e., differences among them have different impacts on Chicanos and hence determine differences among us.

If we suggest that history can be the key to understanding our unique and distinctive culture, it can also be proposed that at the very least it should inform our politics as well. Once more it is the dynamic view of society and culture that history can project which could contribute to a truly enlightened Chicano politics.

There is one strategic contribution that Chicano history can make to a Chicano politics, and that is to help us understand the process of changing society, particularly given the reality of certain circumstances. For the most part change among us, given our relative powerlessness, has mainly reflected change in the larger society. By and large we need and want what the larger

society needs and wants. Since such needs and wants involve some of the bare necessities of life--such as housing, employment, educational opportunities--that is clearly understandable. Yet perhaps we also need, and want, to develop a more creative approach to change, so that we can change our lives in order to be closer to our true selves. We are perhaps standing at a juncture where it might be possible to strike towards a new direction. What is it that we want to change? into what? for what? Should change simply be the end result of what the political marketplace will give? or perhaps we also need to address an even larger question: do we really want to change?

In sum, the meaning and value of our history lies in the fact that it can be the key to understanding our culture; that it can enlighten our politics, among other things, on the problem of changing; and that it can even have the function of revealing to us our consciousness.

V.

According to George Sánchez's thesis, we were a "forgotten people" because "in the march of imperialism a people were forgotten, cast aside as the byproduct of territorial aggrandizement." From that near-fatal eventuality derived most of our misfortunes, yet he belonged

to a generation that saw in education--according to the Mexican and Western liberal tradition--an open road toward freedom. Only if we had access to education could we manage and cope with the world, and that became the essence of his message.

We of the generation of el sesenta, share in that point of view with him, though perhaps our concepts of education and knowledge differ from his, which is understandable given the unfolding circumstances of our society and culture. Nonetheless, we can feel a solidarity with him, even now; a solidarity which will surely grow through the years in recognition of the life path which he took, and which we must now follow. Pasó por aquí.

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Footnotes

- 1/ Cf. Aztlán and El Grito for numerous articles, such as Ronald W. López, "The El Monte Berry Strike of 1933," Aztlán (Spring 1970); and, Salvador Enrique Alvarez, "The Legal and Legislative Struggle of the Farmworkers, 1965-1972," El Grito (Winter 1972-73).
- 2/ Cf. also Leonard Pitt's The Decline of the Californios (Berkeley, 1966), esp. chapter one, and David J. Weber (ed.) "Selected Pages From Foreigners in Their Native Land," (Albuquerque, 1973) p. 4f.
- 3/ Jacinto Quirarte, Mexican-American Artists (Austin, 1973), p. 30.
- 4/ Juan Gómez-Quíñones, "Toward a Perspective on Chicano History," Aztlán (Fall 1971), p. 11.
- 5/ Rodolfo Alvarez, "The Psycho-Historical Experience of the Mexican-American People," Social Science Quarterly (June 1971), p. 20.
- 6/ Ibid., p. 19.
- 7/ Rodman W. Paul, "The Spanish-Americans in the Southwest, 1848-1900," in; John G. Clark (ed.) The Frontier Challenge (Lawrence, 1971), p. 34.
- 8/ Pedro Castillo and Albert Camarillo, Furia y Muerte (Los Angeles, 1973).

- 9/ Pitt, Californios, p. 262
- 10/ Ibid., p. 278.
- 11/ Ibid., p. 256.
- 12/ Leo Grebler, et. al., The Mexican-American People (New York, 1970), p. 49.
- 13/ Cf. Mario Barrera, Carlos Muñoz, and Charles Ornelas, "The Barrio as Internal Colony," in Harlan Hahn (ed.) People and Politics in Urban Society: Urban Affairs Annual Review (1972); and Tomás Almaguer, "Toward the Study of Chicano Colonialism," Aztlán (Spring 1971).
- 14/ Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation (San Francisco, 1973), p. 3.
- 15/ Ibid., p. 3f.

HUMANIDAD
ESSAYS IN MEMORY
OF
GEORGE I. SANCHEZ

Editor:
Americo Paredes

Part II

Bilingual-Bicultural Education¹

Bilingual instruction has a long history in the United States. Its lessons are familiar to students of the subject. Among them are the following:

of preparation is a significant step toward such a commitment. The contract stipulates that "a staff person has to be assigned the authority and responsibility of giving the kind of direction which will bring about needed action."

Recommendation: That the Board of Education of the District approve a statement of policy with respect to bilingual, bicultural education and that the statement include objectives and goals for the guidance of the staff with respect to such a program.

Bilingual education.

In adhering to the provisions of the ACT of 1972 the District is by no means entering an unexplored area of education activity. Bilingual instruction has a long history in the United States. Its lessons are familiar to students of the subject. ~~Among them are the following:~~

Where the home or ancestral language is not English, children who are first taught reading in that language (the first language of the child) will learn to read English better and more quickly.

There is evidence to the effect that competence in reading in one language not only does not interfere with reading in another but tends to enhance it.

The best medium for the initial states of learning, where such learning relies mainly on aural and verbal communication, is the child's dominant language.

These conclusions, based on past research and confirmed by current practice, make uncommonly good sense. Linguistic patterns are firmly fixed during the first four or five years of life. During that time they become a vital part of the psyche of the person, and they cannot be abandoned or proscribed without resistance by the individual. This means that he will be psychically disturbed rather than reassured by instruction present to him in a language

he does not understand. Furthermore, the transition from ability to hear and speak a language to reading it takes far less effort than to master all three skills simultaneously in an unfamiliar language.

With these propositions in mind, it may be stressed that the home language, by its process of relatively free association, has in fact functioned positively in the growth and development of the child. This is because there is a direct and immediate connection between what the child experiences and what he hears and says. This spontaneity is not restrained by rules about the mechanics of speech, spoken or written. It is therefore, on the part of the child, an experience of success. Only later, much later, is the child able to understand intellectually that the mechanics of learning - phonics, grammar, syntax and the rest - are useful devices by which he can master more complicated areas of experience.

To these ends bilingual education has been defined as instruction in two languages and the use of both as mediums of instruction for any part or all of the school curriculum. The guidelines issued by the State Department of Education under the ACT of 1972 adopt this definition.

Historical experience not only validates these concepts, but also the social and political and technical conditions upon which their success depends. The competence of teachers in the home language (in this case Spanish) must be of a high order. The administrators of the school system must give the bilingual program their support. The community must believe that bilingual instruction is beneficial. Parents must accept the view that the maintenance of the home language and the transfer to English do not raise an "either-or" dilemma, but are two complementary elements in the growth and development of the child.

Recommendation: ~~That the District, as part of its active encouragement of bilingual education, prepare a brief brochure on the history of bilingualism in the United States, and the conclusions that have been derived; and that this brochure be printed and distributed in Spanish and English to teachers, administrators, parents and the community at large.~~

Language maintenance and language transfer.

Bilingual education offers a human and sensible answer to the linguistic problems of a child who is reared in one language and is suddenly plunged into a school world that teaches him in another. The psychological and pedagogical evidence goes from persuasive to convincing. The resistance that remains is not based on considerations, backed up by evidence, of child growth and development, but on contraposing the concepts of language maintenance and language transfer.

There is no doubt as to the roots of the concept of language maintenance. They are in the cultural survivals of ethnic minorities whose adults strongly desire and even demand that the "old country" traditions, mores, customs and traits, including speech, be imprinted on their young. Cultural heritage has been central to the demands of Mexican-Americans for bilingual education. They have viewed it, as have all other ethnic minorities, as an important condition of restoring their prestige and status in the community at large.

The fact that cultural maintenance and linguistic loyalty have not been dramatically successful in the United States does not argue for underrating their influence in many communities, including San Jose. They account for much of the momentum toward bilingual education in the last ten years.

Language transfer, on the other hand, can have the effect, and has had

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it in the past, of polarizing opposition to bilingual instruction. The argument runs that since the child is destined to function in an English-speaking society, the sooner he learns ^{English} it the better. This position invites a cultural encounter with the language maintainers; and for this reason the more the issue is argued the more obscure the controversy becomes.

It is worth noting in this connection that the official position of the State of California, enacted by its legislature, is that, from the standpoint of the child, language maintenance and language transfer are both vital elements in his growth and development. This is not a crude political compromise but rather a legislative acknowledgement of the conditions of effective education for children who must negotiate a difficult cultural transition. For the very young learner, the maintenance of language is not an issue of sentimental ties with ancestors or a vital matter of ethnic prestige. It is a crucial condition of psychological stability, of personal psychic integration, under the most favorable conditions possible.

There is reason to believe that these conditions are also those that prepare the way for language transfer, which indeed also becomes a necessity for the child as he confronts his needs for getting along with multi-lingual peers and of making his way successfully through a second language and a second culture.

This is the course on which the schools of California are now launched: (1) to meet through bilingual instruction the linguistic needs of minority children whose first (family) language is not English; (2) to facilitate transfer to English of such children; and (3) to preserve and enhance linguistic skills acquired in the home.

Two important things should be noticed about the above statements.

First, they reflect primarily and dominantly the point of view of the child as a growing and developing individual. Second, as a matter of official policy, ^{is the question} whether, and how far and for how long the linguistic skills acquired in the family can be preserved and enhanced.

In this latter connection ^{and connect} ~~the District is bound to~~ take into account that preservation and enhancement have important consequences for both the individual and for the community. The present shortage of American-born teachers of Mexican ancestry who possess ^{the} ~~the~~ high competence noted above as one of the conditions of the success of bilingual education, makes two points with one illustration. Mexican-American teachers whose first (family) language was Spanish and whose skills thus acquired were not preserved or enhanced throughout their schooling, cannot compete in teaching effectiveness with Mexican-born and bred teachers and must go through time-consuming, arduous and expensive in-service training to so compete. This is a personal as well as a community loss, as evidenced by the difficulties that school systems are having in locating American-born "chicano" teachers with optimum competencies.

~~Recommendation: That the District, in a spirit of philosophical prudence, recognize the futility of the "black-or-white" approach to language maintenance and transfer, and that it affirm a position on maintenance-transfer that will look to the interests both of the individual as a potential adult citizen and to the best interests of the community in multicultural services.~~

Public policies as to bilingual education.

~~The late arrival of the San Jose Unified School District in the field of bilingual, bicultural education, ought not to be approached with explanations or justifications. Suffice it to say, in the interests of getting~~

The pattern of instruction.

~~aims, and goals should move to an ultimate aspiration: to provide bilingual, bicultural education to all the children of the District.~~

Educational philosophies, methods and even techniques are the results of a political process that goes on continuously in the community among those adults who take an active interest and part in the schooling of the young. Except in rare instances, and only at the high school or college level, the young, as the objects of public schooling, are not the agents of change in philosophies, methods and techniques. They can manifest their needs, but not articulate them. An assessment of needs is an adult response to them and on the next higher level an articulation on behalf of the young of how to respond to the needs.

Here a word of caution is in order. The process of assessment and articulation is rarely clear cut and unambiguous. It is more often infiltrated by "needs" other than those of the young. There is the "need" of some parents to preserve the culture, and therefore the language, of a past recalled with affection. There is the "need" of persons who would find para- or professional employment in a bilingual program. There is the "need" of providers of instructional materials for which bilingual instruction would open new markets.

These are not "needs" but cultural and material expectations of certain sectors of the adult community. Whatever their legitimate role in the final decisions on educational policy, they are secondary to needs for growth and development of the child.

~~Recommendation: That the District adopt a procedure for the assessment of linguistic needs of all enrollees in its schools, including the use of instruments like the State Form; and that this procedure be issued for the use of all persons participating in the assessment.~~

Once the linguistic needs of the children are found and instruction in a language other than English is approved, decisions have to be made in

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two major respects. The first question that arises is, How shall the available time for instruction be distributed between English and the first (home) language? And the second, How shall the subject matter be allocated as between the two languages?

These distributions should not be arbitrary. They should reflect the linguistic condition of the learners at any given time. Clearly, for children who are completely monolingual in a language other than English, instruction, all instruction, can reach them only in their first (home) language. As their skills in English advance, more latitude is available for the distribution of time and subject matter. Such advancement will come by degrees, the guiding principle throughout being that no child shall be taught anything in a language he does not understand.

As the learner moves away from complete dependency on his home language, options more flexible and numerous are open to the school. It has been estimated that more than 250 combinations of time and subject matter are available, theoretically, to the curriculum planner of a bilingual program. (See Dr. William F. Mackey, A TYPOLOGY OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION, International Center for Research on Bilingual Education, Quebec, Canada).

It is in the selection of the pattern that best suits the learners, that more genuinely reflects the cultural styles of the community and that better prepares the child to operate in those social universes which will be open to him, that the understanding and skill of the bilingual educators is demonstrated. For instance, it has been pointed out that the kind and degree of language reinforcement which the child receives in the normal course of his life at home and in the community should figure heavily in the type of bilingual instruction to be given in the school. The talk of

peers, ^{and it} radio and television programs ^{is} ~~are~~ only a part of the cultural situation that must be taken into account by the school. Communities differ importantly in this respect, and no bilingual program can be justified in the long run if it stands isolated from that situation. There are to be considered such factors as the ethnic distribution of the immediate community served by the school, the larger areas of contact of the individual, the cultural resources available to the family and used by its members, the ethnic ratios within the school itself, the numbers of speakers of the given language who are in active contact with one another in a locality.

~~Recommendation: That the bilingual, bicultural agents of the District provide themselves with information and data as to the foregoing factors, and that the District encourage research with respect to them.~~

The bilingual curriculum.

Every innovation in schooling presents both a temptation and an opportunity. The innovation may be a philosophical approach, a method heretofore untried, a marked difference in curriculum design or a rearrangement of power and control of school policy. The temptation lies in the accommodation of what is offered as new to the vested requirements of what is old. The opportunity consists in recognizing potentials in the new that will make education progressively more responsive to the human condition of the child, past, present and future.

~~So far as the San Jose Unified School District is concerned, bilingual education is an innovation--bilingual education as policy, commitment, methodology and philosophy.~~

~~Some words are in order as to the temptation aspect of this innovation in the District's educational action.~~

The traditional "curriculum" on which the bilingual program will be grafted stresses competitiveness and personal achievement. Textbook instruction determines the main tracks along which both methods and subject matter move. Cognition as a product measures achievement and rewards competitiveness. Reading skills and their attainment overpower and nearly banish other considerations. Verbal forms become practically the only sign language that is recognized as a means of communication. The whole educational process, from kindergarten to graduate school, is motivated by expectations, increasingly postponed and rationalized by delayed rewards for personal competitive success.

It will be noticed that the word "curriculum" in the preceding paragraph is placed in quotation marks. By this it is intended to suggest that the curriculum which is being quoted is the traditional one, and that it is understood and practiced as a series of assignments of cognitive goals.

It would seem that the bilingual innovation could recognize that social awareness and group success are also important products of situations contrived to make instruction possible. Textbook time tables and schedules could be considered at best as main routes of learning open to innumerable feeder lines of unpredictable interests and spontaneous side trips into experience. Cognition could be regarded as the continuous activity of all the child's senses in the natural and social worlds that surround him, and that can be consciously made more sensitive, discriminating and interactive. Reading skills could be properly placed within a more ample understanding of other vital skills necessary to a fully developing person. It could be recognized that those other skills, too, are different styles of communication,

allowing the personality to express itself beyond the point where words fail. The whole educational process, especially for young learners, could become less of a means to remote ends and more of a lively experience that is such because it is present, reassuring, and therefore an end in itself.

Because bilingual education is bilingual as a concept and as a description, it is particularly important for bilingual educators to notice a difference between "curriculum" as a series of cognitive assignments and curriculum understood as a series of experiences carrying educational values. These values are by no means exclusively linguistic. Ability to read is not the least of the products of educational experiences, but it is not all.

Some of the overtones of curriculum understood ⁱⁿ these terms can be briefly stated.

Education can be thought of as progress of the individual powered by his own experience, observation, feeling, thought, curiosity, and biological endowment, rather than ^{as} be the power of adults over him. This is motivation in its genuine sense: the forward movement of personality towards enlarging cycles of experience anchored in a sense of worth and success in the past. It is the deeper meaning of being "turned on". Experience of this quality is a fine blend of the cognitive (ability to notice, recognize, and arrange real things); heuristic, (the interest in pursuing knowledge beyond what is immediately obvious); creative, (the joy of impressing upon an experience the stamp of the experiencing personality); expressive (the flow of spontaneity into the perpetual mix of the inner and outer worlds of the individual human life); affective (the exercise of emotion to establish healthy loyalties and psychological securities among peers); and social (the ability

to recognize what the companionship of others provides and the willingness to accept its responsibilities along with its pleasures).

This is a somewhat lengthy definition of curriculum as a series of experiences, deliberately planned and provided by the educator, to promote the growth and development of the child, looking at him eventually as a member of a society. It means growth and development in the direction indicated by Piaget: "the increasing coherence of self and non-self"; man as a thing among things, as an event among events, as a person among persons. So that an assessment of needs, beginning with a technical inquiry about linguistic liabilities ends with a recognition of the "needs" of growth and development direction of all children.

It hardly requires special notice that cognitive skills and cognitive possessions are part and parcel of this whole process, not the least but also not all. Bilingual education cannot become an unreasonable claim that it will cure the defects of present public schooling. But by being sensed as one component of a new context, as an innovation, it can be an opportunity rather than a temptation.

Phasing in.

The minimum conditions for introducing a bilingual instructional program include the following:

- Completion of an assessment of needs based upon an approved procedure.
- Appointment by the Board of Education of a director of bilingual education.
- Negotiation of agreements or understandings with each school where bilingual instruction is requested.
- Creation of an arrangement by which the District's supervisor of the program can maintain connection with the principal, teachers, and

parents on children currently enrolled in bilingual classes.

These minimum conditions will merely initiate a process by which certain desirable characteristics will be brought into bilingual education at the level of each school. The needs assessment should eventually become a continuing procedure, familiar to the parents as well as to the administrators and teachers. These adults are the best informed sources on the prevailing culture and language of the neighborhood. A director can give bilingual education, indispensable administrative support and initiative. It is through an effective administrator that neighborhood points of view and values can be related to the broader uses and the wider horizons of bilingualism in contemporary life. What kinds of District assistance each school program is to receive and what responsibilities will be assumed by its administrators, teachers, and parents can be useful in two respects if they are reduced to agreements or understandings: one, they can apply past experience to the continuing program of instruction; and two, they can provide a basis for continuous review and adaptation to changing conditions. Programs will undoubtedly be revised from year to year. Between revisions there will be a regular interchange of information and evaluations between the director of the District program and the involved adult personnel of each school.

~~The State guidelines call for a "high-quality phase-in" for new bilingual programs. The foregoing suggestions are intended as an approach to this standard.~~

Considering that serious attention to the language handicaps of minority children were for so long ignored, it is not surprising that decisions are likely to be made out of sense of urgency, almost of crisis.

The data from an assessment of needs should establish priorities as to types of children most urgently requiring help. Assistance to such children should come first; but over and beyond "crash" programs that mostly reflect past negligence on the part of school systems, it should be recognized that only persistent effort on plans carefully made can eventually produce successful bilingual instruction. Success would be evidenced by teachers who are highly competent in the use of Spanish; appropriate materials; adequate supportive services; cultural awareness; a curriculum that avoids boring children in a first language as it often does in a second; evaluation and testing procedures that are culturally compatible.

~~These elements are not present as of this date in the San Jose community to a degree that would justify an initial plan for bilingual education for all grades, kindergarten through twelfth. It would be more prudent for the District to start with bilingual classes at the kindergarten level in as many schools as express a desire for them. These initial classes would be oriented toward long-term planning for bilingual education and would reflect, on the kindergarten level, the ultimate goals and commitments of the District in this area of instruction. In each of the participating schools, there would be additional and mainly improvised programs to meet the most urgent needs of children in the grades above kindergarten. It should be understood, however, that these improvisations would gradually make way for instruction more and more reflective of ultimate goals. A five-year period should be sufficient to allow the District to overtake and remove its own handicaps as to teacher competencies and the rest, and to introduce bilingual instruction systematically and effectively from kindergarten through junior high school.~~

~~come forward in a cooperative effort to establish criteria and to create quality materials.~~

~~Such an effort requires appropriate machinery for continuous exchange of information and the discussion of accommodations that will serve the common purpose. That purpose should be to promote the highest possible quality of linguistic and cultural experience in the schools.~~

~~The San Jose Unified School District is already on the way toward such a cooperative effort. In the terms of the preliminary grant under the ACT of 1972 it is stated that "the District has approved entering into an agreement with San Jose State University School of Education to train additional minority teachers and train and hire bilingual, bicultural teachers." It is expected that such an agreement will be concluded by September 1973.~~

~~Recommendation: That there be developed a Joint Services Understanding among the agencies and institutions that have an active role in bilingual education; and that such understanding or agreement be the basis for the creation of a Joint Bilingual, Bicultural Service Council of all the participating agencies.~~

In-Service training.

That classroom teachers need retraining while in-service indicates that changes in educational goals and values have occurred and that the new educational performances required by such changes now make it necessary to send the teacher herself back to school.

Progress in any profession implies a growth of knowledge, replacement of old values by new ones, shifts of emphasis, formulation of concepts

that serve the clients of the profession better, improvement of techniques, sometimes drastic reforms in methodology, and not infrequently radical departures in philosophy.

The problem is not how to slow down such growth to avoid the inconvenience of adjusting to it, but how to differentiate between substantive progress and modish behaviour. The profession of education is singularly inclined to the latter. Educational innovations can move quickly from hypothesis to proposition to promotion to catch-word to programming and thus to in-service training.

Outwardly, something like this has happened to bilingual education. Those who find themselves disturbed or perturbed, unfamiliar or inadequate in bilingual education, are likely to be hoping that in the not very long run it will prove to be one of many of education's passing fancies.

Inwardly, however, bilingual, bicultural education has the potential of becoming a major and permanent advance for American society. This remains to be argued and proved convincingly, and to the extent that that it is so proved it will require new skills, and indeed new attitudes of American educators. And it already has brought its own set of requirements for in-service training of teachers in bilingual education.

At the present time bilingual education is running a gamut of skeptical and even unfriendly, not to say hostile, appraisal. As indispensable as in-service training is, the conditions under which it is administered and even required can themselves diminish enthusiasm for bilingualism. In-service training for bilingual education is

apt to be just one more "special program" attended outside the regular daily schedule and added to the already demanding requirement of the formal curriculum. Out-of-school meetings for orientation are apt to be called. Workshops can become another form of more work with less time to do it in. Through the mind of the teacher run serious professional questions: "How do I carry the new bilingual methods from in-service training into my class room? What kinds of materials will I need? Where can I get them? What should I read? Am I competent enough in Spanish?" Goals, objectives, aims and values in bilingual education that she has to accept can feel as drastic as a mental re-treading or as awesome as a religious conversion. And when the teacher is additionally considered as a spouse or a parent, bilingual education in his or her priorities is not likely to stand very high.

If bilingual-bicultural education is bringing new values and insights into American education that will prove enduring, the possibility that it will some day be lightly discarded can be lessened by using in-service training in a manner that will not add to the already obvious strains of teaching. Better still, in a manner that will diminish those strains and thus become a factor in humanizing teaching as well as reading.

~~Recommendation: That in the agreements between the District director of bilingual education and the individual schools suggested above, special attention be given to the conditions under which in-service training will take place.~~

Pre-Service training.

Essentially in-service training is remedial. Since it now takes

five years of college to certify a teacher, it may be assumed that it will take that long ~~in Santa Clara County~~ to graduate teachers who will have been prepared specifically for bilingual instruction. The aim is to avoid remedial retraining in the future, or at least to lay such adequate foundations in the preparation of teachers as will not require in the future such traumatic reconditioning as in-service training often entails.

It is in this connection especially that the Joint Bilingual Services Council can play an extremely useful role. Pre-service courses ~~for bilingual teachers are being devised. These courses~~ should be conceived and organized with continuing awareness of what other agencies and other programs are experiencing in this field. Insofar as the Mexican child is concerned, ~~not only must~~ these courses deal with his ancestral history and culture, the experience of his own minority and his first language, Spanish. They must also incorporate the results of fifty years of research on child growth and development. It may even be possible, if pre-service training answers to its responsibilities, that the financing, administration, philosophy, design and practice of American education, by way of bilinguistic, bicultural innovations can change the concept of the teacher in the class. In place of the driven drudge of classroom routine, special programs, accountability, and in-service fringe penalties, the teacher might become the respected strategist of the growth and development of the children entrusted to her by a community and a system ready to act in her support.

Aides in bilingual education.

The use of aides in the classroom has become a part of bilingual

practice in school districts with large enrollments of Spanish-speaking children. They are employed in the San Jose District and they are likely to become a permanent part of the administrative plan of bilingualism.

Because of their numbers and their presence in the classroom, aides should receive more consideration under the heads of pre- and in-service training than they have in the past. Unless assigned as a mere flunkey to the teacher and content to remain in that status, the aide enters increasingly into the instructional process. Awareness of educational problems grows and observation of teaching situations develops a consciousness of role that must be positively clarified and guided.

There has been enough experience with the aides system to indicate that such clarification and guidance should be provided more systematically than in the past. In-service training can be required of them after they are hired, and pre-service orientation before. Such training deserves particular attention in bilingual programs. Generally speaking, aides operate uncertainly either as assistant housekeepers or sub-professionals. If bilingual education is to use them more and more in the latter category, their sub-professional training should be taken seriously by administrators. Who is to offer such training, what is it to consist of, how can it be designed so that it offers genuine educational insights, --these are questions that must be posed and answered more deliberately than they have in the past. The professional, ethical and administrative issues raised by the use of aides can hamper bilingual instruction in subtle as well as noticeable ways, if they are not resolved constructively.

~~Recommendation: That the District adopt and apply positive guide-~~

lines to the training needs of all aides assigned to bilingual classrooms.

Competencies in Spanish.

~~Spanish is referred to in this context only because it is the dominant minority language in this community. What is said here applies equally to other minority languages, particularly Portuguese.~~

If bilingual education is to justify the funds and the effort spent on it, teacher competency in the language other than English must be judged by increasingly higher standards. A rising level of expectations as to what a bilingual teacher ought to know and be able to do is necessary if the low benchmark from which they have started is to be raised.

That requirements for assignment of a teacher to a bilingual class have been less than strict can be admitted without embarrassment. In less than a decade school systems had to be turned around to qualify for federal and state funding of massive bilingual programs. In some respects this has called for drastic changes in attitudes and improvisations of many sorts, ranging from statements of educational philosophy to design and production of materials. Not the least of these improvisations, in many instances, has occurred in the matter of teaching personnel.

So far as the teaching of Spanish in bilingual programs is concerned the start was not auspicious. In states like California it was conditioned by generations of neglect or hostility on the part of the official establishment, which did not concern itself with respecting or preserving or enhancing the language skills of Spanish-speaking children. Their culture faded and their Spanish skills were leached through official

indifference and neglect. It is from their ranks that much of the recruiting of bilingual teachers has had to be done.

It is no offense to the ethnic ego or to the educator's pride to confess all this. The important thing is to recognize that under these historical circumstances improvisation is unavoidable; but also that it is provisional. It should not be too much to hope that within ten years the present incompetencies will be leveled upward. This can be done partly through in-service training but mainly through pre-service education.

The competencies to be considered relate to knowledge of the Spanish language and skills in using it. They also have to do with a wide curriculum of cultural matters of which the current language of Mexican communities is a part.

~~One important step in this direction is the action of the California state commission for teacher accreditation, which recently approved certain standards for granting special bilingual certificates. These standards should represent a minimum from which teacher training institutions can take them to still higher levels of liberal preparation for genuinely effective bilingualism in the public schools.~~

~~Recommendation: That the San Jose Unified School District adopt a general policy on linguistic and cultural competencies for bilingual teachers.~~

Parent participation.

It is one of the tenets of bilingual education that parents shall have the opportunity to take part in the entire process. This begins with the choice as to whether or not children will be enrolled in bilingual

classes. For those parents who approve, the schools are expected to offer opportunities for involvement.

Involvement has taken a number of forms. Parents have been appointed to advisory committees which pass on matters of policy. The schools are expected to encourage demonstrations of cultural skills by parents in the classroom. The prevailing view appears to be that parents should know what is going on in the school and to have the opportunity to express themselves about it.

This desirable aspect of bilingual, bicultural education could be made more effective if parental roles were somewhat more specifically described and presented as options to the parents.

These are some of the ways in which this might be done: the identification of adults who have a craft or other skill that they are willing to demonstrate in classrooms; lectures in Spanish to explain the methods and philosophy of current instruction; consultation of parents in a continuing assessment of needs based on a procedure established by the District; presentation of visual programs about classroom activities illustrating what the school is doing and why; convocation of discussion groups to provide facts and elicit opinions whenever a situation or issue arises that commands the present interest of the community of parents; a service of technical information for parents who are members of advisory committees and who as such are called upon to make policy judgements.

While the doors to participation should be kept open to all parents, it is not likely that most of them will be prompted to participate actively on the level of a general interest in the educational progress of

of the school system as a whole. It is probable that they will be more interested in the educational experiences of their own children in the specific classes in which they are enrolled. If this is true, it might be desirable to organize that local interest into supportive and informational committees identified specifically with particular classes. The local interest could then be personalized by identifying organized parents with their own children in their own class. In this way important decisions which are now made by the school alone could be explained and used to promote the education of the parents themselves.

There is another more productive use of class committees of this type --to apply them to the encouragement of activities supporting what the bilingual teacher is trying to do in the classroom. Being read to at home strengthens the effect of being read to at school. But in many instances the parents would require and perhaps welcome guidance in reading techniques as well as assistance in providing the home with reading material complementary to those of the school.

Parent participation implies the assumption by parents of certain responsibilities, like reading at home, that can encourage responsiveness of the school and the family to each other and the child to both. There are precise technical methods to be worked out to accomplish this; the class committees can be a means to identify and apply them. Compared to other forms of parent participation this seems to offer the most immediate benefits for children receiving bilingual instruction.

Community involvement.

This, like parent participation, is a characteristic of bilingual-bicultural education. Since without its presence it is not likely that

a school district will obtain federal or state funding for bilingual education, it can be described as a required characteristic. It can be argued that there is a difference between the two concepts. Parent participation, as suggested above, should aim at increasing closeness of the family and the school on the level of the growth and development of the individual child and the enlistment of the support of the family itself in encouraging that development. Community involvement, on the other hand, supposes a more general interest in the operation of the school system as a whole in the cultural and linguistic areas. This in turn presupposes that there is in the community a structure or ways and means by which that general interest can be expressed, by which it can ask questions and consider the answers and make suggestions as to policies.

If such a structure does not exist, if such ways and means are absent, the District itself must give thought to creating them and making them viable.

~~Recommendation: That the department of bilingual, bicultural education, of the District create an advisory council open to participation by parents, classroom teachers, administrators, and other active participants in the program, to be constituted as a representative or delegate body with consultative status.~~

Evaluation and research.

Advisory bodies and consultive committees very soon fall into disuse unless they are genuinely functional within the system. Two important functions which the council could assume would be research and evaluation.

As to research, the object would be to assemble data related to the

progress of the bilingual-bicultural program in meeting the needs of Spanish speaking children. The assessment of needs should be continuing, and technically reliable, and adequately reported to the school authorities and the community. The advisory council can be the channel for this.

As a function of the advisory council, the same objective would apply with regard to evaluation. The evaluative process should be as continuous as possible with the teachers and parents as participants as well as all those staff members who are responsible for day-to-day operation of the program. Special advisors could be contracted from time to time to provide professional judgements when needed; but the aim should be to evaluate the action as it unfolds, and its purpose should be the recognition of successful action as well as the correction of mistakes, oversights, laxity or unproductiveness.

Resources staff.

A bilingual-bicultural program for a district the size of San Jose with ongoing activities on various fronts and at different levels and calling for active participation by family and community will require effective supportive services. At whatever point of the District's administrative machinery they are attached, these services are important to keep the numerous participants in the total program moving forward together.

In any public program of any proportions there is much that can become esoteric and even mystifying if there is not within it an adequate exchange system of information and services. It is not possible to answer all the questions, provide for all the contingencies, coordinate all the resources and anticipate all the needs in advance. Provided the

goals are clearly stated and the commitments are taken seriously, creative team operation will be possible, even among a comparatively large number of persons. The two requirements are clear definition of responsibilities and ways and means to bring guidance and help to those in the program who need to know and to act. These needs are particularly important in the parent and community sector of the program. If rigidity is to be avoided in bilingual-bicultural education the traffic of ideas, information, materials, equipment, and insights will have to be lively and responsive.

Like the use of aides, parent participation and community involvement resources services must be particularized and special staff training for them provided. It is so recommended.

Part II

~~The Studio Laboratory~~

~~There is no need to set forth in detail here the background of the Studio Laboratory. A full report on this subject is available on request to its publishers, the San Jose Unified School District and Model Cities of San Jose.~~

~~It is sufficient to recall that the S/L arose as an idea out of the persistent and urgent demand by classroom teachers for materials appropriate for teaching Spanish in bilingual programs in grades K through 4. To the original small group of teachers who were brought together in a seminar to address themselves to this idea was added an equally small team of artists who were enrolled in art courses at San Jose State University. Even though it was soon discovered by teachers and artists that they were not yet able to relate to an established, formal bilingual,~~

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Conclusion.

~~cultural stimulus, expression and resources. But this cannot be resolved by the Studio Laboratory.~~

An adequate bilingual-bicultural program must concern itself with materials, teacher training, language skills, parent participation, community involvement, curriculum strategies, educational philosophy and cultural awareness. From time to time the emphasis may shift from one of these areas to another. But over time the program must advance evenly on all fronts. Neglect of any of them will unbalance the whole effort.

Special attention should be given to the aspect of culture because it is the area least clearly defined at the present time and most likely to contain vague concepts and blurred objectives. It is important to avoid these faults since they can reverse priorities and derail the activities of the participants, possibly creating false expectations in the community and missing the central purposes of so much effort and expense.

These purposes, in order of priority, would appear to be as follows:

Number one: to prevent the injury done to young learners who are compelled to take instruction in language they do not understand, or in which they have limited skills.

Number two: to reinforce and to encourage the feeling of self-significance socially and self-worth psychologically by recognizing and respecting the culture into which the child is born.

Number three: to preserve and enhance the language skills which the child acquires in the culture of his birth without interfering with other linguistic skills that

will prepare him to act in the second culture that will condition his future life.

Number four: to provide the child, in the fulfillment of these priorities, with a continuing series of school and home experiences in all of which there are always present the following vital elements: cognitive growth; interest aroused by the significance to the learner of what he is learning; creative use of things and situations; spontaneity in his responses which will bring the element of delight into learning; affection for things learned and for the persons with whom they are learned; and ability to give and receive companionship among peers.

The cultural content of a bilingual program should serve these primary ends, not be dominated by them. If they are clearly stated and conscientiously pursued the element of condescension toward minorities will be discouraged; for it will be seen that what society is doing is not so much treating the individual as curing itself. Here the so-called Anglo culture and the so-called Mexican meet on common ground. Both will have to look at themselves in critical evaluation of how far they serve and to what extent they fail with respect to primary ends.

The child is entitled to these priorities. They are the foundations for an adult life that is capable of reshaping society in significant ways so that it better serves the ends of humanity itself.

Note for Galarza, "Bilingual-Bicultural Education"-----

¹These remarks on bilingual-bicultural education have been ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ abstracted from a longer essay by Dr. Galarza entitled "Bilingual-Bicultural Education in the San Jose Unified School District." They are reproduced with the permission of the original publishers, the Department of Urban Education of the San Jose (California) School District and the San Jose Model Cities, Inc. -- Editor.

Reflections of Discontent in the Mexican Novel, 1890-1911✓

As noted by Ernest K. Bramstead for Europe, the sociological novel made its appearance at a time in the nineteenth century when conditions in society were changing.² There is a correlation between the tendency toward artistic realism, marked social and economic ~~growth~~ ^{concern} in narrative literature, and the first impact of modernization. In Mexico, too, literary trends and conditions of life focused the novelist's attention on social conflict ~~reflecting~~ that reflected problems arising from social change.

Most of the novels considered here belong to the realist literary trend in Mexico, as defined by Joaquina Navarro. ~~However~~ Some knowledgeable scholars like John Brushwood prefer the term "realism/naturalism," but Navarro considers the distinction between realism and naturalism to be meaningless for Mexico. In Europe, realism is for most purposes considered to have been dominant between 1830 and 1850, while in Mexico its impact was not felt until the 1880s. It was the principal influence in Mexican literature up to the second decade of the twentieth century, stimulating the production of many novels of ~~and~~ political and social content.

By 1880, the Mexican writer had at his disposal the major novels produced in

Europe under the influence of realism. He could choose and select what was attractive and useful to him from the new current, and adapt it within the Mexican and Spanish traditions. But romanticism, especially in its more exaggerated features, continued to have adherents among the minor writers, perhaps because they catered more explicitly to established tastes. Costumbrismo--in its specific concern with character types, acknowledged customs, and institutions, usually with satiric or didactic purposes--is also in some instances a parallel literary trend, particularly in the work of

(As for specific European influences, models
Emilio Rabasa. ~~Spanish and Mexican writers~~ French and Spanish ~~influences~~ predominated,

especially Zola and Galdós, though Dickens was also read. As a whole, the affinity to the Spanish novel of the same period seems to be the closer, but this grows out of the sharing of common moral and social values, tastes, and literary traditions rather than out of a conscious ~~in~~ imitation. After 1895, modernismo was a major literary current, one most commonly associated with poetry. Along with Buenos Aires, Mexico City was a center of the cult; and two of its most important journals, Revista Azul (1894-1896) and Revista Moderna (1898-1911), were published in Mexico. Modernismo, as an escapist movement, avoided social protest, though escapism may be a form of subconscious protest. For the most, though, novelists of the ~~porfirian~~ (Porfirio Díaz) period do not exhibit major modernismo influence; and, except for Nervo, few of the writers to be considered are modernistas.

In their portrayal of social dissatisfaction and political corruption, Mexican novelists expressed explicitly and implicitly their concerns for national reform and regeneration. A good many novels revolved around protagonists or groups that found their situation to be unfavorable because their environment undermined their aspirations--a harsh reality kept them from advancing socially and economically. Conflict might be generational or political, stimulated by economic conditions or a result of an individual's being out of step with a quickly changing environment. ~~Some~~ Situations of social conflict might range from the humorous to the tragic. Through them the novelists communicated their ideas on social and political reform.

Novelists of the period 1890-1911 made suggestions with-
in the plot, and in dedications and prologues, made explicit
pleas for national awareness and the creation of a national
literature. Many of the writers of the late porfiriato used
as a model Ignacio M. Altamirano, whose novel Clemencia
(1869) was a benchmark in Mexican literature. During the
late 1860's, in a debate at the Liceo Hidalgo, Altamirano had
called for the formation of a national literature to secure
literary independence. The writers of the porfiriato contrib-
uted considerably to the formation of a national literature.

Novelists in Mexico in the period 1890-1911 must be
seen in relation to their times and their diversity appre-
ciated. To view the writers of the porfiriato as homo-
geneous, or simply as precursors of the Revolutionary or
Indianist novel of later years, is to deny them their just
merit. They were writers of an age, speaking to an age.

and institutions, usually with satiric or didactic purposes,
is also in some instances a parallel literary trend, par-
ticularly in the work of Emilio Rabasa. Among the Mexican
writers, French and Spanish influences predominated, espe-
cially Zola and Galdós, though Dickens was also read. It
is to these that Mexican novelists turned for their models.
As a whole, the affinity to the Spanish novel of the same
period seems to be closer, but this grows out of the sharing
of common moral and social values, tastes, and literary tra-
dition, rather than out of a conscious imitation. After
1895 modernismo was a major literary current, one most com-
monly associated with poetry. Along with Buenos Aires,
Mexico City was a center of the cult and two of its most im-
portant journals, Revista Azul (1894-1896) and Revista Mo-
derna (1898-1911) were published in Mexico. Modernism, as
an escapist movement, avoided social protest, though escapism
may be a form of subconscious protest. For the most part,
novelists of the porfiriato do not exhibit major Modernismo
influence and, except Nervo, few of the writers considered
are modernists.

They evolved with the times. The social-political attitudes of the writers covered the spectrum from endorsement of the status quo to dissatisfaction with it.

The novelists, as individuals and in their writing, evolved along with the course of public opinion. Clearly there is a noticeable distance between the attitudes expressed in the early 1890's and those found in the literature in 1910/1911. Individual writers expressed highly individualized opinions and modified their previous attitudes slightly or significantly through time.

A distinction must be made between the position of the writer toward the regime--that is, the dictator and his government--and his position in relation to the social economic structure of the time. Given the fact that a dictatorship existed, in regard to the dictator, writers either endorsed or ignored him, refusing to comment on politics.

However, nearly all novelists voiced some dissatisfaction regarding the social-economic state of the nation. They expressed a variety of causes for it; a few alluded to the reigning political scene, particularly as viewed at lower levels of function; a number saw the current evils as fruits of a vine that had deep roots in history. Still others, especially toward the end of the period, saw the faults in a historical perspective but considered that the current system exploited and aggravated the situation. None preached violence as a first step toward the remedy. Most, with

varying degrees of vehemence, expressed their dissatisfaction, and modestly but insistently voiced now vague, now specific aspirations for a better society, a greater, more just Mexico.

As a factor in constructing a view of the past and a consensus on its ideological importance, the historical novel was significant. As a genre, the historical novel reached its apogee in the second half of the nineteenth century. The maximum exponent was Juan A. Mateos, who wrote in a simple, colorful style, accessible to all the literate public. His novels exalted patriotism and used adventure and mystery to help maintain interest; hence his work was well read. He idealized national historical figures and always emphasized the association of the Liberal cause with positive national evolution. He wrote novels the way Liberals liked to imagine that history was. To him the national cause was inseparable from the Liberal cause, though his notions of duty and patriotism made his novels palatable to a wider public than

¹For a biographical sketch, see Juan B. Iguiniz, Bibliografía de novelistas mexicanos (México, D.F.: Imprenta de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1926), pp. 209-215. For discussion of his historical novels, consult María de Jesús Aguado Alvarez, "Juan Antonio Mateos y seis de sus mejores novelas históricas" (M.A. thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1963); and for a discussion of other historical novelists, see Lloyd J. Read, The Mexican Historical Novel, 1826-1910 (New York: Instituto de las Españas en los Estados Unidos, 1939).

simply liberals.

The explicit theme of Juan A. Mateos in his series of historical novels was an exorbitant patriotism and a conscious effort to associate patriotism with Liberal ideas such as republican democracy and antifeudalism. In exaggerated rhetorical prose, he glorified the figures of Hidalgo and Morelos during Independence, and Juárez and Zaragoza during the wars of Reform and Intervention, extolling their love of the nation and their dedication and sacrifice for it. He also strove to make popular his view that these struggles for national liberation were a continuation of the Indian cause initiated upon the arrival of the Spaniards. Association with the Indian and Liberal heroes and ideals came to be part of the forming nationalistic body of beliefs.

The major part of his historical fiction was originally published prior to 1890, but his work was always undergoing new editions and was very popular during the period from 1890 to 1911. Sacerdote y caudillo (1868) and Los insurgentes (1869) cover the period of independence and the principal protagonists are Hidalgo, Morelos, the Bravo brothers, and other leaders. He projected myth and truth into heroic proportions, along with an anti-Spanish bias and a romantic indigenismo. El sol de mayo (1868) and El cerro de las campanas (1868) chronicle and idealize the war of the Reform and the French Intervention, glorifying the Liberal leaders and branding Conservatives as traitors. In sum, Mateos

upheld a national view, supported change beneficial to the nation, created history, and stressed patriotism, and thus prepared a generation.

Demetrio Mejía in 1889 could unabashedly announce in his prologue to Entre el amor y la patria, "Amo a mi Patria con verdadera pasión"; and in the novel proceed to illustrate to what extent the hero who shares the passion carried it

out. The central protagonist, a young hacendado of Liberal convictions sacrifices comfort, love, and life during his participation in the struggle for independence. Mejía, Mateos, and other historical novelists contributed significantly to the formation of a popular view of the past and a consensus on historical pride, and one which could be tapped to mobilize public sentiment.

Emilio Rabasa published La bola and La gran ciencia in 1887 and in the following year El cuarto poder and Moneda falsa.⁵ Though his novels were written too closely together to register evolution of the author's attitude, apparently Rabasa did support qualified change and expressed concern for the national situation. Satirically, in the

¹Demetrio Mejía, Entre el amor y la patria (México, D.F.: El Partido Liberal, 1889), passim.

²Emilio Rabasa, El cuarto poder y Moneda falsa (México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, 1948 [1st ed., 1887]); La bola (México, D.F.: López y Comp., 1887); La gran ciencia (México, D.F.: López y Comp., 1887). For a biographical sketch consult Juan B. Iguiniz, Biografía de novelistas mexicanas, pp. 285-287.

the late 1880's, Emilio Rabasa chronicled the disillusionment and corruption of his principal protagonists as they participate in politics. After reading Rabasa, one is convinced that politics is a futile activity, even though his works also impress the reader with the need for political reform and national unity, which apparently was an implicit intention of the novelist.

Sources of xenophobic feeling were the yanquis and the invasión pacífica---
~~As mentioned in the second chapter, the yanquis and~~
the nonviolent penetration of economic and social influences from the United States.
~~the invasión pacífica were targets of xenophobic feeling.~~

But this feeling was not limited to the United States' presence; it generalized itself to include all foreign influence, and it was both economic and cultural, as well as a reaction to current imitative modes of certain elements within Mexican society. In some instances it was a nativistic reaction to the incipient cosmopolitanism, and the characters who voiced it often were provincials on visits to the capital. José T. de Cuéllar in Los fuereños (1890) had a character speak about his impressions of the city and voice the economic jealousy of the bourgeoisie:

"Yo se lo he dicho a V. Sr. Gutiérrez, todo es extranjero hasta el teatro..."

"Esto va a ser de los extranjeros y los hijos del país nos quedaremos a un pan pedir!" ✓

¹ ~~The nonviolent penetration of United States economic and social influence in Mexico.~~

² ~~José de Cuéllar, Los fuereños y la noche buena (Santander: El Atlántico, 1890), p. 14~~

"A los extranjeros se les paga todo caro, y al hijo del país se le desprecia."

Often remarks like these were followed by a complaint of the absence of national pride and cohesion, with the implication that if these were more robust foreign influence would not be allowed to evolve. Even in a writer notably nonpolitical, such as Rafael Delgado, are found sarcastic references to:

"La invasión pacífica de nuestros amables [his italics] primos de Allende el Bravo..."²

Rafael Delgado best epitomized the withdrawal of his generation from active political involvement in the 1890's.¹⁵ Given the period, his rationalization is not unattractive. It was based on the sense of patriotic responsibility then common, one which was markedly to change from a patriotic acquiescence to dictatorship to a patriotic rejection of it. Delgado rejected political involvement, arguing that it is inherently corruptible and divisive, making men petty and turbulent; and advised that after the recent prolonged period of civil turmoil, peace and unity was what the nation needed. However, he strongly affirmed that this rejection does not imply less love of country than that held by the generation of the Reform. For Delgado, an intellectual's patriotic duty was to contribute to culture, to teach, and to write. As he articulated, "paz y justicia" was not the politician's

¹ Ibid., p. 32.

² Rafael Delgado, La calandria (México, D.F.: Ediciones de "la razón," 1931 [1st ed., 1890]), p. 135.

³ For biographical data on Delgado, see Iguiniz, pp. 94-98.

slogan for justifying a dictatorship but a thoughtful man's rationale for national salvation.✓

His novels of a rural setting reflected a surface tranquility which belies the animosities underneath, and often much more conflict is implied than^{is} actually characterized. Rafael Delgado was aware of the animosity of the poor and the resentment of the proud middle class against the haughty local rich. Both La calandria (1890) and Angelina (1893) acquaint the reader with the oppressiveness of small town snobbery and pettiness. His novels dealt successively with the social dissatisfactions of the skillful artisans, the middle class, and the lower upper class. Gabriel of La Calandria, a proud and skilled carpenter, keenly felt the indignation because of his social economic status.

Pobre! - repitió - Pobre! Esta palabra encerraba para él la significación mas insultante y ofensiva.✓

In the same novel, Magdalena, a woman of shady morals and intellectual pretensions and great social ambitions, advises:

"Oiga usted Carmen, oígame usted; hay que salir de la esfera en que nacimos; los tiempos ya son otros; la ilustración pide, vamos, manda que procuremos subir ...hija, subir. Sea como fuese."✓

¹ Rafael Delgado, Angelina (México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, 1969 [1st ed., 1893]), pp. 335-336.

² Rafael Delgado, La Calandria, p. 152.

³ Ibid., p. 69.

The impression is of people defensive and insecure because they are dissatisfied with their position and are often striving to emulate what they consider to be better. Dissatisfactions such as these enter into the process of nationalism by creating a propitious frame of mind for it. In La Calandria there is the prototype of the individual whose pretensions place him in a marginal position:

Muérdago era el tipo exacto y completo de esa juventud bulliciosa y ardiente de la clase media, sin lucro ni patrimonio que a las estrecheces e insaciables deseos de la pobreza aduna los hábitos y refinamientos del prócar; de esos jóvenes inteligentes y de singulares aptitudes, sin amor al trabajo, con todos los vicios y preocupaciones del potentado.¹

Angelina (1893) by the same author depicts the time between the Reform and Tuxtepec. It idealizes in exquisite prose the beauties and virtues of traditional society and draws the contrast between that age and Mexico in the 1890's. But the author confessed, albeit by implication, that the reality was not altogether pleasant.

The novels of urban setting more graphically depict conflicts, animosities, and frustrations than do those of rural life. Economic resentment and personal frustration are the themes, rather than social humiliation and open brutality. At the same time that Delgado was idealizing provincial life, Angel de Campo published La Rumba (1890).

¹Ibid., p. 166.

which portrayed the misery of urban existence. [✓] de Campo, who lived a life of petty frustrations, knew well the pathos and frustrations of the urban lower middle class, and much of his work deals with the effects of poverty on those whose education accentuates their sensitiveness to it. His social criticism has a strained urgency.

Remedios, the heroine of La Rumba, was pathetically frustrated in her efforts to improve her station in society. Studying grammar and arithmetic were little aid to her efforts to leave the slum where she was born. She was aware that others led different lives and she resented her exclusion: "[O]diaba a los elegantes, a las rotas que visten de seda; sentía una inmensa rabia de ser una cualquiera." [✓] Perhaps because of her unreal aspirations, Remedios ends badly. There were many people like Remedios at the turn of the century and the nationalists' advocacy of equality and an open society could well have appealed to them. Though de Campo made no political proposals, he did show social concern and he documented the lives led by the people who were listening to nationalist exhortations during the period 1890-1912.

¹ ~~Angel de Campo, La Rumba (México, D.F.: n.p., 1890).~~
For biographical data on de Campo, consult Iguiniz, pp. 53-55.

² ~~Angel de Campo, La Rumba, pp. 194-195.~~

At the same time de Campo was writing his heartfelt plea for the urban lower middle class, there were further signs of different literary themes. In 1891 Eligio Ancona published La mestiza, which at least mildly condemned the mistreatment of the Indian and asserted that Mexicans must recognize their Indian heritage. Heriberto Frías (1870-1925) produced Tomochic (1893), a novel with serious implications regarding the validity, legitimacy, and stability of the regime. The novel described a military campaign against a rebellion of Indio-mestizos in Chihuahua, and questioned the basic patriotic rationales for the regime, suggesting a new critical attitude toward it. In its narrative, neither peace nor justice existed and national progress was debatable. However, the book was not revolutionary; Díaz was lauded personally and no political militancy was advocated. Rather, a romantic melancholic nihilism pervaded its pages. In this novel, Frías offered little beyond sympathy to the oppressed, but his viewpoint and questioning attitude were to broaden in time and, from a concern with the injustice practiced toward the rural population, he was to focus on the prevalent national social and political corruption.

¹Eligio Ancona, La mestiza (México, D.F.: Imprenta Editorial, 1891) passim.

²Heriberto Frías, Tomochic (Barcelona: Maucci, 1896). For biographical information consult iguiz, pp. 133-137.

After Tomochic Frías concentrated his criticism on a society that to him was corrupt from top to middle. In his view Mexico needed regeneration. Frías was convinced that the regime's structure was in a malignant condition, necessitating a quick remedy. Corruption invaded all spheres--public, private, social, and political--as shown in El último duelo (1897).¹ He depicted the lives of crooked political lawyers, thieving financiers, and opportunistic bureaucrats in a society closed to deserving and honest men. Even in a local beauty queen contest the popular candidate loses to one who enjoyed more political influence. In the novel, however, Frías shifted the time to the years of the González administration, no doubt in order to have a freer hand in criticizing society. The panorama focuses on the corruption within official circles, corruption which the author portrays as an element so pervasive that it wrecks the honest and dishonest alike.

In 1898, in the prologue to the novel La parcela, José López Portillo y Rojas issued a call for the creation of a Mexican literature which would deal with Mexican life and themes.² The social criticism of López Portillo y Rojas was mild, and his social vision limited. Conflict for him

¹ Heriberto Frías, El último duelo (Mazatlán, Sinaloa: Valades, 1907), passim.

² José López Portillo y Rojas, La parcela (México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, 1961 [1st ed., 1898]), p. 3.

was strictly personal, never institutional or historical. La parcela (1893) described the personal animosities of two hacendados, and conflicts within the group which participated in local politics. The rest of the rural scene is deceptively tranquil. There is a case of the application of the ley fuga (the right to shoot prisoners if they try to escape, which often simply amounted to assassination), and the responsible jefe político admits to twenty such acts ordered by him personally. The author's suggestions for reform were that a people should be kinder, that the anticlerical laws be abolished, and that the rightful elite and not the científico riff-raff should rule. He idealized rural Mexico because it was less spoiled by the forces of modernity than the city; it was closer to the colonial period, which he admired. He eulogized rural society because it was gloriously traditional and not fertile ground for the modern, as was the city. His concern for it was that of the paternalistic hacendado. For the troubles of the nation López Portillo y Rojas blamed the bourgeoisie that sprang

¹ ~~Ibid., pp. 333-334. For biographical information, see Iguiniz, pp. 192-197.~~

² ~~José López Portillo y Rojas, Fuertes y debiles (Mexico, D.F.: Librería Española, 1913), passim. It was in Fuertes y debiles (1914) published after the fall of the regime, that his resentment of the nouveau-riche of the Díaz period burst through in a heavy caricature of their language, dress, and mannerisms.~~

up under Díaz and the corrupting forces of a germinating capitalism.

Amado Nervo, in addition to strong Modernismo influences in his work, along with supernatural escapism and sensation-
alism, also advocated nationalistic tendencies for literature. In all his work there is an implied concern for Mexico and things Mexican, though this is not an exclusive concern but rather a reflection of his general concern for man and his world. In 1899 he too urged the formation of an indigenous literature:

Yo quiero que tengamos teatro nacional; yo aspiro a la autonomía en este mundo; yo me sublevo contra la dependencia del extranjero a que nos vemos sujetos.

Porfirio Parra, like other authors, dealt with the frustration of aspirations by a hostile environment. In the novel Pacotillas (1900), the hero and heroine share a common background of comfortable bourgeoisie upbringing, but their situation becomes one of poverty. Paco, a perpetually dissatisfied youth, is an excellent portrayal of one who is denied by his surroundings: "[N]ada he hecho, ni siquiera lanzar un cartucho de dinamita para

¹Amado Nervo, Obras completas (Madrid: Aguilar, 1955), I, 17.

²For biographical information on Parra consult Iguiniz, pp. 255-256.

saciar la sed de destrucción que se ha apoderado de mí." ³⁵
Not satisfied with reproaching himself, he saw this dissatisfaction as a phenomenon of his generation. To his fellow students, he makes the accusation: "'Que bien representáis a la generación anémica, a la generación escuálida, a la generación sin aliento ni ideales de que formamos partes." ³⁶
It expresses a dissatisfaction with his age, his fellows, and himself. The author's sympathy for his character was not complete, but by his selection and description the attitude toward the society was plainly negative. Parra urged national progress through evolutionary reform.

In Pacotillas (1900) Parra drew a sorry picture of the politicians brought forth after Tuxtepec, though of course he took care to place the narrative in the period of the González administration. The antagonist is a former general, a typical porfiriato politician, corpulent and vulgar, who is now a congressman, the owner and director of newspapers, who aspires to be a minister. He is of a type spawned by the wars: crude, ignorant, but shrewd. Porfirio Parra tended to see political injustice as evidence of a lack of science in government and in social customs in general.

Don Calendario of Manuel San Juan's El señor gobernador (1901) is a typical porfiriato politician type: obese, of

¹ ~~Porfirio Parra, Pacotillas (Barcelona: Salvat é hijo, 1900), p. 36.~~

² ~~Ibid., p. 22.~~

peasant origin, ^(a) one time muleteer and marauder, now, through fortunate circumstances and the will of the dictator, governor of his state. ²⁷ Cartoonists of the day took delight in such characters. ²⁸ Nor was the matter of politics without humor for Manuel San Juan, who in El señor gobernador hilariously satirized local politics and, by implication, burlesqued the administration as he exposed current political clichés as a farce. His amusing novelette provides insight into the workings of the political system at the local and state levels.

In Los parientes ricos (1903) Rafael Delgado described the changes brought on by the modernization current in Mexico as they registered in a provincial town. ²⁹ The previously ordered and closed society showed evidence of strain, despite poetry readings and Schubert recitals. Social antagonisms were sharper in this story of a family which, because of its deteriorating position, was forced to depend on aid from wealthy relatives. With bitter irony Delgado depicted the French airs and pretentiousness of the pseudo-aristocratic family in Los parientes ricos, whom he judged negatively for being antinational. The family boasted French cooks and

¹ Manuel H. San Juan, El señor gobernador (México, D.F.: M. Nava, 1901), passim.

² See Hijo del Ahuizote, 1896-1903, passim.

³ Rafael Delgado, Los parientes ricos (México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa, 1961 [1st ed., 1903]), passim.

English coachmen, and its wealth dated from collaboration with the enemy during the Intervention. By 1903 the view of even this gentle writer was hostile. In the work of Delgado there is visible a deep love for the Mexican land and culture, as well as patriotic references and a distrust of what is foreign.

As often as not, when expressions of resentment were made in reference to the idle rich, statements exalting the virtues of the hard-working lower sectors were affirmed with the implication that these were the worthiest and largest sector of the nation. Many would agree with the remark of Federico Gamboa's character Don Luis: "'... de las tres capas sociales, la alta era incurable, la media susceptible de alivio nada más, y la popular curabilísima.'" Such expressions reflected a developing pride free of imitation of the bourgeoisie and land-owning behavioral modes. Often it would be expressed in terms of a work ethic, dutifulness, devotion, initiative, and hard work. A forthright anger indicating some politicalization also was evident, such as that expressed by a character in Federico Gamboa's Santa (1903):

"Yo soy un hombre libre; you soy partidario de todas esas repúblicas, de las bombas de dinamita y de la olla podrida; yo soy socialista, Anarquista."

¹~~Federico Gamboa, Apariencias, in Novelas (México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1965), p. 64.~~

²~~Federico Gamboa, Santa, in Novelas, p. 822.~~

Through 1900-1911 the growing interest in literature that reflected Mexico and Mexican concerns developed. In 1901 the novel, Pacotillas, by Porfirio Parra, was praised by the positivist journal Revista Positiva for its "mexican-ness", and it urged that more truly authentic books be written.³² Significantly, this journal had in the past urged European standards. By 1906, José Ferrel, in the introduction to a new edition of Frías' Tomochoic argued for an exclusively nationalistic literature and the abandoning of European modes.³³ He proceeded to use nationalistic content as a value norm for judging literary worth and in so doing praised Rabasa as the initiator of such literature and judged the work of Frías, crude by any standard, above the polished academic prose of Delgado, in effect saying that Mexican literature must have its own autochthonous standards. The work of Azuela³⁴ filled the expectations for a national literature.

By 1907, in the work of Mariano Azuela the resentment against a closed and stratified society had become patent.³⁴ Controlled anger was the underlying tone

¹ Revista Positiva, I (January 1, 1901), 24-26.

² Ferrell, in the prologue to Tomochoic by Heriberto Frías, 1906 edition, p. 5.

³ For biographical information on Azuela and insight into his view of the times, consult "Mariano Azuela, El novelista y su ambiente" and "Autobiografía del otro" in Obras completas (México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1958), III, 1012-1194.

of Azuela. Los fracasados was aptly titled, for it is the trials and tribulations of Licenciado Reséndez, the idealistic lawyer, and his fiancée, who compounds the original "stain" of illegitimacy by being an overeducated woman.³⁵ Reséndez, of humble origin, arrives in town filled with juvenile idealism, and soon becomes the focus of the intrigues and chicanery practiced by the local oligarchy and clergy. Soon both he and the girl are forced to leave town. The fictitious Amezcuza family in the novel is a caricature of the crude bourgeoisie with aristocratic pretensions. The mother reads for "improvement" El liberalismo es pecado of Saida Salvany and the father dreams of becoming the head oligarch. On the other hand, Reséndez dreams of some future reckoning: "'La canalla es ahora dueña del poder, pero el triunfo definitivo no le está destinado.'" Reséndez becomes disillusioned and reveals his frustrations:

"Se dió cuenta de que la supremacía de la inteligencia no es la puerta de la prosperidad, que el triunfo en la vida corresponde a las medianías y aún a las nulidades, porque se llega a los mas altos puestos no por el talento, ni por el saber, sino por la audacia y por la intriga, por la bajeza, la desvergüenza y el cinismo."

Azuela also focused on the snobbery, pettiness, and social

¹ Mariano Azuela, Los fracasados, in Obras completas, Vol. I (México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1958).

² Ibid., p. 56.

³ Ibid., p. 38.

exclusiveness of a provincial town dominated by a shabby bourgeoisie and a pseudo-aristocracy in Sin amor (1912).

The novel chronicles the pathetic if tenacious efforts of a mother and daughter trying to crash local society. And they succeed, later becoming as selfish and arrogant as others.

Though Azuela recalls Priás and Rabasa, one in describing the defeat of idealism and innocence, the other in graphically narrating social satire, he went beyond them. He looked forward and suggested that the social cure must be a massive national regeneration because the entire national social order was corrupt. His anger and indignation were disciplined, but no less emphatic. Los frascados (1908) was provincial porfiriato society. From 1907 Azuela showed strong patriotic concerns, dislike of the foreigner, and an inclusive sense of national community, and argued for national political reforms.

As characters novelists often had the petit bourgeoisie, skilled artisans, and small independent farmers who are proud of their achievements, role, and contribution to national society, and hence doubly resentful of the disdain meted out to them. In turn, they are disdainful of the rich, who to their eyes are worthless and frivolous. The view that the upper class did not contribute much was often expressed. Pajarito (1908) was, in a sense, a novel of praise for the poor and honest workers, though there is a certain

passivity and fatalism implied.³⁵ In one scene the hero's godfather urges an ethic of honesty, frugality, and industriousness, whose rewards will be both moral and material, perhaps even social, and couples this advice with hostility against the rich and disdain for useless knowledge. Though he was a promising student, Pajarito decides to be a brick-mason.³⁷

Marginals within the society play a part in the novels of Rabasa, Frías, Parra, Azuela, Gamboa, and Quevedo y Zubieta. Frías gave them the apt descriptive label of "los destripados." They were the misfits, the failures, the frustrated, the disillusioned, the hangers-on; in a phrase, the people without a place. Their world was one of unrealized dreams and shabby boarding houses where once in a while people discuss anarchism, socialism, and their resentment of the foreigner.

In El amor de las sirenas (1908) Frías defined "los destripados" as those gutted by life, failures through personal weakness and the harsh environment.⁴⁰ Interestingly enough, Frías' El amor de las sirenas was dedicated to Mexican students, the youth of the middle class, and the working

¹ ~~Gayetano Rodríguez Beltrán, Pajarito (México, D.F.: Eusebio Gómez de la Puente, 1908), passim.~~

² ~~Ibid., pp. 201-221.~~

³ ~~Heriberto Frías, El amor de las sirenas (Mazatlán, México: Valades, 1908), passim.~~

class. Apparently Frías believed that these were the regenerative sectors of the society which would do away with the conditions depicted in the novel. The theme is common enough; a provincial youth comes to the capital filled with ambition but the environment is so harsh and his will so weak that he fails. However, the novel ends on the optimistic note of the hero once again well, endeavoring to pick himself up.

El triunfo de Sancho Panza (1911) was the angriest and most biographical of the Frías novels.^{#1} It recounts his life or that of a character very much like him. Within the mind of a middle-aged editor in Mazatlán, Miguel, a struggle is going on between Sancho Panza and Quijote. Uncovering the intrigues of a thieving financier, an opportunistic doctor, and a lawyer, Miguel was in a dilemma: should a man sell his ideals, not for gain but for simple peace? No, Miguel decides; Frías clearly evolved to a more strident militancy in regard to national reforms. He conveyed an acute concern for Mexico as his hero dedicated himself to live for his family and for his nation.

Federico Gamboa (1864-1939) was the novelist most concerned with contemporary and future Mexico and the role of the artist in the last years of the porfiriato.^{#2} In 1907

¹ ~~Heriberto Frías, El triunfo de Sancho Panza (México, D.F.: Luis Herrera, 1911), passim.~~

² ~~For a brief biography on Gamboa, consult Iguiniz, pp. 141-146.~~

he wrote a drama which he called "La venganza de la gleba" which he tauntingly dedicated, "Para los ricos de mi tierra." The crises of the artist protagonists in Reconquista (1908) and La llaga (1910) were intimately associated with the on-going national crisis; in fact they were explicit reflections of it. In their self-scrutiny both characters examine and identify with the national crisis, seeing duties incumbent upon them as citizens and artists. As artists they must be committed to national regeneration in their art, which ought to be strong, militant, and for the people. Gamboa offered a broader vision than the other novelists, for he encompassed the political, social, economic, moral, and cultural aspects of a national crisis. In each aspect Gamboa saw a need for reform and for vigorous regeneration in order to save and strengthen the patria. Salvador, the artist protagonist in Reconquista, after a deep personal crisis dedicates himself to his art and nation and commits himself to an artistic credo different from that in vogue, and suggests a different theme, subject, and purpose to art:

" . . . yo aborrezco el arte estéril, no creo en la doctrina de el arte por el arte.
No, no creo, jamás creí: y si fuese verdad yo no sería artista, sería cualquiera. . . .
Yo amo el arte viril, sacerdotal y apostol;
el que lucha por hacerse escuchar de los desheredados de este mundo. . . ."

¹ Federico Gamboa, Reconquista and La llaga in Novelas (México, D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1965), passim.

² Federico Gamboa, Reconquista, in Novelas, p. 1092.

La llaga (1910) opens with a plea for the reader to consider: ". . . las demás independencias de que México ha menester." The novel is centered on the life of a former military officer who is condemned to San Juan de Ulua for the murder of his wife. The prison is a microcosm of the larger society with its virtues and defects. Most interesting are the discussions held by a group whose leader is a newspaperman condemned for his politics. The group discusses society, the nation, morals, politics, and progress. After eleven years, Viezca, the protagonist, is set free to face a hostile environment and a series of personal hardships. He suffers an accident; a lengthy illness follows which only accentuates his personal crisis and leads him to a self-conscious examination of the world around him, Mexico. At a moving moment, significantly during the national independence celebrations and through the intervention of his fiancée, he obtains a personal illumination and dedicates himself to creating a better life for himself and to contributing to national greatness as an artist and as a citizen. In the final pages of La llaga, a beautiful eulogy bursts forth, exultant in national pride, dramatic and titanic. It is a cry of anguish and joy in being Mexican and for Mexico. ²⁵

Reconquista (1908) and La llaga (1910) are similar in theme, subject and resolution, and both involve protagonists

¹Federico Gamboa, La llaga, in Novelas, pp. 1307-1349.

protagonista
highly self-conscious, who undergo personal crises and in their self-reappraisal minutely examine their society and conclude by identifying their crisis and personal salvation with that of the national crisis and its possible solution. Both novels demonstrate explicit concern for moral, social, political, and economic aspects related to national progress and greatness by an author previously uninvolved with these questions. In each novel an intellectual's crisis of belief is identified with the crisis of the nation. Salvador the painter and Viezca the ex-officer and amateur philosopher are overt nationalists obsessed with themselves and Mexico. La llaga and Reconquista are nationalistic novels.

La camada (1910) by Salvador Quevedo y Zubieta (1895-1935) presents a society where rules were flexible for the few and harsh for the many. In La camada there is a brief description of the novelists' interpretation of the oligarchy and the feeling toward them as seen by the eyes of the people.

"... viejos ex-traidores, avaros de manos vivas, y filántropos de manos muertas, unos cuantos frailes golosos, extranjeros perniciosos y yernos diputados. . . . que nos manden esos es lo que me duele y esgrimió el puño contra el montón ideal."

The view is not complimentary. Salvador Quevedo y Zubieta

¹~~Salvador Quevedo y Zubieta, La camada (México, D.F.: Bouret, 1912), passim. For biographical information on Quevedo, consult Iguiniz, pp. 282-284.~~

²~~Salvador Quevedo y Zubieta, La camada, p. 358.~~

referred to xenophobia as ~~common~~ phenomenon, particularly noticeable on Independence holidays.

popular side in
... A través del año la recua popular ~~se~~ *se* en silencio la garra del extranjero. El extranjero la invade por mayor; le lleva lo mejor del suelo y del subsuelo; pesa enormemente en la política y en la administración. . . . Silencio en las filas todo el año. Pero la noche del quince Septerino se desahoga.

In his novel Quevedo documented the need for reform; his concern for the national situation was sharp. His honorable and well-intentioned characters, such as Sergio, Milanes and Flon, are crushed by the pervasive hostility and corruption. Many of the characters in La camada are men forced by society to accept roles not in keeping with their talents or ambitions. They represented the explosive sector in Mexican society. Arayo, a character, in blind resentment publicly assaults the dictator; Arroyo, a former law student, shouts the resentment of the left-out in Porfirian Mexico:

"A mi no me regeneró la revolución porfirista. Y vaya que ha regenerado a otros. A los ladrones de caminos y veredas, los hizo guardias rurales. Regeneró a muchos licenciados y médicos politiqueros haciéndolos diputados mudos. . . . Pero, a mi qué?"

Arroyo also represents a violent urge that was becoming apparent, and the growing moral indignation against the regime that had done so much, but not for him and people like him. The principal theme of Quevedo y Zubieta in La camada is political moral corruption, a corruption which goes from

¹ Ibid., pp. 352-353.

² Ibid., p. 358.

the neighborhood precinct to the chambers of the national palace, from the acquisition of ministerial posts to the passing of simple bar examinations. He realistically portrayed the web of intrigue and greed underlying Díaz, though the dictator is seen more as victim than as creator.

Generally, either implicitly through satire or directly through explicit exhortations, novelists called for national political reforms, as did other intellectuals. While the novelists were often indirect in their statements, other intellectuals alongside the novelists made explicit nationalist advocations and vigorous calls for reforms.

Notes for Juan Gómez-Quirónes, "Reflections of Discontent in the Mexican Novel"

1 This essay is adapted from a chapter of the author's doctoral dissertation, "Social Change and Intellectual Discontent: The Growth of Mexican Nationalism, 1890-1911."

2 See Ernest K. Bramstead, Aristocracy and the Middle Classes in Germany (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964) and also Raymond Williams, Culture and Society, 1780-1950 (London: Penguin Books, 1958).

3 Joaquina Navarro, La novela realista mexicana (Mexico: Compañía General de Ediciones, 1955.) John S. Brushwood, Mexico in Its Novel: A Nation's Search for Identity (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966).

4 For a biographical sketch of Mateos, see Juan B. Iguiniz, Bibliografía de novelistas mexicanos (Mexico: Imprenta de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1926), 209-215. For discussion his his historical novels, see María de Jesús Aguado Alvarez, "Juan Antonio Mateos y seis de sus mejores novelas históricas" (M. A. Thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1963).

5 Dametrio Mejía, Entre el amor y la patria (Mexico: El Partido Liberal, 1889), passim.

6 Emilio Rabasa, El cuarto poder y Moneda falsa (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, 1948 [1st ed., 1888]); La bola (Mexico: López y Cía., 1887); La gran ciencia (Mexico: López y Cía., 1887). For a biographical sketch, see Iguiniz, pp. 285-287.

7 José de Cuéllar, Los fuereños y la noche buena (Santander: El Atlántico, 1890), 14.

8 Ibid., 32.

9 Rafael Delgado, La calandria (Mexico: Ediciones de "La Razón," 1931 [1st. ed., 1890]), 135.

10 For biographical data on Delgado, see Iguiniz, pp. 94-98.

¹¹~~11~~ Rafael Delgado, Angelina (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, 1969 [1st ed., 1893]), 335-336.

¹²~~12~~ Delgado, La calandria, 152.

¹³~~13~~ Ibid., 69.

¹⁴~~14~~ Ibid., 166.

¹⁵~~15~~ Angel del Campo, La rumba (Mexico: n. p., 1890). For biographical data on de Campo, see Iguiniz, op. 53-55.

¹⁶~~16~~ De Campo, La rumba, 194-195.

¹⁷~~17~~ Eligio Ancona, La mestiza (Mexico: Imprenta Editorial, 1881), passim.

¹⁸~~18~~ Heriberto Frías, Tomochic (Barcelona: Maucci, 1896). For biographical data on Frías, see Iguiniz, 133-137.

¹⁹~~19~~ Heriberto Frías, El último duelo (Mazatlán, Sinaloa: Valadés, 1907), passim.

²⁰~~20~~ José López Portillo y Rojas, La parcela (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, 1961 [1st ed., 1898], 3.

²¹~~21~~ Ibid., 333-334. For biographical information on Portillo y Rojas, see Iguiniz, 192-197.

²²~~22~~ José López Portillo y Rojas, Fuertes y débiles (Mexico: Librería española, 1919), passim. It was in Fuertes y débiles (1914 ed.), published after the fall of the regime, that Portillo's resentment of the nouveau riche of the Díaz period burst through in a heavy caricature of their language, dress, and mannerisms.

²³~~23~~ Amado Nervo, Obras completas (Madrid: Aguilar, 1955), I, 17.

²⁴~~24~~ For biographical information on Parra consult Iguiniz, 255-256.

²⁵~~25~~ Porfirio Parra, Pacotillas (Barcelona: Salvat é hijo, 1900), 36.

²⁶Ibid., 22

²⁷Manuel H. San Juan, El señor gobernador (Mexico: M. Nava, 1901), passim.

²⁸See Hijo del Ahuizote, 1890-1903, passim.

²⁹Rafael Delgado, Los parientes ricos (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, 1961 [1st. ed., 1903], passim.

³⁰Federico Gamboa, Apariencias, in Novelas (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1965), 64.

³¹Federico Gamboa, Santa, in Novelas, 822.

³²Revista Positiva, I (January 1, 1901), 24-26.

³³Ferrell, in the prologue to Tomochic by Heriberto Frías, 1906 edition, p. 5.

³⁴For biographical information on Azuela and insight into his view of the times, see "Mariano Azuela: El novelista y su ambiente" and "Autobiografía del otro" in Obras completas (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1958), III, 1012-1194.

³⁵Mariano Azuela, Los fracasados, in Obras completas, I.

³⁶Ibid., 56.

³⁷Ibid., 38.

³⁸Gayetano Rodríguez Beltrán, Pajarito (Mexico: Eusebio Gómez de la Puente, 1908), passim.

³⁹Ibid., 201-221.

⁴⁰Heriberto Frías, El amor de las sirenas (Mazatlán, Sinaloa: Valadés, 1908), passim.

⁴¹Heriberto Frías, El triunfo de Sancho Panza (Mexico: Luis Herrera, 1911), passim.

⁴² For a brief biography on Gamboa, see Iguiriz, 141-146.

⁴³ Federico Gamboa, Reconquista and La llaga, in Novelas, passim.

⁴⁴ Gamboa, Reconquista, 1092.

⁴⁵ Gamboa, La llaga, 1307-1349.

⁴⁶ Salvador Quevedo y Zubieta, La canada (Mexico: Bouret, 1912), passim. For biographical data on Quevedo, see Iguiriz, 282-284.

⁴⁷ Quevedo y Zubieta, 358.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 352-353.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 358.

George Sánchez and Testing

The major issues surrounding the mental testing of minorities in the 1970's include the heredity-versus-environment controversy^{1/}, the effect of bilingualism on test performance, and the validity of tests. George Sánchez tackled all these issues in the early 1930's in an effort to insure equal educational opportunities for the Spanish-speaking.

George Sánchez recognized heredity as a legitimate avenue of investigation in the pursuit of explanations accounting for inter-group differences on mental tests; however, he felt many investigators did not give careful consideration to environmental or linguistic explanations. He stated that the interpretation of test results should not fail to consider important differences in personal, social, and cultural histories and milieu. He recognized that bilingual children had special problems in Anglo-oriented schools including the inability to use the school language efficiently^{2/} and possibly an environmentally based confusion hindering the expression of innate ability.^{3/}

In one instance, an investigator accepted the hereditary explanation (i.e. the lower scores represent low innate ability) assuming that language handicaps should disappear as a result of schooling^{4/}, hence there should be increases in mental test scores in each succeeding grade. Dr. Sánchez pointed out that even if the language handicap was reduced substantially with progress in grades, the handicap could still exist and might be even greater because of the progressively greater amounts of language required in succeeding grades.

^{1/}The important question here is whether or not minority groups are genetically inferior to Anglos in intelligence because minorities as a group score lower than Anglos on mental tests.

^{2/}He was one of the first to warn that English-language IQ tests were questionable.

^{3/}Language differences may play a role in the adjustment of Mexican American children to school (Sattler, 1970).

^{4/}The Office for Civil Rights, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, has documented some cases where school districts have failed to inculcate English language skills (Lopez, 1973).

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Some people in the 1970's accept the idea that heredity contributes more than environment in the determination of intelligence.^{5/} Kagan (1971) outlined and evaluated some of the major reasons for this acceptance and, like George Sanchez, doubted the heredity arguments^{6/} because IQ tests are culturally biased instruments. Kagan also doubted the genetic argument because "...similar IQ scores of genetically related people can be simulated in genetically unrelated people who live in similar environments..." and "...the probable correlation between heredity and environment is ignored in current interpretations of the heritability ratio.^{7/}"

Sanchez also criticized those accepting environmental explanations. "On the environmental side we find little scientific analysis of the influence of environment on test results. Usually investigators have been content to make a rough estimate of living conditions of the subjects under consideration and then to suggest a possible relationship between low socio-economic status and the low scores on the test."

Mercer (1972) accepted this challenge and developed a sociocultural index for classifying children by family background. Using 17 background variables and the full WISC (i.e. Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children) IQ, a series of stepwise multiple regressions yielded five primary background variables (those most strongly related to IQ).⁷ The sample consisted of 598 Chicano children (ages 6-14) representing the total Chicano student population of three segregated minority elementary schools in Riverside, California. Children were assigned scores from 0-5 depending

⁵Jensen (1970) states that 80% of the variance on IQ among Anglos is genetic variance.

⁶1. Since genetic influences probably have an effect on mental functioning, differences in IQ are primarily determined by heredity; 2. The closer the genetic relationship between two people, the more similar their IQ; 3. Social class is correlated with IQ because biologically more intelligent people rise in social class.

⁷1. Less than 1.1 per room; 2. Mother expects the child to get some college; 3. The head of the household has nine plus years of education; 4. The family speaks English all or most of the time; and 5. The family owns their own home.

on how many of these background characteristics the child's family shared with the typical Anglo family in Riverside. The results showed that Chicano children as a group had an average IQ below the national norm; however, when the Chicano child's family shared all five background characteristics with the typical Anglo family the average IQ was considerably above the national norm (104.4 and 99.5 respectively).

George Sánchez believed that the study of the effect of language problems on bilingual children's performance on mental tests was handicapped by difficulties in measurement. Translated tests were of doubtful value because of questionable equivalence to originals and could be questioned further on the basis of cultural content. Literature reviews of recent studies suggest the measurement problem is still with us. These reviews show contradictory results across a number of studies and sometimes unwarranted conclusions are made⁸ (Sattler, 1972; Zirkel, 1972); for example, Zirkel (1972) reported that Mahakian and Mitchell found scores on the Otis Group Intelligence Scale to be significantly higher among Spanish-speaking children in the primary grades when instructions were given in Spanish as compared to when instructions were given in English; however, Anastasi and Cordova, using the Cattell Culture Free Test, did not find language of instruction to be a significant factor with Spanish-speaking children. A more positive note is offered by Moreno (1970) who did a literature review of studies specifically investigating the effects of bilingualism on the measurement of intelligence of elementary school children. He concluded that "In general, the findings of the studies tend to support the conclusion that monolingual Spanish speakers and bilingual children suffer from a language handicap when intelligence is measured on verbal testing."

Sánchez said that tests were tools that could be used to find educational needs but questioned the value of IQ tests as yardsticks of intelligence for bilingual

⁸ These reviews include studies using translated tests (i.e. Spanish and English versions), where test instructions are either in Spanish or English, and where verbal and "nonverbal" mental measurements are compared.

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children; for example, Binet tests contain many words not in the best of recommended word lists for bilingual children, in addition to other qualitative variables (experiences, background, rapport, etc.) presupposed by these tests. He felt supplying word knowledge would not necessarily remove the language handicap.⁹

Garcia (1972) questioned many of the intrinsic assumptions underlying the basic structure of the Stanford-Binet IQ test and concluded these assumptions are so restrictive that to use these scores to compare groups is tantamount to a social conspiracy to label these groups inferior and propagate the status quo. Binet built the test on the assumption of general intelligence which, at the start, affected the choice of items; secondly, only items having to do with reading, writing, and arithmetic were included; and, the standardization sample included only children with white, English-speaking parents. If one were to write items that favored Chicanos, presto, we would have equal IQs between Anglos and Chicanos as male and female IQs are now equal as a result of designing it into the test.

Professor Sánchez stated that the fundamental questions in the use of mental tests among bilingual children were those of validity: 1. "Do the tests measure in that particular child what they purport to measure? The tests may be valid for the 'average' child and still lack validity for an individual or for a particular group. Questions of culture, schooling, socio-economic status, etc., loom big in this phase of the problem." 2. "Are the assumptions on which the test was based for the original 'norm' children applicable with equal justice to the particular case? If the use of a radio were assumed to sample intelligence, would a Navajo Indian living in a hogan be equally subject to such an assumption as average children, or would the tallying of sheep be a more desirable measure." Sánchez's emphasis on validity directed attention to the misinterpretation of test results among minorities.

⁹Consider the added difficulty of homonyms, word usage, and equivalency of concepts and organized ideas.

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On one occasion he discussed a study where about 1,000 Spanish-speaking children from communities in Texas, Colorado, and New Mexico were tested and obtained a median IQ of 78, slightly above the "moron" level of 70. Uncritical evaluation of test results could lead to the conclusion that the Spanish-speaking children represented by this large sample were capable of operating at a level slightly above that of the "moron"; such a conclusion would be indefensible but such were the results of test application. A consideration of validity would show that the interpretation of the obtained median IQ of 78 (slightly above the moron level) depended on the extent ^{to which} ~~that~~ the past histories of the Spanish-speaking children had been assayed by the test in equal manner, with equal justice, and in equal terms as the past histories of those children in the standardization sample.

George Sánchez stated that the school had the responsibility to supply those experiences to the child which would make those experiences sampled by standard measures as common to him as they were to those on whom the norms of the measures were based. When the school had met the language, cultural, disciplinary, and informational lacks of the child and the child had reached the saturation point of his capacity in the assimilation of fundamental experiences and activities—then failure on his part to respond to tests of such experiences and activities could be considered his failure. As long as the tests did not sample in equal degree a state of saturation that was equal for the 'norm' children and the particular bilingual child it could not be assumed that the test was a valid one for that child. The Office for Civil Rights in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare used this idea in drafting a recent policy statement.

On May 25, 1970 the Office for Civil Rights, HEW, issued a memorandum focusing on the identification of discrimination and denial of services on the basis of national origin. This memorandum was mailed to school districts with more than 5% national origin-minority group children and listed the following areas of concern relating to compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964:

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(1) Where inability to speak and understand the English language excludes national origin-minority group children from effective participation in the educational program offered by a school district, the district must take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiency in order to open its instructional program to these students.

(2) School districts must not assign national origin-minority group students to classes for the mentally retarded on the basis of criteria which essentially measure or evaluate English language skills; nor may school districts deny national origin-minority group children access to college preparatory courses on a basis directly related to the failure of the school system to inculcate English language skills.

(3) Any ability grouping or tracking system employed by the school system to deal with the special language skill needs of national origin-minority group children must be designed to meet such language skill needs as soon as possible and must not operate as an educational dead-end or permanent track.

(4) School districts have the responsibility to adequately notify national origin-minority group parents of school activities which are called to the attention of other parents. Such notice in order to be adequate may have to be provided in a language other than English.

Gerry (1972), Office for Civil Rights official, stated the following regarding this memorandum:

The drafting of the policy statement (Memorandum to School Districts) reflected the operational philosophy that school districts should create a culturally relevant educational approach to assure equal access of all children to its full benefits. The burden, according to this philosophy, should be on the school to adapt its educational approach so that the culture, language and learning style of all children in the school (not just those of Anglo, middle class background) are accepted and valued. Children should not be penalized for cultural and linguistic differences nor should they bear a burden to conform to a school sanctioned culture by abandoning their own.

He also stated that:

In the twenty-two months since the issuance of the May 25 Memorandum, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has developed a comprehensive program for implementation in the field. Techniques for proving noncompliance with the various sections of the Memorandum have been developed and field tested and have passed legal muster. New issues are being investigated as training programs make operational these investigative and analytical techniques.

This work of the Office for Civil Rights is one of the very few Federal civil rights efforts given a positive evaluation by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Generally, the Federal effort was found to be "highly inadequate" (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1973).

López (1973) reviewed and synthesized six letters of noncompliance sent by OCR to school districts found to be in noncompliance with one or more of the various sections of the memorandum.¹⁰ Although the letters were small in number, they did provide the following information: (a) a wide geographic overview, i.e., Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Arizona, Texas, and Indiana; (b) a look at rural versus urban (Karnes City, Texas/East Chicago, Indiana) school districts; and (c) a look at discriminatory treatment of a number of racial-ethnic groups, including the Spanish-speaking, American Indian, and Blacks.

The following is a summary of the civil rights violations listed in the six civil rights noncompliance letters: (1) less adequate and effective educational services to minority students; (2) discriminatory assignment to and segregation of minority students in classes for the educable mentally retarded; (3) discrimination in class assignments (ex. tracking) of minority students; (4) creation and operation of racially identifiable school or school sub-systems; (5) discrimination in the hiring of minority professional staff; (6) provision of less effective guidance and counseling services for minority students; (7) failure to notify parents in their primary language of school related matters; (8) discriminatory assignment of penalties for school violations among minority students. Table 1 shows civil rights violations by school district.

¹⁰ According to one OCR official, these six letters were part of twenty-one letters of noncompliance that had been mailed as of Fall 1972. By this time there were also approximately 36 additional districts under review. The six letters were all that were available from OCR.

Insert TABLE 1 and Number by School
District Index here.

López also found review findings to mirror National statistics in several areas including deficiencies in English language skills at the first grade level among minority students, a progressive decline in educational performance among minorities, and over-representation of minorities in low-ability tracks and classes for the mentally retarded.

Discussion

If schools use mental tests to determine the capability of students, and if these tests do not, in fact, measure these capabilities and yet are used uncritically as yardsticks of intelligence, obviously, students who do not measure up to the "norms" are placed at a disadvantage and, therefore, will receive less than an equal opportunity in the educational endeavor.

Dr. George Sánchez spent a great deal of his professional career, beginning in the 1930s, investigating the issues surrounding mental testing of minorities, and in particular, the Spanish-speaking. He sought to insure equal educational opportunities for all children. He was among the first spokesmen for bilingual and bicultural education. His voice was loudly heard in academic circles. He influenced, eventually, public policy in and out of government and throughout the public school system.

His objectivity in the heredity-versus-environment issue, his emphasis on the validation of tests, and his insistence that school districts in the United States take the responsibility of educating minority children before making judgments of mental inferiority, provided an important base for those who have followed him in the quest for equal educational opportunities for all children.

TABLE 1

Civil Rights Violations by School Districts

Civil Rights Violations	School Districts					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Less adequate and effective educational services to minority students	X	X	X	X	X	X
2. Discriminatory assignment to and segregation of minority students in EMR classes	X	X		X	X	
3. Discrimination in class assignments (e.g. tracking)	X	X			X	X
4. Creation and operation of racially identifiable schools or school sub-systems				X	X	X
5. Discrimination in the hiring of minority professional staff		X			X	X
6. Provision of less effective guidance and counseling services for minority students		X				X
7. Failure to notify parents in their primary language of school-related matters	X					
8. Discriminatory assignment of penalties among minorities students for school violations		X				

Civil rights violations are rank-ordered according to frequency of occurrence starting at the top with the most frequent.

Number By School District Index

No.	School District
1	East Chicago Public Schools
2	Shawano, Wisconsin Joint District #3
3	Boston Public School System
4	Winslow Public Schools
5	Uvalde Independent School District
6	Karnes City Independent School District

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¹The important question here is whether or not minority groups are genetically inferior to Anglos in intelligence because minorities as a group score lower than Anglos on mental tests.

²He was one of the first to warn that English-language IQ tests were questionable.

³Language differences may play a role in the adjustment of Mexican-American children to school (Sattler, 1970).

⁴The Office for Civil Rights, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, has documented some cases where school districts have failed to inculcate English-language skills (López, 1973).

⁵Jensen (1970) states that 80 percent of the variance on IQ among Anglos is genetic variance.

⁶(1) Since genetic influences probably have an effect on mental functioning, differences in IQ are primarily determined by heredity; (2) the closer the genetic relationship between two people, the more similar their IQ; (3) social class is correlated with IQ because biologically more intelligent people rise in social class.

⁷(1) Less than 1.4 per room; (2) mother expects the child to get some college; (3) the head of the household has nine plus years of education; (4) the family speaks a English all or most of the time; (5) the family owns their own home.

⁸These reviews include studies using translated tests (i.e., Spanish and English versions), where test instructions are either in Spanish or English, and where verbal and "nonverbal" mental measurements are compared.

⁹Consider the added difficulty of homonyms, word usage, and equivalency of concepts and organized ideas.

According to one OCR official, these six letters were part of twenty-one letters of noncompliance that had been mailed as of Fall 1972. By this time there were also approximately thirty-six additional districts under review. The six letters were all that were available from OCR.

George Sánchez: Teacher, Scholar, Activist

It was not my good fortune to know George Sánchez well personally; our meetings were infrequent, separated by long intervals, and our correspondence was limited. Nevertheless I thought of him - - and still think of him - - as a close personal friend, a tribute no doubt to his generosity, kindness, and responsiveness. His death saddened me to a degree which made me realize how much I liked and admired him and how much his friendship had meant to me.

In the spring of 1942 - - April 27-30 - - I attended a conference held at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque which Dr. Joaquin Ortega had organized with, as I recall, the cooperation and assistance of certain government agencies including the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Soil Conservation Service. The conference had to do with the Spanish-speaking of the Southwest, their problems and prospects and government policies related to their needs. I presented a paper and took part in the discussions. It was at this conference that I first met Dr. George I. Sanchez and came to know something about his background and career. I am not sure just when I first read FORGOTTEN PEOPLE, which was published in 1940, but whenever it was the book made a deep and lasting impression on me. At this same conference I also met for the first time Hugh Calkins of the Soil Conservation Service and Allen Harper of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, both of whom I came to hold in high esteem. Along with Dr. Eshref Shevky they were responsible for the important Tewa Basin studies. Allen Harper and I became and remained close friends until his untimely death. Calkins I do not remember meeting again but I had occasion to admire his astute direction of the Soil Conservation Service in New Mexico and his remarkable

insights into the problems of the region. At the close of the conference, my wife and I were taken on a tour of some of the Spanish-speaking villages between Santa Fe and Taos, including Truchas and Cordova, an extraordinary experience for us and one of which I still retain vivid memories.

The Albuquerque conference and attendant experiences, including long talks with the participants, was, in a sense, my first direct exposure to the Spanish-speaking villages of New Mexico and their inhabitants. Of course I wanted to know more about the people, the setting, and the region, including its history and present-day socio-economic-political realities. The individuals I met at the conference, and Dr. Sanchez in particular, proved to be excellent guides and advisors, patient, knowledgeable, and rich in insights. Prior to this visit, I had for a long time been interested in Mexican-Americans in California, their history, work experience, problems, and relationships but I had not fully sensed the way in which the New Mexico "chapter" fitted into the larger experience of the Spanish-speaking until this visit. But I lost little time in attempting to learn more about the "forgotten people" of New Mexico, Colorado, and Texas. And when my friend, Louis Adamic, asked me to contribute a volume on the Spanish-speaking to the "Peoples of America" series he was editing for Lippincotts, I made good use of the knowledge and insights of those who had participated in the Albuquerque conference. Of these sources I was more indebted to George Sanchez and Allen Harper (on the Indian connection) than to any of the other participants.

In the spring of 1951, not long after my book NORTH FROM MEXICO: THE SPANISH-SPEAKING PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

was first published, I left Southern California to join the staff of THE NATION - - succeeding to the editorship in 1955 - - and have since lived in New York. Among other unpleasant consequences, this shift in residence made it difficult for me to maintain ties with friends and associates in the Southwest. In the process of transition, also, I made a gift of my library and certain papers and documents to the University of California at Los Angeles and - - in the general confusion of moving - - quite a lot of my correspondence was lost or misplaced, so that I cannot refer to my continuing correspondence with Sánchez. Not only is 20 Vesey Street - - where the offices of THE NATION were located in 1951 - - quite a distance from the barrios of East Los Angeles and the mountain villages of New Mexico - - not to mention the campuses of the University of New Mexico and the University of Texas - - but editing a weekly journal is a compulsive, time-consuming, never-ending task. So of necessity my involvement - - but not my interest - - in the affairs of the Spanish-speaking as well as ~~my~~ direct contact with the friends I had met in the course of my writings on the subject, rapidly abated.

But from time to time I exchanged letters with George Sanchez and had occasion, more than once, to seek his advice about articles, book reviews, and editorials relating to the Spanish-speaking. His responses were invariably prompt, helpful, and to the point. On January 20-22nd, 1959, the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church held a conference in Austin on "Latin-American Relations in the Southwestern United States." Along with my friend Maury Maverick, Jr, and Sánchez, I participated in this conference and read a paper on "Good Neighbors, Good Friends"

which appears in the summary of the conference which was printed in pamphlet form. I am sure that George Sánchez was the moving force behind this conference and that he was, of course, responsible for my presence there. The conference gave us a chance to renew our friendship and we made the most of the opportunity, limited as it was in point of time. Later we continued to correspond but I do not remember ~~never~~ seeing him again.

George Sanchez was more than a remarkable scholar and distinguished educator. He was a forceful and courageous leader, a brilliant spokesman for the Spanish-speaking, and the constant foe of cant and hypocrisy. Only educators can properly appraise his pioneer work in attempting to educate "Anglo" educators about the educational problems of children from Spanish-speaking homes and communities. His efforts in this field alone were heroic and his achievements will stand as a lasting monument to his name and reputation. I knew him as a friend and a good friend he proved to be. He was a prime source of whatever insight I managed to acquire as a non-Spanish-speaking "Anglo" - - albeit one of very mixed ancestry - - into the fascinating experience of the Spanish-speaking of the Southwest, an experience that is now taking on new dimensions of interest and importance for the culture of the region. An editorial which I wrote for THE NATION (June 5, 1972) after his death summarizes some of the reasons why I cherish my friendship With George Sanchez:

Washington has its full share of memorials for national heroes -- explorers, generals, admirals, Presidents, statesmen-- whose reputations have been certified, sanctified, and recorded in song and story and first-grade readers. But what Washington does not have, and needs, is a People's Pantheon, a memorial to those men and women who never attained widespread national fame but who served the true interests of the people better, in many cases, than the "official" heroes.

Consider, for example, Dr. George Sánchez, of the University of Texas, who died recently. Born in Albuquerque, Dr. Sánchez was educated in the elementary and secondary schools of New Mexico and Arizona and received degrees from the University of Texas and the University of California after graduating from the University of New Mexico. No one knew more about what was wrong with the education of Spanish-speaking children in the public schools of the Southwest, or did more to correct the stupid and inept teaching practices which mangled the education of so many of these youngsters for so many years. His performance in this one area was heroic and memorable.

All those who have written about the Spanish-speaking are indebted to Dr. Sánchez for his little book Forgotten People (1940), about the Spanish-speaking in New Mexico, a classic in the field. He also published important studies of the educational systems of Mexico and Venezuela as well as a fine book The People: A Study of the Navajos (1948). He served as educational specialist on the staff of the Coordinator for Inter-American Affairs and on the board of the Peace Corps when it was first established. But it was as professor of Latin American education

from 1940 until his death that he gained national recognition as a teacher and scholar. Upon learning of his death, one of his many doctoral students commented, "I'm sorry for all the students who will never know him." His record at the University of Texas indicates that he supervised more than sixty-five masters' theses and some twenty-eight doctoral dissertations.

But he was a great deal more than a scholar. In the finest sense of the term, he was an activist. He made it possible for others to make the best use of his scholarly research, his remarkable experience and his shrewd insights. A generation of young Mexican-Americans who are now transforming the status of the Spanish-speaking have been, in a sense, taught by him even if they never studied with him. He was a man of rare courage and infectious high spirits who never hesitated to say what he thought about bigotry and prejudice and institutional stupidities; he was never in awe of the high and mighty. Rep. J.J. Pickle, speaking in the House on May 2, said of him: "He has served well the cause of Spanish-speaking peoples in this country and abroad. And in so doing he has served well his country and his fellow man everywhere." The Washington Establishment will erect no memorial to him but he deserves a place of honor in the People's Pantheon of the future.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

"New York City, March 21, 1974"

There is a publication called Leaders in Education, a hefty volume that contains the biographies of the leading men and women of the United States who have made their mark in the field of Education. If you should care to look under the letter "S" in the fourth and latest edition of Leaders in Education (New York, 1971), you might be surprised to find that the name of George I. Sánchez is not there. Suppose you go, then, to a similar publication, also functioning as a kind of honor roll for people in Education--Who's Who in American Education (Nashville, Tenn., 1968). Again you will find George Sánchez among the missing. On the other hand, Dr. Sánchez is included in Who's Who in America for 1972-73.

There are many explanations ~~that~~ we might come up with, as to why George Sánchez has been considered distinguished enough to appear in a Who's Who devoted to Americans of all walks of life, while--apparently--he does not rate mention in similar rosters devoted exclusively to scholars in his own field. I shall not attempt to go into such pormenores, at least not now--except to note how typical this was of the man and of his life. He was always a maverick, a nonconformist. And he often made his academic colleagues extremely uncomfortable by saying exactly what he thought. Furthermore, he believed in putting his convictions into action. Such behavior did not make for him a bed of roses during his tenure at the University of Texas.

Chicanos everywhere have come to know about George Sánchez and some of the

things he stood for, but I doubt that the fullness of his contribution has been truly appreciated. The basic facts about his career are well known:

Jorge Isidoro Sánchez y Sánchez was born in Albuquerque, New Mexico, on October 4, 1906. His parents were Telésforo and Juliana Sánchez, and he came from the stock of the early colonizers of the area. He received his elementary and secondary education in the public schools of Arizona and New Mexico. In 1923, at the advanced age of seventeen, he became a rural schoolteacher and principal in Bernalillo County, New Mexico, working during the summers toward his B.A. degree at the University of New Mexico. In 1930, he received his bachelor's, and by that time he had advanced from principal to superintendent of his school district. After that, his other degrees came in quick succession.

Immediately after receiving his bachelor's he made his first sojourn in Texas, attending the University of Texas on a fellowship from the General Education Board. One year later, in 1931, he had completed his Master of Science degree in Educational Psychology and Spanish. From Texas he went to the University of California, in 1934 Berkeley, where he received his Doctor of Education degree in Educational Administration. During these same years, by the way--from 1930 to 1935--he also served as Director of the Division of Information and Statistics in the New Mexico State Department of Education. An underachiever he was not.

From Sanchez
During the period from 1935 to 1940 he was, among other things, an Associate

Professor of Education at the University of New Mexico, a Julius Rosenwald Research Associate, and Asesor Técnico General for the Ministerio de Educación Nacional for the Republic of Venezuela. Then, in 1940, he came to Texas to stay. From 1940 until his death on April 5, 1972, he was a Professor in the Department of History and Philosophy of Education (now Department of Cultural Foundations of Education) and Consultant in Latin American Education at the University of Texas. From 1951 to 1959, he was chairman of his Department. As a teacher he gave of himself unstintingly to his students. He was still teaching during the Spring semester of 1972, a few weeks before his death. During his tenure at the University of Texas, students of all interests and disciplines were drawn to his classes. As for his work as a graduate professor, it is officially reported that as a member of the UT Graduate Faculty he supervised more than 65 master's theses and 24 doctoral dissertations. He was a Visiting Professor at a number of universities in this country and abroad, and in 1967 he was awarded the honorary degree, Doctor of Laws, by the University of New Mexico, his alma mater. Documents and Minutes of the General Faculty, University of Texas, September 27, 1972.

George Sánchez's bibliography is voluminous. The books, monographs, and special reports that he authorized or edited during his lifetime run to something like fifty items, to which must be added some eighty articles that also came from his pen. The subjects that engaged his attention as author and editor range all

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V. Sanchez

way from the arithmetic of the ancient Mayas, to the culture of the Navajos, to education in southern Peru. But his overriding preoccupation was the quality of education given to children of Mexican descent in the United States. His many writings on the subject have made his name familiar to today's Chicanos, who see in him something of a precursor--one of the few glimmers of light in the dark days before the movimiento. Perhaps his best known work, certainly the one most frequently found in Mexican-American bibliographies, is Forgotten People; a study calling attention to the plight of Mexican-Americans in New Mexico, that appeared in 1940. But somewhat earlier, Sánchez was already attacking the validity of intelligence tests when applied to Mexican-American children. His best known articles on the subject are "Group Differences and Spanish-speaking Children: A Critical Review," which appeared in the Journal of Applied Psychology in 1932; and "Bilingualism and Mental Measures: A Word of Caution," published in the same journal in 1934.

Sánchez's writings are enough to earn him a favored place among the prominent figures our people have produced. However, ~~to~~ to know only George Sánchez's published works is to know but part of the man. What is missing from such a picture is by far the most dynamic aspect of the man he was, and the most important one as far as his legacy to Mexican-Americans ~~now~~ of today and of the future.

(5)

This aspect of Sánchez's work still awaits some thorough and basic research on the part of Chicano scholars of the present generation. We can, however, limn the major outlines of this area of his activities, as they were readily apparent to ~~many~~ those who knew the man for any length of time. Vital in our appreciation of George Sánchez is the recognition of his pioneer work in what we now call Mexican-American Studies. (We have said it is officially reported that Sánchez supervised something like like 90 theses and dissertations during his tenure at Texas. or Chicano Studies.) Someone should make a survey of these theses and dissertations, noting how many of them deal, not only with the Mexican-American's education but with his history and his culture. It is a safe bet that the proportion falling into this category will be high, because Sánchez understood education as impinging on all of a people's activities. His tendency to range far and wide in ~~the~~ interdisciplinary field was one of the reasons why he was something of a thorn in the side of those who favored the academic status quo.

The courses that Sánchez taught were informed by this same point of view regarding the unity of education and culture. For many years at the University of Texas, he offered courses such as "The Social Context of Education," a senior course, and "Spanish-Speaking People and Their Acculturation in the United States," on the graduate level. So George Sánchez was teaching Mexican-American Studies courses at Texas long before the idea of a Mexican-American Studies program had come to anyone's attention. It was only natural, ~~that~~ when Mexican-American Studies were formally initiated at the University of Texas in 1970, that the courses taught

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by George Sánchez should become an important part of our program--a program they had preceded by many years. ⁴ [The program at Texas drew strength not only from the courses but from the man. Sánchez was by then in extremely poor health, but he consented to serve on the faculty-student committee for Mexican-American Studies. In January 1972, less than three months before George Sánchez's death, the program became involved in difficulties with the University of Texas administration. One of the first to jump into the breach was Sánchez, with eloquent and abrasive letters to the administration and to the press. I visited him at his home a few days before he was hospitalized for the last time. His final advice to me was, "Give them hell. Que no se chinen."

This, by the way, reveals still another aspect of George Sánchez's career and personality: his ~~passion~~ and passionate commitment to the things he believed in. He was both a scholar and a man of action. ^{full} A list of his consultantships, directorships, committee chairmanships, and membership on boards and commissions would cover many pages. A few examples should give us an idea of the range of his activities in the areas that interest us most.

In 1935 and 1936 he was surveying rural education in Mexico, where bilingualism and biculturalism are expressed in terms of Spanish and an Indian language, rather than in terms of Spanish and English; but with the same problems and the same potential. Back in this country, from 1941 to 1947 he was a member

-I-

of the Committee on Teaching English as a Second Language; and in 1945 he became President of the Council on Education of Spanish-Speaking People in the Southwest, a post he held until 1950. He was Director of a Bilingual Migrant Workshop for the Colorado State Department of Education in 1957 and was Consultant for the U.S. Office of Education Project on Bilingualism from 1957 to 1959. In 1952 he was a Consultant on the Education of Migrants; and from 1957 until his death he was active in the Migrant Children's Fund--as a member of the Board of Directors from 1957 to 1959, and as ~~xxxx~~ Vice President since 1960. From 1951 to 1959, he was Director of the American Council of Spanish-Speaking People. He also found time to be Vice Chairman of the Texas Council on Human Relations, a member of the Board of Directors of the Central Texas Affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union, and President General of LULAC from 1941 to 1942.

These examples, lengthy though they may seem, are but a small part of his activities expressing his concern--decades before the Chicano movement--for human rights in general and for the rights of his people in particular. And let us make it clear that this list ~~ix~~ was not ~~a mere~~ exercise in vitae-manship. His activities in these organizations went beyond mere membership, or even polite participation.

Sánchez could be blunt or caustic, and he very often was, in attempting to gain a hearing for significant action in education and civil rights, ~~rather than mere~~

considering
window dressing. Another area of research that awaits some young Chicano scholar

is in Sánchez's correspondence to people in high places both in the government and in academia. He did not believe in mincing words when he felt it necessary to speak out on issues. Still another area that he was active in was ~~in the fight~~ ^{the legal battles} for school desegregation in Texas; ~~where~~ ^{where} he often appeared as an expert witness in virtue of his standing as an educator. He was in the midst of this fight in 1948, during the historic case, Delgado vs. the Bastrop Independent School District; and in 1971, just a few months before his death, he appeared as a witness in a case of de facto segregation of Chicano schoolchildren in Austin.

There were so many facets to the life and personality of George Sánchez, that it is not easy to characterize him in a phrase or two. But if I were to attempt it, I would say of him that he was above all a fighter, a man of courage. Let me say that his was not the courage of ~~what~~ ^{the type that} is called machismo, that supposedly Mexican complex that social scientists love to study. Machismo is supposed to be something especially ours; after all, we are told, we do have a word for it. But we forget that the term machismo was coined ~~was coined~~ fairly recently in our history, by ~~a~~ social scientists. Mexican social scientists, it is true, but ~~are~~ trained in North American methodologies. It is a strange commentary on the subtle ways of brainwashing, ~~that~~ ^{that} how many of our young Chicano writers have accepted machismo as an ineluctable part of their ethnic make-up and, even more, have attempted to elevate the cult of the macho into a kind of Chicano mystique. The cult of the

bully--the matón and the castigador de mujeres--does not deserve a place in our scale of values. *(10 The matón)* The willingness to face death for a cause is not machismo. It is simply courage of a high order and has been admired by many peoples in many ages.

Curiously enough, there is another aspect of courage that people of Mexican culture have always admired--so much so that we do have a term for it.

This kind of courage, which by the way has never interested people trying to

psychoanalyze us en masse, is what we call valor civil. Valor civil is courage

it is that requires no weapon but the will itself; the courage of the unarmed and peaceful

definition man who will not flinch before threats of violence. Valor civil is the ability to

stand steadfast for what you think is right, come what may. George Sánchez had

valor civil. He was a fighter for the things he believed in--way back, many years

H ago, when very few fought alongside of him. *H* And he suffered for it. He faced up

to threats of violence in his early days in New Mexico, and in later years

pressures of other sorts were applied to him. For a long time--until the last

few years of his life--he was one of the most poorly paid full professors at the

University of Texas. In the same way, he fought against the physical ailments

that afflicted him. A man with less courage would have retired from active life

ten or twenty years before ~~then~~ the end--if he had had to bear the burdens

George Sánchez bore. But he was in the thick of things until the very last,

giving of himself without stint--for which many thousands of us are grateful.

As you well know, one of the fictions ~~that~~ we have had to contend with as Mexican-Americans has been the legend of the sleeping giant who suddenly wakes up. As one of our recent advocates has put it, "That lazy bandido sleeping beneath the big sombrero in the shade of the adobe hut has suddenly awakened. . . . Certainly the age of self-analysis and self-discovery has finally caught up with him." ³ With advocates like that, who needs detractors? The lives of men like George Sánchez are ample evidence that Mexican-Americans were not asleep in the generations preceding this one. They have been awake to their problems for more than a century, and they have always been concerned with questions of self-analysis and identity.

Yet, those men--forerunners of the Chicano movement--were frustrated in their attempts to have sufficient impact on the majority society, in order to bring about changes they desired as much as we desire them today. Some may argue that they did not create the necessary stir because they were a small minority of their own generation. But let us not forget how small a fraction of the Mexican-American population is formed by the Chicano activists of today.

If there is any group in the United States that "suddenly awakened into an age of self-analysis" during the 1960s, it is the WASP majority. And without taking any credit from our contemporary Chicano leaders, one may conjecture whether they would have been so successful in making themselves heard, had they not come along at the right time, when the American majority were willing to listen.

~~were not ^{so} successful ~~in making themselves heard because~~
~~they came along at the right time, when the American majority were willing to listen.~~~~

These remarks are intended, not as a captious observation on the recent past
but as a hard look at the future. The ^(among the minority) Sixties were indeed a time for soul searching
in the United States. But the signs begin to point in other directions as we move
deeper into the Seventies. It begins to look more and more as though a reaction has
set in, and--as regards minority rights and interests--no one really knows what the
next few years may bring. After a period of relatively quick, though partial,
successes in the Sixties, we may be entering ~~into~~ again into times when we will
be able to inch forward toward our goals only at the cost of great effort and much
frustration. In such times, we will need men patterned after Jorge Isidoro
Sánchez y Sánchez.

Notes for Paredes, "Jorge Isidoro Sánchez y Sánchez"

^{1/}These remarks were read at a dinner honoring George Sánchez at ^HSacramento
(California) State University, December 8, 1972.

^{2/}"Documents and Minutes of the General Faculty, University of Texas,"
September 27, 1972.

^{3/}Edward Simmen, ed., The Chicano: From Caricature to Self-Portrait (New York,
1971), 15.

PERSPECTIVES ON MEXICAN-AMERICANS

by

~~Paul S. Taylor~~

George I. Sanchez came from the oldest stream of European immigrants that settled in New Spain. In 1605 they arrived in what now we call the State of New Mexico. This was two years before the English settled in Virginia, and fifteen years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock. More than two centuries passed until the progeny of these settlements met. Borne on the tides of history, it was the English language, culture, economic and political power that swept westward from the Atlantic Coast to the Pacific, not the reverse. Yet these tides never obliterated Spanish language and culture in southwestern areas where originally they had taken root, nor in areas to which later they had spread.

The twentieth century brought renewed and heavy infusion of Spanish culture, language and people into the Southwest. This fresh immigrant tide, coming from Mexico, not only expanded the numbers of persons with Spanish language and heritage, but also diversified their racial and cultural strains. It spread widely into areas spotted over the United States, multiplying contacts with the dominant English-European elements of American society. Within the Spanish-Mexican societies a sense of community was to develop only slowly, awaiting the rise of an enlarged American-born generation.

George Sánchez was well aware of the distinctive characters of the two migration phases. Of the first--the impact of the westward sweep from the Atlantic--he wrote in 1967: "The Spanish American of New Mexico was left to the mercy of waves of exploiters: merchants, cattle barons, land grabbers, venal politicians--merciless all." Of the recent influx from Mexico he wrote that "cheap labor displaces Americans of Spanish-Mexican descent all along the border, and even beyond." Searching for leadership among his own people, he gave a paper at the University of New Mexico entitled "The Default of Leadership." In it he observed that although some persons of his ancestry were beginning to receive the advantages of higher education, "These few were powerless to stem the overwhelming tide."¹

In contrast to George Sánchez, who spoke from the insight of an insider, I can write only from the observations of an outsider. Born in the final decade of the nineteenth century of British and European ancestry, I had no contact with the Spanish-Mexican world until 1927. Then, as an observer, I was tossed for five years into the modern stream of immigration from Mexico. This I followed in person from its sources in Mexico to its agricultural and industrial destinations in California, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, and Pennsylvania. Now, in this personal perspective of forty years, I meet a rising young generation of insiders of which Sánchez was a forerunner, a generation seeking to understand and evaluate the position of Mexican-Americans in contemporary American society. I observe them endeavoring to find common bonds that can unite

the diverse elements among them, the common values that can provide and clarify their goals. This can be the task only of insiders. But if insiders can give the answers, perhaps an outsider can assist by offering his observations and asking some of the questions.

Mexican-Americans, like Europeans and unlike Africans, came to the United States by their own or their forebears' decisions. They have homogenized into this society more slowly than most Europeans, and much faster than Africans. For one thing, their own cultural and racial heritage is in large measure European. Then why have they shared the "melting pot" processes more slowly than most Europeans? Some answers can be suggested, relevant especially to the large numbers who entered the United States in the twentieth century from Mexico.

The outbreak of World War I in 1914 cut off immigration from Europe. In the decade that followed, Congress sharply reduced permissible entries from Europe and excluded immigrants from large zones in Asia. American entry into the war in 1917 stimulated the labor demands of the economy and reduced the supply of domestic labor by drawing many into the armed forces. This created a "forced draft" syphoning laborers in from Mexico. These served mainly in western agriculture, on western railways, and to a lesser extent in northern industry.

Although immigrants from Mexico came by their own decision, they did not make the decisions determining their social and economic role upon arrival in the United States. Rather, they responded to the decisions of others who sought their labor services. This points to a first

question: When, in the stream of time, did these later Mexican-Americans arrive, and what, consequently, were the roles into which they were fitted? Time, place and occupation are elements crucial to understanding.

The place assigned them in the sugar beet industry at the time of their arrival offers one concrete illustrative answer. This agricultural industry sprang into existence at the beginning of the twentieth century, and expanded rapidly on western irrigated lands and at points in the Middle West as far eastward as Michigan and Ohio. Already the era of free land had passed; a decade earlier this frontier had closed down. Opportunity for Mexican-Americans to acquire farms of their own on which to grow sugar beets did not exist. The demand for their services was as laborers on the farms of others--north Europeans who had preceded them. It was limited to seasons of need for labor in the beet fields beyond the capacity of the farmer's family and his hired man to provide. For most Mexican-Americans this meant northward migration to the beet fields in the spring, and southward migration to winter quarters--even return to Mexico--in the fall.

This reception by the sugar beet industry--and it was similar in cotton as that crop expanded into Arizona and California under irrigation--was in sharp contrast to the spirit abroad in Mexico at the time. Although they left Mexico in an era when "tierra y libertad" expressed popular aspirations, their personal heritage generally was not that of peasants experienced in carrying the responsibilities of farm management. As field laborers at home they fitted readily into the role of migrant seasonal workers in the United States.

In other eras it would have been otherwise. Earlier immigrants entering by the Atlantic seaboard from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries had found "free land" awaiting them. These were largely English, Scotch, German, Irish, and Scandinavian in origin, and largely of peasant stock. With opportunity on the land open before them, they rose in large numbers by the "agricultural ladder" of the times, either directly to landownership, or step by step from hired man to tenant, to farmer laboring on his own land. Even Asian immigrants, especially those with peasant experience such as Japanese and Hindustanis arriving prior to World War I, were able to rise to tenancy and landownership in California and the West. The South was an exception, and a region generally avoided by free immigrants. There the large plantation system prevailed, resting on originally unfree African laborers denied access to land of their own.

Except in the Old South, times had changed greatly when the twentieth-century Mexicans arrived. Not only was there no agricultural ladder for them to ascend; the effect of their ready availability to landowners was to check further widespread distribution of landownership, and so to contribute to the decline of the "family farm."²

Participation of Mexican-Americans in the historic melting pot process by which immigrants were amalgamated into the receiving society was further slowed by the very proximity of Mexico, their country of origin. Since it was immediately adjacent geographically, it was also close psychologically in the minds of Mexican immigrants in the United

States. Return to the mother country was natural and easy, or seemed so whether actually undertaken or merely contemplated. Either way, the result was reflected in slowness to seek American citizenship and to engage in active participation in the civic life of the United States. These actions were retarded for a full generation and more. As with the Japanese-Americans, World War II, with its draft calls for military service, confronted the new American-born generation with tangible questions: Was their future to be as Americans? Was Mexican heritage to override full allegiance to the country of their birth and residence? Or might there be some balance between these alternatives?

Earlier European immigrants to the United States seldom faced such questions. Over the centuries, especially as long as travel was by sailing vessel, decision to emigrate to America was accepted as final, with no anticipation of return to the homeland, not even for a visit. Only later, in the days of large and fast passenger steamships did frequently homing "birds of passage" appear. This change was notable among Italians in years immediately preceding World War I. Many of them came to the United States for industrial employment, returned to Italy when employment slackened, and came again to the United States when "good times" and jobs reappeared. Many Mexicans did likewise.

Among the results of delay by Mexican-Americans in deciding to accept and affirm American citizenship, has been prolonged civic inaction to protect their own self-interest. A dramatic example is the survival--under very dubious legality--of concentrated landownership in Imperial

Valley, California. There the Bureau of Reclamation constructed the Boulder Canyon Project to serve irrigation needs of the valley. Reclamation law was declared to "govern the construction, operation, and management" of the works "except as otherwise . . . provided."³ In order to distribute water and land "in accordance with the greatest good to the greatest number of individuals," as described by the U.S. Supreme Court, reclamation law allows no water deliveries in excess of 160 acres per individual landowner. The project was authorized in 1928, yet in 1965 some 800 persons owned and were receiving water on 233,000 acres, an average of 290 acres apiece.

One-third of the valley's population is of Mexican ancestry, consisting almost entirely of landless field laborers. Hardly any are independent farmers. Reflecting these facts, the overwhelming majority of "farm personnel" in Imperial Valley--87.3 percent--belongs to the "lower class," as compared with only 13.6 percent in Iowa where historically landownership has been widely distributed.⁴ The purpose of acreage limitation on water deliveries and a companion requirement of residence on the part of the water receiver, is to prevent the very stratification that has developed in Imperial Valley under nonenforcement of the law, with Mexican-Americans at the bottom.

In 1933 a Secretary of the Interior said that acreage limitation law does not apply to Imperial Valley. In 1945 a Solicitor of Interior said that it does, and in 1957 a Solicitor General of the United States said the same. Still, there was no enforcement. In 1964, thirty-one

years after the first Secretary said acreage limitation law does not apply, a second Secretary said that it does. When finally the case reached district court in 1971, a first judge agreed with the 1933 Secretary that the law does not apply. Thereupon the Justice Department dropped its own case without appeal, allowing the adverse decision to stand. This appeared to close the door of opportunity that a law designed to provide "land for the landless" sought to open, i.e., "tierra y libertad."

Over virtually all these years there is no evidence that Mexican-Americans were informed, consulted, or concerned over the outcome. Except for the arrival in the valley of a Brooklyn physician, this would have been the end of opportunity for the many on Imperial Valley land. This practitioner of medicine in time became curious about this situation, investigated its legal aspects, gathered about himself 123 Mexican-Americans lacking farms, and brought suit to have the law enforced.

The initial response by the court was discouraging: the district judge who denied that the law applies to Imperial Valley, denied also the right of a physician and landless Mexican-Americans to appeal his decision. In August, 1973, however, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed this latter denial and agreed to hear the landless in their own behalf.^{5/}

The slowness of Mexican-Americans over so many years to act in their own self-interest through the judiciary, is paralleled by the more recent fact that so far, apparently, no organization of Mexican-Americans

has undertaken to publicly endorse the suit and the issue it stands for, or to raise funds for its prosecution through the courts. Explanation of the answer to the natural question, Why not? must be deepseated, rather than accidental.

To begin with, there is lack of a close sense of unity among Mexican-Americans, a lack grounded on both historical and contemporary facts. In the late nineteen twenties when I was observing Mexican laborers in the field, I found no generally recognized word or phrase all-inclusive of the various groups of persons of Mexican ancestry in the Southwest. "Texas-Mexicans" (Tejanos) were distinguished from "Spanish Americans" of New Mexico and southern Colorado, and from the newly arrived "Mexicans." To the latter, the Spanish Americans were "little brothers" (hermanitos). This fractionized condition apparently has not wholly vanished despite current prevalence of the all-embracing terms "chicanos" and "la raza."

At the end of the nineteen sixties, careful students of Mexican-Americans cautiously reported progress in the direction of a developing sense of unity that I found so conspicuously absent in the nineteen twenties. They concluded:

Mexican Americans began to discover *themselves* at about the same time that the nation noticed their existence. The changes they witnessed in the larger society solidified a growing conviction that their traditional approach of patiently waiting for recognition was unproductive. Mexican Americans formed politically oriented organizations *demanding* national attention. A new generation of leaders began to sense that the whole complex of national opinion, concern within the Federal government, and modern communications media could be used to voice and eventually redress their grievances. The concept

of a "national minority" was slowly replacing the parochial orientation of earlier spokesmen who sought to solve individual problems in individual areas.⁶

Final answers to the questions that face Mexican-Americans are unlikely at this time. Each future generation will face these and ask others, and will give answers revised in the light of its own time.

FOOTNOTES

¹George I. Sánchez, Forgotten People, vii, viii (1967 ed.).

²P. S. Taylor, "Hand laborers in the sugar beet industry," 41 Agricultural History (1967), p. 19.

³43 U.S.C. 617m. (1928).

⁴T. Lynn Smith, "A study of social stratification in the agricultural sections of the United States . . ." 34 Rural Sociology 496-at 506-8 (1969).

⁵Lyle W. Robinson, "Brave Ben Yellen," 27 Chicago Jewish Forum 22 (1968); Michael Kinsley, "Ben Yellen's fine madness," 2 Washington Monthly, Nov. 11 (1971), 28; P. S. Taylor, "Water, land, and environment. Imperial Valley: Law caught in the winds of politics," 13 Natural Resources Journal 1 (1973).

⁶Leo Grebler, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph C. Guzman, The Mexican-American people: The nation's second largest minority (1970), 4.

~~BIBLIOGRAPHER'S COMMENTS~~

~~James N. Mowry~~

The bibliography that follows is ordered chronologically. This strategy was adopted for this publication so that readers could obtain a sketch of Dr. Sánchez's active life by observing the time-sequenced topics of his written works. Reading these publications in chronological sequence is experiencing vicariously the drama of the life of a man dedicated to elevating the quality of human relationships. Dr. Sánchez was a striking example of a rare wholeness--scholarship and action directed toward the satisfaction of human need.

Jim
Through his publications he sought to break through erroneous generalizations that inhibited social interaction and appreciation of cultural differences. He attempted to replace those generalizations with fuller understanding of historical and cultural factors that contribute to diversity. He tried to clarify the meaning of democratic social arrangements, particularly in education, and suggested means of bringing about needed reconstruction. He identified economic, social, political, health, and educational needs and goals of minority groups and documented the roadblocks that impeded progress toward fulfillment of those needs and goals. His attitude was positive in the suggestions he recommended for the removal of obstacles to improvement of social welfare.

At times his writings reflected the anger and indignation he must have felt when confronted by the reality of

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entrenched bigotry and cultural blindness of special interest groups in the dominant culture that manipulated our institutions to the disadvantage of American minority groups, particularly the Spanish-speaking people in the Southwest. But as the record will show, he never doubted the potential good of democratic ideals as guides for social interaction nor the intentions of the majority of Americans to bring these ideals closer to reality through social unity amid cultural diversity.

"A Bibliography of George I. Sánchez"

~~Bibliography: Works By George Sanchez~~

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HUMANIDAD

Essays in Memory of George I. Sanchez

Americo Paredes

Part I & II

by George Sánchez should become an important part of our program--a program they had preceded by many years. ⁴ The program at Texas drew strength not only from the courses but from the man. Sánchez was by then in extremely poor health, but he consented to serve on the faculty-student committee for Mexican-American Studies. In January 1972, less than three months before George Sánchez's death, the program became involved in difficulties with the University of Texas administration. One of the first to jump into the breach was Sánchez, with eloquent and abrasive letters to the administration and to the press. I visited him at his home a few days before he was hospitalized for the last time. His final advice to me was, "Give them hell. Que no te chinguen."

This, by the way, reveals still another aspect of George Sánchez's career and personality: his ~~intense~~ and passionate commitment to the things he believed in. He was both a scholar and a man of action. ^{full} A list of his consultantships, directorships, committee chairmanships, and membership on boards and commissions would cover many pages. A few examples should give us an idea of the range of his activities in the areas that interest us most.

In 1935 and 1936 he was surveying rural education in Mexico, where bilingualism and biculturalism are expressed in terms of Spanish and an Indian language, rather than in terms of Spanish and English; but with the same problems and the same potential. Back in this country, from 1941 to 1947 he was a member