The Strange Career of Juan Crow:
Latino/as and the Making of the U.S. South, 1940-2000

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Abstract

The Strange Career of Juan Crow examines the social and cultural history of Latinos in the post-World War II South. It traces the history of Latino/as, primarily Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans, during the demise of Jim Crow segregation and their transformation from an ethnic group to a racial one. Based on archival research and oral histories, this project examines the lives of Latino/as in civil rights organizing, military service, and labor. Additionally, the project examines Southern foodways, leisure practices, and visual culture to analyze the representation of Latinos in mass culture. It demonstrates that the anti-Latino sentiment in the South today is a recent invention; prior to the 1980s Latinos benefitted from many privileges associated with whiteness—including using white Jim Crow accommodations. It argues that the South was best characterized as having a black/not-black racial order rather than the commonly held assumption of a black and white binary. My project emphasizes the permeable nature of whiteness and the centrality of blackness in defining whiteness. This project also illuminates how Latino/as, Jews, and Italians came to the South and learned how to distance themselves from blackness in order to gain access to white privileges.

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Introduction

The Strange Career of Juan Crow

For most of the twentieth century, Latino immigration was a story about California, Texas, and New York. However, a report by the Pew Center revealed that between 1990 and 2000 that story began to change dramatically as Latino immigrants flocked to the former states of the Confederacy. In that decade, the size of the Latino population increased by nearly 400 percent in North Carolina, 337 percent in Arkansas, 300 percent in Georgia and 278 percent in Tennessee. In the following decade, between 2000 and 2010, the top ten states with the fastest growing Latino populations were all below the Mason-Dixon line. Alabama, South Carolina, and Tennessee all experienced more than 150 percent growth in their Latino populations between 2000 and 2011.[1] In light of these demographic shifts, scholars have begun to study the "New Latino South" or the "Nuevo South."

The scholarly efforts to document this monumental change, have been led by sociologists, anthropologists, and geographers.[2] To date little has been written on the history of

[1] http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/09/03/latino-population-growth_n_3860441.html

[2] Jamie Winders, *Nashville in the New Millennium: Immigrant Settlement, Urban Transformation, and Social Belonging* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2013); Douglas S. Massey, ed., *New Faces in New Places: The Changing Geography of American Immigration* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2008), http://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u4717311; Heather A. Smith and Owen J. Furuseth, eds., *Latinos in the New South: Transformations of Place* (Aldershot, England ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), http://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u4407695; Mary E. Odem and Elaine Lacy, eds., *Latino Immigrants and the Transformation of the U.S. South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009); Arthur D. Murphy, Colleen Blanchard, and Jennifer A. Hill, eds., *Latino Workers in the Contemporary South*, Southern Anthropological Society Proceedings, no. 34 (Athens, Ga: University of Georgia Press, 2001); Donald D. Stull, Michael J. Broadway, and David Craig Griffith, eds., *Any Way You Cut It: Meat Processing and Small-Town America*, Rural America (Lawrence, Kan: University Press of Kansas, 1995), http://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u2494463; Paula D. McClain et al., "Racial Distancing in a Southern City: Latino Immigrants' Views of Black Americans," *The Journal of Politics* 68, no. 3 (August 2006): 571–84, doi:10.1111/j.1468-2508.2006.00446.x; Jamie Winders, "Changing

Latino/a[3] communities that, despite their characterization as "Nuevo," have deep historical roots in the South. This dissertation, *"The Strange Career of Juan Crow: Latino/as, African Americans, and the Making of the U.S. South, 1940-2000,"* offers a critical prehistory of this "Nuevo" South, without which we cannot understand the contemporary experiences of Latinos in the U.S. South.[4] I demonstrate that the current anti-Latino sentiment in the South is a recent invention; prior to the 1980s, Latinos benefitted from many privileges associated with whiteness—including using white Jim Crow accommodations.

Throughout much of the twentieth-century, Latino/as were able to live in the South as white ethnics benefitting from many of the structural advantages of whiteness. As a result, *The Strange Career of Juan Crow* suggests that the black/white binary is an insufficient explanation of how race operated in the twentieth-century South. Instead, I argue that the South was best characterized as having a black/not-black racial order. My research emphasizes the permeable nature of whiteness and the centrality of blackness in defining whiteness. In this new framework, I argue that one's proximity to blackness was more important than one's "non-white" status. Afro-Latinos, for example, were unable to benefit from the privileges of whiteness that non-black Latinos enjoyed. This project also illuminates the ways in which Latino/as, Jewish, Italian, and Chinese immigrants to the South learned to distance themselves from blackness in order to

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Politics of Race and Region: Latino Migration to the US South," *Progress in Human Geography* 29, no. 6 (December 1, 2005): 683–99, doi:10.1191/0309132505ph577oa.

[3] While I recognize that the use of "Latino" is anachronistic I believe it is the best way to capture the diverse populations of Latin American descent I am studying in the South. When referring to a specific ethnic group I use appropriate terms like Mexican-American and Puerto Rican.

[4] In this dissertation I am talking about the Southeast. Here, the "South" is defined as the former states of the confederacy minus Texas and South Florida. These states are excluded because the focus is on how "Latino"/"Latin"/"Hispanic" identity is formed in places where these populations do not constitute a critical mass. This is of interest because it gives us a moment to trace the transformation of race and meanings of race over time as the size and demographic of an ethnic population changes.

gain access to white privileges. This dissertation also chronicles the changing position of Latinos in the American South and how, over the course of the twentieth century, they transformed from an ethnic group to a racial one.

By turning to the U.S. South as an important new site for the study of Latino/as, this research contributes to debates in Latino/a history, southern history, and twentieth-century U.S. history, in three critical ways. First, I broaden the geography of Latino/a history from the West and Southwest to include the South. Focusing on this underexamined region reveals major differences in the experiences of Latino/as across space in the second half of the twentieth century. Being "Latino," I argue, meant something very different in the West and Southwest than it did in the South. Therefore, this research calls into question the analytical and political usefulness of "Latino/a" as a political, cultural, and social category and exposes its limited capacity for political mobilization. Second, by examining the South where, prior to the 1940s, Latino/as did not initially constitute a dominant presence, I trace the evolution of southern attitudes towards Latinos in response to demographic and economic shifts. Finally, I argue that instead of producing a more racially pluralistic form of white supremacy, the presence of Latino/as and other ethnic groups in the Jim Crow South helped harden and solidify anti-black racism. While there is much written about the process by which non-black or white groups "became" white, I show that those Latino/as who could "pass" did not have to "become" white because their status as "not-black" in the South made them immune to the worst indignities of Jim Crow.

This project makes three contributions to Latino studies. First, this study brings together Latino and southern history to challenge both the dominant Southwestern focus of Latino and Chicano studies and the black/white focus of southern history. By broadening the geography of

Latino studies to include the South, I reveal the importance of the region in processes of racialization. Second, focusing on a region where Latinos did not represent a dominant presence reveals the dynamic process of racialization that comes as a result of economic and demographic changes. It therefore challenges assumptions that contemporary anti-immigrant and anti-Latino sentiment in the South is representative of an enduring southern belief. In fact, I argue that this anti-Latino racism is a relatively new phenomenon. Finally, I argue that Latinos' appearance in the U.S. South did not create a more racially pluralistic form of white supremacy, but rather helped harden anti-black racism. Unlike, for example, the Irish in the North and Midwest, Latinos did not need to "become" white because their status as "not-black" shielded them from the brutality of Jim Crow.

This research opens up important questions about the saliency of "Latino" as a political, cultural, or social organizing category. Scholars have argued that the category of "Latino" as a pan-ethnic identity is limited in its utility for political mobilization. This research illustrates one cause of that friction: different experiences of race based on region. It therefore reveals a key insight about the formation of social movements. Shared experiences of racial "otherness" or "non-whiteness" were not nearly enough to inspire a coalition between black and brown Southerners in the fight against Jim Crow. It challenges romantic visions of black and brown unity against the forces of white supremacy and instead offers a complicated and fraught world where historical subjects acted in self-interested ways to safeguard their futures. Finally, this project unsettles narratives of "post-raciality" or the even more popular "multicultural" fantasy of American racial pluralism. Despite the growing plurality of racial groups incorporated into the United States, like in the post-war period, blackness remains an unassimilable "other" that continues to anchor our racial hierarchies.

Based on oral histories, cultural production, documentary evidence, and material culture, my dissertation reconstructs a critical moment of race-making in the U.S. South. This work is methodologically situated at the intersection of Latino/a Studies, Black Studies, American Studies, and American History. Importantly, this project probes the intersection of Black Studies and Latino/a Studies, disciplines that have often worked in parallel, but have rarely been intellectually integrated. It considers blackness as one of the central structuring forces in the lives of Latino/as in the South during the twentieth-century.

In Latino/a History, studies of California, New York, Texas, and other hubs of Latino/a migration have dominated the historiography.[5] However, in recent years historians have turned to new geographic sites to study Latino/as in understudied locales, like the Midwest. [6] Few historians have yet examined the history of Latino/as in the U.S. South and even fewer have done so with a focus on the relationship between Latino/as and African Americans. My project

[5] Mario T. García, *Mexican Americans: Leadership, Ideology, and Identity, 1930-1960* (Yale University Press, 1991); David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986* (University of Texas Press, 1987); David G. Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (University of California Press, 1995); Neil Foley, *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture*, New Ed (University of California Press, 1999); George J. Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945*, Reprint edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America*, 10 edition (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008); Zaragosa Vargas, *Labor Rights Are Civil Rights: Mexican American Workers in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton University Press, 2007); Lorena Oropeza, *¡Raza Sí! ¡Guerra No!: Chicano Protest and Patriotism during the Viet Nam War Era*, First Edition (University of California Press, 2005); Dr Benjamin Heber Johnson, *Revolution in Texas: How a Forgotten Rebellion and Its Bloody Suppression Turned Mexicans into Americans* (Yale University Press, 2005).

[6] Lilia Fernández, *Brown in the Windy City: Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Postwar Chicago*, Reprint edition (University Of Chicago Press, 2014); Felipe Hinojosa, *Latino Mennonites: Civil Rights, Faith, and Evangelical Culture* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014); Michael Innis-Jiménez, *Steel Barrio: The Great Mexican Migration to South Chicago, 1915-1940* (New York: NYU Press, 2013).

introduces new avenues of historical research on Latino/as in the U.S. South, including the Civil Rights Movement, pop culture, restaurants, and schools.[7]

The Strange Career of Juan Crow also intervenes in scholarship on interracial social movements, specifically Black/Latino/a struggles for social justice. These scholars have focused on traditional sites of Latino/a migration—places where being black or Latino/a fostered a shared experience of oppression. They have examined the success, failure, and complications of these coalitions.[8] This project brings the study of interracial coalitions to the South, as no scholars who study Latino/as in the South have examined their role in the Civil Rights Movement. The southern story of cross-racial movement building is very different than those that take place in California or Texas. Latino/as did not occupy a parallel racial position to African-Americans and, as a result, faced major challenges in building solidarity within Civil Rights organizations.

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[7] Julie M. Weise, *Corazón de Dixie: Mexicanos in the U.S. South since 1910*, 1 edition (The University of North Carolina Press, 2015); John D. Márquez, *Black-Brown Solidarity: Racial Politics in the New Gulf South*, Reprint edition (University of Texas Press, 2014); Perla M. Guerrero, *Impacting Arkansas: Vietnamese and Cuban Refugees and Latina/o Immigrants, 1975-2005* (University of Southern California, 2010); Sarah E. Cornell, *Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico: A Transnational History of Race, Slavery, and Freedom, 1810--1910* (New York University, 2008).

[8] For more on the limits of the success of coalitions: Carlos Kevin Blanton, *George I. Sánchez: The Long Fight for Mexican American Integration*, First Edition edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015); Abigal Rosas, "Raising a Neighborhood." Brian D. Behnken, ed., *The Struggle in Black and Brown: African American and Mexican American Relations during the Civil Rights Era* (University of Nebraska Press, 2012); Max Krochmal, *Blue Texas: The Making of a Multiracial Democratic Coalition in the Civil Rights Era* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016); For more on the limits of coalitions: Brian D. Behnken, *Fighting Their Own Battles: Mexican Americans, African Americans, and the Struggle for Civil Rights in Texas*, 1 edition (The University of North Carolina Press, 2014); Neil Foley, *Quest for Equality: The Failed Promise of Black-Brown Solidarity* (Harvard University Press, 2010); Lauren Araiza, *To March for Others: The Black Freedom Struggle and the United Farm Workers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Mark Brilliant, *The Color of America Has Changed: How Racial Diversity Shaped Civil Rights Reform in California, 1941-1978* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2010).

In addition, this project intervenes in the historiography of the U.S. South. Major works in this literature depict the South as exclusively populated by black and white southerners.[9] This project demonstrates that Latino/as lived in the South as early as the 1940s and were an integral part of the Jim Crow era. Beginning with James Loewen's, *The Mississippi Chinese* (1988), there has been limited historical scholarship on non-black and non-white groups in the U.S. South. These projects have examined Asian-American, Native American, and Latino/as throughout the U.S. South and how they experienced reconstruction, Jim Crow, and the sunbelt expansion.[10]

The Strange Career of Juan Crow, however, is more than evidence that Latino/as were present in the U.S. South. It demonstrates how the presence of Latino/as forces us to rethink our ideas about the southern racial order. As geographer Jamie Winders notes, few have examined the ways that "Latino migration to southern cities and towns is retooling the relationship between racialized identities and southern places and, in the process, is raising new questions about race, place, and belonging across the region."[11] *The Strange Career of Juan Crow* is primarily concerned with racial processes and how, over the course of the second half of the twentieth-

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[9] C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, Commemorative (Oxford University Press, USA, 2001); Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction - 15th Anniversary Edition*, 15th anniversary (Oxford University Press, USA, 2007); Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940* (Vintage, 1999); Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920* (The University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Joel Williamson, *A Rage for Order: Black-White Relations in the American South since Emancipation*, Abridged edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South since Emancipation*, 1 edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

[10] Moon-Ho Jung, *Coolies and Cane: Race, Labor, and Sugar in the Age of Emancipation* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008); Shana Walton and Barbara Carpenter, eds., *Ethnic Heritage in Mississippi: The Twentieth Century* (University Press of Mississippi/Mississippi Humanities Council, 2012); Guerrero, *Impacting Arkansas*; James W. Loewen, *The Mississippi Chinese : Between Black and White, Second Edition*, 2 Sub (Waveland Pr Inc, 1988); Weise, *Corazón de Dixie*; Stephanie Cole and Natalie J. Ring, eds., *The Folly of Jim Crow: Rethinking the Segregated South* (Texas A&M University Press, 2012).

[11] Winders, "Changing Politics of Race and Region," 685.

century, the meaning of being "Latino" radically changed. These changes, I argue, are inextricably linked to the region in which this story takes place. Living with the legacies of slavery, reconstruction, and Jim Crow, the South has long been consumed with the policing of black people in order to uphold its social, economic, cultural, and political systems.[12] My formulation of a black/not-black racial order eschews calls from some to use the presence of people of color who are neither white or black as a reason to look "beyond" or "expand" the black/white binary. Instead, I suggest that blackness remains a structuring force in the U.S. South despite the introduction of various non-white groups. In fact, it was not until the 1980s that Latino/as emerged as a racial group in the U.S. South. Prior to that they were able to live, mostly, as white ethnics.

The Strange Career of Juan Crow is organized into four chapters that move chronologically from 1940 to the present. Each is a case study in the movement of Latino/as and ideas about Latino/as throughout the South. Using case studies makes it possible to explore a wide range of southern geographies with depth and clarity. This work examines both the Upper and Deep South, including studies of Virginia, Washington D.C., the Carolinas, Mississippi, and

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[12] James C. Cobb, *The Most Southern Place on Earth: The Mississippi Delta and the Roots of Regional Identity*, Reprint (Oxford University Press, USA, 1994); Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940* (Vintage, 1999); Steven Hahn, *A Nation under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005); Hasan Kwame Jeffries, *Bloody Lowndes: Civil Rights and Black Power in Alabama's Black Belt* (NYU Press, 2010); Chana Kai Lee, *For Freedom's Sake: The Life of Fannie Lou Hamer*, First Edition (University of Illinois Press, 2000); Joseph Crespino, *In Search of Another Country: Mississippi and the Conservative Counterrevolution* (Princeton University Press, 2009); Charles M. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle*, 2nd ed. (University of California Press, 2007); Jane Dailey, Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, and Bryant Simon, eds., *Jumpin' Jim Crow* (Princeton University Press, 2000); David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*, New Ed edition (Belknap Press, 2002); Cindy Hahamovitch, *The Fruits of Their Labor: Atlantic Coast Farmworkers and the Making of Migrant Poverty, 1870-1945*, 1 edition (The University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

Georgia. As a result, this project demonstrates consistencies across the former states of the Confederacy, as well as regional differences internal to the U.S. South. It also uses cultural history, social history, labor and social movement history, as well as methods in Latino/a and Black Studies, in order to represent the multifaceted ways that Latino/as shaped the twentieth-century American South.

The first chapter is a study of Latino/as in Washington D.C. during the 1940s. It focuses on the expulsion of Karla Galarza from a "colored" D.C. public school. Galarza, the daughter of popular front and Mexican-American activist Ernesto Galarza, was expelled from the Margaret Murray Washington Vocational School because she was "not a Negro." This chapter analyzes how Galarza's Mexican-Americanness could exclude her from whiteness in her home state of California, yet at the same time give her access to white schools and neighborhoods in Washington D.C., a city that enforced Jim Crow segregation. In order to more fully understand how Latino/as lived as "white," this chapter uses census data to study the occupational and residential patterns of the Latino/as living in the nation's capital. Because D.C. was a hub for foreign dignitaries and others involved in international affairs, it was home to a wide range of Latino/as from varied Latin American countries. While large scale Latino/a migration in this period was primarily Mexican or Puerto Rican, Washington D.C. was home to Venezuelans, Costa Ricans, Nicaraguans, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and others from Latin America. Taken together, Galarza's expulsion and the lives of those Latino/as in D.C. reveal the slippages of ethnicity as a category in the 1940s South.

The second chapter examines "South of the Border," the "Mexican" themed rest stop on the border of North and South Carolina. It argues that Pedro, the rest stop's mustachioed, broken-English speaking, mascot, was a manifestation of a uniquely southern form of "brownface"

minstrelsy. In 1961, the rest stop opened "Confederateland" and integrated the southern nationalist theme park into the "Mexican" world of South of the Border. In this period, Pedro transformed form an exotic attraction to a neo-Confederate protector of southern whites from the threats of the Civil Rights Movement. South of the Border, and Mexicanness as mediated through Pedro, became a critical site for white southerners who struggled in the era of the Civil Rights Movement to define race without Jim Crow.

The third chapter analyzes the role of Latinos in the Southern Civil Rights organization, SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee), in the late 1960s. It follows these activists' shared experience of becoming "unraced" in their travel from the North to the South. This chapter complicates arguments about "passing" in the South; while whites may have seen these Latino/a activists as "Mexican" or "Latin," their racial distance from blacks secured their access to white accommodations. It focuses both on their strategic use of the ability to "pass" as white and how this ability ultimately resulted in their expulsion from SNCC in 1966 when the organization voted to remove whites. This chapter looks at the expulsion as a way to understand how black activists understood Latino/as in the South and their relationship to the black freedom struggle. Ultimately, it finds that black activists also accepted the black/not-black racial order and found that, in the South, Latino/as could not be at the center of the struggle against Jim Crow.

The final chapter brings the story to our contemporary moment by analyzing the beginning of the massive immigration boom in Dalton, Georgia, the "carpet capital of the world." Enticing industry to the South with the promise of hard-working, non-unionized, and undocumented Latino workers, carpet elites hoped to use Latino workers as a way to avoid employing unruly black and white Appalachian workers. This chapter traces the use of the "hard

working immigrant" as a discursive tool for those struggling over new meanings of race in a town experiencing rapid demographic change. Dalton provides a case study in race-making in the post-Civil-Rights-Movement South. White liberals and carpet elites struggled to find ways to talk about race that maintained distance from the history of Jim Crow. Fusing multiculturalism and paternalistic claims about the "work ethic" of Latino/as, they constructed an image of "hardworking immigrants" that, at once helped garner resources for newcomers in need, and at the same time naturalized the hyperproductivity of Latino/a immigrants working in carpet factories. Latino/as also mobilized this image as they attempted to join a community with nearly no historical Latino/a population. Representing themselves as "hardworking" and "family-oriented," Latino/as appropriated the sanitized image of immigrants that white liberals had offered and used it to fund community programs. However, the embrace of the hardworking immigrant image also ensured the precarity of labor for immigrants and justified the displacement of native-born Appalachian workers from carpet factories.

As numbers of Latinos swelled, whites grew increasingly resentful of what they viewed as an encroachment on their jobs and culture. However, this anti-Latino racism represented a stark break from an earlier period when Latinos were not the victims of Southern white supremacy. In the post-NAFTA era, Southern Latino/as slowly lost the benefits of whiteness and transformed from an ethnic group to a racial one. By introducing Latinos into the story of the American South in the mid-twentieth-century, this project aims to recast some of the most important stories in American history: the rise and fall of Jim Crow segregation, the Civil Rights Movement, and the consequences of globalization.

Chapter 1

"Not a Negro": The Problem of Ethnicity in the Postwar South

In February 1947, Karla Rosel Galarza, a 22-year-old young Mexican-American woman who had moved back east to the District of Columbia after living briefly with her family in California, enrolled in a dress and costume-making course at the Margaret Murray Washington Vocational School. For about a month she took classes in the technical aspects of constructing dresses with Mrs. Cordelia Wharton, an empathetic, devoted, and highly trained teacher who had studied design in both New York and Paris. However, early in April, 1947, Dr. Garnet C. Wilkinson, African-American assistant superintendent for colored schools in the District of Columbia, pulled Karla from her dressmaking class to inform her she could no longer attend the M.M. Washington Vocational School. Dr. Wilkinson argued that Karla was white and the M.M. Washington School was for "colored" students. Karla was distraught that she was being barred from the school and she appealed to her father, Dr. Ernesto Galarza, a labor activist and leader in the Pan-American Union. Angered that his daughter had been denied an invaluable educational opportunity, he challenged the school board's ruling and attempted to take the case to court as a challenge to Washington, D.C.'s segregated school system.

Karla's experience stands in stark contrast to dominant narratives about race and desegregation in the nation's capital. First, it is a story of a student attempting to desegregate schools by attending a black school. Second, in Washington, D.C., Karla was widely accepted as white even as anti-Mexican sentiment grew in the West and Southwest. Her categorization as "white," in the midst of a battle over racial ordering was, paradoxically, only possible in the US South.

As Karla's family protested her exclusion in D.C., Gonzalo Méndez was waging his own battle against segregation in California. The historic case of *Mendez v. Westminster* (1947),

which held that Mexican-American children could not be segregated from white children in California schools, was first decided a year before Karla's expulsion and its final appeal was decided only one month after she was expelled. At the same, the NAACP was building its collection of cases on the road to *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). Members of the NAACP legal team, Robert L. Carter and Charles Houston, seriously debated taking on Karla's expulsion as a potential desegregation case. Her case occurred in the context of the desegregation of both Washington, D.C. and California and, what Karla and Ernesto Galarza couldn't have known, the court case that would desegregate the nation's schools.

In the 1940s Ernesto Galarza was rapidly emerging as a leading labor organizer and Mexican-American activist and was deeply involved in the growing struggles for Mexican-American civil rights. Galarza led, among other strikes in California, a thirty-month strike against the DiGiorgio Corporation. In 1964 he published *Merchants of Labor*, a book that chronicled labor violations of the Bracero Program. In 1967, he was elected chair of the La Raza Unida and helped establish the National Council of La Raza. He was, therefore, centrally involved in the labor activism and Chicano nationalism that were fused in the Chicano Movement. However, absent from his biography is the discussion of his daughter's attempt to integrate a black vocational school. This story, therefore, is an addition to the historical work on his biography. It demonstrates how he could, in California, identify with growing Chicano nationalism and the plight of Mexican-American bracero workers, while at the same time benefitting, in Washington, D.C., from whiteness in a Jim Crow system.

This chapter will use the Galarza incident as a way to examine the history of Latino/as in the U.S. South during the 1940s. The story of Karla Galarza makes clear that the racial position of Latino/as in the South during this period runs counter to contemporary ideas about Latinos

and race. Rather than a racial group, Latino/as occupied a position more akin to ethnic whites. They could access many of the political and economic benefits of whiteness and simultaneously be excluded from the social and cultural benefits. They could vote, attend white schools, and hold jobs reserved for whites, but they might have faced challenges joining the local country club.

While Karla's particular experience attempting to desegregate an all-black school may have been unique, the racial position she occupied was not. Using U.S. census data, this chapter begins by demonstrating that in the 1940s most Latino/as living in Washington, D.C. were categorized as white. The census reveals the state-sanctioned process of codifying race as well as the racial choices made by census takers. It also gives us information about the im/migrants from Mexico, Puerto Rico, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Venezuela, among others, who all lived in the nation's capitol during the 1940s. These stories also set the stage for Karla's removal from a "colored" school.

While the census paints a broad portrait of life for Latinos in D.C., the Karla Galarza case allows more in depth analysis of how white and black residents of the District of Columbia thought about race and Latinos. Black and white school board members, the black and white press, the ACLU, and the NAACP, all struggled to make meaning of a case that frustrated their narratives about segregation and racial hierarchy. While there were moments in which Karla's racial status proved ambiguous, in Washington, D.C. her position as Mexican-American in no way precluded her from the benefits of whiteness. So long as she was clearly "not-black," Karla would be categorized as white.

Karla's case is also a story about the messiness of Jim Crow segregation and how a system that was represented as a rational expression of a black/white divide was filled with

internal dissonance by the presence of Latino/as.[13] Latino/as, often markedly foreign either by appearance or language, fit uneasily into this system that was at once both tightly policed and surprisingly flexible.

Washington, D.C., Race, and the Census

On Easter Sunday, April 9, 1939, Marian Anderson ascended the steps of the Lincoln Memorial and delivered an electrifying performance of "My Country, 'Tis of Thee" to more than 75,000 people. Anderson's performance, originally scheduled in the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) Constitution Hall, had to be relocated when the DAR refused to allow Anderson to perform to an integrated audience. Now iconic in the history of the struggle for black liberation, Anderson's performance shined a harsh spotlight on the realities of Jim Crow in the nation's capital.

Washington, D.C. in the 1930s and 1940s was, as Clinton Howard, the great-nephew of a Howard University founder, referred to it, "the most southern city north of Richmond."[14] In 1941, when Richard Wright was visiting Washington, D.C. to attend the opening of the theatrical production of "Native Son" at the National Theatre, he was forced out of a nearby restaurant and

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[13] For more on the messiness and internal dissonances of Jim Crow: Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940* (Vintage, 1999); Stephanie Cole and Natalie J. Ring, eds., *The Folly of Jim Crow: Rethinking the Segregated South* (Texas A&M University Press, 2012); For more on how non black/white groups shaped Jim Crow: Neil Foley, *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture*, New Ed (University of California Press, 1999); Mark Brilliant, *The Color of America Has Changed: How Racial Diversity Shaped Civil Rights Reform in California, 1941-1978* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2010); James W. Loewen, *The Mississippi Chinese : Between Black and White, Second Edition*, 2 Sub (Waveland Pr Inc, 1988); Moon-Ho Jung, *Coolies and Cane: Race, Labor, and Sugar in the Age of Emancipation* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008); Perla M. Guerrero, *Impacting Arkansas: Vietnamese and Cuban Refugees and Latina/o Immigrants, 1975-2005* (University of Southern California, 2010).

[14] Constance McLaughlin Green, *The Secret City; a History of Race Relations in the Nation's Capital.* (Princeton, N.J.,: Princeton University Press, 1967), 266, http://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u630500.

told that if he wanted to be served it would have to be at the curb.[15] As in the rest of the South, blacks faced Jim Crow limitations in where they could live, work, and play.[16] In the 1940s, "segregation," a National Capital Housing official explained, was "the accepted pattern of the community."[17] An influx of black migrants during the Great Migration coupled with strict residential segregation pushed many blacks into a small market of housing for the working-class. Washington, D.C., then, was a profoundly southern city in the 1940s. It followed all of the Jim Crow social mores and showed little sign of buckling under growing pressure by blacks to upend the white supremacist order. The *Washington Star* newspaper noted, "the Confederacy, which was never able to capture Washington during the course of [the Civil] war, now holds it as a helpless pawn."[18]

However, Washington, D.C. was different than many other southern states during Jim Crow. D.C. did not rely on agriculture as the primary source of its local economy. While it maintained unequal urban poverty it didn't have the rural sharecropping system that so profoundly oppressed poor African-Americans in the South. Washington D.C. was geographically much closer to the North and therefore shared some cultural resonances with the region. Additionally, because it was the nation's capital there was constant circulation of Americans from across the country as well as dignitaries, businesspeople, and travelers from around the world.

However, the city's history with slavery, emancipation, Reconstruction and Jim Crow demonstrates it also shared political, economic, social, and cultural characteristics with other southern cities. Prior to emancipation, D.C. functioned as a stopping point between slave trading

[15] Ibid., 256.
[16] Ibid., 250–262.
[17] Ibid., 270.
[18] Ibid., 278–279.

firms in Baltimore and Richmond and, as a result, was a significant hub for the domestic slave trade. As slavery declined in the Chesapeake region, D.C. became an important site for the rapidly growing business of selling slaves to the Southwest. Additionally, emancipation in D.C. did not occur until 1862, during the Civil War, much later than northern states. Historian Kate Masur has written about Washington, D.C. in the era of emancipation as a "bridge between the North and South." "The capital," she wrote, "not only sits geographically on what is often considered the border between the North and the South; politically and historically, too, it is an intriguing link between the two regions."[19]

Antebellum D.C. had a large black population and a high concentration of America's black elite. Howard University, one of the nation's foremost black colleges, functioned as a magnet for the country's black elite. However, beginning with the Taft administration, D.C. began to be ruled by Jim Crow regulations. Under Woodrow Wilson's presidency the segregation of D.C. was institutionalized.[20] The segregation of D.C. was evidence that, as historian Grace Hale has written, "the North…had accepted southern whites' version of Reconstruction…and installed the culture of segregation at the very center of the nation."[21] Thirty years later, President Harry S. Truman's Committee on Civil Rights highlighted D.C. as a "graphic illustration of a failure of democracy." Segregation was deeply entrenched in the city and included segregated schools, public facilities, and restrictive housing convenience.[22]

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[19] Kate Masur, *An Example for All the Land: Emancipation and the Struggle over Equality in Washington, D.C.*, 1 edition (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 261, 19, 263.
[20] Wendell Pritchett, "A National Issue: Segregation in the District of Columbia and the Civil Rights Movement at Mid-Century," *Faculty Scholarship*, January 1, 2005, 1322, http://scholarship.law.upenn.edu/faculty_scholarship/1226.
[21] Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 1999, 221.
[22] Pritchett, "A National Issue," 1326–1327.

A report by Truman's committee threw a spotlight on the nation's capital and its deeply entrenched system of Jim Crow. *The New York Times* reported that in Washington, " a Negro could usually not eat in a downtown restaurant, go to a downtown movie or play, or sleep in a downtown hotel." "The arguments made for segregation in the old South are not valid in Washington, which is, or ought to be, not a Southern city or a Northern city, an Eastern city or a Western city, but a national city."[23]

Like the *New York Times,* the *Norfolk Journal and Guide* pointed to the injustice of having Jim Crow in the nation's capital, ostensibly a beacon for democracy. "It is a galling and widely-known fact," he wrote, "that in this city where is located the head of the government of the United States of America, the vaunted greatest democracy on earth, the evils of segregation are just about as foul in their existence as they are in the backwards regions of the Mississippi Delta."[24] Comparing D.C. to what many at the time saw as "the most Southern place on Earth,"[25] was more than rhetorical flair. The segregation in D.C. was deeply engrained and had profound consequences for the life chances of black residents of the city. In 1948, 30 percent of D.C. was black, yet 70 percent of low-income housing was occupied by black residents. Blacks represented 60 percent of tuberculosis deaths, black babies born in 1946 were almost twice as likely to die as white babies, and their mothers were six times more likely to die than white mothers.[26] Jim Crow in D.C. was quite literally killing its black residents.

Still eight years away from the Supreme Court decision, *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948), which declared restrictive racial covenants on real estate unconstitutional, the 1940 census

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[23] "Discrimination in Washington," *New York Times.* pg. E8. Dec 12, 1948.
[24] Washington, A Citadel Of Racial Prejudice New Journal and Guide (1916-2003); Dec 18, 1948; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Norfolk Journal and Guide pg. 8
[25] Cobb, *The Most Southern Place on Earth*.
[26] "Pertinent Points About D.C. Bias," *Afro-American.* pg. 3. Dec 18, 1948.

revealed that D.C. neighborhoods were almost entirely segregated. Latinos, however, moved between these tightly policed racial boundaries and were found in both black and white neighborhoods. A study of the census found that the majority of Latinos were living in white neighborhoods, although some lived in black neighborhoods.

The study of the census, therefore, offers both demographic data about Latinos living in the D.C. area at the time, and insight into the racial ideologies of census takers who were forced, in very explicit ways, to racialize Latino respondents. It is both an archive of the lives of Latinos: where they lived, worked, and who they married, and an archive of the ideas of white census takers: how and on what terms were Latinos categorized racially.

Part of the challenge in fitting Latino/as into southern racial taxonomies resulted from the changing rules of the census. On the 1930 census "persons of Mexican birth or parentage who were not definitely reported as white or Indian were designated Mexican" and were calculated along with "other races" including Native American, Chinese, and Japanese. Being marked as "Mexican," however, did not seem to impact the neighborhoods where they lived or the jobs where they worked. Many of those born in Mexico, like Charles Rodriguez who immigrated to the U.S. in 1929, were marked as "Mexican" on the census, yet lived in all-white neighborhoods.[27] Manuel G. Martinez, also born in Mexico, was married to a Pennsylvania-born white woman, Ruth. He lived with his wife in a wealthy white neighborhood abutting Rock Creek.[28] In the 1930s, Latinos married across the color line to both white and black partners. Those, like Sylvester Trebino, who married a black partner, retained their categorization as

[27] HeritageQuest Census Data 1930. Year: *1930*; Census Place: *Washington, Washington, District of Columbia*; Roll: *301*; Page: *27A*; Enumeration District: *0321*; Image: *199.0*; FHL microfilm:*2340036*

[28] HeritageQuest Census Data 1930. Year: *1930*; Census Place: *Washington, Washington, District of Columbia*; Roll: *299*; Page: *2B*; Enumeration District: 0272; Image: *908.0*; FHL microfilm:*2340034*

"Mexican" on the census. Trebino was born in Mexico from a Spanish father and Mexican mother. In the US, he married Sarah, a black woman from Virginia, and he lived in an all-black neighborhood with her.[29]

While Mexicans were marked as "Mexican" in the 1930 census, a concerted effort by the Mexican government resulted in a change in categorization by 1940. The Mexican government, outraged that Mexicans were being categorized as a race other than white, put pressure on the Census Bureau to drop the category.[30] In 1940, the census reversed the policy stating, instead, that "persons of Mexican birth or ancestry who were not definitely Indian or of other nonwhite race were returned as white." Therefore, as sociologist Clara Rodriguez has written, "within a decade, Mexicans were shifted from their own 'Mexican category' to being included in the 'white' category—unless they appeared to census interviewers to be 'definitely Indian or of other Nonwhite races.'"[31] As a result, in D.C. there was a notable decrease in the number of people identified as "Mexican" between the 1930 census and the 1940 census. For some, that meant their race had changed in the course of a decade. The Rivera family, for example, was classified as Mexican in 1930 and classified white in the 1940s. The change in classification had no obvious impact on their job or housing. Lenian, the head of the Rivera house, worked the same job and his family moved from one white neighborhood to another over the course of the decade. In the 1940s, when Latinos were marked "as white," those in interracial marriages with blacks were marked as "black."

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[29] Trebino's name is written as Trebina on HeritageQuest, yet a visual inspection suggests it was actually Trebino. HeritageQuest Census Data 1930. Year: *1930*; Census Place: *Washington, Washington, District of Columbia*; Roll: *292*; Page: *5A*; Enumeration District: *0022*; Image: *605.0*; FHL microfilm:*2340027*

[30] Philippa Strum, *Mendez v. Westminster Publisher: University Press of Kansas*, n.d., 9-10.

[31] Clara E. Rodriguez, *Changing Race : Latinos, the Census, and the History of Ethnicity in the United States /* (New York : New York University Press, c2000.), 84, http://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u3561242.

Some of the Latinos classified as "white" in Washington, D.C. were very similar to Dr. Ernesto Galarza. They worked either in an embassy or in ancillary non-governmental organizations and businesses that brought foreigners to the United States. Providencia Marquez, 24, was born in Puerto Rico and worked as a secretary at the Pan American Union. She lived with her sister, Elizabeth, who was a secretary at the embassy of Paraguay.[32] Judiline Iglesisas, 28, and her sister came from Puerto Rico to work as secretaries at the Pan American Union.[33] The Iglesias sisters lived together in an all-white neighborhood that was only blocks from Marcisco and Lydia Diaz's home. Like Ernesto Galarza these im/migrants all found that in the Jim Crow South they could live in white neighborhoods regardless of racial covenants.

Lucy Gonzáles and her daughter Irene lived in an almost entirely white neighborhood and even had a white lodger, Patrick Lego, from West Virginia. Lucy was born in Mexico and was not a U.S. citizen but her daughter Irene was born in Texas and therefore was an American citizen.[34] Despite being in a mixed-status house, both were classified as white by the census taker. "Foreignness" or one's citizenship status, therefore, did not mark Lucy as racially other. Dolores Sierra, 21, was also born in Mexico and her daughter Margarita, 2, was born in England. Neither were U.S. citizens, which was also true of Rebecca Martinez, the 25-year-old housekeeper who lived with them.[35] All three of the women were of Mexican descent and all

[32] Providencia Marquez's name is written as "Rowdencia Margues" on Heritage Quest online however a visual inspection of the census revealed this was an error. HeritageQuest Census Data 1940. Year: *1940*; Census Place: *Washington, District of Columbia, District of Columbia*; Roll: *T627_567*; Page: *2B*; Enumeration District: *1-433A*

[33] HeritageQuest Census Data 1940. Year: 1940; Census Place: Washington, District of Columbia, District of Columbia; Roll: T627_562; Page: 7B; Enumeration District: 1-288

[35] HeritageQuest Census Data 1940. Year: 1940; Census Place: Washington, District of Columbia, District of Columbia; Roll: T627_567; Page: 5A; Enumeration District: 1-432

were categorized as white. Their lack of U.S. citizenship did not preclude them from whiteness. Martinez, despite working as a housekeeper, maintained her racial status as a white woman.

Francisco Ledesma lived about a mile away from Dolores Siera's home and worked as a "servant/footman" at the Peruvian Embassy. Ledesma lived with two other European immigrant women who also worked at the Peruvian embassy as a tutor governess and a cook.[36] That both Martinez and Ledesma, who worked different status jobs, were also classified as white illustrates that it was not simply class that allowed some Latinos access to whiteness. The categorization cut across lines of class and professional-status.

Traveling businessmen from Mexico, Abel de la Cueva and J. Silva Herzing, also benefitted from Washington, D.C.'s embrace of Latinos under Jim Crow. Cueva and Herzing both worked for a Mexican oil company and when they visited the nation's capital they stayed at the Hotel Roosevelt, an all-white hotel.[37] Latinos, then, did not have to assimilate or live in an established community in order to garner the privileges of whiteness.[38]

While business brought some Latinos to D.C., it was the Foreign Service that brought the majority of Latin American, as well as African, Asian, and European visitors to Washington, D.C. These visiting populations created conflicts and demonstrated slippages within the city's Jim Crow policies. So many diplomats and foreign dignitaries experienced discrimination when traveling from New York to Washington, D.C. that the State Department launched the "Route 40" campaign. Because I-95 had not yet been constructed in the 1940s, those traveling from the Untied Nations in New York to the Nation's Capital would often have to take back roads through

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[36] HeritageQuest Census Data 1940. Year: *1940*; Census Place: *Washington, District of Columbia, District of Columbia*; Roll: *T627_556*; Page: *16A*; Enumeration District: *1-101*
[37] HeritageQuest Census Data 1940. Year: *1940*; Census Place: *Washington, District of Columbia, District of Columbia*; Roll: *T627_572*; Page: *81A*; Enumeration District: *1-554*
[38] David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*, New Edition edition (London ; New York: Verso, 2007).

rural Maryland. The "Route 40" Campaign was designed to aid desegregation efforts in Maryland to make passage of foreign dignitaries easier.[39]

It was not just getting to D.C. that was challenging for many in the diplomatic corps. Once in D.C., dignitaries struggled to find housing, eat at restaurants, and attend plays. The experiences of those in the Foreign Service reveal the unevenness with which Jim Crow was enforced. At times, foreignness would be enough for someone to avoid Jim Crow treatment, other times it was irrelevant. When a man, described by a journalist as "a Hindu" and his wife were shopping at a five-and-ten cent store, his wife stopped at the soda fountain to order a cup of tea. The attendant refused saying "Negroes were not served." The couple responded that they were from India which resulted in both an apology and the woman's tea. When four students from the British West Indies sat at a D.C. lunch counter, the waitress informed they "would have to stand to be served." However, once they produced their British diplomatic passes the waitress apologized remarking she didn't realize they were "not niggers."[40] Her response demonstrates some of the fluidity within "blackness" as a category at this time. In this instance, blackness was not synonymous with African-Americanness. To this waitress, African-Americans were Jim Crowed and foreignness precluded these students from that category.

In another incident where the participants were more aware of the potential challenges faced by foreigners, a Spanish woman was hosting the daughter of the Minister of Education from a Central American Republic. Her visitor wanted to see the film, "Great Expectations."

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[39] Jennifer L. Erdman, "'Diplomacy, American Style:' Discrimination Against Non-White Diplomats During the 1950s and 1960s and the Effect on the Cold War" (Ph.D., Howard University, 2015), 4–5, http://search.proquest.com.proxy.its.virginia.edu/pqdtglobal/docview/1766145524/abstract/8A8DF5F9E9164CFCPQ/2.

[40] "Pattern of Segregation as Practiced in Washington." Norfolk Journal and Guide. December 18, 1948.

However, as her Spanish host was seemingly aware, movie theaters in Washington, D.C. were segregated. To avoid a thorny situation, the Spanish host and her friends did not tell the visitor about the practice of segregation and "when the party approached the box office, everybody talked loudly in Spanish. The strategy work. [sic]" It is not clear if the Spanish host feared being Jim Crowed because of the arrival of her Central American guest or if that was a concern she navigated daily. She did, however, correctly note that she could avoid Jim Crow by speaking Spanish loudly. Perhaps it was the display of foreignness that protected her and her guests, or perhaps there was something particular about Spanish that worked as a buffer.[41]

However, while some were able to use foreignness as a shield against Jim Crow, not everyone was as successful in evading its pernicious effects. In 1943 when a delegation from Ethiopia arrived in D.C. a few days in advance of the United Nations Food Conference in Hot Springs, Virginia they found themselves unable to check into the Mayflower Hotel. Not only were they shut out of the Mayflower, they were unable to find accommodations at any other hotels in the District as a result of their segregation policies. State Department officials had booked the delegation at the Homestead Resort in Hot Springs, Virginia but because the group had arrived early, they were unable to shield them from the Jim Crow discrimination. As early as 1945, the State Department encouraged all foreign visitors to advise them of upcoming trips in order to circumvent this type of treatment.[42]

In other instances of discrimination, the State Department had to intervene on behalf of their invited guests. One news report found that when a "foreign minister of an African country" who was invited to Washington by the State Department arrived at a D.C. hotel late at night, "the

[41] "Pattern of Segregation as Practiced in Washington." Norfolk Journal and Guide. December 18, 1948.
[42] Erdman, ""Diplomacy, American Style," 130–131, 136.

hotel manager refused to admit him." It wasn't until a "high State Department official was routed of bed" and successfully "persuaded the hotel by telephone to admit the minister on a plea of urgent 'war necessity,'" that the minister was able to get a room.[43]

It seems that African dignitaries experienced the greatest challenges navigating D.C.'s Jim Crow terrain. State Department official Pedro Sanjuan noted the disparity of treatment in acquiring housing. While most landlords avoided diplomats of African descent as tenants, Sanuan noted that Latin American, Asian, and European diplomats were able to find apartments in some of the nicest areas of Washington, D.C. "without great difficulty."[44] Additionally, African visitors experienced most of the incidents of Jim Crow.

While African visitors were most frequently targeted for Jim Crow treatment, Latinos also were occasional victims of discrimination. A *Chicago Defender* report on mistreatment of foreign dignitaries recounted the story of a "distinguished Bolivian educator who was invited to Washington by the State department on a good-will tour." However, because the man was "an Indian and dark of skin," the journalist continued, "our Bolivian educator should have been informed that our brand of good-will stops at the restaurant door or the hotel clerk's office in Washington." Unaware of this, the Bolivian educator attempted to eat at a D.C. restaurant where he was refused service. The report also details the story of an "influential Puerto Rican Senator" whose visits to Washington had to be carefully choreographed by his host, a Resident Commissioner in D.C., who struggled to find a place for him to stay. "On one visit [he stayed with] a private family in Alexandria. On another, a Puerto Rican Newspaperman took him into

[43] "Pattern of Segregation as Practiced in Washington." Norfolk Journal and Guide. December 18, 1948.
[44] Erdman, ""Diplomacy, American Style," 110.

his home. On a third, the Commissioner asked the Senator to sleep on the couch in his office."[45] Indignity and color likely played a role in the case of these two men. The journalist noted, for example, that the Bolivian educator was "an Indian and dark of skin." Like whiteness and blackness in Jim Crow, foreignness was a slippery category that was shaped by color and class.

As a result of the broad range of international travelers who came to the nation's capital, D.C.'s Latino population had diverse origins. Agramont Ignacio, a 63 year old from Santiago, Cuba, owned a grocery store and lived in a mixed-race neighborhood in Virginia and was classified as white, as was his neighbor, Rosita Gonazales [sic], a 40-year-old lodger born in Virginia. Mexican-born Maricsco Diaz and his Costa Rican-born wife Lydia Diaz owned a catering business and lived in an all-white neighborhood. They also housed seven lodgers, two of whom were Latino. Vicente Dela Garza, 25, was born in Texas and worked as a mail clerk at the same organization as Dr. Ernesto Galarza, the Pan American Union, and Gabriele Valente, 24, was born in New York and worked as a clerk in the House of Representatives building.[46] Everyone living in Diaz's home was deemed white, including im/migrants from Costa Rica, Mexico, and two Latinos born in the United States.

Marriage provided pathways to white acceptance for some Latinos. Both Latinos and Latinas married across ethnic lines (although it was more common for Latinas to marry white men) and lived in white neighborhoods with their beaus. Lenian Rivera, 49, came from Mexico and worked as a translator in D.C.. He lived with his wife, Louise Rivera, a 47-year-old native of Washington, D.C., in a nearly all white neighborhood with their son, Luis Rivera, 21, who worked as a clerk at the Pan American Union, and their other two other children, Aleonso, 18,

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[45] "State Department Bias Results in Red Faces." Townsend, Willard. The Chicago Defender. February 26, 1949.

[46] HeritageQuest Census Data 1940. Year: *1940*; Census Place: *Washington, District of Columbia, District of Columbia*; Roll: *T627_562*; Page: *18A*; Enumeration District: *1-288*

and Marie, 5.[47] Clara Yesta, who worked as a statistician for the Bureau of Labor, was a white woman born in Virginia. Clara married Eugene Yesta, a typist for a credit company, who was born in Mexico, and the two lived together in a predominantly, but not exclusively, white neighborhood.[48] Anna Ibanez-Bon, a 31-year-old white woman from Louisiana, married Puerto Rican migrant Jose Ibanez-Bon. Jose worked as an office clerk in the Department of Agriculture and the two lived together in the Foggy Bottom neighborhood of D.C. with their 2-year-old daughter, Joanne.

Given the primacy of interracial sex in the fears of southern white supremacists, it is perhaps surprising how little whites said about these pairings. Ardent segregationist, Mississippi senator Theodore Bilbo, argued that "every Negro in America who is behind [civil rights] movements…dream[s] of social equality and inter-marriage between whites and blacks." Sam Englehardt, a leader in the Citizen's Council, echoed Bilbo, saying that protestors, while they claimed to be seeking integration, were actually looking for "complete integration, even to intermarriage."[49] In D.C. these racist fears of interracial sex were evident at a public hearing about integrating D.C.'s recreational facilities. Gordon M. Atherholt, president of the Northwest Citizen's Council, testified that "members of the Negro race" had "a high prevalence of tubercular and social [venereal] diseases." As a result, "the joint use of facilities…would present a potent factor for the spread" of these conditions. One District resident at the same forum, Mrs.

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[47] HeritageQuest Census Data 1940. Year: *1940*; Census Place: *Washington, District of Columbia, District of Columbia*; Roll: *T627_566*; Page: *23A*; Enumeration District: *1-402*
[48] HeritageQuest Census Data 1940. Year: *1940*; Census Place: *Washington, District of Columbia, District of Columbia*; Roll: *T627_563*; Page: *61A*; Enumeration District: *1-314B*
[49] Danielle L. McGuire, *At the Dark End of the Street: Black Women, Rape, and Resistance--A New History of the Civil Rights Movement from Rosa Parks to the Rise of Black Power*, Reprint (Vintage, 2011), 25, 113.

Werner M. Moore, worried that intermingling in recreational spaces could lead to interracial sex and "the tragedy of mongrel children."

Despite the paranoid fears of interracial sex that loomed large in the minds of many white southerners, white women dating and marrying Latino men did not seem to provoke the same response as black and white couples.[50] That Latino men and white women could get married without incident demonstrates the difference between "Latinoness" and blackness in Washington, D.C..

The majority of interracial couplings in D.C. were Latina women marrying white men. Elsa Gilyan Higgin, 27, and her husband, Skelton Higgin, 42, lived together in Northwest D.C. with Elsa's 19-year-old stepson, Foster. Elsa was born in Mexico and after marrying Skelton, who sold wholesale poultry and eggs, became a naturalized citizen.[51] The two were both classified as white and lived in an all-white neighborhood. Dolores B. Schneider, 32, was an "alien" resident from Mexico who married John L. Schneider, 30, a white man from Maryland who sold life insurance. Fulgencia Johansen, 49, migrated from Puerto Rico and married Ferdenand Johansen, 61, of Denmark. Ferdenand worked as a painter for a government Bureau and their son, Peter C. Johansen, 25, worked as a timekeeper for the WPA. Both Fulgencia and Ferdenand were naturalized citizens and they lived together in an all white neighborhood. Maria L. Richards, 44, moved from Mexico to Denver, Colorado where she met her husband John T.

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[50] For more on white anxieties about interracial marriage: Ibid., 140–141; Crespino, *In Search of Another Country*; Kevin M. Kruse, *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism* (Princeton University Press, 2007); Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 1999; Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow*.

[51] HeritageQuest Census Data 1940. Year: *1940*; Census Place: *Washington, District of Columbia, District of Columbia*; Roll: *T627_553*; Page: *61A*; Enumeration District: *1-2*

Richards, 32. The two moved together to Washington, D.C. where they raised four children blocks from the National Mall.[52]

More than two decades before the *Loving v. Virginia* (1967) decision that struck down laws barring interracial marriage, wedding across the color line could have been seen as an affront to the Jim Crow racial order. However, these couples lived in white neighborhoods and worked white jobs and their children attended white schools. However, those Latinos who did transgress the color line by marrying African-Americans did not experience this type of racial acceptance.

Most Latinos who were marked as "Negro" on the census were married to African-Americans and lived with their families in black communities. Lucio Gomez, 44, worked as a cook and lived in an all-black neighborhood in Southwest D.C. near the Anacostia River in the historically black Anacostia community. His wife, Bertha Comer, 35, was an African-American woman born in Maryland. The two had three children together.[53] Living only a mile away, Eugene Bernier, 59, was born in Venezuela and married an African-American woman from Washington, D.C., Lemore Bernier. Eugene worked as the head janitor of an apartment building while Lemore ran their home as a lodging house. The two lived in an all-black neighborhood and had exclusively black lodgers.[54] Some of those intermarriages were likely Afro-Latinos who experienced the racial hierarchies of Washington, D.C. as similar to those in their countries of origin. As such, they lived, worked, and loved in mostly black communities. Others, however, who were not Afro-Latino found that their racial status was transformed when they married

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[52] HeritageQuest Census Data 1940. Year: *1940*; Census Place: *Washington, District of Columbia, District of Columbia*; Roll: *T627_558*; Page: *8A*; Enumeration District: *1-168*
[53] HeritageQuest Census Data 1940. Year: *1940*; Census Place: *Washington, District of Columbia, District of Columbia*; Roll: *T627_557*; Page: *11B*; Enumeration District: *1-142*
[54] HeritageQuest Census Data 1940. Year: *1940*; Census Place: *Washington, District of Columbia, District of Columbia*; Roll: *T627_558*; Page: *5B*; Enumeration District: *1-181*

across the color line. If to be protected from Jim Crow required one to be "not-black," those who entered relationships and community with African-Americans demonstrated the limits of their whiteness.[55] While whites who entered into relationships with African-Americans were often ostracized, they maintained their racial status as white. Latinos, however, when they blurred their racial distinction from African-Americans too much, found themselves marked as "Negro."

Some Latino im/migrants marked as "Negro" on the census were likely Afro-Latino and were unable to benefit from the privileges of whiteness their non-black peers could. Their skin color made acceptance into whiteness nearly impossible. Victor Zaldivar, 40, came from Cuba to work as a servant in an embassy. [56] Although he lived in a mixed-race neighborhood, he was marked as "Negro" on the census. Pedre R. Lona, a 16-year-old migrant from Cozey, Puerto Rico, was held as an inmate at the National Training School for Boys, a federal juvenile correctional institution. [57] Both men came from Caribbean countries with larger Afro-descended populations and may have been Afro-Latino themselves. However, their claims to Latinoness did not shield them from being categorized as black.[58] Those Latinos who successfully lived as white, therefore, were doing so because of their ability to eschew any associations with African-

[55] It is impossible to know from the census material if those demarcated as "Negro" were in fact Afro-Latino. However, most of those categorized as "Negro," married African Americans. Moreover, given the diversity of jobs and class backgrounds of the Latinos who were categorized as "white," it seems unlikely that categorizing these people as "Negro," as a comment on their racial status. It is therefore likely that at least some of them were not, in fact, black but rather classified as such because they were married to African Americans and living in black communities.

[56] HeritageQuest Census Data 1940. Year: *1940*; Census Place: *Washington, District of Columbia, District of Columbia*; Roll: *T627_567*; Page: *5A*; Enumeration District: *1-432*

[57] HeritageQuest Census Data 1940. Year: *1940*; Census Place: *Washington, District of Columbia, District of Columbia*; Roll: *T627_569*; Page: *4A*; Enumeration District: *1-472*

[58] While Mexico certainly has an Afro-Mexican population, it does not seem they did not represent a large proportion of those migrating to the United States during the period.

Americans. Whiteness for Latinos was not absolute and could be challenged by proximity to blackness as a result of skin color or relationships with African-Americans.

Latino/as ability to marry blacks also reveals their liminal status in whiteness. If Latino/as were white, marrying a black person would have been a violation of Jim Crow. However, Latino/as were able to marry black without white supremacist backlash. This suggests that their status was not fully white. While Latino/as could maintain distance from blackness, those who came too close by marrying into black families lost their whiteness.

Latino/as ethnic difference was sometimes noted on the census. Census takers, straying from the 1940 rules, would mark some Latinos with their country of origin as their "race." For example, Francises Matanco, an 18-year-old lodger who migrated from Puerto Rico, lived in an all-white lodging house in the historically wealthy and powerful community near Constitution Avenue. The census collector defied the racial categories provided for him and marked Matanco as "Puerto Rican." For Matanco, his ethnic identity as Puerto Rican didn't compromise his racial status because ethnicity, in D.C., did not equal race; blackness, as either a visual marker or social connection with African-Americans, did.[59] Matanco, and other Latino/as historic distance from African-Americans shielded them from Jim Crow. To be Jim Crowed was a status that reproduced itself and so because Matanco's family had not been crowed, he wouldn't be either.

For those with white partners being marked as non-white under "race" generated ostensibly cross-racial unions. Arnoldo Gutierrez, for example, was born in Nicaragua and lived in Central Virginia where he worked as a crew chief for the U.S. Army Air Corps and lived with

[59] HeritageQuest Census Data 1940. Year: *1940*; Census Place: *Washington, District of Columbia, District of Columbia*; Roll: *T627_553*; Page: *83A*; Enumeration District: *1-24*

his wife Victoria Gutierrez,[60] a white woman born in Georgia. The handwritten census revealed much of the confusion the census taker experienced when trying to categorize the Gutierrez family. Arnoldo was marked as "Nicaraguan and white," and his wife Victoria was marked as "white." Their daughter Rumalda, 17, who was born in Georgia, was marked as "Nicaraguan and white." Their second daughter, Leonor, 15, was marked as "white" but then "white" was crossed out. Their son, Arnoldo V, 13, like Leonor, was initially marked as white and then had "white" crossed out. Their youngest son, Ajenor, 9, was marked as "Nicaraguan."[61] The additions, revisions, and erasures necessary to place the Gutierrez family are evidence that, for this census taker, race and ethnicity were slippery categories that required careful mediation.

One of the many challenges the census posed for its administrators was that, for Latin Americans, it only gave instructions on how to mark "Mexicans" as a race. In the D.C. area there was a diverse group of people from Latin and Central America and, as a result, some census takers chose to disaggregate these populations by marking their countries of origin as their "race." As in the case of the Gutierrez family, census takers followed patterns for European ethnics that saw one's country of origin as an ethnic rather than racial position. Luz and John Ballon lived in the same Air Corps community as the Gutierrez family. Luz Ballon, 34, immigrated from Costa Rica and was marked as "Costa Rican" on the census. Her husband, John G. Ballon, 47, was a white man from Massachusetts who worked as a Sergeant Major in the US Army Air Corps. Luz had a daughter from a previous relationship, Delores, 20. Delores, and her two children were all marked as "Costa Rican" under "race."

[60] The HeritageQuest indicates that her name is Victorian Gutierrez, however an inspection of the handwritten census leads me to believe it was actually "Victoria."
[61] HeritageQuest Census Data 1940. Year: *1940*; Census Place: *Wythe, Elizabeth City, Virginia*; Roll: *T627_4259*; Page: *40A*; Enumeration District: *28-18*

Texas native Florentino Samarripa, 32, was marked as "Mexican" and his wife, Catherine Samarripa, 20, born in Maryland was marked as "white." The couple had two children, Consuelo and Rudolph who were marked as "Mexican."[62] The Samarripa's marked a departure in that they were treated as an interracial couple and, as a result, the race of their children followed rules of hypodescent. Even though Florentino, who worked a white-collar job for an oil refining company and lived with his white wife in an all-white neighborhood, his ethnic difference was passed down to his children. The differences in racial categorization, however, was not important so long as blackness was not a part of the mixing. Samarripa's Mexicanness could be passed down, but so were the benefits of his non-blackness that allowed him to work and live as he did. Being marked as "Mexican" did not seem to affect the material realities of the Samarripas or their children. It did demonstrate that, for one census taker, Latino and white were not synonymous.

While in the West or the Southwest, Latino's "ethnic" identity would have had racial implications, in Washington, D.C. ethnic identity did not preclude Latino/as from whiteness. That this group, despite being marked by ethnicity, lived in white neighborhoods, reveals that ethnic difference for Latinos was not enough to mark them racially.[63] Rather they could be ethnically different so long as they were not-black both in terms of skin color and community affiliation.

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[62] Written as "Consulo" in the HeritageQuest Database, but is in fact Consuelo. HeritageQuest Census Data 1940. Year: *1940*; Census Place: *Baltimore, Baltimore City, Maryland*; Roll: *T627_1510*; Page: *2B*; Enumeration District: *4-72*

[63] For more on how non-black/white ethnic groups successfully distanced themselves from blackness: Loewen, *The Mississippi Chinese*; Jung, *Coolies and Cane*; Weise, *Corazón de Dixie*; Foley, *The White Scourge*; Paula D. McClain et al., "Racial Distancing in a Southern City: Latino Immigrants' Views of Black Americans," *Journal of Politics* 68, no. 3 (August 1, 2006): 571–84, doi:10.1111/j.1468-2508.2006.00446.x.

The census demonstrates the flexibility Latino/as experienced in Jim Crow Washington. Some retained their ethnic identity, some were subsumed into whiteness, and some became black. Latino/as, for the most part, were white unless they appeared black or married African-Americans. While they may have been able to live in white neighborhoods and attend white schools they were still vulnerable to Jim Crow treatment. The experience of foreign dignitaries revealed that, even if Latinos were largely treated as white, there were slippages in Jim Crow and their whiteness was precarious. Additionally, it demonstrates the important role of anonymous commercial interactions in Jim Crow. While many Latino/as lived and worked in white communities, it was the daily confrontations with racial ordering that Jim Crow required that exposed their liminal place in whiteness.

The Galarza Case

Throughout the South in the 1940s there emerged a growing coalition of individuals and organizations confronting Jim Crow segregation. Washington, D.C. was no exception. Parents fought to integrate schools, community organizations organized to desegregate public recreational facilities, and black students attempted to enroll in the area's colleges and universities. While nearly all of the stories are about black Washingtonians trying to access resources reserved for whites, Karla Galarza's is an inversion of this narrative. Karla, a Mexican-American woman, was barred from taking classes at a "colored" school in Washington, D.C.. Her father, Ernesto Galarza, hoped this case, despite its exceptional nature, could help serve to dismantle the Jim Crow segregation system.

Ernesto Galarza knew first-hand that, for Mexican-Americans, race operated very differently in D.C. than it did in California. In the 1940s the Galarza family lived in both California and Washington, D.C. and in 1946, the same year *Mendez v. Westminster* was

working its way through the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, the Galarza family returned to Washington, D.C.. Galarza likely saw the stark difference between California, where *Mendez* was attempting to desegregate public schools for Mexican-Americans like his daughter, and the South where Karla had already attended white schools in Washington, D.C. and Virginia. His family, then, were acutely aware of how important region was in making race.

Galarza was born in 1905 in an "adobe cottage with a thatched roof" in Jalcocotán, Mexico to a German father and Mexican mother. The couple was married, as Galarza described it, *"por lo civil,* not *por la iglesia*" because his father was Lutheran and his mother was Catholic. The marriage didn't last and the divorce was a "simple matter." Galarza's mother was allowed to keep the wedding ring and a sewing machine that had the trade name, *Ajax*, "in cast iron letters on the treadle, and painted in gold leaf on the plate."[64] His mother's abilities as an expert seamstress made the sewing machine a lifeline for Galarza and his mother. Galarza's family, like so many in Mexico, fled violence stemming from the revolution and moved to California in 1913. They lived in "lower" Sacramento, a categorization that had less to do with topography than class hierarchy.[65]

He wrote about his life in his 1971 memoir, *Barrio Boy*. Although written decades after much of the popular front literature historian Michael Denning argues the book is best situated in popular front literature because the book represents Galarza's intellectual maturation in the period and features the class-centered discussions of inequality representative of the period. The

[64] Ernesto Galarza, *Barrio Boy: With Connections*, 1 edition (Austin: HOLT MCDOUGAL, 1999), 3, 15–16.
[65] Maria Montes de Oca Ricks Francisco A. Lomelí and Carl R. Shirley, eds., *Chicano Writers. Second Series*, Dictionary of Literary Biography, v. 122 (Detroit: Gale Research, 1992), http://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u2056350.

memoir, while refracted through the lens of the Chicano nationalist movement, offers insight into Galarza's early ideas about race, citizenship, and immigration in the United States.

In his memoir Galarza chronicled his migration from Mexico to the United States and the stark cultural differences he saw between himself and the *gringos* he encountered. On the train from Mexico to the United States, he noted that gringos, "ate repulsive sandwiches with relish. They put their feet, shoes and all, on the seats in front of them. When the men laughed it seemed more like a roar."[66] Brash, loud, and foul, gringos were totally foreign to Galarza. When he moved to Sacramento "Americans" became a substitute for gringo as a way of referring to whites. Americans, he wrote, "do not ask permission to leave the room; they had no respectful way of addressing an elderly person… [and] they spit brown over the railing of the porch."[67] In a striking reversal of the literature about foreign customs of recent immigrants, Galarza turns his gaze to white Americans and those habits and customs he found repellent.

Gringos and Americans appeared alternatively throughout his autobiography as purveyors of unequal justice, for example the *gringo pendejo*, who deported members of his family, and carriers of social dysfunction like the "drunk wino[s]" he saw on skid row, all of whom were *gringo*. During his time in Sacramento, Galarza learned that he was not white and that whites were the people who wielded power against him and his community.[68]

When Ernesto Galarza arrived in Sacramento he found a community he described as a "kaleidoscope of colors and languages and customs" that included Mexicans, Filipino, Portuguese, Italian, Polish, and Korean families.[69] While most of his neighbors were working-class or poor like Galarza, his barrio retained a class of whites: "the bartenders, the rent

[66] Galarza, *Barrio Boy*, 189.
[67] Ibid., 236.
[68] Ibid., 215, 200.
[69] Ibid., 198–199.

collectors, the insurance salesman, the mates on the river boats, the landladies, and most importantly, the police—these were all gringos." Only *gringos* wielded institutional power in lower Sacramento. He wrote "…there was no place in the public business of the city of Sacramento for the Mexican immigrants. We only rented a corner of the city and as long as we paid the rent on time everything else was decided at City Hall or the County Court House, where Mexicans went only when they were in trouble. Nobody from the *barrio* ever ran for mayor or city councilman."[70] "Gringo," for Galarza was a term that had as much to do with class as race. Those white ethnics that lived in his community in lower Sacramento were not the gringos that he feared. He understood that whiteness was a category of economic power as much as it was a reflection on phenotype. It is perhaps for this reason that when he moved his family to Washington, D.C. and lived in white neighborhoods, it was not a violation of his racial identity and was rather an embrace of growing class privilege. Whiteness, for Galarza, had to do with where you lived and worked rather than your ethnic background.

In 1923 he graduated from Sacramento High School. Shortly after he met Mae Taylor whose parents had emigrated from Canada. The couple had a daughter named Karla Rosel Galarza on September 26, 1924. Galarza studied History at Occidental College in Los Angeles where he was the only student of Mexican descent in his graduating class. He earned a master's degree at Stanford University in history and political science in 1929.[71] With their daughter in tow, the Galarza's moved to New York where Ernesto enrolled in a PhD program in economics at Columbia University. During his graduate education, Galarza became an increasingly important Popular Front labor intellectual as he published pieces about the brutality of agricultural labor for Mexican-Americans in the West and Southwest. He began working with

[70] Ibid., 206.
[71] Maria Montes de Oca Ricks Lomelí and Shirley, *Chicano Writers. Second Series*.

labor organizer Luisa Moreno at the Pan-American Union in the mid-1930s.[72] In 1936, he and his wife moved to Washington, D.C. where he began his job at the Pan-American Union (today known as the Organization of American States) as a research associate in education. Galarza quickly climbed the ranks to become the organization's first director of the Division of Labor and Social information. During his eleven-year tenure at the Pan-American Union, from 1936-1947, he traveled throughout Latin America where he was involved, for example, with combatting labor abuses in the tin mines of Bolivia. In 1956 he received the Bolivian Order of the Condor of the Andes by the Bolivian Government for his support of labor movements.

However, the move to D.C. brought more than a job opportunity for the Galarza family. It would also set the stage for their emergence as national figures in the debate over desegregation. Galarza's time in California taught him about the precariousness of life for non-whites. His life there was shaped by his identity as a Mexican-American who lived in a community that was removed from political and economic power. However, when he moved with his family to Washington, D.C. he found that his racial position had changed. Segregation no longer applied to him and he could access neighborhoods and schools that would have been otherwise off limits in California. Given his experience living in a community that was removed from political and economic power, his family's move into a middle-class white community in Washington, D.C. was likely an acknowledgment of the fact that his family was middle-class both in terms of income and education, as well as an intentional decision to capitalize on the South's acceptance of Latinos in white residential neighborhoods.

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[72] Michael Denning, *The Cultural Front : The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century /*, [2010 ed.] (London ; Verso, 2010), 277, http://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u5415132.

When the Galarza family moved to the outskirts of Northwest D.C. in 1936, Karla enrolled in grade 7A at Macfarland Junior High School. A year later, in September of 1937, the Galarza family moved to Arlington, Virginia, a suburb of Washington, D.C., and Karla enrolled in Washington and Lee High School and later transferred to Thomas Jefferson High School.[73] Washington, D.C. segregated their schools, as did Virginia, and all of the schools Karla attended while living in the D.C. area were exclusively for white students. There is no evidence that Karla or her family faced any pushback from either the school system or the community as a result of her attending all-white schools. By putting Karla in a white school, Ernesto Galarza was making decisions about his family's racial future early in their time in D.C.. Having experienced life on the "colored" side, Galarza positioned his family to best benefit from D.C.'s relative acceptance of Latino/as.

Ernesto and his family briefly returned to California where he became active with the National Farm Labor Union, which would later become the National Agricultural Workers Union. It was during this time he helped lead a campaign against the Bracero contract-labor program.[74] Galarza was part of a growing cohort of Mexican-American intellectuals who were confronting the intersection of race, labor, and citizenship in the U.S. For Galarza, the treatment of Bracero workers was a stark example of the regimes of racialized labor. As other historians have noted, during the 1930s and 1940s there was a growing racial solidarity and some of the earliest expressions of what would become Chicano nationalism.[75] It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that Galarza saw himself, and his family, as a group separate from the "gringos" he

[73] Minutes of the Washington, D.C. School Board Meeting. Board Adopts Resolution in RE Case of Miss Karla Rosel Galarza, a Student at the Margaret Murray Washington Vocation High School, Divisions 10-13. April 2, 1947. CSSMA.
[74] Denning, *The Cultural Front*, 277.
[75] García, *Mexican Americans*.

lamented in *Barrio Boy*, and instead as a family whose fate was tied up with those working in the fields of the West and Southwest. His work, his politics, and his increasingly public persona suggested that he saw himself as in struggle with working-class Mexican-Americans. However, when he came to D.C., he got to be white.

The Galarza family returned to Washington, D.C. so that Ernesto could continue his work for the Pan-American Union. In his capacity as an organizer for the Pan American Union, he was developing a booklet that "told the story of America" which would aid new immigrants in becoming "better acquainted with one another's customs, habits and modes of dress."[76] While meeting with people he hoped would assist him in this project, he was introduced to Mrs. Cordelia Wharton who taught dressmaking at the Margaret Murray Washington Vocational School.[77]

Galarza and Wharton developed a friendship, and when his daughter expressed a desire to take a course in dressmaking, Galarza enrolled her in Wharton's class at the M.M. Washington Vocational School.[78] In addition to their growing friendship, Wharton's particular skill-set made the M.M. Washington school an appealing place for Karla to learn dressmaking.[79]

Sewing, for Ernesto Galrza, represented an important cultural retention, as well as a vehicle for his daughter to become an economically independent woman. When describing his childhood growing up in Jalcotan, Galarza recalled that all of the "girls of Jalco learned from the women of the pueblo how to sew and embroider."[80] Despite the displacements Galarza

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[76] "Untitled," *The Baltimore Afro-American*, May 31, 1947
[77] "Untitled," *The Baltimore Afro-American*, May 31, 1947
[78] "Untitled," *The Baltimore Afro-American*, May 31, 1947
[79] "D.C. School Law Faces Challenge": White Girl to Fight Ruling Plans Suit OF MEXICAN DESCENT Father Formerly With Pan-American Union." *The Baltimore Afro-American*, April 12, 1947. Letter to Miss Watkins from Dr. Ernesto Galarza. April 3, 1947. CSSMA.
[80] Galarza, *Barrio Boy*, 38.

experienced fleeing revolutionary violence in Mexico, his mother retained possession of the *Ajax* sewing machine that provided her family with income. His mother would work as a seamstress in every new community, using her sewing abilities to sustain her family during constant upheaval.[81] When the family made their final move from Mazatlán to the United States they did not bring their *Ajax* sewing machine. The loss was less painful to Galarza because "nobody in the *barrio* had the money to pay for sewing."[82] While Karla Galarza certainly had her own set of reasons to want to take a dressmaking course, Ernesto Galarza's experience with sewing as both a gendered rite of passage and a lifeline for economically precarious young women likely shaped his desire for his daughter to learn dressmaking.

On February 3, 1947 Karla enrolled at the Margaret Murray Washington Vocational High School to take Wharton's course on dress design and costume making.[83] However, one month into her attendance at the M.M. Washington school, Assistant Superintendent Dr. Garnet C. Wilkinson, requested that Karla voluntarily withdraw and enroll instead at the white vocational school, Burdick Vocational High School. During their March 10, 1947 meeting, Dr. Wilkinson informed Karla that, in his assessment, she was white and as a result not "entitled to attend" the M.M. Washington Vocational school.

Dr. Ernesto Galarza fired a letter back to Wilkinson which informed him that Karla would not be withdrawing from the school. The course offered at M.M. Washington, Ernesto argued, was not the same as the course offered at Burdick. For this reason, he wrote, "the decision of the family, in which Karla of course concurs, is that she declines to withdraw

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[81] Ibid., 100.
[82] Ibid., 229.
[83] Minutes of the Washington, D.C. School Board Meeting. Board Adopts Resolution in RE Case of Miss Karla Rosel Galarza, a Student at the Margaret Murray Washington Vocation High School, Divisions 10-13. April 2, 1947. CSSMA.

voluntarily as you request." Galarza clarified that "Karla enrolled for that course because it offers exactly the type of training she wants." "This," Galarza wrote, "and no other, is the reason she enrolled in this particular school."[84] Guarding against accusations that this was a politically motivated effort at integrating the schools, Galarza emphasized that Karla's enrollment was driven by curricular rather than activist motivations. It made sense that Galarza would feel the need to shield against these criticisms because at the same time that Karla was fighting for access to M.M. Washington, black students in the district were battling against school segregation.

Galarza may have felt defensive about being perceived as having "activist" motivations because in California, *Mendez v. Westminster* (1947) was being argued in the United States Court of Appeals in the Ninth Circuit. The case began when Gonzalo Méndez moved his family closer to Wesminster School, a white school in Orange County when began leasing a farm from a Japanese family being held at an internment camp. His sister, Soledad Vidaurri, took Méndez's daughter and two sons along with two of her children to register at the Wesminster School. However, upon their arrival, the teacher responsible for admitting students decided that the Vidaurri children, because of their light skin and less recognizably Spanish surnames, could register. The darker-skinned Méndez children would have to register at Hoover School, the "Spanish-speaking" or "Mexican" school.[85] Even in California, "Mexicanness" or "Latinness" was not static and color played an important role in who could access benefits of whiteness.

Méndez, along with four other parents, decided to hire David Marcus to represent them in their suit on behalf of "some 5,000 other persons of Mexican and Latin descent and extraction"

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[84] Minutes of the Washington, D.C. School Board Meeting. Board Adopts Resolution in RE Case of Miss Karla Rosel Galarza, a Student at the Margaret Murray Washington Vocation High School, Divisions 10-13. April 2, 1947. CSSMA.

[85] Mark Brilliant, *The Color of America Has Changed: How Racial Diversity Shaped Civil Rights Reform in California, 1941-1978*, Reprint edition (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 62; Strum, *Mendez v. Westminster Publisher*.

against four Orange County school districts.[86] In California, Section 8003 of the Education read, "the governing board of any school district may establish separate schools for Indian children…and for children of Chinese, Japanese, or Mongolian parentage."[87] Because Mexicans were not one of the groups that the law permitted to be segregated, the school district's attorney argued that the segregation was not based on race. Mexicans, after all, were legally Anglo. Instead, the segregation was a result of Mexican children's lack of English-proficiency. David Marcus, attorney for the Méndezes, also argued, "race discrimination" was not the issue at hand "since persons of Latin and Mexican extraction are members of the 'white' race."[88] If Mexican children were white, it was illegal to segregate them from other white children. Marcus had to prove, then, that language proficiency was not being tested equally and that many of the Mexican students unfairly segregated were actually fluent English speakers. Judge McCormick agreed, and on February 18, 1946 he ruled in favor of the Méndezes because the school district had failed to prove they were testing for English proficiency in ways that did not specifically target Mexican students.

The school district appealed the case to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. Marcus again emphasized the whiteness of Mexicans so the court did not have to confront *Plessy v. Ferguson*'s "separate but equal doctrine." Because, as Marcus argued, the case was not about racial segregation, the court could uphold that the segregation of Mexican children was unconstitutional because they were Anglo, while preserving the legality of racial segregation. Similar to Galarza's claim that his daughter's case was not about "activism," Méndez's lawyer

[86] Brilliant, *The Color of America Has Changed*, 2012, 64.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid., 79.

denied that the Mexican-American families sought to overturn segregation. Instead he argued that Mexican-Americans were being denied what was owed to them as white citizens.

On April 14, 1947 Judge Albert Lee Stephens delivered the Ninth Circuit's decision upholding Méndez's logic that Mexican-American children should not be segregated because they were Anglo. "The segregation in this case," Stephens wrote, "is without legislative support."[89] In doing this Stephens left the laws that permitted the segregation of "Indian…Chinese, Japanese or Mongolian" children intact. The question of whether separate was inherently unequal under the Fourteenth Amendment was not addressed by the court.[90] This was the major difference between the Mexican-American and African-American struggles for integration: African-American segregation was legal by law, while segregation of Mexican-American students had to be justified by extralegal reasoning.[91]

While scholars have debated to what extent the *Mendez* case shaped the *Brown* decision, it clearly shaped the legal landscape of Mexican-American civil rights.[92] Ernesto Galarza, who had been living in California in 1947 and part of the growing Mexican-American labor movement would have certainly heard about the case and understood its importance. However, in line with the logic of *Mendez*, Ernesto Galarza sidestepped the question of race and made his

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[89] Ibid., 81.
[90] Strum, *Mendez v. Westminster Publisher*, 143–145; Mark Brilliant, *The Color of America Has Changed: How Racial Diversity Shaped Civil Rights Reform in California, 1941-1978* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2012), 81.
[91] Jeanne Powers, "On Separate Paths," *American Journal of Education* 121, no. 1 (November 1, 2014): 30.
[92] Phillipa Strum argues Mendez was a direct predecessor to Brown and shaped how the NAACP approached the case while Mark Brilliant argues that because the cases were fought on different terms, one on language and one on race, they are not part of the same legal genealogy. Mark Brilliant, *The Color of America Has Changed: How Racial Diversity Shaped Civil Rights Reform in California, 1941-1978* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2010); Strum, *Mendez v. Westminster Publisher*.

case a question of the content of courses and the evils of segregation in general. Like the Méndezes, he defended his daughter's position as not-black.

Galarza's case, however, was not the first to confront the question of Latinos in southern schools. Historian Julie Weise describes the story of the Landrove family in Mississippi who successfully convinced Governor Theodore Bilbo in 1931 to allow their daughter to attend a white school. The Landroves did so by appealing to the Mexican consulate that asked for Mexican admission to a white school to help "strengthen the cordial relations that fortunately now exist between both countries." The argument, Weise shows, "depended not on the racial qualifications of Mexicans nor on U.S. legal precedent but rather on the influence of a foreign government."[93] The Landrove case shows that as early as the 1930s, Mexicans were able to successfully access white privileges without rejecting their ethnic status. Karla didn't have to prove to be white in order to be ineligible for a black school. Rather her ethnic difference was less important than her distance from blackness. Galarza's story exhibits the limits of "race" and "ethnicity" to categorize Latino/as in the postwar U.S.. Over the 1940s, those categories blended and transformed as a result of legalistic pressures from cases like *Mendez*. They also were changed across space: Latino/as were racaialized in the West and Southwest and ethnicized in the South.

Aware that his daughter's case was receiving increased attention at the national level Ernesto Galarza penned a frustrated later to the School Board in response to their exclusion of his daughter. In his letter he made two arguments: first, that Karla's exclusion was unjust because the two courses were inexorably different and therefore Karla was being prevented from

[93] Weise, *Corazón de Dixie*, 77.

taking a course she should have access to, and second, that segregation in the District was unconstitutional and depriving his daughter of a proper education.

Galarza, visited both the Burdick and M.M. Washington schools, talked to the principals, and read the courses of study, which only confirmed his initial assessment of the courses as fundamentally different. He argued in his letter that a comparable course "is offered in no other school in the city." He wrote extensively about the differences between the two and how his daughter sought the skills only offered at M.M. Washington.

He then turned to the larger issue of segregation and how, he felt, it was "depriv[ing] [his] daughter of the opportunity to prepare herself for useful and responsible citizenship."

His second argument was a condemnation of the segregated Jim Crow schools in Washington, D.C.. Galarza quoted the "great Southerner" Thomas Jefferson, that the purpose of education was to "observe with intelligence and faithfulness all the social relations under which he (the citizen) shall be placed."[94] Jefferson, one of the most famous southern founders to argue against southern segregation, was likely a strategic choice by Galarza. Southern social mores, Galarza argued, should not prevent his daughter from taking full advantage of the educational system.

The differences between D.C. and California were immediately apparent in the case of Karla Galarza. At the same time that she was being removed from a "colored" school for being "not a Negro," Méndez was fighting in California to be able to access white schools. D.C. was living with the afterlife of slavery, emancipation, and reconstruction. It enforced Jim Crow law on the sizable black population that daily attempted to undermine that system. The different

[94] Letter to Miss Watkins from Dr. Ernesto Galarza. April 3, 1947. CSSMA.

treatment of the Méndez's who had to argue they were white by law and the Galarza's who were treated as white by custom points to the importance of region in racial formations.

The regional elements of this conflict were made clear when Dr. Wilkinson told Galarza and his daughter that they should accept the withdrawal "because Washington is a southern city." Galarza honed in on the argument about regional difference and responded that having had the "privilege of traveling extensively through the southern states… [no] section of our country is less interested than any other in striving to develop a school system in the nation's capital that will reflect America's democratic spirit."[95] In a public statement he reiterated how he saw segregation limiting his daughter's educational opportunities. "The fact that race segregation in the District of Columbia is historic," he stated, "does not lessen the harshness with which it is being enforced by the board in a manner which deprives my daughter of equal protection under the law."[96] Galarza only mentioned Karla's race once when he wrote that her exclusion from the M.M. Washington course was because "she is not a Negro." In the same language the School Board used to exclude Karla, Dr. Galarza argued his daughter was "not a Negro" but that should not prevent her from receiving an education. His reference to her as "not a Negro," rather than white, perhaps revealed his own ambivalence towards the racial categories he and his family had come to occupy. While his letter was noted at the School Board's next meeting, it was not read into the record and did not make it into the meeting discussion.

As a result of Karla's refusal to leave the school voluntarily, the school board met on April 2nd, 1947 to make a decision regarding her attendance. The Superintendent, Hobart M. Corning, submitted a report to the board that outlined his case for removing Karla from M.M.

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[95] Letter to Miss Watkins from Dr. Ernesto Galarza. April 3, 1947. CSSMA.
[96] "D.C. School Law Faces Challenge": White Girl to Fight Ruling Plans Suit OF MEXICAN DESCENT Father Formerly With Pan-American Union." *The Baltimore Afro-American*, April 12, 1947.

Washington. He opened the report by writing: "Since the admission of Karla Rosel Galarza to the Margaret Murray Washington Vocational High School question has arisen to her racial status and as to whether she is entitled to the privilege of attending the Margaret Murray Washington Vocational High School." Unlike other desegregation cases, this was not a clear-cut case of someone attending the "wrong" school. Instead, as his opening indicates, "questions ha[d] arisen to her racial status," and it was the job of the school board to settle whether or not she was "entitled to the privilege of attending" a school for "colored" children. Karla, after all, had attended the M.M. Washington School for a month without incident before Assistant Superintendent Wilkinson intervened.[97]

Corning argued that Karla, because of her prior attendance at white schools in the area, was "not entitled" to attend M.M. Washington. The schools she attended "do not admit Negroes as students," and her attendance, Corning went on, "indicates that she is not a Negro."[98] According to Corning, Karla did not have to be white to be excluded from M.M. Washington, rather she had to be proven "not a Negro." It was her absence of blackness, as opposed to a racial claim that she was white, which caused her removal.

Corning defended the School Board's ability to racially classify Karla for the purposes of school attendance by citing a 1910 decision of the Washington, D.C. appellate court, *Wall v. Oyster*. The case laid an important foundation for the politics of racial classification in D.C. schools that shaped Karla's experience. In 1909 Isabel Wall enrolled in Brookland White School

[97] Minutes of the Washington, D.C. School Board Meeting. Board Adopts Resolution in RE Case of Miss Karla Rosel Galarza, a Student at the Margaret Murray Washington Vocation High School, Divisions 10-13. April 2, 1947. CSSMA.
[98] Minutes of the Washington, D.C. School Board Meeting. Board Adopts Resolution in RE Case of Miss Karla Rosel Galarza, a Student at the Margaret Murray Washington Vocation High School, Divisions 10-13. April 2, 1947. Letter to Miss Watkins from Dr. Ernesto Galarza. April 3, 1947. CSSMA.

in Washington, D.C.. However, shortly after her enrollment, she was ordered by the principal to leave the school because she was decided to be a "colored child." The superintendent affirmed the principal's decision and Wall was removed from Brookland. In her suit against superintendent of schools James F. Oyster, and other members of the School Board, Wall argued first, that segregation was unconstitutional and second, if segregation was deemed constitutional, she did not qualify as a "colored" person. Wall's argument read specifically that:

> "she is not a 'colored child' within the purview of said legislation, because her great-grandparents were a white man and a very light mulatto woman; her grandparents were a son of said great-grandparents and a white woman; and the parents of petitioner are the son of said grandparents and a white woman."

In addition to her racial lineage, Wall argued "she is a white child in personal appearance, and is so treated and recognized by her neighbors and friends." After an exhaustive investigation into Wall's familial history, Oyster's legal team argued that Wall was colored because one of her grandparents had been buried in the "colored" section of Arlington Cemetery and, additionally, the girl's paternal aunt was "yellow in appearance."[99] The court used the fact that her grandparents had been segregated as a way to prove that Isabel should be as well. To be segregated proved that you were black rather than reverse.[100]

The judge in the case agreed that the Wall child was not discernibly colored, he wrote, "There was to be observed of the child no physical characteristic which afforded ocular evidence suggestive of aught but the Caucasian." However, he went on, "Her father, while of light complexion, presents to the eye racial characteristics which identify him of negro blood; her mother, formerly wife to a Mongolian, is taken to be white." Race appeared, in this case, to be in

[99] *Wall v. Oyster* (1910) 36 App. D.C. 50,
[100] For more on the ways that Jim Crow segregation created new meanings of race see: Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 1999.

the eye of the beholder. Ultimately the judge ruled that Wall was, in fact, "colored" not because of the visual evidence he felt that her father offered, but instead because she was at least one-sixteenth black. He also ruled that the School Board was within its rights to define children racially for the purposes of school segregation. *Wall v. Oyster* affirmed the "one-drop-rule," ensuring that the presence of *any* amount of blackness was enough to preclude whiteness. This was certainly affirmed in the case of Karla Galarza when, despite her ethnic difference, her absence of blackness resulted in access to white schools. As a result, *Wall v. Oyster* empowered the Superintendent and the School Board to classify Karla and exclude her from the M.M. Washington School: she did not have a single drop of Negro blood

As historian Grace Hale has argued, segregation was as much a process as it was a system and the construction of Jim Crow segregation was generative of new racial formations. In the Jim Crow South whiteness and blackness were mutually constituted categories that were formed through "white" and "colored" entrances. To be black was to be forced to use Jim Crow accommodations. Rather than reflecting racial realities, segregation created race through its separation. It was why Isabel Wall's grandparents burial in a "colored" cemetery proved so damning. While Isabel may have appeared white, her family was Jim Crowed and she would be as well. Therefore, the removal of Karla Galarza from M.M. Washington, as much as it was a reflection of preexisting ideas about race in D.C., was also generative of racial ideology. Karla's family, while perhaps not fully white, were not Jim Crowed. That Isabel Wall, who was one-sixteenth black, could be excluded as black and Karla Galarza, the child of a Mexican immigrant

could be included in whiteness makes obvious that Jim Crow segregation was first and foremost about policing blackness.[101]

If to be white was to be "not-black," many Latino/as could seemingly qualify for whiteness. Moreover, while segregation offered an outward facing appearance of rigidity and biological authority, it was filled with a surprising amount of flexibility towards other ethnic difference. These cases and the census show that racial classification was messy and relied on social and cultural ordering as much as any legalistic or biological system of classification. [102]

Just like the school board investigation into Isabel Wall's racial status, Ernesto Galarza found his family under racial scrutiny during his daughter's fight with the School Board. He wrote to the School Board, "I must leave on record my surprise and my deep regret that school officials have made public statements concerning their investigation of the racial status of my daughter and family." Galarza continued, "I happen to be a Mexican by birth." "At one point," Galarza continued, "apparently the school officials considered the possibility of assimilating Karla's presumed Mexican ancestry to the Negro race, under an old ruling of the United States Bureau of the Census."[103] While Karla should be able to access "colored" schools, this did not, Galarza made clear, make her a "Negro." This is particularly striking given that Galarza lived in California during a time when the treatment of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans bore a striking

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[101] For more on Jim Crow as a system of control to police blackness: Kelley Blair L. M, *Right to Ride: Streetcar Boycotts and African American Citizenship in the Era of Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1st ed. (The University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Mia Bay, *To Tell the Truth Freely: The Life of Ida B. Wells*, First Edition (Hill and Wang, 2010); Ayers, *The Promise of the New South*; Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*; Dailey, Gilmore, and Simon, *Jumpin' Jim Crow*; Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 1999; Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow*.

[102] For more on Jim Crow as a cultural and social institution: Dailey, Gilmore, and Simon, *Jumpin' Jim Crow*; Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 1999; Jung, *Coolies and Cane*; Jennifer Ritterhouse, *Growing Up Jim Crow: How Black And White Southern Children Learned Race* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Cole and Ring, *The Folly of Jim Crow*; Loewen, *The Mississippi Chinese*.

[103] Letter to Miss Watkins from Dr. Ernesto Galarza. April 3, 1947. CSSMA.

resemblance to African-Americans in the South. Aware of the exclusion and prejudice faced by people who looked like him, Galarza remained adamant that his family's Mexicanness was not akin to blackness. Perhaps this came from an astute understanding of race in the U.S. South. Perhaps Galarza knew that an ethnic group needed only to distance themselves from blackness rather than explicitly claim whiteness. As historian Julie Weise has shown, generations of Mexicans in the South were able to demonstrate compellingly that they were culturally compatible with southern whites, not by eschewing ethnic difference but by emphasizing it.[104] Galarza made no effort of concealing his, or his family's, ethnic difference and instead demonstrated that being not black was enough.

Galarza complained that the "irrelevant inquiries" into his daughter's race "needlessly invaded…the privacy of [his] family."[105] However, race in the Jim Crow South was never a private matter. Just like in the Wall case, officials used evidence of segregation to prove Karla Galarza's racial status. Because she had not been Jim Crowed earlier in her education, she must not have been black.

Despite Galarza's appeal for his daughter to remain in the M.M. Washington school, the school board made a unanimous decision to adopt the report written by Dr. Corning, which held that Karla was not a Negro, and therefore ineligible to attend Washington school. The report read: "The Superintendent is of the opinion that Miss Karla Rosel Galarza is a white person within the meaning of the Rules and Regulations of the Board of Education requiring separate school for white children and for colored children, and the school law providing for separate schools for colored and white children and that she should be so classified for purposes of school attendance." The Superintendent found that Karla was a "white person" but limited the scope of

[104] See Chapter 1 of Weise, *Corazón de Dixie*.
[105] Letter to Miss Watkins from Dr. Ernesto Galarza. April 3, 1947. CSSMA.

that assessment for the purposes of school segregation. Elsewhere in the decision he wrote that the School Board found "that Miss Karla Rosel Galarza, for the purposes of school classification, is a white person, and she is therefore so classified for school attendance." These are the only two times Karla was referred to as "white." In the rest of the report she is referred to as "not a Negro." The language has interesting parallels to the decision in *Mendez,* which outlawed the segregation of Mexican-American children because California's laws did not explicitly include them as a group who *could* be segregated.

This decision to exclude Karla was made by the nine-member school board that included votes from the three black members of the board. John H. Wilson, an attorney and one of the black members of the committee, made the motion for the adoption of the report. Mrs. Velma Williams, a native of Mississippi, voted to support the motion adding that it was "because of the existing [segregation] law" that she voted favorably. "However," she continued, "I regret deeply that in this democracy of ours there has to be a separation of education.[106] George E.C. Hayes, an attorney and ex-president and member of the board of directors of the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), lamented "we as a board are obligated to determine whether children are white or colored. I realize it is the law but I am voting against my personal feelings."[107] Hayes conceded that part of the work of the committee was not just

[106] "D.C. School Law Faces Challenge": White Girl to Fight Ruling Plans Suit OF MEXICAN DESCENT Father Formerly With Pan-American Union," *The Baltimore Afro-American*, April 12, 1947. "White Girl Ordered from Colored School," *Norfolk Journal and Guide.* April 12, 1947. Minutes of the Washington, D.C. School Board Meeting. Board Adopts Resolution in RE Case of Miss Karla Rosel Galarza, a Student at the Margaret Murray Washington Vocation High School, Divisions 10-13. April 2, 1947. CSSMA

[107] "D.C. School Law Faces Challenge": White Girl to Fight Ruling Plans Suit OF MEXICAN DESCENT Father Formerly With Pan-American Union," *The Baltimore Afro-American*, April 12, 1947. "White Girl Ordered from Colored School," *Norfolk Journal and Guide.* April 12, 1947. Minutes of the Washington, D.C. School Board Meeting. Board Adopts Resolution in RE

enforcing common-sense racial segregation, but actually producing racial knowledge through the classification of Karla Galarza. On April 2, 1947 Karla Galarza was officially barred from attending M.M. Washington Vocational School as a result of her status as "not a Negro."

As soon as the decision had been made, Karla's case began to receive national attention. Some focused on the votes of the three black board members. While many would interpret the votes of the three black members as a capitulation to Jim Crow order, they may have also been safeguarding the precious few resources available for black children's education. In 1947, the year that Karla was removed from M.M. Washington Vocational School, the D.C. school systems spent $120.52 per black child as compared to $160.21 per white child. Moreover, the white junior high schools had 1,851 unused spaces and the black schools were accommodating 2,234 more pupils than they had space for.[108] Most black schools were working far beyond their intended capacity and, therefore, some may have been protecting resources by maintaining segregated facilities.

Regardless of the board members' intentions, many in the black press saw the three black council members' votes to remove Karla as a violation of the growing activist focus on school desegregation. On April 19, 1947, two weeks after the school board made the decision to exclude Karla, *The Pittsburgh Courier* columnist Horace Cayton, wrote a scathing critique of the school board and focused on the black participants who upheld this decision. "Just how could Brother Hayes," Cayton questioned, "in these circumstances, have considered it more important to uphold his oath of office which, according to his interpretation, meant the perpetuation, continuation and protection of segregated institutions than to uphold his manhood and dignity as

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Case of Miss Karla Rosel Galarza, a Student at the Margaret Murray Washington Vocation High School, Divisions 10-13. April 2, 1947. CSSMA

[108] Green, *The Secret City; a History of Race Relations in the Nation's Capital.*, 299.

a human being."[109] Because of this political apathy, Cayton wondered if this case demonstrated that the struggles to get black elected officials had limited impact. "Of course," he wrote, "we work hard to get Negroes on various boards and should continue to do so. But once they are there, and especially when they act as representatives of the Negro group we've got to 'learn'em' when to resign, when decency, integrity, and manhood are more important than keeping a job."

Harry Keelan wrote for the *Baltimore Afro-American* that as a thank you for "upholding their way of life, the grateful white Americans of the District of Columbia should give these three colored board members…each a large, red bandanna handkerchief, with three kyah-kyah-kyah's delivered in the best Hattie McDaniel style!"[110] To Keelan and Cayton, Karla Galarza's case, while it wasn't a typical desegregation, still represented an opportunity to fight Jim Crow. Therefore, the failure of the board members to keep Karla Galarza in M.M. Washington school represented the further entrenchment of white supremacy and Jim Crow.

The media coverage also exposed a tension in the case—Karla's race. While Karla may have been unambiguously white in Washington, D.C., newspapers referred to her at times as white and at times as Mexican. More specifically, white newspapers identified Karla as white, while nearly half of the black newspapers refer to Karla as Mexican or Spanish.

The white newspapers reported the case as a white girl being barred from a black school. *The Toledo Blade* referred to Karla as a "pretty, 22-year-old white girl," *The Times-Picayune* chronicled "a white girl ousted from a Negro public school," and *The Sunday Oregonian* introduced Karla as a "white girl" and the "daughter of former educational adviser to the Pan-American union." For the white media this was an interesting story of a reversal of the traditional

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[109] Cayton, Horace. "Ought to Quit: When Negroes Get in Positions Where They Have to Sacrifice Democracy They Should Resign" *The Pittsburgh Courier*, April 19, 1947.
[110] Keelan, Harry. "Voice in the Wilderness." *The Baltimore Afro-American*, May 31, 1947.

narrative of desegregation. Karla's race, however, warranted no further discussion. Alternatively, members of the black press referred to Karla as "Spanish-American," "Latin American," "Mexican-American," and "Senorita" [sic]. One of the effects of racializing Karla in the black press was that it pointed out the absurdity of Jim Crow segregation. Karla, a non-white girl who elsewhere in the country would have been forced to use "colored" entrances, was being kicked out of a black school.

The black press also highlighted the *process* of Karla's classification as white. One writer for *The Baltimore Afro-American* used the heading "Classified as White" when writing about Superintendent Corning's decision to remove Karla. To this journalist, Karla's story was not about a white girl, but instead a girl who got to be classified as such. Another journalist for *The Chicago Defender*'s column "Adventures in Race Relations," wrote, "the Spanish-American girl Karla Galarza who attends the 'colored' Martha Washington Vocational School has been declared 'white,' as we indicated here she would be."[111] The columnist exposed, in his piece, the racial processing Karla experienced. Karla, assessed by the writer as "Spanish-American" had to be proven white. Her racialization was declarative rather than innate. While many saw Karla's whiteness as part of a common-sense racial classification necessitated by Jim Crow, this writer pointed to the mediation and decision making required in making Karla white. That a "Spanish-American" girl was being shoehorned into a Jim Crow system made clear the D.C. schools were "segregated not by law but based on tradition and custom." Some of the writer's interpretation can likely be attributed to his location in Chicago. While Karla was being classified as white in D.C., those living in Chicago during the same time were likely witness to the destruction of robust Mexican-American communities as a result of Great Depression-era repatriation and

[111] Treadmill. "Adventures in Race Relations." *The Chicago Defender*, April 19, 1947.

deportation.[112] Someone from Chicago, therefore, would have seen Karla's racial difference as important even if those in D.C. didn't.

Harry Keelan, in his "Voice in the Wilderness" column in the *Baltimore Afro-American* referred to Galarza's daughter as "Senorita Karla Rosel Galarza [sic]. Karla, a "young Latin-American," Keelan wrote, was being excluded by the "Nazi travesty" that was the D.C. public schools. He added that Galarza's admirable protest originated from the "real education" she received "in the schools of her own country." As a result, "she could not accept [the] primitive reasoning, and appealed to the Board of Education."[113] However, there is no evidence that Karla was ever educated in her "own country," which we can assume meant Mexico. However, Karla was actually educated in District of Columbia and Northern Virginia schools for middle school and part of high school and completed her high school degree in Sacramento, California. If Keelan assumed that Karla's seemingly progressive racial politics grew out of Mexico, he was mistaken. Latin American, to this author, meant she was also "foreign." For non-black, and even some black, travelers, their status as foreigners at times protected them from Jim Crow. Her being "foreign" didn't necessarily make her not-white.

One writer for *The Baltimore Afro-American* characterized Karla's background in the following way: "Although Miss Galarza's parents are Mexican, they were living in the United States before her birth, her father (an educational adviser of the Pan-American Union) being a graduate of both Stanford and Columbia Universities." The writer's elaboration on Karla's parents' status as citizens and Ernesto Galarza's pristine educational pedigree evidenced the important role class played for some in shaping Karla's racialization. While she was certainly

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[112] George J. Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945*, Reprint (Oxford University Press, USA, 1995); García, *Mexican Americans*.

[113] Keelan, Harry. "Voice in the Wilderness." *The Baltimore Afro-American*, May 31, 1947.

ethnically Mexican-American, her father's education and her family's class background, this writer suggested, affected her acceptance as white in a southern city.[114]

When the school board refused to acknowledge or consider changing their position, Galarza turned to progressive organizations that he hoped would take his daughter's case to court. Even before Galarza reached out to lawyers, the NAACP picked up on the case from news coverage. On April 9, 1947 Robert L. Carter, the assistant special counsel to the NAACP's legal defense and education fund wrote to Charles Houston about the case to see if the NAACP had any plans to pursue it in court. Houston, a native of D.C., a Harvard Law School graduate, and one of the legal strategists behind the cases leading up to *Brown v. Board of Education*, wrote back to Carter that he agreed that the NAACP should "handle [Galarza's case] from the outset."[115] While the NAACP may have hoped to take on the Galarza case and add it to its growing stock of school desegregation cases, the Galarzas opted to have the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) represent Karla instead. Robert Carter, writing to ACLU lawyer H.A. Robinson, said that the "[NAACP] and the ACLU, as you probably know, work together in this field and Miss Galarza and her parents apparently preferred that the ACLU represent her in this suit. We are cooperating with the ACLU, however, in all phases of this matter."[116] When acting director of the ACLU, Clifford Forester, wrote to Charles Houston about the case he thanked him for assistance with the work and clarified that "from a practical point of view, I should think it

[114] "Untitled," *The Baltimore Afro-American.* April 19, 1947
[115] Letter to Charles Houston from Robert L. Carter April 9, 1947. Letter to Robert L. Carter from Charles Houston April 10, 1947. NAACP Papers, Part 03: The Campaign for Educational Equality, Series B: Legal Department and Central Office Records, 1940-1950, Series: Legal File, Group II, Schools.
[116] Letter to H.A. Robinson from Robert L. Carter May 2, 1947. NAACP Papers.

would be preferable if your name did not appear as of counsel at this stage."[117] The Galarzas chose to forego both representation and association from the NAACP. Despite the fact that the case was centrally about race and segregation, the Galarza's knew they could avoid blackness because they had lived as non-black in both Washington, D.C. and Virginia.[118] Ironic

Both the ACLU and the NAACP spent the summer studying the case and considering what form their legal challenge could take. The first problem they ran into was constitutional. In 1947 the District of Columbia did not have "equal protection under the law" because it was constitutionally reserved for the states under the tenth amendment. Is this still the case? Washington, D.C however, was governed by federal law. Therefore, they would have to make an argument that Karla Galarza's due process rights were violated. This meant they would have to show that she was deprived life, liberty, or property.[119]

The second concern was that the case could have potentially negated arguments that segregation inherently disadvantaged African-Americans. An ACLU lawyer wrote, "under any equal protection theory such a discrimination against whites could be pointed to for the purpose of proving the equality of a segregated system." If Karla won, whites could argue that there was equal inequality under segregation and that blacks and whites both dealt with the challenges of a necessary social system. This flew in the face of the NAACP's legal strategy that emphasized that blacks were uniquely disadvantaged in segregated institutions.[120]

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[117] Letter to Charles H. Houston from Clifford Forster (acting director of ACLU) May 5, 1947. NAACP Papers.
[118] For more on the legal strategy behind the road to *Brown* see: Risa L. Goluboff, *The Lost Promise of Civil Rights* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2010).
[119] Memorandum for American Civil Liberties Union by Jonathan B. Bingham. Re: Constitutional Questions in the Galarza Case. July 15, 1947. NAACP Papers.
[120] For more on the legal strategy of the NAACP see: Goluboff, *The Lost Promise of Civil Rights*. NAACP Papers Memorandum to the Files from Marian Wynn Perry. January 20, 1948. In Re: Galarza Against the Board of Education of the District of Columbia. Conference with Mr.

In addition to these concerns, the NAACP and ACLU had decided to attack segregation by first challenging segregation in professional schools. Therefore, on January 20, 1948, Clifford Forester wrote to Ernesto Galarza to let him know that the ACLU would not be taking his daughter's case to court. As a result, the strange case of Karla Galarza's segregated education received no further attention from these organizations.

Over the 1950s and 1960s, Ernesto Galarza became a prominent voice in struggles for Mexican-Americans in the United States. His family left Washington, D.C. when he accepted a job as the director of research and education with the Southern Tenant Farmer's Union (STFU) in which city which had just become the American Federation of Labor's (AFL) National Farm Labor Union (NFLU). In that position, he vehemently opposed the Bracero Program focusing primarily on California. As a result, Galarza relocated his family to San Jose, California where he would live until his death. In 1967 he was elected chairman of La Raza Unida Conference, he helped establish the Southwest Council of La Raza, which would eventually become the National Council of La Raza (NCLR), and he also served on the board of the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund.[121] The second half of his life was characterized by a distinct racial nationalism that, his memoir *Barrio Boy* suggests, was fomenting in his early life.[122] However, the case of Karla's exclusion from M.M. Washington Vocational School is notably absent in the biographical accounts of Galarza's life.[123] Perhaps it was because the case seemed an aberration

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Clifford Forster and Mr. Jonathan Bingham of the American Civil Liberties Union and Mr. Theodore Leske of the American Jewish Congress.

[121] Maria Montes de Oca Ricks Lomelí and Shirley, *Chicano Writers. Second Series*; Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors*, 156.

[122] Galarza, *Barrio Boy*.

[123] Francisco A. Lomelí and Carl R. Shirley, eds., *Chicano Writers. Second Series*, Dictionary of Literary Biography, v. 122 (Detroit: Gale Research, 1992); Michael Denning, *The Cultural Front : The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century /*, [2010 ed.] (London ; Verso, 2010); David G. Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants,*

in a life that was so much about Chicano nationalism. Ernesto Galarza, in historical memory and in most of his life, was a fierce Chicano activist who advocated for those laborers marginalized by their race and citizenship. In Karla's story he is posed as a white parent and he never eschews that characterization. While the case was working towards a goal of desegregation, Galarza's categorization as white stands out from a lifetime that was so completely defined as Mexican and then Mexican-American.

Conclusion

While the Galarza case did not continue to make national news and ultimately was not one of the cases that helped overturn segregation in education, it reveals a great deal about how race operated in the South during the 1940s. Taken together with the stories of Latinos found in the 1940 census, the stories of Ernesto and Karla Galarza show that in a city that was governed by Jim Crow, Latinos found relative freedom in a restrictive racial order. While Latinos may not have always been seen as "fully white," their ethnic identity did not prevent them from getting the most important protections of whiteness: access to white schools, white neighborhoods, and freedom from white violence. They didn't have to be white to receive these protections, Karla shows us: she simply had to be "not a Negro." Those Latinos who were too black themselves, or who married and lived with blacks, understood very clearly that "Latinoness" could not shield them. Instead, it was those who maintained a distance from blackness and successfully defended their racial position as "not-black" that were able to benefit from whiteness without being seen as fully white.

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and the Politics of Ethnicity (University of California Press, 1995); *Memories of Chicano History*, accessed June 13, 2016; Juan Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican American Labor, 1790-1990*, 1st edition (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994).

Chapter 2

"Where's the Mexican Who Runs This Place?":
The Latino Image in the White Southern Mind, 1945-1965

Introduction

Drivers on Interstate 95 nearly 100 miles north or south of Dillon, South Carolina are well acquainted with the South of the Border billboards that crowd the sides of the highway. In one of the more famous signs, the mascot of the iconic road stop, Pedro, beckons drivers to visit South of the Border with the promise "You Never Sausage a Thing," and, "Everyones a Weiner at South of the Border."[124] Pedro, a cartoon figure of a short, rotund, dark-skinned Mexican man, appears on each of these billboards promising all of the best in leisure and consumption—plenty of stores in which to buy "Mexican" wares, restaurants to eat "authentic" Mexican food, and a hotel for travel-weary drivers. While today the 350-acre compound resembles an abandoned, racist carnival, at its pinnacle South of the Border was one of the most popular stops for travelers on the newly built I-95. Perfectly positioned as a halfway point between New England and the booming tourist destination of Florida, South of the Border became an iconic roadway stop for US travelers and, as a result, helped shape the region's ideas about Mexico and Mexicans.

Over the course of the 1950s and 1960s Schafer transformed Pedro from an exotic attraction to a defender of the south. In the 1950s Schafer capitalized on Americans' visions of Mexico and Latin America as paradises of leisure and excess. He constructed South of the Border as a place for Northern and Southern tourists alike to escape stringent moral and sexual codes of behavior. Endorsed by the rest stop's mascot, Pedro, South of the Border was a place that tourists could enjoy the racial pleasures associated with travel abroad by consuming "Mexican" food, purchasing "Mexican" crafts and donning "Mexican" clothing. However, as

[124] South of the Border, brochure, Pedro Presents South of the Border Award Weening Billboards [sic] (Orlando, Florida: LithoGraphics, Dillon, South Carolina, September, 2002.)

southern whites felt increasingly under siege by civil rights activists, locally and at the national level, South of the Border was transformed to meet increasingly regional needs. In 1961 Schafer opened Confederateland, a Confederate theme park, on the South of the Border compound. Pedro was also changed—he grew both more exotic and racially distinct and concurrently more southern and confederate. Certainly the over-the-top Confederate kitsch appealed to northern whites eager to get a glimpse of the rural, backwards, and racist south. For white northerners too, South of the Border was also a place to make one's identity. As southern whites' fears about their racial position changed, Schafer pivoted Pedro to meet their psychic needs. Following the legacy of blackface minstrelsy Pedro offered a shelter for whites' fascination with the racial other and a source of difference against which whites could feel racially superior. Schafer, I argue fused national and regional interests to generate a new form of southern minstrelsy called "brownface." Like blackface, attention to the changing dimensions of brownface reveals a great deal about white southerners fears regarding their changing racial status and their increased integration into a national economy. Additionally, Schafer was able to construct a new minstrel practice, which, in South Carolina, lacked a sizable Mexican population who could respond to and disrupt these images. South of the Border therefore created a thick collection of ideas about Mexicanness completely divorced from Mexican bodies.

Beginning with South of the Border's founding in 1949, this chapter traces the transformation of the rest stop and its mascot, Pedro. It starts with an examination of the "exotic" world that Schafer created in the 1950s and how he constructed an image of Mexico and Mexicans that appealed to tourists traveling the newly constructed Interstate 95. It is in this first period that Pedro emerged as a symbol of "brownface." Schafer melded "hillbilly" and "blackface" archetypes to construct a mascot that appealed to both white northerners and

southerners. I then examine how South of the Border changed in the 1960s starting with the introduction of Schafer's weekly column in the Dillon Herald, "Borderlines," and the construction of Confederateland. In this era Pedro became a defensive figure who ridiculed Yankees and celebrated the Confederacy. Pedro's brownface concurrently grew more foreign and more southern. Additionally, I demonstrate that Confederateland was a critical site for the performance and construction of whiteness for white southerners. Dressed in their own form of "whiteface," Confederate reenactors used the Civil War Centennial to participate in a new form of escapism at South of the Border. While many came to South of the Border to experience an exotic escape, those southerners participating in Confederateland sought a retreat from a south that felt increasingly foreign to them. I argue that South of the Border was an important space of race-making for white southerners who, confronted with the loss of Jim Crow segregation, used Mexicanness as cipher to with which to understand race.

The sheer volume of people who passed through alone makes it worth an historical investigation. However, it is the combination of the tourist traffic and local loyalty to this institution that are central to this study. For the huge number of Americans who took to the road in their new cars, South of the Border became a space to relax, buy fireworks, and enjoy a beer. In the process, the rest stop's patrons revealed a great deal about their conceptions race.

Despite its importance in the lives of many Americans traveling in the postwar U.S., South of the Border has received little scholarly attention. To date, only two authors have engaged seriously with its impact on the region. Laura Koser has written about the rest stop's historical relationship to South Carolina's political economy and Nicole King's work has

analyzed its contemporary impact on identity and ideology.[125] This chapter, however, analyzes the cultural impact of the rest stop on a region in the midst of the dismantling of Jim Crow. South of the Border offers a concrete example of white fantasies about Mexico and Mexicans and reveals new dimensions of white supremacy in the U.S. South. It provides a window into white Southern ideas about Mexicans and Mexicanness in an era where there are few articulations of these beliefs.[126]

Origins

South of the Border traces its origins back to 1932 when Franklin Roosevelt was elected President and began his fight to repeal Prohibition. On December 5, 1933, when the Twenty-First amendment passed and Prohibition ended, Sam Schafer drove to Baltimore to buy as many cases of beer as his pickup truck could hold. He returned home to South Carolina and began to resell the beer. He quickly discovered that even during the Depression people were willing to pay seventy-five cents for a cold beer. Sam and his brother, Alan Schafer, grew this one time resale into the Schafer Distributing Company, which in 2010 still covered twenty-six of South Carolina's forty-six counties.[127]

While prohibition had ended the Schafer's faced a challenge when, as part of a pro-temperance movement rooted in religious conservatism, Maxton, North Carolina, a county on the border of North and South Carolina, passed a local option law in 1949 to outlaw the sale of the beer. Other counties in the area followed suit, creating a "dry" community surrounding the still

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[125] P. Nicole King, *Sombreros and Motorcycles in a Newer South: The Politics of Aesthetics in South Carolina's Tourism Industry* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2012); Laura Koser, *Planned by Pedro: South of the Border, 1950-2001* (University of South Carolina, 2004).
[126] "The Schafer Company Traces its Roots to 1870." *The Dillon Herald Centennial Edition*. February 4, 2010. "Borderlines." *The Dillon Herald*, Dillon, S.C. December 18, 1964
[127] "The Schafer Company Traces its Roots to 1870." *The Dillon Herald Centennial Edition*. February 4, 2010. http://www.thesouthoftheborder.com/history/

growing Schafer Distributing Company. Alan Schafer responded by purchasing three acres of red clay on U.S. 301 at the border of North and South Carolina. He built an 18 x 36 foot building in order to sell beer to South Carolina residents and to North Carolina residents seeking alcohol outside of their newly dry towns. The place was called "South of the Border Beer Depot," referencing the building's strategic placement just south of the North Carolina border. A few years later, Schafer added a ten-seat grill and the business was renamed the "South of the Border Drive-In."[128] Soon the tourist business began to outstrip sales to locals buying beer. Schafer responded by expanding South of the Border and giving it a Mexican theme and the "border" referenced in the rest stop's name moved from the North/South Carolina marker to the border between Mexico and the United States.[129]

In the late 1950s tourism became such an important part of the South's economy that the economic impact of tourism surpassed that of agriculture in this period for several states.[130] Perfectly positioned as a halfway point between New England and Florida, Schafer rapidly expanded the offerings at the rest stop as roadside tourism continued to grow. While most entrepreneurs capitalizing on the post World War II rise in roadside culture adopted a traditional "American diner" style, Schafer opted for a more spectacle-based approach to luring tourists. Following a trend in 1950s roadside attractions, he lined every edge of the South of the Border buildings with bright neon lights. [Appendix 1] In 1951, he added a gift shop, and in 1954, he added twenty motel rooms. Schafer then created the company's mascot, "pedro,"[131] who would

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[128] "The Schafer Company Traces its Roots to 1870." *The Dillon Herald Centennial Edition*. February 4, 2010. http://www.thesouthoftheborder.com/history/

[129] Brooks Blevins et al., *Southern Journeys: Tourism, History, and Culture in the Modern South*, ed. Major Richard D. Starnes (Tuscaloosa: University Alabama Press, 2003), 7.

[130] Ibid.

[131] In nearly all of the South of the Border publications Pedro's name is not capitalized. However, I will be capitalizing the name except when quoting directly from a source.

serve as inviting tour guide for South of the Border's visitors. The erection of a four stories tall, grinning, sombrero wearing, Pedro solidified South of the Border's carnivalesque racial spectacle.

Origin Stories

There are two "origin stories" for South of the Border. In the first, Alan Schafer traveled to Mexico to build import connections for his beer distribution company. While in Mexico, Schafer met two young Mexican men who he recruited to work at South of the Border. Upon his return, Schafer successfully got the two men admitted to the United States, where they worked at South of the Border as bellboys for many years. While their actual names are not clear, staff and guests "started calling them Pedro and Pancho, and eventually just Pedro."[132]

This story offers a potentially plausible, if highly unlikely, explanation for the creation of the character of Pedro. By suggesting that it was Alan Schafer's shrewd recruitment that found the rest stop's mascot this story gives agency to Schafer and the white visitors who "made" Pedro. White workers and visitors, in this story, treated these very real men with the same understanding and care they would eventually give the cartoon version. White apathy stripped these two Mexican men of history, culture, individuality, and interiority, flattening them into "Pedro" and "Pancho" and eventually into one person. Pedro then became the catch all for white fantasies about Mexicans.

The second origin story comes from the pamphlet of Pedro's "Award Weening Billboards," published by South of the Border, which offers a different "heestory." According to this narrative, in 1950 Pedro got lost hitchhiking down the 301 highway on his way back to Mexico. Wandering aimlessly and nearly starved to death in Hamer, South Carolina, he

[132] "HISTORY « South Of The Border ~ America's Favorite Highway Oasis," accessed June 24, 2016, http://www.thesouthoftheborder.com/history/.

"scrounged some bread and cheese and went back to the road to catch a ride." When a "Hungry Yankee" drove by, he offered Pedro $5 for the sandwich. Pedro then "immediately decided that at $5 for a nickel's worth of cheese and a slice of bread, this was the place for him!" A hopeful entrepreneur, Pedro began by selling his "sanweech" for five dollars. When no one stopped he reduced it to one dollar and finally to fifty cents. As a result of this drop in prices, "Business Boomed! Pedro sent for "hees" brother, "pancho." They added another crate, and wrote two more signs, reading SANWEECH 10 cents. They were mobbed!" The story takes a tragic turn when, in the rush for sandwiches, "pancho was run over by a New York Cab Driver who had no insurance." As a result, Pedro made a "queek" decision that he should relocate his business to a safer location. However, in moving away from the highway, he discovered that "not so many Yankees pulled in to buy the Sanweech." To compensate for the loss of visibility, Pedro put up more and more signs, an explanation for the massive numbers of South of the Border billboards that clutter the highway today. After the signs were constructed, "pedro leev happily Ever.[133]"

The second origin story offers a more folktale-style account that was more transparently apocryphal. The choice to narrate the piece in a "Mexican" accent brings both comedy and the implication of authenticity to the story. The omnipresent narrator remains anonymous throughout the story; however, his broken English suggests he is Mexican, perhaps Pedro himself. The story of the "sanweech" casts Pedro both as a savvy trickster who has capitalized on Yankee ignorance, and a blundering fool unable to get himself to Mexico without getting lost. Additionally, by employing "Yankees" as the gullible consumers willing to pay such a large markup for a simple sandwich, the story reveals, with little subtlety, the regional allegiances of the rest stop. South of the Border was first and foremost an institution of the South which

[133] South of the Border, brochure, Pedro Presents South of the Border Award Weening Billboards (Orlando, Florida: LithoGraphics, Dillon, South Carolina, September, 2002.)

welcomed Yankee business but was regionally distinct. Note, for example, that the motorist who killed Pedro's brother was a driver from New York. Therefore, the death of Pancho both pokes fun at northern drivers while at the same time rendering Mexican life expendable. Pedro's only reaction to the death of his brother was to relocate his sandwich stand away from the highway. In the second story, Pedro is both beloved for his business acumen and at the same time mocked for getting lost.

In both of these stories Pedro is inserted into the logic of blackface minstrelsy. It was, as Eric Lott writes, both a "cross-racial desire that coupled a nearly insupportable fascination and a self-protective derision with respect for black people and their cultural practices."[134] While anti-black racism and subjugation were always at the center of blackface minstrelsy, Lott also suggests that love, fascination, and desire were central components of whites' engagement in this cultural practice. In the 1950s, Pedro and South of the Border were no different. Schafer's representation of Pedro was both a bumbling fool and a southern trickster. Schafer had captured many of the stereotypes made popular in the West and Southwest and sold them to South Carolinians with a southern twist. Serving "Confederate Chicken," dressed in a "Rebel Uniform," and openly mocking Yankees, Pedro had all of the brazen southern swagger and buffoonish ignorance that whites could want in a minstrel figure. Even as Schafer saddled his creation with the stereotypes of Mexican servility, Pedro seemingly elicited the genuine affinity of white southern patrons. In essence, the use of the Pedro character to evoke time and money from tourists, simultaneously provided exoticized entertainment and established the face and the space for a kind of "brownface" minstrelsy.

Brownface minstrelsy, I argue, was the application of blackface minstrelsy to Mexicans.

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[134] Eric Lott, *Love & Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class*, 20 edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 6.

However, in the process of translation the minstrel logic of blackface was destabilized. While southern blackface had a particular lineage in the history of slavery, brownface was disconnected from those legacies. Brownface, as manifest in Pedro, was the fusion of hillbilly imagery and Mexican stereotypes to create a distinctly southern performance of Mexicanness.

Despite the eventual erasure of the two Mexican men at the heart of the first story, they played a critical role in reinforcing South of the Border mythology. If the story was true, "authentic" Mexicans were at the center of the construction of South of the Border. It lent legitimacy to the minstrel caricature of Pedro by suggesting at its core, this figure was derivative of "real" Mexicans. Just as minstrelsy drew pieces of its original content from "authentic" African American practices like the Cakewalk, South of the Border's symbols were drawn from "real" Mexican cultural practices. Pedro wore a sombrero and a serape, he sold souvenirs that closely resembled the Mexican pottery and crafts sold at the actual Mexican border, and he spoke a form of Spanglish. However, like minstrelsy, the boundaries of the real, authentic, and fake were constantly blurred. Cultural practices that may have had their roots in black or Mexican cultures were transformed through white appropriation. While Schafer constantly touted the authentic nature of South of the Border's products, like minstrelsy, it was a cultural practice that was intentionally transparent. While tourists were assaulted with bold symbols of Mexico it was not supposed to simulate Mexico itself. [Appendix 2] Rather, it was supposed to be a place where whites could engage in racial play far from actual racial "others." In the hands of Schafer all of these brownface minstrel symbols were transformed into easily commodified minstrel images that both affirmed whites deeply held beliefs about racial others and constructed a beloved figure through which white southerners could negotiate their regional pride. For northerners South of the Border could serve as both a place to purchase exotic Mexican and

southern culture.

Schafer, the consummate businessman, was constantly pivoting between appealing to both northern and southern audiences. The story of the "sanweech," for example, bears a striking resemblance to a minstrel song, "Arkansas Traveler," written in 1840 by Colonel Sanford Faulkner. In the tune a lost traveler comes upon an Arkansas "squatter" with whom he struggles to communicate who seems either profoundly ignorant or willfully misleading. For example the traveler asks: "Sir! Will you tell me where this road goes to?" and the squatter responds "It's never gone any whar since I lived here; It's always thar when I git up in the mornin'." Many saw this story as the origin of the southern "hillbilly" stereotype. However in this type of minstrel humor the squatter retains a great deal of power. What superficially looks like ignorance can also be read as the squatter mocking and teasing the confused traveller.

In Pedro's origin story Schafer gives the Arkansas Traveler story a Mexican accent. The traveling strangers are New York tourists who may feel superior to South Carolinians and Mexicans, but are ultimately made to look stupid when Pedro overcharges for the sandwich. The story, depending on its audience, was about a bumbling southern squatter unable to understand the traveler's questions, or alternatively, a southern trickster reveling in his mockery of the traveler. In the story of the "sanweech" Pedro served a similar function. For northerners, Pedro bore a striking resemblance to the hillbillies they had seen in TV and cartoons. He spoke a broken combination of "Mexi-speak" and a southern accent and stumbled through learning the most basic of activities. For southerners, Pedro openly mocked spendthrift Yankees willing to overpay for a simple sandwich.[135]

[135] "The Traveler and the Squatter in Dialog," accessed June 24, 2016, http://www.historicarkansas.org/Exhibits/Arkansas-Traveler/the-traveler-and-the-squatter-in-

What links Pedro's two origin stories is that they offered Schafer and white employees at South of the Border a convenient answer to the question often asked by visitors: "where is the Mexican that runs this place?" While certainly no visitor believed that a small mustachioed Pedro was residing on the grounds of South of the Border, both of these stories place "real" Mexicans at the origin of South of the Border. That visitors would ask so regularly to meet the Mexican in charge suggests that they thought there was something truly authentic about South of the Border, that they were having a "real" experience of Mexican culture. Pedro, therefore, legitimized and authenticated Alan Schafer's fantastical construction of Mexico at South of the Border.

The constellation of racist ideologies that formed Pedro were operating elsewhere in the United States. Nationally, several damaging archetypes of Latinos had emerged. These images were particularly prevalent in the west and southwest where large numbers of Mexican and Mexican-Americans lived. One of these, the "male buffoon," helped tame white fears of another male archetype, the "bandido." One of the major characteristics of the buffoon was his "simplemindedness, his failure to master standard English, [and] his childish regression into emotionality."[136]

His broken English was accented with Southern speech patterns. His simple-mindedness was often juxtaposed against the even more foolish Yankees. He expressed his excitement in a liberal deployment of all-caps writing and his perpetually wide grin, which evoked the wide-lipped, ear-to-ear smile of most blackface minstrelsy. The actual origin story, a Jewish

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dialog; "Arkansas Traveler: Encyclopedia of Arkansas," accessed June 24, 2016, http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=505.

[136] Charles Ramírez Berg. "Stereotyping in Films in General and of the Hispanic in Particular." Clara E. Rodriguez, *Latin Looks: Images Of Latinas And Latinos In The U.s. Media* (Boulder, Colo: Westview Press, 1997).

entrepreneur capitalizing on the restrictions on alcohol sales in the South, could not satisfy the fantasies of white travelers eager to imagine themselves in a Mexican world of their own creation. Pedro was never a real person in the experience of visitors; rather he was the combination of symbols that served as shorthand for a complex network of ideas about Mexicanness.

Schafer's Judaism also complicates the racial implications of Pedro's construction. Schafer descended from several generations of Jewish Dillonites. Abraham Schafer, Alan Schafer's grandfather, was one of the earliest Jews to move to Dillon in the nineteenth century. The Jewish populations in Dillon and neighboring counties always remained very small and by the 1930s the small town of Dillon reached its peak population: eighty-four Jews.[137]

While Jews all over the US struggled to make a space for themselves in the racial order, in the Jim Crow South, Jews "conformed to prevailing racial mores" much more than their Jewish counterparts elsewhere. However, while Jews may have coveted the benefits of whiteness by adhering strictly to the Southern racial order, doing so did little to improve their social standing during the early twentieth century. Rather than gaining access to whiteness, Jews were frequently alienated by white southerners who felt that "by casting Jews out of the pale of whiteness…they were reinforcing, purifying, and removing the troubling ambiguity from their own racial identities." For example, in the build-up to his 1915 trial Leo Frank, despite his deep familial ties in the South, was portrayed as a Yankee Jewish carpetbagger eager to exploit

[137] "ISJL - South Carolina Dillon Encyclopedia," *Institute of Southern Jewish Life*, accessed June 24, 2016, http://www.isjl.org/south-carolina-dillon-encyclopedia.html.

southerners. Schafer's open embrace of sex and booze likely made him a target of similar accusations of being an "exploitative" Jew willing to eschew southern morality for profit.[138]

While Dillon's gentiles, according to Alan Schafer's half-brother Joseph, had a "good friendly relationship" with the Jewish community, that peace seemed to be easily compromised. In 1967 the Ku Klux Klan held a rally on the land neighboring Joseph's petroleum company. While the rally did not directly target Joseph, fearing that he may be a victim of Klan violence he hid inside of his office during the rally. According to Joseph those at the rally were "rednecks, bitter, arrogant, [and] racist." Alan Schafer certainly respected white southern supremacy by following Jim Crow regulations. However, given that thirty eight percent of North Carolina resorts openly discriminated against Jewish patrons, the fact that he welcomed his Jewish peers also made him vulnerable to white supremacist attacks.[139]

In his 1982 trial for voter fraud Schafer reflected on his participation in the Civil Rights Movement. A long time "political kingpin" in Dillon County, Schafer was the Democratic Party chairman for more than sixteen years. Schafer was accused of rigging the June 1980 Democratic primary by purchasing absentee votes. In 1982 he was charged with sixteen counts of conspiracy and mail fraud. He was sentenced to three and a half years but was released only one year into his sentence. South Carolina civil rights activist Gloria Blackwell testified on Schafer's behalf during his trial. According to Blackwell, when she was working to establish an NAACP chapter

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[138] Jeffrey Melnick, *Black-Jewish Relations on Trial: Leo Frank and Jim Conley in the New South* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2000), 34–41; Eric L. Goldstein, *The Price of Whiteness: Jews, Race, and American Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 150.

[139] In 1955, the president of the North Carolina B'nai B'rith Association, Robert Liveryman, wrote a letter to Governor Hodges cataloguing the indignities faced by Jews at North Carolina resorts. Guests, Liveryman wrote, were denied accommodations despite previous reservations. A survey conducted by the B'nai B'rith Association found that thirty-eight percent of all North Carolina resorts openly discriminated against Jewish patrons. Blevins et al., *Southern Journeys*, 148; Koser, *Planned by Pedro*, 33.

in Little Rock, South Carolina, Alan Schafer's "was the first membership that [she] got." She went on to say: "I can speak for the Black citizens in Little Rock and Dillon County, and we have always seen him as, first a friend, for things that had to do with civil rights, education, health, welfare, any of those efforts."[140] Blackwell seems to be exceptional in her support for Schafer as a civil rights advocate, and there is no evidence of any other civil rights workers coming to his aid during his trial.[141]

As a result of his involvement with civil rights activity the Ku Klux Klan organized a boycott of South of the Border. Schafer wrote, "Boycotts aginst [sic] my beer company were organized. Crosses were burned in front of my home. Groups of Klansmen began following my beer trucks around, urging white retailers not to buy beer from that 'nigger lover' Schafer."[142] The KKK escalated from boycotts to more direct confrontations, holding rallies directed at Schafer and at one point driving a Kalvacade through South of the Border "as a warning." There were several reasons for the KKK to target Schafer: he was Jewish, he helped black people register to vote, and he promoted drinking and sexual excess in a pro-temperance and religiously conservative region. Despite these intimidation tactics, Schafer continued to work with "the blacks" by "getting them registered and holding church meetings to help them get around all the pressure that they ran into at the polls."[143]

Citing his commitment to civil rights Schafer claimed South of the Border as an oasis of racial progressivism in a desert of white southern intolerance. He claimed that South of the

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[140] Koser, *Planned by Pedro*, 33, 36–37.
[141] "The Schafer Company Traces its Roots to 1870." *The Dillon Herald Centennial Edition*. February 4, 2010. Truluck, Jackl. "Grand Jury Indicts Alan Schafer," *The State*. June 30, 1981. "Schafer Free 1 Year Later," *The Sumter Daily Item*. December 14, 1982
[142] "Alan Schafer Tells His Side of the Story." *The State*. May 2, 1982.
[143] Koser, *Planned by Pedro*, 16–17. "The Schafer Company Traces its Roots to 1870." *The Dillon Herald Centennial Edition*. February 4, 2010. "Alan Schafer Tells His Side of the Story." *The State*. May 2, 1982.

Border was 'the first decent restaurant motel accommodations between Washington and Miami on U.S. 301 where Blacks were accepted without question." While Schafer's statement erased the black-owned businesses that black tourists frequented, there is also little evidence that South of the Border was in fact integrated in any meaningful way. Historian Laura Koser argues that Schafer, like many other business owners who were vying for the growing power of black consumers, "reserved a 'special' section for African American customers separate from those used by white patrons." How this "special section" differed from Jim Crow segregation in any other establishment is unclear. It does help explain why blacks are entirely absent from the photographic archive of South of the Border. The only exception to this absence are those images of the restaurant's black kitchen workers. [Appendix 3-4][144]

Alan Schafer, therefore, could both speak eloquently about his embattled racial status and fear of the KKK in Dillon, South Carolina, while also upholding the white supremacist order under which this kind of terrorism could flourish. At South of the Border Schafer followed in the legacy of many southern Jews who hoped that eschewing, rather than confronting questions of race and ethnicity would protect them from Jim Crow violence. Moreover, just as whites in the early twentieth-century relished the exclusion of Jews from their ranks as a way to edify their own sense of whiteness, Schafer's hyper-racialized presentation of Pedro and Mexicans more broadly acted as a buffer against his own ethnic difference. Schafer's difference, perhaps seemed muted against the carnivalesaque Mexicans of his own creation.

Growing South of the Border

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[144] Andrew Hurley, *Diners, Bowling Alleys, And Trailer Parks: Chasing The American Dream In The Postwar Consumer Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 85; Koser, *Planned by Pedro*, 34. Koser, 34. Carolina Studios Photographic Collection, "South of the Border," South Caroliniana Library, Manuscripts. Postcard Collections from Ace-Hi Advertising, Dexter Press, Hannau-Robinson Color Production. South Caroliniana Library, Manuscripts.

By the early 1950s Schafer had constructed the major pillars of South of the Border, the Mexican theme and its mascot Pedro. In 1957, when the Eisenhower administration announced the creation of the U.S. Interstate Highway system, Schafer ensured that it intersected with South of the Border. The revelation that I-95 would intersect with U.S. 301 in Dillon, South Carolina, going straight through South of the Border, was surprising to many becuase the original plans placed the exit a few miles away in North Carolina.[145] Many chalked this good fortune up to Alan Schafer's reputation for shady political dealings.

While the new super highway caused several businesses similar to South of the Border on 301 to shut down, business boomed at South of the Border. After the new I-95 route was announced, Schafer began to buy up "properties adjacent, around and near South of the Border" including "300 acres in North Carolina." As South of the Border grew and changed with I-95, Schafer hired the national advertising firm Ace-Hi Advertising to expand the novelty billboards. The new series of billboards could be seen from Norfolk, Virginia to North of Fayetteville, Florida and paid off handsomely. Schafer estimated that as many as "100 cars per day" were coming to South of the Border as a result of the billboards.[146]

This new advertising campaign made clear that South of the Border was designed to be a respite for tourists. South of the Border's postcards revealed that just a stone's throw from the highway, visitors could enjoy perfectly manicured golf courses, decadent pools lined with South Carolina's signature Palmetto trees, and indulge in Mexican food. Each of the images included happy white people partaking in "ze best for pedro's guest!" One postcard features several

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[145] Dyer, Jerry, Holly Gatling. "Political Kingpin is Self-Made Multimillionaire." *The State*. June 30, 1981

[146] Koser, *Planned by Pedro*, 73–74. "The Schafer Company Traces its Roots to 1870." *The Dillon Herald Centennial Edition*. February 4, 2010. "Borderlines." *The Dillon Herald*. August 21, 1964.

bikini-clad women draped around a turquoise pool with the several-stories-tall sombrero looming over. [Appendix 5] Towering over the American flag in the corner of the photo, the panoptic sombrero centers the exoticness of the locale. The back of a postcard advertising South of the Border's golf course read: "pedro got all kinds year 'roun' sports for ever'bodee…golf, swimming, tennis, shuffle-board, ping-pong, honeymooning. Y'all come!" This script reveals quite a bit about the marketing of South of the Border. What was supposed to be Pedro's "Mexi-speak" accent also slipped into a southern accent at the invitation of "Y'all come!" The slippage, and at times total overlap, of "Mexi-speak" and a southern accent makes clear that Pedro, for all his ethnic failings, was southern.

Creating Pedro's World

In the early twentieth century travel to Mexican border towns by American tourists exploded. Tourism promoters in the Southwest United States, Dennis Merrill writes, had already begun to exploit the "Anglo public's deep but problematic fascination with Spanish, Mexican, and indigenous imagery." Emphasizing the exotic and underdeveloped (and proximity to indigineiety) promoters helped perpetuate stereotypes of Mexico as a "land of male depravity, female vulnerability, and racial and civilizational backwardness." This image bore striking resemblance to narratives about the rural south, untouched by industry or civilization. In 1946 nearly 245,000 US tourists were heading to Mexico, and by 1953 Mexico was the most common travel locale for US tourists,generating about $300 million. Mexico, however, was not the only Latin American country shaping the image of Latinos in the minds of southerners, Cuba and later Puerto Rico also vied for US tourist dollars. Eager to "escape the confining sexual mores of Cold

War domesticity" tourists saw Cuba as a place where they could indulge in cheap sex, casinos, and alcohol.[147]

Tourism in Mexico and Latin America shaped the ways US citizens viewed descendants of those nations. Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Mexico were all locations where tourists sought sexual excess, alcohol consumption, and gambling. Freed of restrictive sexual mores tourists saw Latin America as a place where they could consume whatever they desired.

American tourists could go to Mexico and engage in taboo sexual practices while at the same time using Mexican's assumed sexual deviance to define themselves as chaste and restrained. The same was true at South of the Border. Whites from the north and south could revel in Pedro's brownface minstrelsy and feel racially superior. Moreover, northerners could marvel at both the racial and regional differences. Just like Latin America, the South appeared to be a backward and uncivilized region where they could enjoy playing out their fantasies. Schafer fostered an environment where several, at times conflicting constituencies, could embrace leisure while affirming their sense of superiority to an "other."

While many southern tourist sites would draw travelers interested in the history and culture of the South, South of the Border more closely mimicked the torrid expectations of tourists to Mexico and Latin America. In addition to the standard list of country club-style activities, the postcard also provocatively offers "honeymooning" as an activity for visitors. Despite being situated in a religiously conservative and pro-temperance region, South of the Border created a space where visitors could push against restrictive moral codes. Dillon, South Carolina had a long history as a place where couples could evade North Carolina's relatively stringent marriage licensing and age requirements. South of the Border, therefore, took

[147] Dennis Merrill, *Negotiating Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Twentieth-Century Latin America* (Univ of North Carolina Press, 2009), 3, 30–39, 41–66, 101, 106–107, 112.

advantage of the region's association with Dillon as a place where sexual mores could be easily escaped. Originally a place for purchasing beer outside of the control of local government, South of the Border became a place where taboo and sexual excess were welcome.[148]

Beginning in 1958, the Mexico Shop included an adult section that featured the sign "Men Only—Ladies Keep Out." Eventually this section would grow into "Pedro's Dirty Old Man Shop." This adult-only section, separated from the rest of the Mexico Shop by a beaded curtain, featured racy magazines, pin-ups, and cigars. Schafer capitalized on the growing popularity of the "no-tell" motel roadside culture in music and movies. These relatively common male-only spaces were incorporated into the racial milieu of South of the Border with the addition of Pedro and the racialized moniker "dirty." Schafer, clearly comfortable with the association between sex and South of the Border, featured letters in his weekly newspaper column from people like Mr. and Mrs. "R.H.K., Jr." who wrote in March 1965 that the "the bed (round!) was out of this world." If their night at South of the Border resulted in a boy, they wrote, "I am sure his name will be Pedro." While Schafer advertised South of the Border as a family-friendly get away, he also embraced the more illicit associations tourists had both with Mexico and roadside culture. [149]

Consuming Racial Difference

A key part of the rich, exotic world Schafer had constructed was the food served at South of the Border. This foreign food gave patrons the opportunity to quite literally consume racial difference. In the 1950s and 1960s there was virtually no presence of Mexican food in the

[148] Koser, *Planned by Pedro*, 66–67. For more on pro-temperance conservative protest against South of the Border: Koser, 14.
[149] "Borderlines," *Dillon Herald,* March 25, 1965, pg 5.

Southeast and especially so in South Carolina.[150] Although Mexican food and Tex-Mex had its origins in nineteenth century Texas, it took nearly half a century for this food to make it to the Southeast. Mexican foods were first made available in the non-Southwestern United States after 1911 when Gebhardt's Mexican Foods, a San Antonio company founded by German immigrant William Gebhardt, began producing "canned Mexican foods like chili con carne and tamales." In 1947 when Pace Picante Company began to sell the first commercially sold picante sauce, Mexican food had another revival. Mexican restaurants, however, offered a new environment within which to consume. Draped in ethnic imagery the experience of eating exotic food could be amplified by exotic surroundings.[151]

In 1951, Schafer added "The Fiesta Room," a cafeteria-style diner with the ceiling completely covered in sombreros, where travelers could eat Mexican-style food. Schafer, offering little more evidence than Pedro's endorsement, tried to emphasize the special "authenticity" of his establishment's Mexican food. Locals seemed to believe him. For example, in February 1965 the Dillon High School International Relations Club went to South of the Border to "parktake of Mexican food and 'culture.'" Writing to Pedro after their visit they thanked him for his "help een study(ing) Latin countries."[152]

Alan Schafer was not the only entrepreneur capitalizing on white Southern gastronomic fantasies of Mexico. By the late 1960s, Mexican food chains were beginning to move east. These restaurants offer an important counterpoint to South of the Border and when studied in contrast reveal how white southerns consumed and transformed images of Mexicanness. Adelaida Cuellar

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[150] There has been great work on the Mississippi Tamales by the Southern Foodways Alliance which is a noted exception to this point.
[151] Daniel D. Arreola, *Tejano South Texas: A Mexican American Cultural Province*, 1 edition (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002); Koser, *Planned by Pedro*, 49.
[152] Koser, *Planned by Pedro*, 48–52. "Borderlines," *The Dillon Herald*. February 26,1965.

created El Chico, a Mexican restaurant chain in the 1890s when she began selling her handmade tamales in Dallas, Texas. She opened a neighborhood restaurant in 1928 which her sons, the Cuellar brothers, expanded in the 1950s to form the El Chico Tex-Mex restaurant chain. In the late 1950s the Cuellar brothers decided to expand their chain restaurants to the Southeast and by 1960 El Chico had several restaurants in Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee.[153] Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, El Chico continued its march east, and by 1972 El Chico had established restaurants in Georgia. El Chico was far from exceptional. Other Mexican chains like Rosarita, Zantigo, and Tia Maria were expanding into the Southeast and deploying the same racial imagery.[154]

Like South of the Border, El Chico traded in popular images of Mexicans. For example El Chico's logo and the image of Pedro are nearly identical. [Appendix 6-9] The signature El Chico logo wears a sombrero and is flanked by cacti and maiz, with "Made in Texas" written on a serape. Both Pedro and the El Chico Logo shared wide, inviting grins, sombreros and mustaches. In other promotional materials El Chico also employed the sleeping Mexican image where a large sombrero covered the face of an anonymous Mexican man. That same image has been one of South of the Border's most enduring logos and remains an important image on the front page of their website to this day.[155]

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[153] El Chico Annual Report 1960. El Chico Restaurant Records (Collection #1246), Box 1 Folder 5, Smithsonian Collection.
[154] El Chico Annual Report 1972. Smithsonian Collection. El Chico Restaurant Records (Collection #1246). Box 1 Folder 5
[155] Melnick, *Black-Jewish Relations on Trial*, 34–41; Goldstein, *The Price of Whiteness*, 150. El Chico Restaurant Records (Collection #1246). Box 1 Folder 12. Smithsonian Collection. [Appendix 9] El Chico Logo. Smithsonian Collection. El Chico Restaurant Records (Collection #1246). Box 1 Folder 5 [Appendix 10] Image from El Chico Menu. Smithsonian Collection. El Chico Restaurant Records (Collection #1246). Box 2 Folder 2: El Chico Menus and Placemats 1973 and Undated [Appendix 11] www.thesouthoftheborder.com. [Appendix 12]

While Alan Schafer, a southern Jewish man, and the Cuellar family, a first generation Mexican-American family from Texas, had very different relationships to Mexicanness, they both were able to use caricatured images of Mexico to deflect from their own ethnic difference. While the Cuellar family seemingly had much more at stake in the representations of Mexicans, they traded in white fascination with the racial "other." However, like Schafer, the overly cartoonish representations of Mexicans could also offer the Cuellar's a type of protection. In contrast to this mustachioed, sombrero-wearing figure, the Cuellar brothers were clean-shaven, light-skinned, and always immaculately dressed. They posed themselves as "Mama's Boys" as they were widely known (a reference to their mother Adelaiada's foundational role in creating El Chico). In a similarly cartoonish performance of American white masculinity, they bore guns and wore wide brimmed cowboy hats, and hunted. [Appendix 10] Even as they helped solidify ideas about difference and "Mexicanness," the Cuellars constructed their family as deeply American. The Cuellars, like Schafer, could hardly be seen as racially different when standing next to the El Chico logo.[156]

Becoming Pedro[157]

When consuming racial difference through food wasn't enough, South of the Border offered visitors another option—embodying Mexicanness. As part of the fantasy, white visitors were invited to "become" Pedro by wearing "traditional" Mexican costumes while at South of the Border to match their exotic new setting. Like the white workers serving them, visitors at South of the Border donned Mexican costumes as they posed for photos to memorialize their trip. Women wore fifties-style skirts with flowery embroidering that signaled their Mexicanness.

[156] Image of the Cuellar Family. El Chico Restaurant Records (Collection #1246). Box 2 Folder 7. Smithsonian Collection.
[157] Carolina Studios Photographic Collection, "South of the Border," South Caroliniana Library, Manuscripts.

Men wore ponchos and serapes and the omnipresent sombrero. However, despite these additions, their outfits maintained the same structure as popular styles of the era. Women's skirts fell to the knee from a tapered waist into a voluminous skirt. Men wore khakis and short-sleeved button-ups. [Appendix 11] While they were marked with symbols of racial difference they were intentionally transparent.

At South of the Border white tourists and local South Carolinians could enjoy the minstrel pleasures of dressing across racial lines. However, like cork paint which revealed white skin at its edges, these racial signifiers were designed to be seen through. Children were carefully posed next to burros in images framed by lush palmetto trees. [Appendix 12] These images also bore a striking resemblance to images of "chiefing." In the 1940s Cherokee men would stand by teepees near souvenir shops wearing elaborate headdresses and allow tourists to take photos with them. The headdresses donned by these "chiefs," were actually those of Plains Indians. However, they were a tourist attraction and had to conform to tourist ideas about indigineity. The photos ended up being a lucrative option for a population who was already living on the economic margins in North Carolina. The success of "Chiefing" though demonstrates the eagerness with which white tourists sought out racial difference in their vacations. The same search for the exotic that moved tourists to South of the Border fueled the impulse to take a photo with a "Chief."[158]

In a one photograph at South of the Border, a white family poses the men in sombreros, seated on the ground with their heads bowed so they appeared to be sleeping. [Appendix 13] The racial play was not just sartorial. Families also posed so that men sat on the ground mimicking Pedro's constantly sleeping stance. Just as Pedro's "origin stories" evoked the legacy of

[158] Blevins et al., *Southern Journeys*, 145–146.

minstrelsy, white patron's decision to dress up and pose as Mexican was a fully embodied form of a new type of minstrelsy.

This final image of a family directly personifying a stereotype of Mexicans as lazy and drunk demonstrates the minstrel elements of the visitors' performance. Whites dressed up as "Mexican" coupled with the racist accents they employed in their writings about South of the Border, while not an exact replica of blackface minstrelsy, certainly draws on its performative legacy. As much as they acted "Mexican," their performance was insulated by their whiteness—they could try on the "bad" practices of Mexicanness without them being permanently imprinted on their character. Whites could eat and drink in excess, they could enjoy leisure without guilt, and they could stay in rooms with circular beds whose uses were hardly secret. These transgressions were made possible by the fantastical world Schafer created and visitors expanded.[159]

Schafer's real genius, beyond expanding the bounds of who could be a minstrel character in the South, was the expansion of the minstrel pleasures from a performer/audience dichotomy. This more immersive experience was made possible by the seemingly enormous gulf between U.S. and Mexican culture. At South of the Border whites could move through a minstrel landscape where they could joke with other whites using "Mexi-speak," eat Mexican food, and purchase products reminiscent of Mexican crafts. South of the Border, therefore, moved the minstrel performance from the stage to the audience, creating a more participatory form of minstrelsy. However, in order for this minstrel world to stay intact, Schafer had to ensure there were few interruptions of visitor's fantasies.

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[159] For more on minstrelsy see: Grace Elizabeth Hale, *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940* (Vintage, 1999); Lott, *Love & Theft*.

The few images of black workers revealed the critical role they, or rather their erasure, played in the maintenance of the racial fantasies at South of the Border. For example, a photo of the entire staff of South of the Border featured a segregated black and white staff. The segregation is made even more stark because of the two groups differing uniforms. White staff workers are dressed in "traditional" Mexican garb. The men don sombreros and ponchos while the women wear flowing white skirts adorned with colorful flowers. In contrast, black workers wear simple kitchen uniforms that were common in most American diners. [Appendix 2-3] There were, of course, economic consequences to this separation, black workers were employed in lower wage positions in the kitchen while whites could work as waiters. Additionally, the sharp racial lines drawn around certain types of work seemed to counter Schafer's claim about South of the Border's racial progressivism. Additionally, these images shows two things: first, black employees worked those jobs that kept them separate from white patrons, and, second, white workers could engage in racial play and perform Mexican identity in a way that was not available to black workers. Whiteness could be mutable in racial play so long as blackness remained firmly anchored in Jim Crow segregation. Whites could adorn themselves in all the minstrel trappings of "Mexicanness" because blacks were dressed in service uniforms and hidden away so as not to interrupt the fantasy world Schafer had constructed.

If the 1950s represented a period where the exoticism of South of the Border flourished, the 1960s brought a markedly regional sensibility to the rest stop. The introduction of Schafer's weekly column, "Borderlines," and the construction of Confederateland both represented turning points for South of the Border. The creation of Borderlines helped solidify Pedro as both perpetually foreign and increasingly familiar and southern. Schafer, always attempting to create a larger and more appealing spectacle, expanded those elements of South of the Border that

appealed most broadly. Pedro became even more foreign and omnipresent and the southern elements of the rest stop took their ultimate form in Confederateland. This way the rest stop appealed to white southerners' desires for southern pride as they felt their region coming under increased national scrutiny, and to northerners who, in addition to enjoying Pedro, could enjoy a southern spectacle that affirmed some of their deeply held beliefs about the region. Southerners, Confederateland revealed were as racist, backward, and trapped in the Civil War era, as they had believed.

Borderlines and the Creation of "Mexi-Speak"

Starting in August of 1961, South of the Border began running a weekly column called "Borderlines" featured in the local newspaper *The Dillon Herald*. It included updates on prominent visitors to South of the Border, excited welcomes to new hires, and best wishes for departing employees. The first edition of the South of the Border column read:

> "Thees South of the Border, she grow an' grow &grow…So beeg pedro hisself have hard time keep opp weeth everytheeng goin' on…So theenk maybe have regular place een papaire write down all about South of the Bordaire. Thees way pedro & all hees frans also keep opp, maybe out see for self."[160]

While the Borderlines column eventually became a bit more readable, its thickly accented prose remained a consistent feature of the publication.

One of the recurring elements in South of the Border promotional materials was Pedro's "accent." Pedro was the perpetual narrator of the South of the Border materials and his a broken English accent to match his swarthy, mustachioed embodiment. When the Borderlines column celebrated its 143rd week of publication the announcement read: "Pedro happee to announce, thees ees bees WAN HUNDRED FORTEE THIRD anniversary…been printing pedro's Bordaire

[160] "Borderlines." *The Dillon Herald*, August 16, 1961.

Lines for 143 weeks…You like, no?"[161] This broken dialect was mimicked in all of South of the Border's advertisements and in the weekly Borderlines. Adding to this, Pedro's name was never capitalized in these materials, quite literally signaling how whites saw him as less than human.

When reporting on one of the workers, Senora [sic] Rosali Phillips, who was moving with her family to a neighboring town, the Borderlines offered their best wishes, "Hope y'all lak yo' new home, Rosie."[162] The use of "y'all" in this, and other materials is striking. Pedro, as would become more apparent in the Confederateland era of South of the Border, was a Southerner. In his origin story, he tricked unwitting Yankees. In the menus at South of the Border, he offered food that was "Confederate Cooking!! (Yankee Style)." And in his newspaper columns he used Southern phraseology. In one advertisement, South of the Border promoted "Pedro's SPESHUL THEES WEEK: CONFEDERATE FRIED CHICKEN complete with all the trimmins' and REBEL FLAG." Here we get another combination of Southern accent, "the trimmins'" and "Mexi-Speak." By fusing the regional nationalism of the South with the Mexican theme, South of the Border could serve multiple constituencies. At times there was no difference between Pedro's "Mexi-speak" and a Southern drawl. The decision to meld these two accents suggests that Pedro, for all his racial shortcomings was also southern. He was a symbol that white southerners could feel safe embracing. Pedro didn't challenge their racial ideologies, he (mostly) spoke like them, and embraced the "rebel flag" like them. Pedro, therefore, occupied a racially liminal space where he was at once embraced by whites for his southernness and at the same time mocked for his laziness and drunkenness. Similar to Eric Lott's configuration of

[161] "Borderlines." *The Dillon Herald*, May 8, 1964.
[162] "Borderlines." *The Dillon Herald*, May 8, 1964.

blackface minstrelsy as being comprised of both love and theft, Pedro represented both southern pride and disgust at racial difference.[163]

In the 1960s the earlier implicit recognition of Pedro as Southern became explicit. With the creation of Confederateland, Pedro transformed from a Mexican minstrel figure who could sell chicken and said "y'all" to a neo-confederate who donned a "rebel uniform" and protected South of the Border from Yankees. For Schafer and South of the Border's local patrons, Pedro could serve as a bulwark against a rapidly changing racial order. Whites grasped for new definitions of race as the underpinnings of the Jim Crow system began to crumble under the pressure of the black freedom movement. Ethnically Mexican but racially nonblack, Mexicans occupied a vulnerable position in this changing system. Mexicans were still in a racially liminal place in the South during this period and the application of minstrel logic did not seem to dislodge their racial classification. While Pedro started as an exotic oddity to catch attention of passing drivers, in the face of the Civil Rights Movement he became the new "darkie." Anyone watching TV or reading national newspapers could see that, despite white southerner's claims, black southerners were not happy in the Jim Crow system. Pedro, however, could serve as what Grace Hale has termed a "spokesservant." Drawing from "iconography of romanticized images of African Americans at work" and "literary depictions of the happy slave," the "spokesservant" offered "subservience in a trade-marked form that spoke to white consumers."[164] Pedro, therefore, melded two related images, the "hard working immigrant" and the "happy slave."

It was the application of this minstrel logic to Mexicans that further linked Pedro to white Southerners as united against the gains of the Civil Rights Movement that were calling southern

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[163] "Borderlines." *The Dillon Herald*, August 14, 1964. South of the Border, Advertisement, *The Dillon Herald*, October 9, 1952.
[164] Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 1999, 164–165.

regional identity into question. If black southerners were no longer going to be "loyal" to the South and southern ways of living, perhaps Mexicans would be.

Borderlines also included a "seeck leest" and a section for "Love Letters" to Pedro where visitors parroted back Pedro's botched accent. Tourists who had visited South of the Border would write to Borderlines' "LOVE LETTERS to pedro" section to reflect on what a good time they had, and to practice their Pedro accents. "Senor y Senora [sic] RB," wrote to Pedro after they had visited South of the Border when traveling from Charlottesville, Virginia to Florida in order to reach their ultimate destination, Rancagua, Chile. The letter was split into two parts, one in English and the other in "Pedro speak." They begin by complementing Pedro on the "pretty original thing [he has] going" at South of the Border and conclude with their imitation of Pedro, "pedro theenk eet prettee Chillee here, too, amigo!"[165] Another letter read: "pedro, Mi Amigo: Averytheeng, she more Hokey-Dokey. She muy Bueno… from Senor y Senora WRH and Family."[166] WRH and Family's letter contained many of the consistent themes, a combination of English, Spanish, and a "Mexi-Speak" version of English.

Importantly, the visitors writing to the "Love Letters" section make singular mention of Pedro in their letters. They did not, for example, write letters thanking founder Alan Schafer or any of the staff working at South of the Border. Instead of writing to, or about, the very real people they met at South of the Border, they choose to write to a fictional construction of Alan Schafer and their collective imagination. With the Borderlines column and the letters these visitors wrote, whites didn't have to be in the physical space of South of the Border to engage in the minstrel pleasures of both taking on and eschewing the race of another[167]

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[165] "Borderlines," *The Dillon Herald*, February 5, 1965.
[166] "Borderlines," *The Dillon Herald*, June 27, 1962.
[167] "Borderlines," *The Dillon Herald*, August 24, 1964.

Historian Grace Hale has written about the importance of minstrelsy in shaping the Jim Crow culture of segregation in the post-Reconstruction era. Minstrelsy, she has argued, "separated black identities from African American bodies, making representations of blackness a commodity in the North even as black bodies remained a commodity in the South."[168] In a similar move, South of the Border used Pedro and other symbols of Mexico to create a fake and easily commodified image of Mexicanness. Just like the pottery and "Mexican" wares that tourists purchased at South of the Border, it was only the veneer that revealed any link to Mexico. Additionally, the patterns on the pottery bore only a passing resemblance to the folk art produced in Mexico. However, visitors' desire to consume these exotic wares allowed them to see past what was so obviously an illusion.

White travelers could, for little money, consume Pedro, and Mexicanness more broadly, through their experience at South of the Border. Like all racialized consumption in the region, the symbols El Chico and South of the Border used had their antecedents in minstrel figures like Aunt Jemima. Just like the proliferation of the Aunt Jemima rag doll allowed a democratization of minstrel consumption, visitors at South of the Border could purchase a plethora of trinkets featuring Pedro. Pedro dolls, plates, shot glasses, and sombreros were all for sale at one of the several gift shops at South of the Border. And just like their minstrel forebearers, these trinkets enabled whites from across the class spectrum to purchase a piece of racial superiority. The dress, the food, and, perhaps most importantly, the kitsch wares sold in the South of the Border stores became exotic trinkets for whites to buy a piece of Mexicanness. These purchases

[168] Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 1999, 153.

empowered whites to occupy the category of Mexican as they dressed up and deployed a thick accent, all with Pedro's assumed blessing. [169]

Confederateland

Opened in August of 1961, Confederateland was a Confederate theme park constructed on the South of the Border compound. [Appendix 14] Complete with a Confederate museum in "Fort Pedro" and a train for kids to ride, the attraction brought Schafer's commitment to kitsch to the centennial memorial. Despite a marked departure from the Mexican theme of South of the Border, Pedro remained an integral part of Confederateland. Schafer's newest attraction was not just located at South of the Border; it was integrated into its internal logic. Many of the sites bore Pedro's name and Pedro served as the location's biggest advertiser. While Pedro could be an exotic curiosity in the 1950s, by the 1960s white South Carolinians were panicked about their fraught racial status. If to be black was to be Jim Crowed and that categorization was being lost through Civil Rights activism, what made white Southerners white? Moreover, as transportation and technological advances continued, what made "the South" distinct was less clear. Pedro helped Southern whites negotiate this changing status. Whites could identify with those aspects of Pedro that were Southern. He was hospitable with a sharp business mind and distaste for Yankees. His negative attributes could be ascribed to his "Mexicanness." Moreover, if unruly black protestors were going to violate southern social mores, Pedro would be a well-behaved advocate of Confederate values.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the image of the South remained cloaked in moonlight and magnolias. Non-southerners saw the South as an exotic or primitive region with its own (often aberrant) social mores. Schafer, then, capitalized on this interest by creating a space within South

[169] Ibid., 161–166.

of the Border that affirmed Northern fantasies about the South's frozen place in history.[170] In 1961, when Confederateland was opened, questions of the South's role in the national imaginary were particularly important. 1961 marked the centennial anniversary of the U.S. Civil War, and the nation was embroiled in another sectional debate about how to remember the war and South Carolina stood at the center of the controversy. Perhaps the most important context for Confederateland's emergence was the civil rights revolution that was happening across the South and reached one of its many apexes in 1960 during the Greensboro sit-ins.[171]

In the summer of 1955 in Orangeburg, South Carolina, fifty-seven black adults signed a petition demanding an end to segregation in public schools. As was so often the case, whites came together to form a White Citizens' Council where they could leverage their economic power to silence protests. The petition for desegregation was published in the white-owned newspaper, *The Times and Democrat*, along with the names of all of the signers. In response nearby Clarendon County black residents organized a boycott of all Citizens' Council-owned businesses. The boycott grew when the NAACP threw its support behind the movement. In March of 1960 South Carolina State students joined the campaign. Three hundred and eighty-nine students marched through Orangeburg where they were detained for breaking the peace. The protestors were held in a stockade where they were sprayed with fire hoses. Despite South Carolina State students joining the campaign, the movement had few victories.[172]

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[170] Karen L. Cox, *Dreaming of Dixie: How the South Was Created in American Popular Culture*, 1 edition (The University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 7; Karen L. Cox, ed., *Destination Dixie: Tourism and Southern History*, Reprint edition (University Press of Florida, 2014).
[171] Jack Bass, *The Palmetto State : The Making of Modern South Carolina /* (Columbia : University of South Carolina Press, c2009.), 90–91, http://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u4865879.
[172] Peter F. Lau, *Democracy Rising: South Carolina and the Fight for Black Equality since 1865* (The University Press of Kentucky, 2006), 215–218; Bass, *The Palmetto State*, 95–98.

On February 1st, 1960 four black students from North Carolina A&T sat in at a Woolworth's in Greensboro, North Carolina, only two hours north of South of the Border. By October of 1960 four national chains gave in to the demands of protestors and announced they would integrate 150 stores in 112 cities. The sit-in movement had seen more than 70,000 participants in 100 cities. These actions resulted in 3,600 arrests.[173]

While the nation prepared to celebrate the centennial of the Civil War, South Carolina was again catapulted into the national spotlight for its egregious civil rights violations. In September 1957 President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed a joint resolution that created the U.S. Civil War Centennial Commission (CWCC).[174] Initially wary of a federal commission framing the Confederate past, white southerners began to see the growing federal intervention in support of the Civil Rights Movement as a contemporary parallel to their Confederate history.[175] One Montgomery, Alabama journalist wrote, "Today the South is facing many of the same problems faced in 1861. Federal dictatorship is literally being stuffed down our throats…We should stand up and fight as our forefathers did so we can lick the ever-present battle with the federal government as it continues to usurp rights delegated to the states."[176]

Nowhere was this anxiety about the present bleeding into the centennial more present than South Carolina. In the spring of 1958 the nascent state centennial group proposed a bill to establish the "South Carolina War Between the States Centennial Commission" (later the South

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[173] Alice Fahs and Joan Waugh, "The Memory of the Civil War in American Culture," c2004., 237, http://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u6207917.
[174] Robert Cook, *Troubled Commemoration : The American Civil War Centennial, 1961-1965 /* (Baton Rouge : Louisiana State University Press, c2007.), 15–16, 30, http://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u4605674.
[175] Ibid., 48, 52.
[176] David W. Blight, *American Oracle: The Civil War in the Civil Rights Era* (Belknap Press, 2013), 12–13.

Carolina Confederate War Centennial Commission or SCCWCC). The preamble to this bill revealed the deep sectional divide South Carolinians still experienced. It read:

> Whereas, the terrible hardships borne by the people of the South, and the awful sacrifice of our people, and the indignities thrust upon and suffered by the helpless people of our ravaged and plundered State, ground into the dust under the ruthless heel and relentless heels of overpowering military might, spurred by a bestial ferocity unmatched by savagery, that laid waste our land and homes by death, destruction, fire, pillage, plunder, pestilence, famine, loot, poverty, and vandalism, invoking the defenseless women and little children of Columbia and of South Carolina a holocaust of horrors.[177]

Eschewing the moderate lost cause memory of the Civil War as "brothers at war," white South Carolinians framed themselves as the victims of the "savagery" of northern aggression. This preamble made clear that white South Carolinians would not give an inch of the Lost Cause narratives they had upheld.

In 1961, the national CWCC accepted the invitation from South Carolina's commission to hold its fourth national assembly in Charleston, North Carolina to coincide with a reenactment of the attack on Fort Sumter. However, the CWCC faced a potential public relations disaster when Everett Landers, the executive director of the New Jersey Civil War commission, wrote to inform them that one of the New Jersey commission members, Madeline A. Williams was being barred from staying in the Jim Crow hotel selected by the commission because she was black. Williams was a former Democratic assemblywoman in New Jersey who, at the time of the controversy was sixty-five years old and married to the president of her local NAACP branch.[178]

A month, on March 3rd, later Karl Betts, the executive director of the national CWCC wrote to Landers saying there was nothing he could do for Williams, it was a private hotel and the CWCC had no standing to challenge their local practice of segregation. The New Jerseyans

[177] Cook, *Troubled Commemoration*, 60.
[178] Ibid., 88, 90.

agreed they would not attend the assembly if Williams could not stay in the hotel. Historian and one of the other few African Americans on centennial commissions, John Hope Franklin of Brooklyn College, rallied behind Williams and helped mobilize other states in support of the New Jersey boycott. By March 23rd New York and Illinois' state centennial commissions announced they would join New Jersey in the boycott of the Charleston assembly.[179]

On March 24th, 1961, John F. Kennedy waded into the debate at a press conference, saying, "any program of this kind in which the United States is engaged should provide facilities and meeting places which do not discriminate on the grounds of race or color." South Carolina Senator Strom Thurmond fired back that New Jersey was attempting to "put the South back into a Reconstruction straightjacket" and was hoping to "impose the notions of his constituents on South Carolina and the South." When the national commission decided to move the meeting to Charleston's desegregated US Naval base, the SCCWCC decided to "seceded" from the national centennial commission and planned their own parallel convention at segregated hotels. As an editorial in the black newspaper *The Atlanta Daily World* noted in February 1960, "The South may have lost the Civil War, but it is sure going to win the centennial."[180] Mired in controversy, the centennial commission planned some events but the majority of celebrations and commemorations occurred in the private sector. Business owners were eager to cash in on the "bonanza of heritage tourism in which Americans would visit historic sites by car."[181]

South of the Border quickly emerged as a private site aligned with the values of the SCCWCC. The president of the SCCWCC, John A. May, along with other members of the

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[179] Ibid., 89–90, 94–95.
[180] Blight, *American Oracle*, 17–20; Cook, *Troubled Commemoration*, 107.
[181] Kevin Allen, "The Second Battle of Fort Sumter: The Debate Over the Politics of Race and Historical Memory at the Opening of America's Civil War Cetennial, 1961," *Public Historian* 33, no. 2 (May 2011): 101–104; Blight, *American Oracle*, 11; Cook, *Troubled Commemoration*, 112.

SCCWCC, were advertised as "pedro's Special Guests" at the opening of Confederateland.[182] May spoke at the event saying "All of this vast and beautiful development, and this Confederateland designed to foster and preserve the traditions we Southerners hold dear, are the realization of the dream of Alan Schafer, who had the courage and the talent to make his dream come true."[183] Schafer's decision to invite, as headliners, this controversial group reveals much about the values Confederateland fostered. "Most of us here are Confederates" Schafer declared, and for those Yankee visitors he asked his Southern compatriots to not treat them "too rough."[184] Certainly part of Schafer's aggressive embrace of the confederacy had to do with his Jewish identity as his recurring attempts to distance himself from racial difference. When standing next to John May in a grey confederate uniform, Schafer looked just as white as the other reenactors. Additionally, whatever racial solidarity he had previously felt toward African Americans was seeming to falter in the construction of Confederateland as a haven for neo-confederate celebration. This speech and his alignment with SCCWCC made clear that Schafer, at least in local media presentations, was rejecting narratives of reconciliation in the construction of Confederateland.

On August 28th , 1961, Dillon, South Carolina was abuzz waiting for the opening of Confederateland.[185] Schafer said that Confederateland was a several hundred thousand dollar investment that would be "the most notable tourist attraction anywhere in the area." He additionally claimed that it was "Nation's first Confederate Tourist attraction." While this claim

[182] *The Dillon Herald*, Dillon, S.C., Wednesday, August 23, 1961
[183] "Editorial: Confederateland and South of the Border are Tremendous Assets to Dillon County." *The Dillon Herald*, Dillon, S.C., (undated).
[184] "Editorial: Confederateland and South of the Border are Tremendous Assets to Dillon County." *The Dillon Herald*, Dillon, S.C., (undated).
[185] "Borderlines." *The Dillon Herald*. August 16, 1961

was patently false, Schafer's emphasis on Confederateland being the first, biggest, tallest, and brightest make clear the business impulses driving his commitment.

Confederateland was part of a trend of Confederate theme attractions grew in popularity in the late 1950s in anticipation of the centennial. For example, Confederama was built in 1957 at the base of Lookout Mountain in Tennessee. This attraction depicted the Civil War battles of Chattanooga, Chickamauga, and Lookout Mountain on a 480-square-foot reproduction of the terrain. This massive reproduction was populated with dramatized the battle that "sealed the fate of the confederacy" with over six thousand miniature soldiers all equipped with guns that emitted smoke in the reenactment.[186] Stone Mountain, another Lost Cause memorial began construction in the 1900s but was not completed until the 1970s when "the southern culture of segregation having long replaced the Confederacy remembered there in granite, was enduring and resisting its own Reconstruction.". Places like Stone Mountain, Confederama, and Confederateland were defensive tools for whites fearful of losing the culture of segregation.[187]

The opening of Confederateland was an over the top celebration of Southern nationalism. A packed audience included local high schoolers, members of the SCCWCC, as well as representatives of local and state government. It featured the "largest display of fireworks in Carolina history" including a large firework in the shape of a Confederate Battle Flag.[188] These massive fireworks were joined by lengthy speeches from Alan Schafer, Mayor of Dillon Rudolph

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[186] Tara McPherson, "'Both Kinds of Arms': Remembering the Civil War - ProQuest," 3–5, accessed June 13, 2016, http://search.proquest.com/openview/ad36c6e61881e264d30d606926f03d56/1?pq-origsite=gscholar; Tim Hollis, *Dixie before Disney : 100 Years of Roadside Fun /* (Jackson : University Press of Mississippi, c1999.), 110–112, http://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u2931401.

[187] Hale, *Making Whiteness*, 1999, 243, 278.

[188] "Confederateland, Unique Spot, Opens with Big Fanfare Aug 28." *The Dillon Herald*. Friday, August 18, 1961.

Jones, President of the Dillon County Chamber of Commerce John C. Sellers, state and local government officials, and John A. May, the director of the South Carolina Confederate War Centennial Commission. Alan Schafer began the event with a speech to the crowd, "This is Confederateland," he began, "and most of us here are Confederates. But if you should see any Yankees wandering around don't treat them too rough. *Somebody's got to pay for all of this!*"[189] Following speeches, the Dillon High School Band, dressed in "Confederate regalia," played "The Star Spangled Banner" followed by its theme song, "Are You from Dixie." To conclude the ceremonies, Alan Schafer presented the high school band with a battle sized Confederate Flag, and the band played "Dixie" as the fireworks began. As late as 1986, "Fort Pedro," (to which Confederateland was later renamed) grossed more than three million dollars a year.[190]

A family friendly theme park, Confederateland included both a Confederate Train and a small zoo for children to enjoy. [Appendix 15] Pedro advertised this new $40,000 miniature train in his own rebel uniform. The train, as historian Laura Koser has put it, suffered "from a slight chronological and geographical displacement [as it] rolled through places with names like 'Haunted Swamp, Tobacco Road, Buffalo Billage, Peacock Alley, and Cactus Mountain' before turning into 'Pedroville Station.'"[191] In addition to the train, the new site had a corral for "Pedro's Camel Corps" where camels and burros lived.[192] [Appendix 16] A month later two bison moved to Confederateland. The Borderlines columnist argued that this addition was historically consistent with the Confederate theme because "the entire CONFEDERATE ARMY—west of the Mississippi—virtually subsisted on Buffalo meat for the duration of the

[189] "Editorial: Confederateland and South of the Border are Tremendous Assets to Dillon County." *The Dillon Herald*, Dillon, S.C., (undated).
[190] Grossman, Laurie. "South of the Border: Things Are Popping This Fourth of July." *The Wall Street Journal*. Jul 3, 1987.
[191] Koser, *Planned by Pedro*, 78.
[192] "Confederate Land Dedication Monday." *The Dillon Herald*. Friday, August 25, 1961.

war."[193] While even this piece of historical evidence was on shaky historical ground, it was more than was offered to explain the historical relevance of camels and burros to a Confederate theme park.

Perhaps the most important part of Confederateland was "Fort Pedro," a log cabin "fashioned on the forts of frontier days" which operated as a "museum and Confederate souvenir bazaar." [Appendix 17] It featured "scores of authentic Confederate War relics and documents" in addition to its "endless variety of souvenirs."[194] Just as tourists could consume Pedro for a price, the Confederacy was also available at Schafer's gift shops. The crown jewel of the museum was the Pee Dee, an old gunboat that Schafer managed to procure. The Pee Dee was a famous gunboat built by the Confederates or, as South of the Border put it, "patriots of the Pee Dee Section." It was used in one of the "last determined efforts to drive the Northern invaders from their beloved State" of South Carolina.[195] Discussing the Pee Dee, Schafer ensured locals that they were "not going to make a circus of it." Instead, the boat would be treated with respect as a "reminder of this area's last gallant effort in the Civil War." Confederateland, while it was draped in all the excessive razzle dazzle and sparkle of South of the Border, would also be a respectful treatment of history. Balancing spectacle and respect never seemed to be a concern when Schafer used a neon brush to paint Mexican culture.

Confederateland, excited local South Carolinians, but also had to bring tourists to South of the Border and therefore had to appeal beyond those eager to shroud themselves in

[193] "Borderlines." *The Dillon Herald*. September 8, 1961.
[194] "Confederate Land Dedication Monday." *The Dillon Herald.* Friday, August 25, 1961.
[195] "Confederate Battleship Pee Dee Relics Rest at South of the Border." *The Dillon Herald*. Wednesday, August 23, 1961.

Confederate flags to protect them from their changing world.[196] *The Dillon Herald* anticipated a "crowd of five thousand Carolinians" in addition to the "hundreds of passing tourists."[197] To commemorate the event, Schafer had constructed the Confederate Star Tower.[198] [Appendix 18] Soaring over ninety-six feet over Confederateland, the "unique illuminate star rotate[d] day and night in 32 directions" and was reported as visible as far as 85 miles away. At the base of the tower a plaque read "This tower with its symbolic Confederate Star is dedicated to the noble men of the Confederacy who gave their lives and fortunes for a cause they believed right." It was, according to Schafer, the "tallest tower of its kind in the South Atlantic region."[199]

On the one hand, it stoked Southern nationalism in local South Carolinians. Alternatively, it played into northern ideas of the South as backward, provincial, and trapped in a premodern time.[200] In addition to Confederateland, "Pedro's Plantation" let tourists "pick tobacco, cotton, or taste a bit of sugarcane."[201] Those Americans who "felt an antipathy toward modernity and longed for a return to America's pastoral and romantic past," could do so at both Confederateland and Pedro's Plantation. These white nostalgic fantasies of a peaceful South were only possible on the growing South of the Border compound. It allowed tourists and Southerners alike to ignore the swelling Civil Rights Movement in North and South Carolina. Confederateland, in addition to performing regional fantasies for northerners, offered southerners an escape from a world that was shifting around them. While earlier the exclusion of blacks from

[196] "Confederateland, Unique Spot, Opens with Big Fanfare Aug 28." *The Dillon Herald*, Friday, August 18, 1961.
[197] "Confederate Land Dedication Monday." *The Dillon Herald*, Friday, August 25, 1961.
[198] "Confederate Land Dedication Monday." *The Dillon Herald*. Friday, August 25, 1961.
[199] "Confederateland, Unique Spot, Opens with Big Fanfare Aug 28." *The Dillon Herald*, Dillon, S.C., Friday, August 18, 1961.
[200] Cox, *Dreaming of Dixie*, 7.
[201] Koser, *Planned by Pedro*, 74.

visible staff and the segregation of black visitors fostered an implicit erasure, Confederateland made that erasure explicit.

South of the Border celebrated white supremacy both in its degradation of Pedro and its celebration of Lost Cause ideology. As a result, those Southerners who felt that civil rights victories represented federal encroachment on their very way of life, could withdraw and imagine for a moment what life was like in the days before the "war of northern aggression." Moreover, as historian Robert Cook has argued, the centennial was an event that mobilized the "raw power of historical memory as a tool of political and cultural warfare."[202] The federal government sought to use the centennial as a way to build national morale and patriotism in the midst of the Cold War and the South hoped to use it as a way to reassert a waning regional identity. Current battles for "states rights," it seemed, could be fought by the memory of the Confederate past.

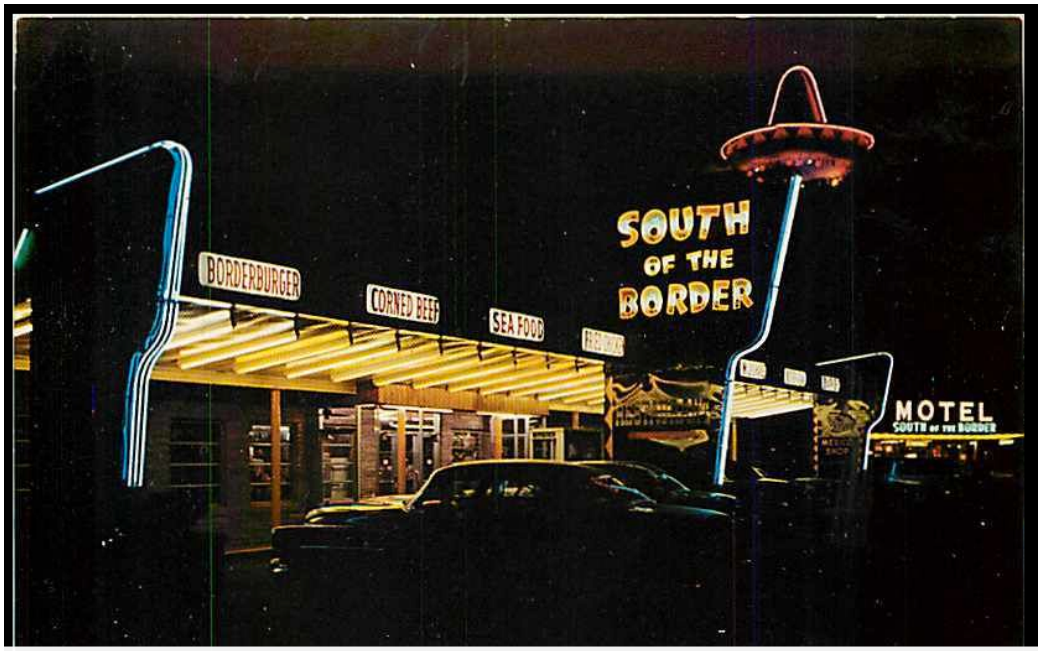
Confederateland then, should also be seen as a grasping attempt by white southerners to reinforce the culture of segregation that was under attack. Civil rights activist had attempted to dismantle every aspect of Jim Crow and had broad success by the 1960s in getting some of the most important institutions desegregated. White Southerners, anxious of losing their "way of life," clung dearly to confederate legacies that maintained white superiority and black oppression at its core.

It can also be seen as a critical site for the performance and construction of a new whiteness for southern whites whose cultural and spatial definitions of whiteness were being challenged. At the opening of Confederateland, Schafer donned, along with several other reenactors, a confederate uniform. [Appendix 19] In a similarly transparent a performance as the

[202] Cook, *Troubled Commemoration*, 52.

white families wearing sombreros and serapes, Schafer cloaked himself in whiteness by embracing a confederate past. White visitors could "become" Pedro to feel racially superior and, when that faltered, could connect themselves with an unreconstructed southern past. While early on South of the Border allowed visitors to escape sexual and gender mores, he addition of Confederateland ushered in a new type of escapism wherein whites could flee their rapidly changing world.

Appendix

1. 
BORDERBURGER
CORNED BEEF
SEA FOOD
SOUTH OF THE BORDER
MOTEL
SOUTH OF THE BORDER

2. 
SOUTH of the BORDER"

3. 

4. 

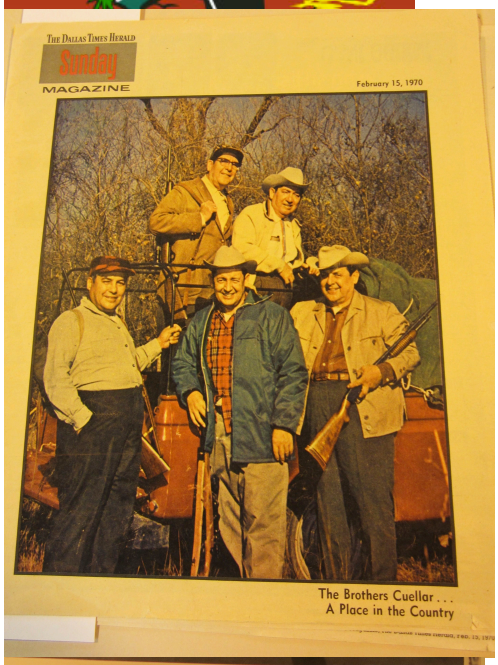
5. 

6. 

7. 

8.  (El Chico Menu)

9. 
SOUTH
OF THE
BORDER

10. 
The Dallas Times Herald
Sunday
MAGAZINE
February 15, 1970
The Brothers Cuellar . . .
A Place in the Country

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13. 

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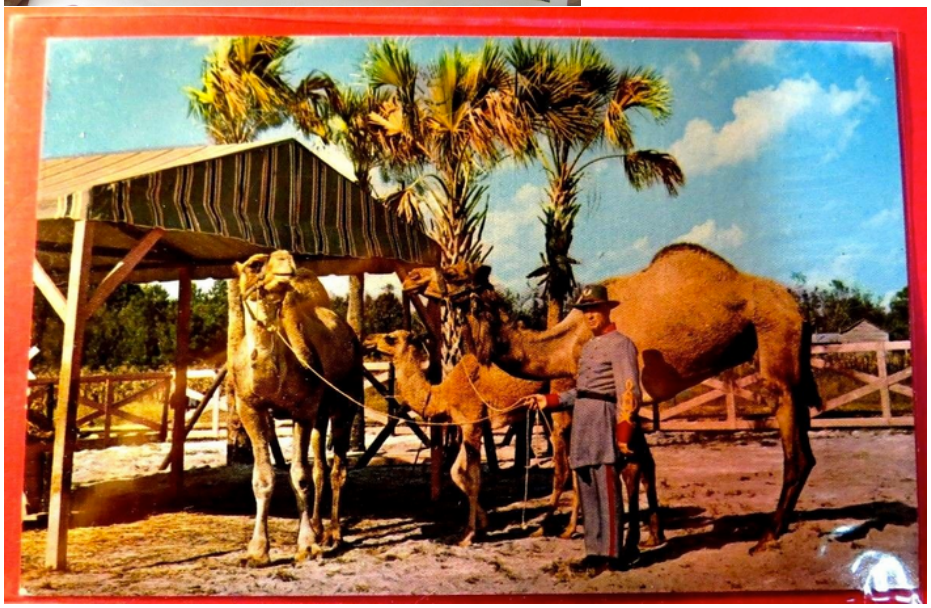
16. 

17. 

18. 

19. 

KUNNEL PEDRO gazes out, not over a battlefield, but over the extensive layout of CONFEDERATELAND, new tourist attraction at South of the Border near Dillon, where elaborate dedication ceremonies and a spectacular fireworks display is expected to draw thousands next Monday afternoon and evening. Alan Schafer, proprietor of the vast enterprise, in Confederate Grays, poses in the foreground with one of the two Confederate War cannon that guard "Fort Pedro." In the distance is the 96-foot Confederate Tower with its Rotosphere Confederate Star at the top. The picture above was taken on a cloudless day. The impressive cloud effect was added by Photographer Marvin McDaniel through one of his "tricks-of-the-trade."

Chapter 3

"Black, White, and Tan": The Expulsion of Latino/as
from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

Introduction

In September of 1957, in Little Rock, Arkansas a group of black teenagers were attempting to change history by integrating Central High School. The resulting chaos, and ultimate federal military intervention, shook the South, as states feared that the time for "all deliberate speed" had arrived. When a white female student at Central High was interviewed she lamented that the backlash resulted from two issues: first, the suddenness of the integration and second, that the "Negros" were simply "too different." Black people, she argued, "never lived…close enough to us" and as a result whites "were just never around them really." However, she offered the following caveat to her white supremacist defense of segregation:

> Well, I think like if a Spanish or Chinese person came here it wouldn't be hard to get along with them its just that the Negros are what you might say more different to us than a Spanish person might be.

Her defense was that this desegregation fight was not about racism, as evidenced by her welcoming stance on "Spanish" and "Chinese" attendance in her school. Rather it was simply that blacks were "more different." In an era and region where ideas about racial difference were never more firmly entrenched, what made the "Spanish" any less different than this girl's black neighbors?[203]

Many young people were catalyzed to action as they watched the 101st Airborne Division of the army escort black high school students through crowds of jeering whites. Like others of their generation, Latino activists were moved to fight one of America's greatest injustices—Jim Crow. Luis Zapata, Maria Varela, Elizabeth "Betita" Martinez, Fatima Cortez, and others still

[203] Henry Hampton, *Eyes on The Prize: America's Civil Rights Years 1954-1965* (PBS, 2010).

unknown, joined local blacks to combat the Southern white supremacist order. However, unlike their black and white peers, these activists found their racial position in the South different than in their respective hometowns.

This chapter demonstrates the importance of Latino activists in the Civil Rights Movement both for what they reveal about the ideology of one of the largest Civil Rights organizations of the era, SNCC, and what their stories tell us about the nature of race in the U.S. South in the 1960s. The Mexican-American activists whose childhood and adolescence taught them they were "racially other" shared the unique experience of being "unraced" as they moved to the deep South. Through their eyes we can see a South that allowed Latinos to participate in many rituals of whiteness, while anti-black racism remained firmly entrenched. By comparison, Fatima Cortez's experience as an Afro-Latina reveals that whatever protection foreignness gave her Mexican-American peers from Jim Crow, she was denied because of her blackness. Even as fights over meanings of race threatened to crack the very foundation of the South, Latinos used white accommodations, flirted with whites, and were protected by white supremacy. At this same time in the North and West, their race would have excluded them from participating in these varied acts of whiteness.

While contemporary scholarship often hopes to "complicate" or "expand" the black/white racial binary, the history of Latinos in the South reveals the enduring importance of that racial paradigm.[204] This chapter suggests that even the black/white racial binary does not go far enough in emphasizing the central role of blackness in shaping the racial order. Rather, it suggests that a

[204] Examples of scholars hoping to move "beyond" the black and white binary: Shana Bernstein, *Bridges of Reform: Interracial Civil Rights Activism in Twentieth-Century Los Angeles*, 1 edition (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Brilliant, *The Color of America Has Changed*, 2010; Charlotte Brooks, *Alien Neighbors, Foreign Friends: Asian Americans, Housing, and the Transformation of Urban California* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2012); Araiza, *To March for Others*.

black/nonblack racial order better characterizes the South in this era. That is to say one's distance from or proximity to blackness was far more important than one's actual "whiteness" or status as a Caucasian. While Cortez, Varela, Zapata, and Mártinez were all "Latino," Cortez's African ancestry precluded her from the benefits of whiteness the others came to enjoy. Her Mexican-American peers were not necessarily seen as "white," but their nonblackness made them assimilable—if still foreign.

Varela, Martinez, and Zapata were all of Mexican and white ancestry. They were light-skinned, although none light enough to be free of anti-Mexican racism in New Jersey, Washington D.C., and California respectively. In contrast, Fatima Cortez was a Puerto Rican of African descent from Washington Heights, New York. She was also light skinned but unable to pass as white in either New York or the South. Varela, Martinez, and Zapata worked in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) throughout the 1960s, and at least some of that time was spent in Mississippi. Fatima Cortez came south to Louisiana in the mid-1960s to work in the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Examining the experiences of these activists can teach us a great deal about how race, color, and power operated in the U.S. South.

This chapter begins with an examination of three Mexican-American activists in SNCC during the 1960s: Elizabeth "Betita" Mártinez, Maria Varela, and Luis Zapata. Varela and Mártinez, who were both well-known members of SNCC, went on to become important members of the Chicano and First Nations movements of the 1970s after their expulsion from SNCC. Each of these activists grew up in a region of the U.S. where anti-Mexican racism marked them as a "racial other." Specifically, each had early experiences of anti-Mexican racism that racialized them as "other" at a young age. Like blacks in the South, Mexican-Americans who were half white were fully Mexican in the eyes of whites. However, in Mississippi they

were confronted with a new racial order under which they were able to experience life as "not-black." The chapter then turns to the story of Fatima Cortez whose experience as an Afro-Latina differed greatly from her Mexican-American counterparts.

An additional contribution of this chapter is an analysis of the complexity of "passing"[205] for Martina, Varela and Zapata. They shared the experience of becoming "unraced" in their travel from the North to the South. This, however, did not mean that they were "passing" as white. In the view of Southern whites, Latino/as were more akin to ethnic whites (for example, the Jews, Italians, and Irish who had populations in the South throughout the 19th and 20th century) than racially "other" like blacks. Therefore, while whites may not have seen these Latino/a activists as "white," their racial distance from blacks secured their safety.

While these three activists could strategically leverage their ability to pass for the movement, it would also cause their eventual expulsion from SNCC along with the other white activists. Despite the late 1960s representing SNCC's dénouement, black activists revealed their understanding of the centrality of blackness and antiblackness to the South's racial system when, in 1967 as part of their decision to expel "white" members from SNCC, they also expelled Maria Varela and Betita Mártinez. While certainly participants who were neither black nor white represented a minority of those expelled, it revealed the extent to which SNCC recognized that blackness, rather than a broadly defined third world had to be at the center of organizing for their liberation. Just as whites were able to accept Latino/as into whiteness because of their distance from blackness, blacks ultimately eschewed these relationships for the same reason.

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[205] For the purposes of this paper I am defining passing as being able to move through racially designated spaces as white. This definition of passing is bound by its geographical context. As you move away from the U.S. South in the 1960s, race takes on different meanings. This is especially true of the Latino community of which these three activists were a part. To be "white-skinned" in many Latino communities did not connote whiteness, rather it was a recognition of the incredible diversity in color under the umbrella of "Latino."

This work resists the temptation of liberal multiculturalism to see the addition of new racial groups as disruptive to the central role blackness plays in anchoring our racial order. Jared Sexton has coined this trend "people-of-color-blindness" which he defines as "a form of colorblindness inherent to the concept of 'people of color' to the precise extent that it misunderstands the specificity of antiblackness and presumes or insists upon the monolithic character of victimization under white supremacy." It is only from an understanding of the centrality of blackness, he argues, that "the whole range of positions within the racial formation is most fully understood." In this vein, I suggest that the story of Latinos in the South reveals just this—that the "afterlife of racial slavery," as Sexton puts it, made it possible for ethnically diverse peoples to be assimilated into whiteness because they lacked the connection to blackness.[206]

Additionally, I will consider the South as a new geography from which we can examine the successes and limitations of black/brown alliances in this period. In the past decade there has been a surge of scholarship focusing on the history of black/brown organizing in the mid to late 20th century. This work, largely focused on the organizing efforts of black and brown communities in the West and Southwest, can be divided into three schools of thought. The first school of thought suggests that unity between black and brown movements has been unsuccessful because of appeals to whiteness by Mexicans as well as tactical differences between the two movements.[207] The second school of thought finds that black and brown

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[206] J. Sexton, "People-of-Color-Blindness: Notes on the Afterlife of Slavery," *Social Text* 28, no. 2 103 (June 1, 2010): 31–56, doi:10.1215/01642472-2009-066. 48

[207] The first school of thought on black/brown coalitions largely grows out of the application of whiteness studies to the experience of Mexicans and Mexican Americans. Exemplary of this school is Neil Foley's work about the "faustian pact" with whiteness that "offered [Mexican Americans] inclusion within whiteness, provided that they subsumed ethnic identities under their newly acquired white identity and its core value of white supremacy." This bargain, he argues,

communities have been able to work together because of shared experiences of racism and marginalization.[208] Increasingly, scholars fall into a third school of thought that emphasizes local diversity of black and brown organizing efforts.[209]

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came at the cost of organizing across racial lines with African Americans. Neil Foley, *Reflexiones 1997: New Directions in Mexican American Studies*. (Austin: Center for Mexican American Studies, University of Texas at Austin, 1998). Other relevant whiteness studies texts include: David R. Roediger. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* New Edition. Verso, 2007; Noel Ignatiev. How the Irish became White. New York: Routledge, 1995; Grace Elizabeth Hale. Making Whiteness: the Culture of Segregation in the South, 1890-1940. New York: Pantheon, 1998. More recently, Brian Behnken has published work arguing a similar disjuncture between black/brown communities because of failed claims to whiteness by Mexican communities. Brian D. Behnken, "The Movement in the Mirror," *The Struggle in Black and Brown: African American and Mexican American Relations during the Civil Rights Era*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2011). Behnken also forwards a similar argument in his book, Fighting their own Battles (2011).

[208] The second school of thought focuses on evidence of organizing amongst black and brown communities—finding unity where the previous school of thought only found conflict. Carlos K. Blanton argues in his essay "George I. Sánchez, Ideology, and Whiteness in the Making of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement, 1930-1960," that Sánchez and other Mexican American activists utilized "whiteness" as a form of legal opportunism rather than anti-black racism. Instead of conflict, Blanton finds black and brown communities linked in a shared experience of oppression.

[209]The final school of thought moves away from a success/failure model of analyzing black and brown relations. Instead the historians in this school outline the contours of daily life in a world where black and brown people met. Additionally they emphasize the local particularities of black/brown organizing, finding that a success/failure framework falls apart when brought into local communities. Not surprisingly, much of the literature on black/brown organizing has focused on the West and Southwest, as these were the areas with the greatest concentrations of Mexican populations. The sizes of these populations, however, meant that Mexicans could constitute their own "nonwhite" racial category. The deep South, then, is unique because there was not a critical mass of Mexicans such that they could constitute their own racial category worthy of discrimination or separate treatment. Exemplary of this trend is Julie Weise, who has carefully documented the presence of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in the early 20th century (1908-1939) in her 2008 American Quarterly article, *Mexican Nationalisms, Southern Racisms: Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the U.S. South, 1908-1939*. As Weise shows, Mexicans and Mexican-Americans towed a constantly shifting line with whites—they were often able to live in the same communities with whites and able to form interracial marriages, yet unable to send their children to all white schools. For the experiences of Mexicans see: "Interview with Richard Enriquez" by author (2012), "Interview with Mary Enriquez" by author and Julie Weise's work "Mexican Nationalisms, Southern Racisms" (2008).

This project intervenes in each of these debates by arguing that the experience of race in the South was fundamentally different from the Southwest. This difference demands a reconsideration of how "Mexicanness" operated across space. Examining Mexican Americans, a small population in the South, reveals fissures and slippages in the Jim Crow racial system. By looking at the deep South in the 1960s, we can examine how, in a historical moment where there was great upheaval to the racial caste system, Southern whites attempted to claim Latino/as in support of the project of white supremacy and how some Latino/as resisted that cooptation.

Latino/as in SNCC

Having been shaped by early experiences of racism, Mártinez, Varela, and Zapata each sought to combat injustice. Unlike many in the still nascent Chicano movement, they chose to get involved in the fight for civil rights in the South. However, this did not cause them to disavow their Mexicanness as they were all involved in social justice work that built on their connections with Mexico and Latin America. Their experiences of racial animus and connections to more global social movements motivated them to fight for racial equality in the U.S. South.

Elizabeth Mártinez, nicknamed "Betita" by her family, was born on December 12, 1925 to a Mexican-born father, Manuel Guillermo Mártinez, and a Scotch-Irish mother, Ruth Phillips in Washington, D.C. Her mother became enamored with Mexican culture through her marriage to Manuel and worked as a Spanish teacher. Manuel was originally a judge in the state of Oaxaca but worked a clerical job at the Mexican Embassy when he came to the United States. Her father, a dark-skinned Mexican man, was acutely aware of the Jim Crow system that structured the nation's capitol. During a trip downtown, in accordance with Jim Crow segregation, when a young Mártinez and her father attempted to sit in the front of the bus they were sent past rows of

empty seats to the back of the bus. When Mártinez asked her father why they were unable to sit in the front he quickly hushed her, "I'll tell you later, I'll tell you later."[210]

While attending Swarthmore College, a small, progressive, and politically active Quaker school in Pennsylvania, Mártinez, the only non-white student at the college, listened along with the nation to the news of Hitler's invasion of Poland. Already a self described "radical on campus" her experience bearing witness to both the concentration camps and the dropping of the atom bombs were crucial components in her decision to work at the United Nations in hopes of, as she said, "bring[ing] about world peace."[211]

After college Mártinez moved to New York where she had her first experience with the Civil Rights Movement. In 1959 and early 1960, she began working on the defense of NAACP activist Robert Williams who was being tried for kidnapping a white couple in Monroe, North Carolina. She quickly moved from a supporting role to what she described as her "first direct involvement with any kind of black movement stuff." While assisting Williams' defense, Mártinez worked at the Simon & Schuster publishing house, where she and Lorraine Hansbury published a book titled, *The Movement*. The royalties earned from *The Movement*, a photographic history of the struggle for Civil Rights, were sent south to support SNCC. However, it was the bombing in a Birmingham church that left four young girls dead that made Mártinez feel "it was impossible not to work in the Movement full time" and she moved to

[210] For further discussion of her experience with segregation in Washington D.C., see Mártinez, Elizabeth (Betita) Sutherland, "Neither Black nor White in a Black-White World" in *Hands on the Freedom Plow: Personal Accounts by Women in SNCC*, by Faith S. Holsaert. Urbana: University of Illinois, 2010. 531-533. Hereinafter referred to as "Hands on the Freedom Plow: Mártinez." Mártinez, Elizabeth (Betita). Interview by Loretta Ross. Transcript of video recording, March 3, 2006, and August 6, 2006. Voices of Feminism Oral History Project, Sophia Smith Collection. 5-10.

[211] "Voices of Feminism: Mártinez," 8

Mississippi in 1963.[212]

Maria Varela's early life was born in 1940 to a chemical engineer father who had emigrated from Mexico and an Irish mother, Varela grew up in several cities throughout the East and Midwest. Her family came to the U.S. after fleeing the Mexican Revolution and settled in San Antonio, Texas. With no clear end to the revolution in sight, Varela's grandfather moved the family to New Jersey to escape the virulent anti-Mexican sentiment in San Antonio, Texas. The anti-Mexican racism Varela's family experienced left a mark on the family and after they arrived in New Jersey her grandfather forbade the use of Spanish in the house. This decision to expunge Spanish was, in part, to prepare them for school where immigrant children were routinely punished for speaking Spanish in the classroom. However, it also served the goal of helping to assimilate the grandchildren into a society that subjugated those who were seen as "different." Varela didn't grow up in a predominantly Mexican American community that could anchor her identity. Instead her ideas about race came "out of family and stories much more than us being situated in any community where all other aspects of culture were there."[213]

Varela left her familial "tribe" to attend Alverno College, a Catholic women's college in Milwaukee. She had begun her involvement with the Young Christian Students (YCS), a progressive Catholic training program, in high school and became increasingly involved during college. Describing the goals of the organization, Varela wrote: "We were shaped by liberation theology, which holds that as Christians our vocation is to be actively engaged in dismantling racism, economic injustice, antidemocratic forces, and unjust war."[214]

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[212] "Voices of Feminism: Mártinez," 12
[213] Maria Varela, Interview with Maria Varela by Author, January 17, 2011.
[214] For information about YCS, "Hands on the Freedom Plow: Varela," 556 and Ibid.

After she graduated, Varela attended the yearly YCS convention where she met the founders of the newly formed organization, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Late in 1961, Varela met with SDS founders Al Haber and Tom Hayden in New York to discuss potential alliances with ecumenical organizations. It was through her involvement with SDS that Varela was drawn to Sandra Cason (Casey) Hayden, a political organizer and the wife of SDS co-founder Tom Hayden, who encouraged Varela to travel South in support of the Civil Rights Movement.[215]

> After graduating from Alverno College, I was invited to join the national staff of YCS in Chicago. We made $7 a week and the organization took care of housing and food. I was a field worker, organizing YCS chapters on college and university campuses... I also represented YCS at summer conventions of the National Student Association. There I met the founders of the Students for a Democratic Society.

While her involvement with SDS grew, Varela was still a full-time organizer for YCS. After graduating from Alverno College she was paid seven dollars a week by YCS to travel across the Midwest and East to recruit students into the organization and to participate in the southern Freedom Rides. Her involvement in both YCS and SDS eventually brought her to an impasse. As Varela explained, "How could I, a YCS staff member, continue to exhort students to support fellow students in the South if I refused to go?" In the summer of 1963, Maria Varela reconciled this internal conflict by boarding a bus to Georgia with plans to work with Casey Hayden in the Atlanta headquarters.[216]

Unlike Varela, Luis Zapata's identity was forged in a stable community where racial hierarchies were constantly enforced. Luis Zapata was born in December of 1944 in Southern California and he grew up in a very conservative community in Orange County. Zapata's

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[215] Varela in Faith S. Holsaert et al., eds., *Hands on the Freedom Plow: Personal Accounts by Women in SNCC*, 1st Edition (University of Illinois Press, 2012), 555–557.
[216] Varela in ibid., 557.

paternal grandparents were born in Mexico and immigrated to California where they had their son George, who would grow up to become an engineer. In middle and high school, having a Mexican father and an Anglo mother "caused problems" for Zapata and he was frequently assaulted by white children because of his parents' interracial marriage.[217]

Throughout his teen years, Zapata experienced firsthand the brutality of working hard for less than a living wage. His jobs as a dishwasher, short order cook, and farm hand shaped his later ideas about inequality and the importance of organized labor. In 1961, Zapata enrolled at San Jose State College where his ideological commitments to eradicating injustice coalesced. There he encountered active political movements including the precursors to the Free Speech movement at UC-Berkeley and anti-Vietnam War protests. In college, Zapata grew frustrated with his classmates because of the apathy they demonstrated toward farm workers and the racism he felt in campus organizing. He said:

> "even in political groups I remember being in a group and it was about 20 of us sitting there, mostly guys; they would ignore any Latino speaking, the same way they ignore someone who was black, you would suggest something and it wasn't until an Anglo said it that it was good enough."[218]

While his decision to organize with farm workers was certainly connected to his early experiences as a farm worker, it was also likely influenced by his feelings of alienation from campus organizing. Excluded from social movement leadership at his University because he was Mexican, Zapata's multi-racial status resulted in a liminal existence—different enough from farm workers to be seen as "white," but too Mexican to be taken seriously by white college activists.

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[217] For more on the conservatism of Orange County: Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton University Press, 2002).
[218] Interview with Luis Zapata, May 2010.

Zapata found that few of the politically engaged students flocked to the United Farm Workers (UFW) which was in its early stages of development. In contrast, and likely as a result of the racism he experienced, Zapata was strongly drawn to the UFW, helping organize the strawberry boycott and later the nation-wide Delano grape boycott.[219]

His time organizing with the UFW gave Zapata a glimpse into the type of racial and economic violence he would see in Mississippi. Violence came from the police and private security hired by farm owners who "rough[ed] up" UFW organizers. In the face of police and planter violence, Zapata had few advantages; however, one advantage he did hold was his multi-racial background. Zapata's ability to pass as white proved invaluable when trying to organize workers without being perceived as a "threat" to the owners. Because "[he] looked more like one of the overseers than [he] did the other workers," the owners did not see Zapata as a threat. This ability to pass became even more important when he traveled to the South to help organize a union in Mississippi.[220]

Having cut their teeth on campus activism, Varela, Zapata, and Mártinez were confronted with the same dilemma facing many social-justice minded people their age: how to best aid the Civil Rights Movement. Along with other college students, the three activists decided to move south to play their part in the civil rights revolution.

Passing in SNCC

Maria Varela and Luis Zapata joined SNCC in 1963, pre-dating the 1964 "Freedom Summer" and Elizabeth Mártinez came to Mississippi in 1964. Having each come to SNCC for different reasons, the three activists were joining what was, at the time, the vanguard of the Civil

[219] Luis Zapata, Interview with Luis Zapata by Author, March 21, 2012; Luis Zapata, Interview with Luis Zapata by Author, May 19, 2010.
[220] Zapata, Interview with Luis Zapata by Author, May 19, 2010.

Rights Movement. The group was driven by students and young people and engaged in the direct action techniques that other civil rights groups hesitated to use. Founded in 1960 at Shaw University, with the guiding principles of nonviolence rooted in the Judeo-Christian tradition, SNCC was originally envisioned as a "channel of communication for the student movement." Historians have remembered SNCC as being young, black and white activists from the Northeast and Southeast. However, the experience of Varela, Mártinez, and Zapata suggests that, in the early years, SNCC's organizing model appealed to people from diverse backgrounds including activists from the labor movement, older people, people from the West and Southwest United States, and Latino/as. SNCC, which embraced inclusiveness in its early years, grew increasingly closed off and unable incorporate racially liminal subjects. When SNCC forced categorization of white or black, Mártinez and Varela were deemed white and were expelled from SNCC.[221]

The Mississippi that Varela, Mártinez, and Zapata entered was in the midst of a revolution that would permanently change the structure of race and racism United States. While the Mississippi Delta was undoubtedly shaped by the struggle between black and white communities for power, there were also ethnic enclaves in Mississippi reaching as far back as the late 19th century. The presence of these ethnic groups in the Delta certainly transformed how both whites and blacks understood the three Mexican activists who arrived in the early 1960s.[222]

Another critical link among the three activists was that they were college-educated. They all benefitted from class privilege which, coupled with their relatively light skin, likely

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[221] SNCC Founding Statement accessed on www.crmvet.org, Ella Baker, *The Southern Patriot*, "Bigger than a Hamburger," May 1960.

[222] For presence of Mexicans see: Foley, *The White Scourge*; Julie M. Weise, "Mexican Nationalisms, Southern Racisms: Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the U.S. South, 1908-1939," *American Quarterly* 60, no. 3 (2008): 749–77; Weise, *Corazón de Dixie*; For presence the Chinese see: Jung, *Coolies and Cane*; Loewen, *The Mississippi Chinese*; John Jung, *Chopsticks in the Land of Cotton: Lives of Mississippi Delta Chinese Grocers* (Yin & Yang Press, 2011).

contributed to their treatment as white. These factors were amplified by the previous generation of Southern Latino/as participated in this black/nonblack system. The early ability of Latino/as in Mississippi to experience life as nonblack would also shape their later relationship to the Civil Rights Movement. The Enriquez family fled the racism of Texas to live in Rosedale, Mississippi in the 1960s. When first navigating Jim Crow segregation, the Enriquez family used the "colored" entrance because of their experience in San Antonio where "colored" meant Mexican as well as black. Describing their first encounter, Mary Enriquez said, "coming from Texas [we were] used to not mingling…you knew where you belonged and you didn't cross the line." However, in Mississippi, when the Enriquez's attempted to use the "colored" entrance in Mississippi they were ushered to the "white" entrance by black and white patrons alike. From that point on the Enriquez family used "white" entrances, water fountains and bathrooms, they ate in "white" sections, and quietly garnered the privileges associated with whiteness.[223]

The ability of the Enriquez family to live free of the strictures of Jim Crow necessarily shaped their relationship to the Civil Rights Movement. When asked decades later about the role of the Civil Rights Movement in the lives of her family, Mary Enriquez claimed there was little activity in Rosedale, Mississippi and thus her family remained uninvolved. Rosedale, however, was only a few miles away from some of the most well-organized and militant black communities in Mississippi. Her silence on the question of the Civil Rights Movement is striking

[223] Mary Enriquez, Interview with Mary Enriquez by Author, March 6, 2012; Richard Enriquez, Interview with Richard Enriquez by Author, March 6, 2012. Daniel and Alice, Soto. MSS#247. Interview with Richard Enriquez, 1 May 1991. Rosedale, MS. Neil Foley. *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture*. Berkeley: University of California, 1997. A special thank you to Julie Weise for introducing me to the Enriquez family who have become an invaluable part of my research.

as it reflects both a contemporary and historical distancing from blackness that was characteristic of the struggle of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans to be white.[224]

Other Latinos native to the South seem to have taken a different approach than Enriquez. Mary Gonzalez, for example, joined an organization called "The Concerned White Citizens of Alabama." This group worked in support of the Civil Rights Movement and Gonzalez, along with several other white identified women marched with Dr. King at the now-iconic Selma march. In the face of a march that felt like a "battle," Gonzalez and her peers struggled to maintain "order and dignity." "We wanted people to know that we were not just a band of, I don't know how to describe it," Gonzalez paused, "but you know people who didn't have anything better to do than go around getting into trouble and stirring up trouble." "We wanted them to know," she continued "we were serious citizens who really cared about what was happening." Returning from the march Gonzalez recalled an icy welcome at the local YWCA from those who knew she had marched. While Enriquez never seemed hostile to the Civil Rights Movement, she maintained her distance from any activism. Gonzalez, on the other hand, still firmly claimed her whiteness but instead deployed it in service of the movement.[225]

Luis Zapata experienced firsthand a Latino community living in the shadows of the Delta. Returning home from a full day of voter registration canvassing in the hot Mississippi sun, Zapata, along with a fellow SNCC organizer, suddenly found himself stranded at three in the morning with a flat tire on an unlit road in the Mississippi Delta. As Zapata describes it, "a flat

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[224] Mary Enriquez. "Interview with Mary Enriquez." Interview with Author. 6 March 2012. Charles Payne, for example, argues that counties like Cleveland, Ruleville and Indianola were all critical sites of civil rights activism. These were all within a dozen or so miles of Rosedale. Charles M Payne. *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle (Centennial Book)*. University of California Press, 1997.

[225] The Concerned White Citizens of Alabama and Their Appearance in Selma, Alabama on March 6, 1965. Oral History 200. Dr. Virginia Hamilton. By Maurice Baer. October 27, 1975

tire on a country road, being a known SNCC worker, was not a healthy thing to do." During the summer of 1963 being caught without transportation late at night in the "most Southern place on earth" was possibly a death sentence. Fearing for his safety, Zapata was relieved when a man that he immediately identified as Mexican, drove up and offered to repair the tire. After finishing, the man turned to Zapata and said, "If you see me in town, if you ever see me, you don't know me." Zapata understood the warning. Reflecting on the experience he said, "Cause his kids got to go to the white school and he wasn't about to lose that privilege, because there weren't enough Latinos for them to know." The man's caution highlighted his effort to preserve the white privilege he and his community feared losing. This exchange between two Mexicans in Mississippi in 1963 has little place in dominant historical narratives of the Civil Rights Movement. While this popular storyline only recognizes the roles of black and white participants, this chapter demonstrates that Latinos were important members of the Southern Civil Rights Movement.[226]

When Luis Zapata arrived in Mississippi, few people understood how to treat him racially. In a society where nearly every human interaction was shaped by a complex set of racial expectations, Luis Zapata confounded some, but for most they simply understood him as "not-black" and therefore not to be Jim Crowed. Zapata said that in SNCC, "a lot of folks didn't know what to do with me, I wasn't an Anglo but I'm light skinned and certainly light enough to pass, but obviously wasn't and didn't act like the Anglos but I also didn't act like a [black person]." While his new racial status meant he wasn't Jim Crowed, Zapata was adamant that it "still didn't make me white…they [just] didn't know what to do with me."[227] Whatever racial confusion those in SNCC felt about Zapata seemed to resolve itself by treating him, and other Latinos, as

[226] Cobb, *The Most Southern Place on Earth*. Interview with Luis Zapata with Author. 18 Apr. 2010.
[227] Zapata, Interview with Luis Zapata by Author, May 19, 2010.

whites and giving them tasks traditionally assigned to whites. Zapata's insistence that their treatment didn't make them white demonstrates one of the challenges of the geographically contingent nature of race in this period. Zapata, whose identity had been formed from a young age as a Mexican-American, felt defensive of his racial status in light of its apparent erasure. Notably, this is a very different reaction than the Enriquez family who welcomed the new racial status. The difference can likely be explained by the impetus for their travel South. The Enriquez family sought (and found) economic opportunities they were denied in Texas. Zapata traveled to fight racial injustice, a decision shaped by his position as a Mexican-American from California.

While Zapata may have been legible to the man on the country road as racially other, one of the most important institutions in the Jim Crow South, the police, saw him as white. Zapata said, "the cops thought I was white because I'm light-skinned enough." After a demonstration was broken up by police and hundreds of protestors were arrested, it became clearer to Zapata where he stood in the eyes of the police. Because the number of protestors that were arrested far exceeded the prison capacity, the police commandeered a local armory where they held the protestors for about a week. In this large warehouse, lines were drawn to separate men and women and to separate whites from blacks. Zapata, was segregated in the white section. His distance from blackness, then, was garnering him more than access to better seating or accommodations, it was shielding him during some of the most potentially dangerous encounters with white violence.[228]

The inclusion of these Mexican families in whiteness suggests the flexibility of Jim Crow segregation and the category of whiteness itself. Whiteness could absorb "otherness" so long as

[228] Luis Zapata, Interview with Luis Zapata by Author, April 18, 2010; Zapata, Interview with Luis Zapata by Author, May 19, 2010.

it maintained blackness as a separate pole. Rather than destabilizing whiteness, the inclusion of Mexicans in whiteness solidified blackness as inassimilable.[229]

After arriving in Atlanta, Maria Varela was quickly transferred to Selma, Alabama to work on the Selma literacy project because of an extreme shortage of organizers in the field. In Selma, Varela had her first experience working "undercover." Unexpectedly thrust into the Deep South, Varela battled fears of violence and being "discovered" as a civil rights worker. Describing the experience, she said, "I was doing as I was told, I was not supposed to go to the SNCC Office, and I didn't want to, I was scared to death of going." Even if she was passing as white, she was still at risk of being discovered as a Civil Rights Movement worker. Her fears were obviously not misplaced. In the summer of 1964, three civil rights workers, James Early Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Michael Schwerner were abducted by members of the Ku Klux Klan and local police departments and were brutally murdered. These killings made it clear that even white civil rights activists had much to fear.

In Selma, Varela lived in an all-white community, and she worked in the St. Elizabeth parish in an all-black community. Her presence as a light-skinned woman was largely accepted because of the history of missionary workers at the parish. Slipping under the radar as a presumed missionary, Varela began to organize literacy projects with the goal of preparing African Americans to register to vote. Varela had been living undercover in Selma for a year when she learned that a group of SNCC workers were jailed in Selma for attempting to enforce the 1964 Civil Rights Act by integrating a Thirsty Boy ice cream store. Without any other

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[229] Richard Enriquez. "Interview with Richard Enriquez." Interview with Author. 6 March 2012. *Delta Democrat-Times*, "Mexican Organization Aims for Texas Control." 19 September 1963. Brian D. Behnken, *Fighting Their Own Battles: Mexican Americans, African Americans, and the Struggle for Civil Rights in Texas*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2011), *Delta Democrat-Times*, "Mexican Organization Aims for Texas Control." 19 September 1963

organizers available, Varela was forced to break her cover and travel to the jailhouse to bail out the workers. Describing the incident Varela wrote:

> Screwing up my courage, I put on my most feminine summer dress and went down to the jail. If I hadn't been so afraid, it would have been almost enjoyable to watch the expressions on the guards' faces as they tried to figure out who this light-skinned girl was and why she was there.

It was at that point she had to openly identify for the first time as a civil rights worker, putting her life and livelihood at risk.[230]

Varela's story is striking not only for its evidence of her ability to "pass" racially, but the way she understood how it was linked with her gender presentation. She recalls putting on her "most feminine summer dress," suggesting that for her the experience of performing race was also about a differently racialized gender presentation. She later described her "usual SNCC guise" as being comprised of "an unremarkable dress with 'going to church' shoes." Her description of this outfit as a "guise" is telling. For Varela both whiteness and white womanhood were performative categories that she occupied strategically for her safety and the advancement of the movement. Her mimicry of southern white womanhood points to the way Varela, as a Mexican woman, conceptualized her gender differently than the white women surrounding her. Moreover, in her recounting of her experiences in the South, Varela never describes herself as passing for "white." Instead she describes herself as "light-skinned" and able to move through racially charged spaces undetected. Varela, in moving to the South had become effectively "unraced" even if whites still recognized her as "ethnically" not white.[231]

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[230] "Interview with Maria Varela" with Author 2012 Cheryl Lynn Greenberg, *A Circle of Trust: Remembering SNCC* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998), 94; Holsaert et al., *Hands on the Freedom Plow*, 555.
[231] Holsaert et al., *Hands on the Freedom Plow*, 555.

When Varela moved to Mississippi she encountered diverse interpretations of her racial identity. For example, she recalled visiting a store in Jackson, Mississippi and having a man ask about her race. When she responded that she was Mexican he began to, as Varela said, "go on and on about señoritas and winking, to him it was like oh: sexual object." Discovered as non-white, Varela did not meet the violent retribution often meted out for African-Americans transgressing the color line. Instead she received "winking" and sexual suggestion. Consider, in contrast, the fate that awaited light skinned African-Americans who were discovered attempting to "pass." While Varela's "otherness" was exposed, she remained safe because "Mexicanness" had been separated from blackness by earlier generations. Like the generation before, Varela—while even at times legible as Mexican—was able to move through white spaces safely because of her "non-blackness." Additionally, this man's knowledge of the trope of the hypersexual Latina suggests that white Southerners had an understanding of Mexicans as ethnically (if not racially) different.[232]

Varela capitalized on the selective ignorance of the majority of Mississippians and moved through racially charged spaces often undetected. She described her survival strategy as always attempting to go "unnoticed." This strategy, however, did not always work. In the fall of 1966, while driving SNCC activists Willie Ricks and Stokely Carmichael to the Jackson airport, Varela's car broke down. The celebrity of her two passengers, combined with the violent tension of the Delta, meant it was a dangerous time to be civil rights activists or "outside agitators." Describing the experience Varela wrote:

> Ahead I noticed some young white men working on their cars at an otherwise closed gas station. I drove up and, putting on my best southern accent, breathlessly explained how I was 'just rushin' to pick mah Daddy up from the airport' and how he would be 'just *so* upset if ah didn't get back there on time.

[232] Varela, Interview with Maria Varela by Author.

Again, Varela utilized her light-skin and performed her vision of white womanhood in order to get her car fixed and get back on the road without incident. Enduring the "patronizing, knowing grins" of the men assisting her, Varela managed to escape unharmed and get Ricks and Carmichael, who had taken to walking on the highway to avoid being seen with Varela, to the airport in time for their flight. The ability of these young men to see her as white grew out of the history of Mexican-white relations in Mississippi, a history that, while Varela may have been unaware of it, set the context for all of her interactions with blacks and whites.[233]

Zapata found, like Varela and Mártinez, that in Mississippi he did not face the racial discrimination he had encountered in California. His experience organizing fieldworkers with the UFW was quite different than organizing cotton workers in the Mississippi Delta.

> There weren't that many Latinos so the few Latinos that were around that I knew about were allowed to enter the Anglo world, the white world. That still didn't make me white, they still didn't know what to do with me.

While invited into the "white world," as Zapata described it, he remained fervent in his identification as Mexican. Aware of himself as a member of a distinct racial group, Zapata, benefitted from a certain amount of safety that his light-skin offered, but never intentionally deployed his ability to pass. His early experiences of racially motivated violence made him spurn any identification with whiteness. While Zapata may not have seen his ability to escape the scrutiny and violence of his black peers as "strategic," it certainly enabled him to undertake more dangerous assignments with less fear.[234]

Each of the activists, in their respective tenures with SNCC, attempted to build and deepen the relationship between SNCC and the UFW and social movements in Latin America.

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[233] Holsaert et al., *Hands on the Freedom Plow*, 555.
[234] Zapata, Interview with Luis Zapata by Author, May 19, 2010.

During her time in SNCC, Varela began to carry information between the United Farm Workers (UFW) in California and SNCC. Because SNCC organizers were in the planning stages of the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union (MFLU)—a union of sharecroppers—Varela created a "filmstrip in consultation with César Chavez and other farm worker leaders on how they organized the United Farm Workers Union in California." Elizabeth Mártinez's ties to the organization and ability to speak Spanish meant that she represented SNCC at the UFW's 1966 march to Sacramento. She was called on again in July 1967 when SNCC leaders Julius Lester, George Ware, and Stokely Carmichael attended the Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS), because of her ability to translate but also her extensive knowledge of the political movements in Latin America. At the meeting, SNCC leaders met with leaders from twenty Latin American countries and invited guests like Frantz Fanon's widow and Señora Che Guevara. At OLAS, Stokely Carmichael performed his role as the darling of the revolutionary movement sitting for a nearly two-hour press conference and offering a stirring speech for a standing ovation. In the speech he lamented the "divide-and-conquer" trick used to keep "Mexican-Americans and Spanish-speaking people" separate from African-Americans. "Our destiny," he declared, "cannot be separated from the destiny of the Spanish-speaking people in the United States and of the Americas." A powerful orator, Carmichael held the audience's rapt attention, as he imagined a utopian "America" that spanned from "Tierra del Fuego to Alaska" and was rid of the oppression under which most of the region was being crushed.[235]

While Carmichael and much of the national leadership of SNCC in the late 1960s saw themselves as ideologically aligned with revolutionary Latin America this manifested in few

[235] Lauren Araiza, "For Freedom of other Men" 44-45. Hands on the Freedom Plow, Mártinez, 534. Julius Lester. "Black Revolution is Real": Stokely in Cuba. The Movement. Vol 3 No. 9. September 1967. "Stokely's Speech in Cuba." SNCC Papers, Reel 11.

concrete links. Varela attributed the inability to maintain any serious cross-movement bonds to the small numbers of Mexicans, and more specifically Mexican men, in the organization. Ultimately, Varela and Mártinez's attempts to build a multiracial activist coalition faltered because race meant something different in the South than in the West. The alliance between the UFW and SNCC assumed a shared struggle against racism. Certainly, the violence that UFW organizers faced from local police officers and growers mirrored that of black sharecroppers facing local sheriffs, police officers, and landowners. However, SNCC's rhetorical acknowledgement of a cross-racial, third-world unity was limited in a region where Latino/as simply did not experience the same type of racism as African Americans.

Talking to James Forman and others, Varela tried to contextualize what was going on in Latin America. Revolutionaries there, she argued, "had everything from black blood to Dutch blood" and that an inability to reckon with this fact would signal the closing of an opportunity to organize "third world peoples." However, Forman responded saying, "[blacks] should be in the leadership of this movement, of this worldwide global movement because we are the most oppressed." Forman's statement seemed to foreshadow the later expulsion of whites, and by extension Latino/as, from SNCC. In his eyes, and the eyes of many of those in SNCC, only those who had experienced the world as *black* (as opposed to "third world") could guide the future of the black freedom struggle.[236]

Expulsion

In August 1964, as Freedom Summer came to a close, many white volunteers decided to stay full time and work with SNCC—this resulted in the Mississippi staff nearly doubling when more than 80 volunteers decided to stay on. At the same time that the staff was growing, SNCC

[236] Varela, Interview with Maria Varela by Author.

began to transform in vision, philosophy and structure. As historian Barbara Ransby has written, "the goal of an interracial beloved community gave way to the call for black power, which for some—not all—meant black nationalism and racial separatism of some type." The increased presence of whites stoked fears that they would interfere with the development of the self-confidence of the local people.

In November 1964, SNCC activists from across the country gathered in Waveland, Mississippi to address some of the ideological and logistical challenges plaguing the organization. (Hogan, 198) At Waveland they dealt with some of the more mundane, although pressing, concerns about finances. Activists had not been paid, cars could not be filled up with gas, and the financial strain was only getting worse as the organization's capacity continued to grow. (Hogan, 202) They struggled over questions of how the leadership should be organized and if they should move from a decentralized to a more executive leadership. While James Forman proposed a more centralized executive structure, Maria Varela and Casey Hayden offered an alternative which "suggested that local groups could decide themselves when to draw together to show collective strength." (Hogan, 217)

At Waveland, they also began to ask questions about the role race would play in SNCC's future. Some pointed to the tension caused when white women organizers slept with black men, the ultimate taboo in the South. Others feared that whites playing too large a role in the organization's policy-making would compromise the goals of the organization. At Waveland, historian Wesley Hogan has argued, "blacks were not asking whites to leave permanently, but rather to understand that they needed to talk alone among themselves." (Hogan, 206) By the fall of 1964, the organization was already dealing with deep fractures in the organization's vision.

Deeply divided at the national and, in some cases, the local level, SNCC continued to grow and challenge southern Jim Crow wherever it was found.

A year and a half later, in May 1966 in Kingston Springs, Tennessee, the organization, led by a group working out of the "Atlanta Project," agreed that "white activists needed to organize in the white community" and that black activists would organize in the black community. They maintained that whites organizing in their communities could still work under the banner of SNCC. However, months later, in December 1966, the SNCC staff met again at the New York estate of black entertainer Peg Leg Bates, where the decision was made, as Mártinez described it, to "expel white staff members."[237]

While Zapata left SNCC before the battle over the role of whites in the movement took place, both Mártinez and Varela were deeply affected by the changing nature of SNCC. Writing many years later, Mártinez's memory was increasingly focused on her identification as Chicana and the improper classification of her and Maria Varela as white during the expulsion. She wrote "as far as anyone seems to remember, we [Varela and herself] were classified as white, even though I did not consider myself either white or black." In June of 1967, Mártinez wrote a paper to SNCC's Atlanta headquarter titled "Black, White, and Tan" to chronicle experiences of racism faced by Mexicans and "show…[the] linkage between black and brown struggles."

Her position paper, "Black, White, and Tan" was critical of both white and black responses to the expulsion, Mártinez emphasized that if SNCC wished to engage seriously with Third World liberation movements they would have to reconceptualize their racial ideologies and the organization's relationship to the color line. She feared that SNCC's newfound commitment to the "Third World," solidified at a May 1967 staff meeting, would be "yet another rhetoric

[237] Barbara Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision*, New edition (The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 300–303, 344.

which will be contradicted by its daily conduct." The commitment to black separatism in SNCC, she argued, was incompatible with Third World movements, especially those in Latin America because Latin American revolutions drew "class, not color lines." "If SNCC is to establish contact with Latin-Americans," she warned "it must realize that it will be working with white-looking people sometimes." While Mártinez acknowledged the global color line by citing the dramatic political and economic inequality in Brazil, she suggested that in Latin America "color as such lack[ed] the vicious reality you find in the U.S." With the successful Cuban Revolution and the Puerto Rican Independistas in mind, Mártinez saw Latin America, like politicians fearing the domino effect, as a region on the brink of revolution. However, she overstates the extent to which Latin America's revolutions were racially liberatory and downplayed the severity of anti-black racism throughout the region.[238]

In addition to a meditation on race and solidarity, "Black, White, and Tan," served as a release valve for growing frustration with SNCC's racial ideologies. Writing after the Kingston Springs decision to expel whites, Mártinez defended whites put in a seemingly impossible position. "How could they defend themselves," she asked, "when attacked for their whiteness." Like Varela's earlier discussion of white womanhood, Mártinez use of "they" and "them" in reference to whites suggests she saw herself as racially nonwhite, even if those in SNCC disagreed. She wrote: "From time to time, the question of whether I was to be classified as white or Mexican (i.e., non-white) has come up in SNCC. People talked about me but never asked me what I considered myself." She goes on to make clear that she has always identified as Mexican,

[238] "Black, White, and Tan," Mártinez. June 1967. *The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Papers*: Reel 47. 7-9.

and therefore nonwhite. However, in SNCC she found her self reclassified. "One day," she went on, "I found myself unable to vote in SNCC because I was 'white.'"[239]

Varela also grew increasingly frustrated with what she saw as a turn toward ideology and away from community organizing—a move she felt was out of sync with SNCC's roots. The decision to expel whites from SNCC, Varela thought, was a decision made by a "small minority of cultural nationalists, new to the organization." It was also a decision Varela had little intention of heeding. Her work was "determined by local organizers and supported by [her] own fund-raising, it would go on no matter how anyone voted in SNCC." Despite her diligence and refusal to bow to the views of a small minority, Varela noted a tangible shift in the way she was treated in SNCC. The difference in treatment was also a reflection of the deep internal divides within SNCC at the time.[240] Returning to the South after the late 1966 decision to expel whites, Varela was met with varied responses. Some SNCC workers recognized Mexican Americans as not white and therefore did not see the exclusion as impacting Varela, and they, like many of the local people working with Varela, did not change how they treated her. Others stopped speaking to Varela causing "hurt and anger." Certainly, hurt and anger, was likely an understatement for the well of emotions the expulsion brought on for Varela and other whites who had given so much to the movement.

However, when in 1967, SNCC was invited to the New Politics Conference in Chicago by Reies López Tijerína, the leader of the Southwestern Hispano Land Grant movement, Julian Bond called on Varela to host Reies in order to make him "feel more at home among us." Of

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[239] "Black, White, and Tan," Mártinez. June 1967. *The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Papers*: Reel 47. 4-9.
[240] "Hands on the Freedom Plow, Varela," 568. Sutherland, Elizabeth. "Letter to New York Staff and Atlanta. 15 Apr. 1966." Microform. *The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Papers*: Reel 47.

course, this invitation exposed a seeming contradiction within SNCC. Varela could not be excluded for her "whiteness" and then, at the same time, be called upon to represent SNCC as a (non-white) Chicana woman. Like the storeowner in Jackson who saw Varela's "mexicanness" as a marker of difference but not one that triggered violent reprisal, SNCC activists recognized the ethnic difference of these Latino/a activists but found that her status as nonblack made her unqualified to continue to organize and help lead a movement for black liberation. Interestingly, both Varela and Mártinez became important activists in Chicano/a civil rights struggles and were involved in the Chicana feminist movement. Having experienced the pain of exclusion from SNCC as a result of nationalism, it seems likely that they would both find comfort in a nationalism that took their experience as its center.[241]

That Varela and Mártinez were ultimately pushed out of SNCC exposed that the organization saw "blackness" as the central axis of oppression rather than status as a "third world" or "colonized" person. That vision was shaped by SNCC's intellectual and activist origins in the South. For generations the centrality of blackness to the Southern racial order meant that Mexicans, Chinese, Italian, and Arab immigrants at different times could come to the South and distance themselves from blackness in order to gain access to white privileges. White supremacy had for so long mapped the boundaries of Jim Crow life as limited to a binaristic order of "black" and "not-black" that SNCC was shaped by this racial order and could not imagine a new South with space for racial pluralism.[242]

Fatima Cortez, a Nuyorican born in 1945 in Washington Heights, grew up acutely aware of the temporal and spatial temporal permanence of her blackness. While Varela, Zapata, and Mártinez may have experienced a racial transformation as they moved South, Cortez's status as

[241] Holsaert et al., *Hands on the Freedom Plow*, 568.
[242] "Black, White, and Tan," Mártinez (1967)

an Afro-Latina revealed that if race was complicated for Latinos in the South, it was profoundly uncomplicated for those of African descent, regardless of their categorization as "Latino," or Puerto Rican.

She grew up in a relatively diverse community where African-American, white, and Puerto Rican people lived in close proximity. Cortez's mother was black and her father was, "creative with his ancestry," claiming that he was a "pure Castillan Spaniard" for all of Cortez's life. He was, as Cortez described him, "very tall and very fair" and bore a striking resemblance to actor Gregory Peck. Even at a young age her neighbors questioned the "purity" of Cortez's father's Spanish descent. It wasn't until later in life that she learned he was in fact Puerto Rican and had been lying about his ancestry. Despite being Puerto Rican and living around Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and Cubans, Cortez never learned Spanish, largely because her family discouraged it. Cortez's maternal grandmother was a mix of Native American, Dutch, and African American and could often pass as white. Her grandmother's family arranged a marriage with another light skinned African American man in Chicago, but she absconded when she met Cortez's grandfather on the train coming from Mississippi.

Cortez grew up in a politically engaged community where she counted civil rights leaders Dorothy Height and Adam Clayton Powell as neighbors and family friends. Her mother worked with Coretta Scott King's "Women Strike for Peace" and the New York City Commission on Human Rights. Cortez moved in an "interracial group of movement elites" where she learned from some of the most brilliant civil rights leaders.[243]

When Cortez was nine her grandmother took her to visit family in Newport News, VA. Prior to this, Cortez had never really experienced Jim Crow segregation. Her family's class

[243] http://www.crmvet.org/nars/fcortez.htm and Interview with Author

position meant that she could afford to circumvent some of the segregation blacks experienced in the North. For example, while clothing stores were a key site for Jim Crow style exclusion in the North, Cortez and her family were able to shop at stores high-end enough that "if you could afford it then it wasn't an issue." However, on her trip to Virginia, her class position was no longer able to protect her.

In an effort to assist Cortez in passing, her grandmother braided her hair as tightly as possible so it would look straight. "She capitalized on my Spanish and Native American background," Cortez remembered, "if I looked like that, I'd be ok." While her grandmother could pass for white, Cortez was less convincing. At the bus station her grandmother left Cortez on the bus to get them some food. While Cortez was warned not to get off the bus, her need to go to the bathroom caused her to leave the bus in search of her grandmother. Her grandmother had gone to the white section of the restaurant to get food and was immediately dismayed when Cortez entered. "Oh my Jesus why did you come in here like this?" her grandmother lamented. Both Cortez and her grandmother were ushered to the "colored" dining room where two stools were cast against the harsh royal blue walls covered in grease. Cortez remembered this moment as her first "real acknowledgment that [she] was different." At a young age, the South was the place where Cortez learned what it meant to be Jim Crowed, while for nonblack Latinos it was where they learned what it could mean to be free from that violence.[244]

Growing up, Cortez's family was upper middle class. She attended a French Catholic private school where she was the only "colored" girl in her class. While she was the only "colored" girl, there were also two light-skinned Dominican girls in her class, the goddaughters

[244] Fatima Cortez, Interview with Fatima Cortez by Author, January 26, 2011.

of a member of the Trujillo family, a Korean girl and a Filipina. To the Dominican girls, Cortez was "just an American colored girl."

During her senior year of high school, Cortez's school decided to take the graduating class on a trip to Washington DC. Cortez, however, was excluded from the trip after the school decided to have the group stay in an all white hotel. Even in her racially diverse group, with a "Korean [girl] who was darker…the Filipina who was about [her] complexion…and the two girls from the Dominican Republic," it was Cortez's status as an African American that prevented her from staying in the hotel. Alienated by her classmates who she "lunch with everyday for four years," Cortez was destroyed. When she spoke to her mother about the incident, Cortez's mother lamented, "that's just how white people are." But "they're not white," Cortez responded. "Well," her mother said, "that's how they're considered." Cortez graduated from high school in 1963 and cited that experience with Jim Crow as fuel for the work she would do in CORE. Cortez attended the March on Washington with Northwest New York CORE in 1963 and, in 1964 when CORE and other civil rights organizations recruited college students to help with voter registration drives, Fatima Cortez signed up to travel to Louisiana with CORE.

A former debutante, Cortez arrived in Baton Rouge, Louisiana in a "white linen dress in patent leather shoes…hair perfectly coifed" shocked to find the CORE workers dressed in their uniforms of coveralls and t-shirts. Cortez spent her first two weeks battling the Louisiana humidity keeping her hair in pink rollers throughout her nonviolence training. Along with other volunteers she would wake up with the sun, spend all day going door to door registering people to vote, eat dinner when the sun set and attend mass meetings at night. While in Louisiana,

Fatima went by "Cathy" and, despite identifying as Spanish at the time, was seen as "colored." "I was just colored," Cortez said, "and that was it."[245]

People in CORE, like those in New York, found Cortez's claims of "Spanish" identity hollow. Most realized, like Cortez later would, that she was Puerto Rican. She was teased in CORE for being Puerto Rican because she "didn't think [she] was." She remembered that when CORE workers would go dancing and a "piece of Latin music or one Tito Fuente song" came on her peers would remark of her dancing "look at her that's how those Puerto Ricans go." "They attributed my ability to dance salsa, or mambo or merengue," Cortez remarked "to the fact that I was Puerto Rican." These moments may have briefly highlighted Cortez's ethnicity, however her position as a black woman was never in question.

Despite moving through Louisiana as a black woman, Cortez enjoyed challenging local whites' perceptions. "I could play around with folks a little," because "I could speak a little Spanish." "They'd say no you can't come in here, and I'd go: qué no habla ingles? And they'd go: oh we've never had none of them here before, what are we gonna do about that?" After an interaction like this Cortez would usually leave because her limited Spanish wouldn't allow her to hold a conversation, but it was just enough to "throw them off." While these moments highlighted how "foreignness" seemed to briefly confound Jim Crow's defenders, at the end of the day Cortez knew that "white people, they didn't care, I was colored."

Contrast Cortez's experience with that of Varela, Zapata, and Mártinez who were transformed from racially other to something more akin to a white ethnic. Cortez's racial identity, despite also being Latino, remained a "colored girl" to those in Louisiana. Certainly her

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[245] http://www.crmvet.org/nars/fcortez.htm and Interview with Author

stories reveal that she could flirt with racial boundaries because of her ability to speak Spanish. However, ultimately in the most important day-to-day activities that were shaped by Jim Crow, Fatima Cortez was black. Because it was blackness driving the racial order in the South, her ethnic identity was unimportant when compared to the enduring "one drop rule" in the South. While non-black Latinos could eschew they're ethnic identity as it suited their needs, Cortez could never shed her blackness and could therefore not find the flexibility in Jim Crow of her peers.

Conclusion

Looking at the experiences of these four Latino/a civil rights activists offers a fine-grained portrait of a racial system fraught with contradictions and inconsistencies in the racial order. Southern white supremacy could at once violently exclude and disenfranchise black citizens for their racial "otherness" and, at the same time, assimilate nonblack Latino/as. Whiteness, then, was a permeable and constantly shifting category that relied on reifying blackness as an inassimilable "other" that anchored (and continues to anchor) racial hierarchies.

In addition to revealing new insights into the nature of white supremacy and race in the South, this study of Latino/as in the Civil-Rights-era South raises questions about the saliency of "Latino" as a political, cultural, and social organizing category. In her important book *The Trouble with Unity* (2010), Cristina Beltrán argues that the category of "Latino" as a pan-ethnic identity is limited in its capacity for political mobilization. This dissertation illustrates one cause of that friction—differential experiences of race based on geography. Being "Latino" meant something very different in the West and Southwest than it did in the South. Moreover, the different experiences of these four activists demonstrate the limits of such a categorization. It additionally reveals something about the formation of social movements and solidarity. Shared

experiences of racial "otherness" or "non-whiteness" were not nearly enough to inspire a coalition between black and brown Southerners in the fight against Jim Crow.

Chapter 4

Constructing the Hardworking Immigrant:
Latino/as in the Carpet Capital of the World, 1980-2000

In the 1970s and 1980s many southern localities began to see rising Latino/a populations as food-processing and other industries recruited Mexican and Central American workers for low-paying jobs. By the 1990s many southern cities and towns were experiencing several hundred percent growth in their Latino/a populations. In Georgia, for example, between 1995 and 2008 the Latino population grew nearly 1000%.[246] This chapter examines how one community, Dalton, Georgia, grappled with this rapid demographic change during this period. As the number of Latino/as grew southerners developed new scripts with which to understand the new immigrants. If Latino/as could move through the South as white ethnics through the 1960s, the massive changes in population would make that impossible by the 1980s. While some southern communities embraced an overt anti-immigrant politic that shunned Latino/as as drains on precious resources, Dalton proved much more welcoming.

In the 1990s, Dalton, Georgia was experiencing rapid demographic transformation with the influx of Mexican and Mexican-American immigrants coming to work in the service and manufacturing sector. Located ninety miles outside of Atlanta, Dalton is a community well known for its massive carpet production. Known as "the carpet capital of the world," Dalton makes fully two thirds of all carpet in the United States.[247] Beginning in the 1980s, a tight labor market coupled with the continued growth of the carpet industry caused Dalton's carpet industrialists to look beyond the white Appalachian labor force that had served them for decades.

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[246] Series I Box 2 Folder 5. Projected growth in Ga Schools. Source: Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education/College Board

[247] Randall L. Patton and David B. Parker, *Carpet Capital: The Rise of a New South Industry* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1999), 209, 231, 256.

Mirroring strategies employed by Georgia's poultry industry, carpet mills began to recruit workers from Mexico.

This chapter examines how three groups in Dalton helped make race in the 1990s and early 2000s. It is a case study in race making in the post-Civil Rights Movement South and the ways white liberals, business elites, and Latino/as all attempted to define what "Latino" or "Hispanic" would mean in a community where ideas about race were in flux. While each group had different goals, they all employed the image of "hard working" Latino/a immigrants.

With the Civil Rights Movement still in recent memory many white Daltonians were looking for ways to talk about race that did evoke the memory of Jim Crow. Therefore, for white liberals the hard working immigrant allowed for a performance of racial progressivism. Ostensibly praising the work ethic of this non-white group, white southern liberals were able to embrace Latino/as as part of a growing national interest in "multiculturalism." In part as a result of the celebration of immigrants as hard working, family-oriented people, was the creation of the Georgia Project, a program that brought teachers and researchers from Mexico to aid in the integration of monolingual Spanish-speakers in the public schools. This non-profit, created in conjunction with local business elites, represented a profoundly different reaction to Latino/a newcomers than nearby localities like Gainesville, Georgia where the Ku Klux Klan was revived in response to rapid immigration.[248] The project was a boon for many who desperately sought resources for bilingual education in a state that was actively retracting funding for education and debating "English-only" amendments.

However, white liberal's depiction of the hard working immigrant had the effect of making Latino/as perpetually immigrants. Despite the fact that some Latino/as had lived in

[248] Odem and Lacy, *Latino Immigrants and the Transformation of the U.S. South*; Weise, *Corazón de Dixie*.

Georgia for decades, by the 2000s, many Latino/as had built communities, had children, and were an established part of the Dalton community. Most of the children who benefitted from the Georgia Project were American citizens and many of those new to Dalton had lived in California or Texas prior. The emphasis, often incorrectly, on their status as "immigrants," helped ensure that Latino/as would be seen as persistently foreign. Latino/as, while they may have had all the right values, were never Southern.

Dalton, Georgia saw such a large growth in the Latino/a population because of its carpet industry. Carpet elites, therefore, played an important role in shaping ideas about race in Dalton. They were active in supporting the creation and implementation of the Georgia Project and because so many of them lived in Dalton, felt a personal stake in supporting the growing Latino/as community on which their companies relied. Unlike poultry or other multi-national corporations that also recruited Latino/as to the South, most of the leaders in the carpet industry remained in Dalton and experienced first-hand the consequences of their companies recruitment.

For them the hard working immigrant allowed them to participate in what they saw as racially progressive ideology. Investment in the Georgia Project demonstrated they both supported their Latino/a workers and were willing to invest in the community that their companies had transformed. Latino immigrants, carpet manufacturers had argued, were hardworking, family people, and the Georgia Project was their financial commitment to this population. The image of the hard working immigrant also allowed them to normalize both the displacement of white Appalachian labor in the mills and their expectations of increased output from Latino/a workers. If Latino/as were all hard workers, as carpet elites claimed, slow-downs, refusal to work, and strikes violated the racial scripts that had been constructed. It therefore helped solidify the idea of Latino/as as naturally hyper-productive as a function of their race.

Finally, Latino/as also used the discourse of "hard working" Latino/as to shape their acceptance and racialization in Dalton. They were able to use the image to make claims on the local economy. Latino/as insisted that the influx of their labor had helped save the carpet industry and as a result they needed resources, like the Georgia Project, to assist their community. They appropriated and extended white narratives about Latino/as as hard working, family-oriented people to access both social capital and actual capital in the form of programs like the Georgia Project.

However, in the process of embracing these images Latino/as also participated in the anti-black rhetoric that praised Latino/as as "hard working" using blacks as the shadow against which Latino/as were compared. While earlier generations of southern Latino/as distanced themselves from blackness as a way to ascend into whiteness, this generation was decidedly not-white so some Latino/as struggled to ensure they remained not-black.

This chapter follows how these three groups used the image of the "hard working" immigrant and both the intended and unintended consequences of its creation. The story of Latino/as in Dalton, Georgia is neither one of crushing oppression under the weight of enduring southern white supremacy, nor is it a story of liberal efforts uplifting those in need. Instead it is a story of varied groups using Latino/as to struggle over the legacy of Jim Crow and the Civil Rights Movement, the globalization of labor, and a rapidly shifting racial order. It follows white liberals in Dalton through a study of the Georgia Project, then turns to carpet elites and their participation in the Georgia Project as well as their efforts to quell anti-immigrant sentiment, and finally turns to Latino/as and their efforts to build community in Dalton. Together these groups would shaped the transition of Latino/as from an ethnic group to a racial one in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century south.

The origins of the carpet industry in Dalton span back to the turn of the twentieth century. In the early 1900s, Catherine Evans Whitener, a native of Dalton, Georgia, began using a method that had fallen out of style called "tufting" to make bedspreads. By the 1930s, Whitener, along with other women struggling through the Great Depression began to generate these bedspreads for sale. They would hang their tufted items near the highway in hopes of appealing to passing tourists. What started as a cottage industry grew so substantially that the portion of U.S. Highway 41 near Dalton became known as "Bedspread Alley." This novel production method, coupled with the massive infrastructure created by Georgia's cotton industry, positioned Dalton to explode as a carpet manufacturing giant.[249]

At the end of World War II, Dalton emerged as a national force in carpet. In the late 1940s, carpet companies had successfully created machinery "wide enough to tuft a nine-foot wide piece of fabric," resulting in the shift to manufacturing broadloom, or as it is commonly referred to, "wall-to-wall" carpeting.[250] The combination of the boom in homeownership in the wake of World War II and growing consumer interest in wall-to-wall carpet caused a spike in the sales of tufted carpets. In the 1960s, carpet mills "eclipsed cotton mills as the largest employers in the Dalton area" and the Dalton district "had drifted toward almost complete dependence on broadloom carpet manufacture."[251] In 1951, tufted carpets represented only 9 percent of carpets sold in the United States. That number grew tenfold by 1968 when tufted carpets represented 90 percent of U.S. carpet sales.[252]

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[249] James Denton Engstrom, "Industry, Social Regulation, and Scale: The Carpet Manufacturing Complex of Dalton, Georgia" (Ph.D., Clark University, 1998), 172.
[250] Ibid., 90.
[251] Patton and Parker, *Carpet Capital*, 1–2, 180.
[252] Arthur D. Murphy, Colleen Blanchard, and Jennifer A. Hill, eds., *Latino Workers in the Contemporary South*, Southern Anthropological Society Proceedings, no. 34 (Athens, Ga: University of Georgia Press, 2001), 46.

In the early twentieth century, Dalton faced labor clashes over issues of race in the mills. Historian Douglas Flamming found that "in every case from the late 1890s through the 1910s, white millhands reacted violently to the introduction of black workers: they staged walkouts, organized unions to maintain white supremacy in the mills, and took political action against industrialists who dared to breach racial mores."[253] Eventually southern mill managers bowed to white labor and maintained a white-only work force. This history, of course, left a legacy in Dalton in the 1980s. While blacks represented about 30% of Dalton's population in the 1890s, by the 1930s blacks were only about 10% of the population. The black Dalton population remained at around 10% through the 1990s. However, being systematically excluded from the counties biggest industry had financial consequences. In 1995 7% of white households in Whitfield had annual incomes over $75,000 while only 0.7% of black households did.[254] Victor Zuñiga, a Mexican man who came to Dalton with the Georgia Project said, "African American people are invisible in Dalton." He said that while African-Americans worked as maids, cooks, nannies, and waiters in wealthy Daltonian's homes, few lived in the city limits.[255]

Racial tension in the area's biggest industry bled over to the residential organization of the county. Dalton was split into an East and West side. The East side was home to Dalton's small black population and, increasingly throughout the 1980s, its large Latino population. Because residence determined school enrollment, Dalton's schools were segregated across class and racial lines. The West side schools operated like "elite private school[s]" while the East side

[253] Douglas Flamming, *Creating the Modern South : Millhands and Managers in Dalton, Georgia, 1884-1984 /* (Chapel Hill : University of North Carolina Press, c1992.), 110.
[254] Edmund Tappan Hamann, "The Georgia Project: A Binational Attempt to Reinvent a School District in Response to Latino Newcomers" (Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, 1999), 118, 146.
[255] Victor Zuñiga, E-mail Interview with Victor Zuñiga by Author, April 11, 2016.

schools struggled to serve students from diverse backgrounds with limited funds.[256] The arrival of Latinos in Dalton's East Side resulted in the city's already limited low-income housing stock being stretched to its limit. As Latinos "gain[ed] a reputation among local landlords for being more prompt with rent payments and better at keeping up properties than other types of tenants," white and black residents of Dalton's low-income housing found themselves displaced.[257]

Dalton's communities represented stark concentration of wealth and poverty. By the early 1970s Dalton was home to "more millionaires per capita than any other city in the nation" and by the mid-1980s "two-thirds of all U.S. carpet mills were located in Georgia," most in the Dalton district. While the recession in 1981-1982 caused a brief drop in production, the 1980s and 1990s remained profitable for the carpet industry. It was also in the 1980s that Dalton carpet industrialists were faced with the consequences of growing at such a rapid rate—a labor shortage. In Whitfield County (of which Dalton is a part) unemployment dropped to 3.8 percent and workers were driving from several counties away to work in Dalton's carpet mills or other carpet-related jobs. Whitfield County's unemployment rates remained lower than both national and state-level rates throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Having seemingly depleted the labor of local appalachians, carpet capitalists looked further south and began turning to Mexican labor to "provide some relief from the regional labor shortage."[258]

The first Mexican immigrants came to Dalton in 1969 by way of Dallas, Texas as part of a dam construction crew. When twelve of the original crew decided to stay in Dalton they

[256] Hamann, "The Georgia Project," 129.
[257] Ibid., 147.
[258] Patton and Parker, *Carpet Capital*, 209, 231, 291; Arthur D. Murphy, Colleen Blanchard, and Jennifer A. Hill, eds., *Latino Workers in the Contemporary South*, Southern Anthropological Society Proceedings, no. 34 (Athens, Ga: University of Georgia Press, 2001), 47.

formed the first Latino community.[259] However, the large-scale migration of Latinos did not begin until the 1980s when local and national changes in policy and industry came together to create an inviting environment for immigrants in Dalton. In 1986, petroleum prices fell and inflation in Mexico reached triple digits. Wages were also depressed and sunk to their lowest point in 1987.[260] Many Mexicans fled a rapidly spiraling economy looking for jobs in the US. Additionally, in 1986 Republican President Ronald Reagan passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA), which authorized the legalization of three million undocumented immigrants many of whom would go on to gain legal permanent residency. While this legislation made *some* southern Latinos "legal" for the first time, its more important impact for the South was giving newly legal immigrants from the West and Southwest the safety to leave their regions and search for higher wages in new geographical destinations. Many of them headed to the Southeast.[261]

The carpet industry, however, was not the first instance in which Georgia business owners experimented with using Mexican labor to eschew black and native-born white labor. Julie Weise has demonstrated that Mexicans were an important part of Georgia's agricultural labor force as early as the 1970s. In 1975 nearly 40 percent of Georgia's agricultural workers were Mexican or Tejano. Mexicans and Mexican-Americans came to dominate Georgia's Vidalia onion picking industry and became the predominant labor force picking cucumber, pepper, squash, and tomato. Indeed, the 1980 Census found 37,874 Hispanics in Georgia. In that same year the Census estimated only about 200 Mexicans in Whitfield County.[262]

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[259] Hamann, "The Georgia Project," 119, 22.
[260] Murphy, Blanchard, and Hill, *Latino Workers in the Contemporary South*, 2001, 37.
[261] Ibid., 127.
[262] Weise, *Corazón de Dixie*, 186–195; Patton and Parker, *Carpet Capital*, 280.

The growing Latino population was good for business in Georgia, especially the carpet industry who was experiencing a tight labor market. By 1990 "the Census Bureau reported more than 3,500 Mexican immigrants in Whitfield County," a massive increase from the estimated 200 immigrants in 1980. Only four years later, in 1994, "unofficial reports placed the number of Mexican immigrants closer to 10,000." After IRCA, some moved across the country and some crossed the border to Dalton. Latinos were drawn to the Southeast for many reasons. Familial and communal networks promised higher wages outside the Southwest.

Increased mobility and a growing number of jobs in Dalton made the area appealing for new immigrants. World Carpet CEO Shaheen Shaheen recalled that in the early 1970s his company was running vanpools throughout Northwest Georgia into Tennessee looking for sufficient numbers of workers. In the 1970s he said there were 4,000 job vacancies in Dalton.[263] When local labor seemed to have been tapped out, carpet manufacturers began to mimic poultry plants' recruitment of Mexican labor. Carpet jobs certainly drew some, however, for many it was the Conagra poultry plant that drew them to Dalton.

However, poultry was brutal work that took extreme tolls on the bodies of the workers. Often times those workers in poultry who were able to, left for carpet factories where the work posed fewer threats to their lives.[264] Their choice to leave poultry for carpet, however, shouldn't be seen as a celebration of carpet factories. Work in carpet mills often required handling dangerous and corrosive chemicals. Juan García, a worker in a Dalton carpet mill complained of the toll the chemicals took on his body. "It was rough," he said "You wore gloves but some of

[263] Hamann, "The Georgia Project," 120.
[264] Steve Striffler, *Chicken: The Dangerous Transformation of America's Favorite Food* (Yale University Press, 2007); Laura E. Helton and Angela Stuesse, "Low-Wage Legacies, Race, and the Golden Chicken in Mississippi: Where Contemporary Immigration Meets African American Labor History," *www.southernspaces.org*.

the chemicals were rough. The cracks of your hands would just bleed. That stuff would burn. The chemicals, García recalled, "were very reactive to water if you had over [a certain] amount… it would flame up bad…We had known those to explode and the roof come off." Carpet companies also required long shifts from their workers. While carpet companies claimed that that they would employ people to work only three twelve-hour shifts each week, García was working twelve-hour shifts six or seven days a week at ChemTech. Sometimes they "would go months without a day off."[265] Despite these conditions, people continued to flee poultry for carpet when possible.

By the 1990s Latinos represented a sizable portion of Dalton's population with no sign of leaving. The Mexican immigrants who had fueled the carpet industry for nearly a decade were laying down roots and establishing community in Dalton. Church officials reported that in 1997 "Hispanic baptisms accounted for 250 of the 260 total baptisms performed [at] St. Joseph's Catholic Church in Dalton." The Dalton Housing Authority reported, "approximately 40 percent of their public housing clients were Hispanic." However, the growing presence of Latinos was felt nowhere more acutely than Dalton Public Schools. In 1989 the "Hispanic" population was 3.9 percent. In 1993 Latinos overtook African-Americans as the largest non-white minority at 14.9 percent. In the 1998-1999 school year Latinos made up 41.6 percent of the student body, only 3 percent shy of the percentage of whites in Dalton Public Schools.[266] Erwin Mitchell put the need for such a project in plain terms, "all that we needed to do was to look at who is shopping, eating, working, and playing beside us."[267]

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[265] Donald E. Davis et al., eds., *Voices from the Nueva Frontera: Latino Immigration in Dalton, Georgia*, 1 edition (Knoxville: Univ Tennessee Press, 2009), 17; Patton and Parker, *Carpet Capital*, 280.
[266] Kennesaw State Report, 13, 15. GAPP.
[267] Series VI, Box 1, Folder 5 GA Project Clipping 1999. GAPP.

White Liberals

In 1994, lawyer and former Georgia Congressmen, Erwin Mitchell, was comforting his youngest daughter who had come home after a long day working as a paraprofessional at Roan Elementary School in Dalton, Georgia. "We have all these little Latino children," she lamented, "and no teachers who can speak Spanish."[268] Mitchell understood what his daughter was talking about, he had noticed that Dalton was starting to look different. "I had noticed more brown-skinned folks in the community," he recalled, "I had no earthly idea what was happening in Dalton Georgia." "In Northwest Georgia," he exclaimed, "at that time 1 out of every 3 children was brown-skinned" and with a slight provocation he noted "more brown-skinned than black skinned." Eager to help his youngest daughter, Mitchell began to investigate what Dalton's Public Schools were doing to deal with the new population. He discovered quickly that little was being done and the school board was mostly caught up in "hand wringing" about what to do for the new Latino students. As he continued to delve into the problems faced by schools with skyrocketing Latino populations, teachers began to seek Mitchell out and echo his daughter's concerns. He recalled that teachers would come to him saying "please don't get me in trouble…but we've got a horrible situation. These kids keeping coming into our schools, these wonderful kids, their behavior is not a problem except we can't talk with them, and they can't speak with us."[269] Mitchell would become the driving force and enduring energy behind the Georgia Project and helped form the business/Dalton Public School collaboration that characterized the program.

Born on August 17, 1924, Harlan Erwin Mitchell was born and raised in Dalton, Georgia.

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[268] Erwin Mitchell, Erwin Mitchell Oral History, October 20, 2008, Russell Library for Political and Research Studies.
[269] Ibid.

He attended school in Dalton and when he graduated high school he continued his education at the Citadel in South Carolina. From there he went on to serve in the Army Air Corps in World War II where he flew a B51 Mustang as a fighter pilot. His involvement with the war, like many of his generation, shaped his sense of collective responsibility. Mitchell had fought in a popular war that the United States won. (Hamman oral history) As much as his experience growing up in Dalton engendered a sense of attachment to the place, it was also his service in the military that would help explain why a local lawyer came to care so deeply about the plight of immigrant children in Dalton's Public Schools.

Mitchell began to reach out to anyone he knew in town who had either ideas or resources to help tackle the challenge of educating monolingual Spanish-speaking students. During his time as a congressman he developed relationships with carpet manufacturers that he would lean on as he began to form the skeleton of the Georgia Project. Mitchell served as a Democratic Congressman from 1958-1960 where he faced clashes between a district driven by carpet industrialists and the Kennedy administration's efforts to support organized labor. Mitchell had been elected with the support of textile mill owners and, despite this, managed to maintain a friendly relationship with organized labor. However, in 1959 when another Congressman from Georgia, Phil Landrum, cosponsored a bill designed to further limit organized labor's power, Erwin Mitchell was forced to choose a side. The restrictions to organized labor created by the Griffin-Landrum bill were deemed too weak by textile mill owners and too harsh by the Kennedy administration and other Democrats. Eugene Barwick of Barwick Mills, in his capacity as director of the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), lobbied Mitchell to support the harshest possible restrictions on organized labor. Mitchell felt that if he had any hope of a political future in Georgia he could "hardly afford to alienate the tufted textile manufacturers of

his district or their money." Ultimately Mitchell sided with manufacturing and supported the legislation with its most stringent restrictions on labor. In the first test of his loyalty between labor and industry, Mitchell decisively sided with Dalton's carpet capitalists. Past his short-lived career as a politician, Mitchell maintained strong ties with carpet mill owners.[270]

When Mitchell began to try and tackle the question of educating Spanish-speaking students he reached out to his life long friend and fellow Daltonian, Robert "Bob" Shaw, the CEO of Shaw Industries, one of the largest carpet manufacturers in the world. Sympathetic to Mitchell's concerns, Shaw reached out to Roberto Delgado, a Mexican businessman he had worked with, looking for Mexican teachers. After several attempts, Delgado finally returned Shaw's calls and agreed to put him in touch with the president of the Universidad de Monterrey.[271]

The coalition that came together included Erwin Mitchell, Robert E. Shaw, co-owner of Shaw Industries, Roberto Delgado, owner of Versax Industries in Mexico, and Dr. Victor Zuñiga of the Universidad de Monterrey. Eleven of the eighteen members of the Georgia Project committee were carpet executives and represented every major carpeting company including Aladdin/Mohawk, Shaw Industries, Durkan Patterned Carpet, World Carpet, Beaulieu and Allied Fibers.[272] Despite having relatively little money invested in the program, the carpet industry maintained a great deal of control over the Georgia Project.

Early in the process of forming the nascent Georgia Project, Erwin Mitchell wrote to the President of the Universidad de Monterrey to express his thanks for the University's assistance in dealing with Dalton's "acute problem." Monterrey's participation, Mitchell continued, would

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[270] Patton and Parker, *Carpet Capital*, 190–192.
[271] Zuñiga, E-mail Interview with Victor Zuñiga by Author; Hamann, Edmund T., Interview with Edmund T. Hamann by Author, Phone, March 23, 2016; Mitchell, Erwin Mitchell Oral History.
[272] Subseries A, Series I, Box 1, Folder 1. GAPP.

help "improve the quality of education for the Mexican and American children in the school system of the City of Dalton." Mitchell's characterization of the children as "Mexican" in contrast with the (predominantly white) "American" children illustrates one effect of the Georgia Project—maintaining Mexicans, and Latinos more broadly, as perpetually foreign.[273] Despite the assessment of some in the project, Dalton was often a second stop for immigrants who had spent time in Texas or California. While they may not have spoken English, some of the children had lived in the U.S. for years and few knew a home in Mexico.

The seemingly slight discursive move to place Mexican-American immigrants outside of Americanness took institutional form in the Georgia Project's recruitment of teachers from Mexico. Despite the presence of Mexican-Americans in Dalton for nearly two decades and the state of Georgia even earlier, the Georgia Project sought teachers from Mexico. A report from researchers at Universidad de Monterrey found just this, they wrote "many of the members of the Hispanic community have had a considerable amount of work experience in the United States and possess a broad understanding of American society."[274]

In an op-ed about the Georgia Project Erwin Mitchell noted, "the majority of these children are American citizens." He cited Roan Street Elementary where nearly 70 percent of the Mexican and Hispanic children were born in the United States, many in Georgia.[275] At Westwood Elementary School in the 1996-1997 school year, of the 81 students in Kindergarten, First, and Second grades 69% were born in the United States (most in California or Texas).

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[273] October 8, 1996. Series I, Box 1. GAPP.
[274] Series I Box 1 Folder 5. Needs Assessment of the Hispanic Community in Dalton. October 28, 1997. Universidad de Monterrey. Rubén Hernández Léon, Víctor Zúñiga, Janna L. Shadduck, and María Olivia Villarreal. GAPP.
[275] Series VI, Box 1, Folder 5 GA Project Clipping 1999. Mitchell, Erwin. "The Georgia Project—What and Why." *The Daily Citizen-News*. March 28, 1999 (Sunday). GAPP.

Moreover, 27% of those born in the United States were born in Georgia.[276] Many of these children's parents were also born in the United States. Gerardo Loera, a manager and part owner of the restaurant, Tampico's, was born and raised in Atlanta, roughly ninety-minutes from Dalton. Norberto Reyes was born in Mexico but raised in Atlanta and owned a popular Mexican restaurant. Reyes described himself as "knowledgeable of the American way of life to the point that he can be considered a bicultural individual."[277] Latinos had long lived in the Georgia and Dalton's Latino population was no exception.[278]

While the presence of Mexican-Americans was not new, Mitchell was right to note the pace of migration had grown significantly. Whether or not it was the only viable solution, Mitchell turned to Mexico to address the needs of Spanish-speaking students. When writing to the head of the Georgia Project at the Universidad de Monterrey, Victor Zuñiga, he emphasized the impact this program could have for both Georgians and Mexicans. He wrote that the Georgia Project was an "opportunity for two educational institutions and two nations to work together on behalf of children."[279]

The Georgia Project's first step was to acquire funding. The Georgia Public Schools were already woefully underfunded so the introduction of a new group of teachers and programming required new funds. It was in this moment that Mitchell's decision to not alienate carpet industrialists in the fight over the Griffin-Landrum bill became important. Mitchell found a partner in Robert Shaw who, along with his brother J.C. Shaw, had successfully turned Shaw

[276] Westwood School Hispanic Tracking by Birthplace 1996-1997. Series II Box 1 Folder 1 Hispanic Tracking by Birthplace. GAPP.
[277] Series I Box 2 Folder 21. November 10, 1997. GAPP.
[278] For more on the prehistory of Latino/as in Georgia see: Weise, *Corazón de Dixie*, 120–178.
[279] Letter from Erwin Mitchell to Victor Zuñiga. September 27, 1966. GAPP.

Industries into the largest carpet manufacturing company in the world.[280] Shaw, along with other mill owners, provided most of the private contributions to the project.

However, Mitchell reached out to other private interests to seek additional funds. Writing to the Honorable Johnny Isakson of Northside Realty, Mitchell extolled the achievements of the collaboration.[281] In addition to recounting the various successes of the newly forming Georgia Project he invited Isakson to meet with the visiting Mexican delegation. Isakson would be one part of a collection of "industry[,] business and government sponsors" who were to meet with the visiting Mexican industry sponsor, Roberto Garza Delgado and the President of the Universidad de Monterrey, Dr. Francisco Azcunaga.[282] The group met in Dalton for four days where they were able to "fine tune the project" with hopes of beginning the first phase in February of 1997. The meeting, Mitchell wrote, was an "example of international teamwork at its very best."[283]

With Erwin Mitchell spearheading the fundraising efforts and the carpet industry providing the primary source of private funding, the Georgia Project rallied a diverse group of donors to fill in the gaps. Mitchell was able to raise over $125,000 in private donations, the lions share coming from carpet industrialists.[284] Much of this funding came from strategic appeals to carpet elites that emphasized that the immigrants it would serve were hard working immigrants whose assistance would benefit not only the schools but the business community.

Reflecting years later on the immigration of Latino/as to Dalton and the Georgia Project Mitchell said, "these folks were coming to fill the jobs that were really critical at that time." The carpet industry he went on, "was just running out of people and they needed these people." "And

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[280] Patton and Parker, *Carpet Capital*, 256.
[281] Letter from Erwin Mitchell to Johnny Isakson. January 27, 1997. GAPP.
[282] Letter from Erwin Mitchell to Johnny Isakson. January 27, 1997. GAPP.
[283] Letter from Erwin Mitchell to Johnny Isakson. January 27, 1997. GAPP.
[284] Series I, Box 1, Folder 17: "Hispanics Fueling Boom in Old South" by Gil Klein. *Richmond-Times Dispatch*. September 5, 1999. GAPP.

they were good workers" he emphasized, "and with rare exception were all model contributing members of the community."[285] Here Mitchell fused together the same discourse that would be refined by carpet elites. Latino/as were deserving of any assistance they received through programs like the Georgia Project because they were filling necessary jobs and because they were model community members. While Mitchell was right that the carpet industry did face a tight labor market that was likely constricting its expansion, it ignores that in the process of recruiting Latino/a workers the carpet industry also displaced many of the white Appalachian workers who had previously worked in the factories.

Additionally, the framing of Latino/as as "model contributing members of the community," serves as both praise and policing. Praising Latino/as as vital members of the Dalton community helped soothe post-Civil Rights Movement anxieties of many white liberals. They could both rhetorically and financially support this non-white group without having to confront or be reminded of the legacies of Jim Crow and civil rights struggle. However, this praise also had the accompanying effect that resources should only be available to those Latino/as who were "model" and "contributing." Latino/as, then, were only deserving of support as long as they were productive and fit within scripts of southern family values.

Erwin Mitchell extolled the value of the Georgia Project claiming that "Nothing is more important than to teach these children the ways of America." Teaching these "unpolished jewels" was a civic duty that Georgians should rally behind.[286] Elsewhere Erwin Mitchell wrote, "there is a great deal of brainpower and talent in our Latino community." Suggesting that the schools could teach these children the "ways of America," ignored that many of the children had been

[285] Mitchell, Erwin Mitchell Oral History.
[286] Series II Box 1 Folder 1 "Senator Praises Georgia Project" by Jamie Jones. *Daily Citizen News*. September 3, 1999. GAPP.

born in the United States and moved from places like California and Texas. Moreover, his depiction of children as "unpolished jewels" reveals the deeply paternalistic vision many liberals had for the project. Schools had to step in where immigrant parents could not and offer children an education in American social mores so they could reach their fullest potential.

This potential, Mitchell reiterated in an appeal to carpet elites for funding, was also monetary. "The bottom line," he goes on, "is that by emphasizing the education of these students, we're going to have an educated labor force for your community."[287]Educating students was both an emotional and financial commitment for Mitchell and carpet elites. At once they were able to serve children who genuinely needed help in getting bilingual education and at the same time could look to the future work force that would be better educated. Those white liberals promoting the Georgia Project, Mitchell demonstrates, internalized and repurposed the discourse of productivity from the carpet industry as part of their appeal for funds.

In Mitchell's appeal to carpet philanthropists he melded language of multiculturalism and "the American dream" with productivity and investment. While Mitchell certainly was committed to the Georgia Project for reasons beyond its ability to create a more productive Dalton, his decision to use the language of productivity and investment suggests that his fundraising efforts need to incorporate industrial concerns. The language of investment, however, was certainly a slippery and dangerous slope. If Latinos were worth educating because of their productivity, economic downturn or misfortune would seemingly be the death knell of any interracial support. The emphasis on Latino/as being deserving because of their labor potential helped solidify a discourse which both allowed carpet elites to participate in new forms of paternalism and at the same time and suggested that if Latino/as were unwilling to endure the

[287] Series I Box 1 Folder Georgia Project Committee Correspondence. GAPP.

increasingly grueling labor in the factories their families were not deserving of school resources. It both linked carpet elites and Latino/as in community and made Latino/as position in that community more precarious.

Mitchell also secured a federal government grant for Federal Title VII funding, otherwise known as an "Emergency Immigration Grant." This funding was designed as a stop-gap measure to provide aid from 1997-1999 to help school districts deal with new Spanish-speaking students in their classrooms.[288] At the local level he was able to get Dalton's City Council to "grant the school system $350,000 a year for three years to pay some of the costs."[289]

The City Council grant seemed well worth it according to superintendent Billy Bice. In anticipation of the Georgia Project he met with eight school principals in Dalton and found widespread excitement. In a letter to the head of the Georgia Project in Monterrey, Bice calculated that Dalton Public Schools could benefit from a total of sixty-eight teachers from Monterrey. He conceded that it was "perhaps an unrealistic number" and that even half of that number would be wonderful. Bice and the Dalton principals seemed eager to bring the Georgia Project to their schools in as broad a capacity as possible.[290]

While funding had been secured, problems procuring visas delayed the start of the Georgia Project. On March 19, 1997 in a ceremony held at a local high school, an accord was signed between the Universidad de Monterrey and the Public School Systems of the City of Dalton and County of Whitfield to make the Georgia Project a reality. The accord acknowledged

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[288] Hispanic Labor Migration and the Nation's Carpet Capital-Dalton, Georgia. Dr(s) Harold R. Trendell, Mark W. Patterson, Garrett C. Smith. Department of Sociology, Geography and Anthropology. Kennesaw State University. 24. GAPP.

[289] Series I, Box 1, Folder 17: "Hispanics Fueling Boom in Old South" by Gil Klein. *Richmond-Times Dispatch*. September 5, 1999. GAPP.
Series I Box 1 "Poll Rates Funding Pick" Daily Citizen News. April 24, 1997

[290] Letter to Dr. Zuñiga from Billy Bice. September 25, 1996. Series I, Box 1, Folder: GA Project Committee Correspondence. GAPP.

that the Georgia Project was designed to employ the "skilled instructors" and the resources of the Universidad de Monterrey to address the "pressing need for bilingual instructors fluent in both the English and Spanish languages and who are knowledgeable in Hispanic culture" in Dalton and Whitfield counties.[291] It reflected the shared vision of its participants on either side of the border to ensure a "globally competitive education for all learners." The "Monterrey Accord," as it came to be known, institutionalized the work that Erwin Mitchell and others had done to create this program.

The accord outlined the four key functions of the Georgia Project. First, the Universidad de Monterrey would offer teaching assistants to aid with bilingual education in the Georgia Public Schools. Second, teachers from Dalton and Whitfield County schools would participate in an "intensive Spanish and Mexican Culture Program," where they would "spend four weeks of intensive Spanish instruction as well as immersion in cultural activities at the Universidad de Monterrey." Third, the Universidad de Monterrey would conduct a "comprehensive study of the Dalton/Whitfield community" in order to "reveal detailed demographic information related to the Hispanic community. The information would then be used to help develop programs to foster "community leadership; adult biliteracy; and parent, school and industry programs." Finally, the Universidad de Monterrey committed to assist the Georgia School Systems with the "development of a bilingual education program."[292]

In the summer of 1997 the Georgia Project sent twenty-four teachers to the Universidad de Monterrey for a month. There they received four weeks of Spanish instruction with a focus on colloquial Spanish, as well as immersion in cultural activities, instruction in Spanish and

[291] Davis et al., *Voices from the Nueva Frontera*, 112. Series 1 Box 1. Accord. March 19, 1997. GAPP.
[292] Series 1 Box 1. Accord. March 19, 1997. GAPP.

Mexican history and culture as well as training in "English as a Second Language methodologies.[293][294] From the images of that summer it is clear that nearly, if not all, of the teachers who traveled to Mexico from Georgia were white. This was not surprising given that in the 1996-1997 school year only one of the 301 teachers in Dalton Public Schools was Hispanic.[295] Angela Hagris, a sixth-grade teacher in Whitfield County who traveled to Mexico on the program remarked: "I can't wait to get back in class and share what I learned with my students." "Now," she continued, "I know so much more about where some of my kids come from and can relate to their different heritages."[296]

The next phase of the Georgia Project involved inviting fifteen teachers, known as the "Monterrey girls" from the Universidad de Monterrey to live and work in Georgia.[297] In the beginning logistical challenges plagued the Georgia Project. Acquiring visas forced the arrival of teachers to be delayed twice. By April 1997 it was clear that the visas would prevent them beginning in the summer. The teachers finally arrived on October 9, 1997, after the school year had already begun.[298] Robert Shaw, CEO of Shaw Industries, provided transportation for the teachers easing some of the cost of the beginning of the program.[299]

In March 1998, six months after the Georgia Project teachers began, Dalton High School held a welcome assembly entitled "Everyone at Dalton High Smiles in the Same Language." This welcome assembly was a perfect example of the commitment by the Dalton Public Schools,

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[293] Davis et al., *Voices from the Nueva Frontera*, 113. "Georgia Project History." GAPP.
[294] "Georgia Project History." GAPP. Voice from the Nueva Frontera, 113
[295] (Engstrom, 160)
[296] Series I Box 1. "Mexico Trip Gives Cultural Insights" by Christina Lynch Quinn, *Daily Citizen News.* GAPP.
[297] Series I Box 1. "Mexico Trip Gives Cultural Insights" by Christina Lynch Quinn, *Daily Citizen News.* GAPP.
[298] Davis et al., *Voices from the Nueva Frontera*, 111–112.
[299] Series I. Subseries A. Box 1. Folder 1. GAPP.

and the Dalton community more broadly, to integration through multiculturalism. To advertise the event the school created a flier that featured a clip art photo that a decade later would look like a caricature of multiculturalism. It included children from different regions of the world wearing only the most visible markers of their ethnic difference holding hands in an arc at the top of the page. One girl wears a kimono, another young boy is in a sari and one boy dons a bull-fighter's uniform. Perhaps visitors were lucky that serapes and sombreros were not featured in the cultural mosaic.

The assembly's theme, "everyone smiles in the same language," coupled with the imagery sends a complex message. On the one hand, everyone is unified as part of one human race, on the other children can be easily sorted into taxonomies of difference based on their country of origin. The assembly at once highlighted the Georgia Project teacher's difference and at the same time subsumed that difference into a homogenous Dalton High. This theme encapsulated the constant struggle of white liberals between a desire for color-blind subjugation of difference and the increased focus on multiculturalism, which highlighted difference in ways that were often exaggerated and alienating for children of color.

Most families and teachers in Dalton Public Schools felt very positively about the Georgia Project. Nancy Turberville, whose three children were all in Dalton Public Schools said, "I don't feel like my children are suffering any…I don't see in any way how our school system is going to suffer."[300] Most parents seemed to respond like Turberville and even more of the teachers were positive about the new program. In a survey conducted of all teachers in the Dalton Public Schools that had new teachers, the Dalton teachers were overwhelmingly appreciative of the Monterrey teachers and all they brought to the classroom. Amy Haynes, a

[300] Series I Box I "Dalton parents like Ga. Project goals" by David W. Hamilton. *Daily Citizen-News.* GAPP.

first grade teacher at Roan Elementary School wrote to Erwin Mitchell about the Monterrey teachers calling them "irreplaceable." She "[felt] strongly" that the number of teaching assistants "need[ed] to be maintained or increased to assist students." Haynes wasn't alone—most surveys revealed widespread support by teachers for the program.[301]

However, not everyone in Dalton Public Schools was excited to welcome the new teachers. Despite broad support and praise from teachers and parents, some felt this program was unnecessary. One of the few teacher surveys that criticized the Georgia Project teachers felt that the program was not improving English proficiency in her students. In her opinon, the teacher she worked with was "only useful as a translator." She bemoaned the overuse of Spanish by the Monterrey teachers: "Every time that I have seen her walking with a student she isn't even trying to help the child with English. It is all done in Spanish."[302] The other few critics of the program cited the cost and a growing sense that the presence of these teachers was a redundancy that could not be afforded.

Some of the reviews by teachers revealed, with little subtlety, that their frustration with the program was based on beliefs that Mexicans were fundamentally unassimilable into American society. When asked in a yearly review of the Georgia Project if it should be continued, one teacher wrote "It would help us much more to have special classes for the Hispanic families that emphasize the importance of an education, explain the policies of our schools, the customs in the United States, etc." She went on to complain that "these families take the children to Mexico at Thanksgiving and show back up in February…their doctors are the Emergency Room and many have never been to school when we get them at age nine." More than just the students and parents, this teacher railed against the Monterrey teachers who she felt

[301] Amy Haynes (First Grade Teacher, Roan School) to Erwin Mitchell May 31, 1999. GAPP.
[302] Teacher Surveys. Series I. Box 1. Folder 18. GAPP.

were "taking jobs that our own young people just out of college need." This teacher fused two strands of xenophobia; first that the students and families were not "fit" for American citizenship and their refusal to assimilate was evidence of this. Second, the women hired for the Georgia Project, and all immigrants by extension, were a drain on jobs that more deserving native-born whites needed.[303] Given that most people in Dalton had some connection to the carpet industry, this woman's anger at jobs "taken" by the Mexican teachers was likely connected to a larger feeling that manufacturing jobs in carpet had been "taken" by undeserving immigrants.

Billy Bice, Superintendent of Dalton Public Schools struggled with how to deal with the community reception of Latinos. "This community has a problem accepting that the Hispanic community is here to stay," he said to a reporter, "Prejudice is alive and well…even in our community."[304] This prejudice took the form of "occasional demonstrations by some nativist groups" who drew "sparse crowds" protesting undocumented immigration. These demonstrations, however, seemed to be exceptional. A night court magistrate in Greenville, Georgia, Huck Nelson, admitted that the presence of Latinos did "scare some people," but for the most part he found that "even in the 'red-neck' areas, we don't see antagonism toward Hispanics." Nelson credited this fact with the disastrous history of integration and busing. "We've come through so much," he said, "We don't want to do it again…we're ready to accept some diversity."[305] According to Nelson B. Rivers, III, the director of the Atlanta office of the NAACP, African-Americans did not see the "Hispanic influx as a threat." Instead, Rivers argued, "Its a natural alliance…We have both been suppressed and excluded, so we have a lot in

[303] Teacher Surveys. Series I. Box 1. Folder 18. GAPP.
[304] "Georgia Project producing Results" by Brian M. Schleter. *Daily Citizen-News*. Oct. 26, 1997. Series I Box 1 Folder 17. "Hispanics Fueling Boom in Old South" by Gil Klein. *Richmond-Times Dispatch*. September 5, 1999. GAPP.
[305] Series I Box 1 Folder 17. "Hispanics Fueling Boom in Old South" by Gil Klein. *Richmond-Times Dispatch*. September 5, 1999. GAPP.

common."[306] There was no evidence that there was any hostility between recent immigrants and the small black community in Dalton.

Carpet Elites

The carpet industry played a crucial role in the development and execution of the Georgia Project. Because the cost of shipping carpets was so high, few carpet factories ever left Dalton, even after the passage of NAFTA and other neoliberal policies that would have made relocation potentially cheaper. A CEO of one of Dalton's largest carpet producers, who was born and raised in Dalton, said that if it was not for the carpet industry, "he and everyone else in the community would be 'poor red-dirt farmers.'" He was glad that technological advances allowed his company to remain in Dalton and not relocate to either a larger city like Atlanta or another country.[307] As a result, many of the carpet companies were multi-generational family companies and the CEOs and upper-level management mostly stayed in Dalton. Therefore, they were more committed to the area than parallel corporations in the region, like poultry.

In part because of its commitment to Dalton, the carpet industry invested in the local community. In Shaw's 1996 annual report an entire chapter was devoted to corporate citizenship. It opened with the following statement: "We cannot separate ourselves from the communities in which we have facilities. Our common success depends on helping each other."[308] The carpet industry, as a result, had a long history of corporate paternalism which included building recreational centers, hosting community events, and giving college scholarships to workers. This tradition, which mirrored many of the mill-towns in the region, was continued with the introduction of Latino/a workers.

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[306] Series I, Box 1, Folder 17: "Hispanics Fueling Boom in Old South" by Gil Klein. *Richmond-Times Dispatch*. September 5, 1999. GAPP.
[307] Hamann, "The Georgia Project," 124–126.
[308] Ibid.

In the 1990s carpet factories began offering adult education programs, mostly English classes, for their Spanish-speaking workers. The classes, however, were poorly attended. Carpet manufacturing was becoming less skilled and therefore did not necessarily require English literacy. Carpet managers and human resources officials pointed to the de-skilling of carpet manufacturing, rather than production expectations, as the cause of the low attendance. However, employees who were working ten to twelve-hour days likely wanted to use what precious free time they had to enjoy leisure and family.[309]

The Georgia Project, however, was a more meaningful investment on the part of the carpet capitalists. In part because of the cost, but also because it acknowledged the permanence of the Latino community and the need to support public systems that their industry had effectively transformed. The local newspaper, *The Daily Citizen-News*, reported that the Georgia Project represented "an unusual relationship with business and industry that should have been formed long ago…specifically in regard to communication barriers with the Hispanic community here." After all, they noted, "our Hispanic neighbors are here because local businesses gave them jobs" and therefore should "accept some responsibility beyond hand out a regular paycheck." The business community agreed that the Georgia Project represented such a "step toward accountability."[310] Even as states rolled back labor and environmental regulations for factories like those in Dalton, investment in programs like the Georgia Project allowed carpet industrialists to portray themselves as corporate citizens who served to the community they occupied. By investing in the education of their workers, like the mill owners of an earlier generation, they were able to successfully court new immigrant labor while projecting an image

[309] "Needs Assessment of the Hispanic Community in Dalton," October 28, 1997. 20. GAPP.
[310] Series I, Box I. "Business Involvement aids Georgia Project" *Daily Citizen-News*. GAPP.

of Dalton as a racially progressive haven that helped facilitate the integration of Latino immigrants into their school system.

For carpet manufacturers programs like the Georgia Project helped strike a balance between an investment in the community and an investment in their workforce. In a letter to Tommy Maybank, president of Maybank Textiles, Shirley J. Lorberbaum, vice president of Mohawk industries, exclaimed the successes of the Georgia Project. "In the long run," she wrote, "it is our community that truly benefits from the Georgia Project." Lorberbaum continued, "We gain better employees, better citizens, better people." Lorberbaum's word order is important. The Georgia Project produced, first and foremost, better employees. Lorberbaum looked forward to a, still undocumented, English-speaking labor force who could more efficiently produce carpet.[311]

In another fundraising letter Lorberbaum expounded on the benefits of the Georgia Project for local business. In reference to the growing immigrant population she wrote

> The students of today will play a major role in the success of our community tomorrow. Industry, of course, will employ many of them, but EVERY business in Dalton/Whitfield will benefit from a well-educated population. These students will earn better jobs with the opportunity for advancement. [Emphasis included]

Her quote makes clear that the carpet industry saw many of these young students as likely future employees. Some Georgia Project students would certainly have improved job prospects that may have facilitated their exit from Dalton, but for many in carpet the Georgia Project also functioned as early worker training. Elsewhere Lorberbaum emphasizes, "these are the people" who will become "customers and…employees in the years to come." "Isn't investing in their future now," she asks, "a great way of improving your business in the future." As in her first

[311] Series I, Subseries A, Box 1, Folder 22 Letter to Tommy Maybank (Maybank Textiles) from Shirley J. Lorberbaum (Mohawk Industries). May 29, 1998

letter, in which a person's status as a future employee far outweighed their status as a citizen or person, Lorberbaum layers the language of investment and profit on an issue of education and citizenship. The bottom-line, it seemed, was never far from her mind.[312]

Lorberbaum's reference to Latinos as *customers* in addition to workers fits squarely within the growing marketing efforts to Latino consumers during this period.[313] As Latinos came to constitute a larger portion of Dalton, as well as the national population, their value as workers was matched by their value as consumers. Lorberbaum sought to appeal both to the Latino labor that her carpet company desperately needed, but also the growing Latino population in Dalton who were building homes that required carpeting.

In 1998, a year after the formation of the Georgia Project, the carpet industry donated $79,250 to the Georgia Project which represented slightly less than half of their budget. The majority of that, $50,000, came from Aladdin/Mohawk. Other carpet firms donated between $1,000-$5,000. Carpet funds, while they were significant for the Georgia Project, represented only a very small percentage of their profits.[314]

Carpet elites unabashedly celebrated the arrival of Mexican workers and the revitalizing effect they had on the carpet industry. "Certainly, we couldn't support our rug and carpet manufacturing industry without our Latino population," argued Charles Woodward president and CEO of the Dalton/Whitfield County Chamber of Commerce. Woodward saw the relationship as symbiotic between industry and Latino workers, "we provide an opportunity for people to come

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[312] Series I, Subseries A, Box 1, Folder 22 Draft of fundraising letter from Shirley J. Lorberbaum. May 8, 1998. GAPP.
[313] Arlene M. Dávila, *Latino Spin : Public Image and the Whitewashing of Race /* (New York : New York University Press, c2008.), 164, http://search.lib.virginia.edu/catalog/u4786955.
[314] Series I, Subseries A, Box 1, Folder 22. Letter to: Members of Georgia Project Committee and Friends. May 26, 1998. Series I Box 2 Folder 21 Memo to Tony Cook from Erwin Mitchell Re: Georgia Project Finance Committee. April 30, 1998. GAPP.

to a nice area of the country and find some good paying jobs."[315] A report by Kennesaw State University researchers confirmed that Charles Woodward's opinion was widely held amongst Chamber of Commerce members. The Chamber of Commerce, researchers found, "indicate[d] that Hispanic labor migration saved the mills and plants in the Dalton area." Researchers also found that Hispanic labor was "lauded by the employers for their strong work ethic."[316]

James Engstrom has noted that these laudatory expressions were unique, not because of the celebration of the immigrant "work ethic," but rather "how quickly the discourse about hard work and loyalty switched from one ethnic group to another." While carpet industry executives had consistently praised the white, native-born, Appalachian workers, it was now Mexicans who were seen as "godsend[s]" and the "lifeblood" of the carpet industry.[317] In what was perhaps the best demonstration of carpet's power in Dalton's community, carpet manufacturers recruited immigrants, many of whom were undocumented, and openly praised this group with little fear of white backlash. While neighboring communities saw the revival of the Ku Klux Klan as a result of the growing Latino/a population, Dalton maintained relative peace in the face of racial upheaval.

One explanation for Dalton's exceptional nature is the unchecked power of the carpet industry in the region. Between the carpet industry, the chemical processing industry used in carpet, and the many satellite businesses that orbited the carpet industry, no one in Dalton was unaffected by carpet. Even if some in Dalton managed to not be directly employed by carpet, it is likely that someone in their family was. Because of carpet's dominant power in the community, it was able to shape the reception of Latino/as into Dalton. Moreover, carpet drove much of local

[315] Series I Box 1 Folder Georgia Project Committee Correspondence. GAPP.
[316] Series VII Box 2. Title: Hispanic Labor Migration and the Nation's Carpet Capital—Dalton, Georgia. P. 4 GAPP.
[317] Murphy, Blanchard, and Hill, *Latino Workers in the Contemporary South*, 2001, 50.

politics and shaped many of the major public and private institutions in the area. As a result, few questioned the carpet consensus when leaders in the carpet industry decided the best way to solve a tight labor market was the recruitment of immigrant labor. Daltonians also seemingly acquiesced to the commitment to racial peace. Without the power of local businesses like those in Dalton, the Klan's power remained unchecked in many of the factory towns in northern Georgia.[318]

If the Klan did not stage a full resurgence in Dalton, some still felt frustrated by the growing Latino/a population and silenced by the business consensus. The local newspaper, *The Daily Citizen News*, struggled to deal with a growing anti-immigrant sentiment in their "Letters to the Editor Section." Victor Zuñiga recalled the "xenophobic letters published by Dalton Daily News" in 1995 and 1996. In one of those letters to the editor, Daltonian Jackie Baines made clear she did "not support spending tax dollars to teach English to non-Americans." Rather, she continued, "I believe that I speak for a silent majority of Dalton citizens in this respect." Baines' evocation of the silent majority is telling. White Daltonians, she believed, were silent "because they do not want to infuriate a single local business leader or be known as racist." The "silent majority" Jackie Baines felt she represented were whites silenced by carpet elites' disciplined show of racial peace. Whatever veneer of social progressivism existed in Dalton, it seemed, was tightly policed by carpet elites. However, what started as a few isolated letters began to grow and as Ted Hamman shows "after an INS raid at a local carpet mill had led to the arrest of several hundred undocumented workers, the letters became especially virulent." As a response to this growing tide of anti-immigrant sentiment, *The Daily Citizen News* instituted a temporary

[318] Weise, *Corazón de Dixie*, 134.

moratorium on all anti-immigrant letters to the editor.[319]Some claimed that the newspaper's restrained take on immigration was a reflection, less of the editorial staff's progressivism, and more of the newspaper's close relationship with the carpet industry which was committed to a multicultural liberalism that rejected these more bald forms of nativism.[320] Ted Hamman wrote that

> the letter-to-the-editor moratorium blocked access to one of the few public forums through which populist doubt about immigration could be expressed. Was a major portion of the local population dubious about accommodations to Hispanic newcomers? Yes. Were they welcome to express these doubts publicly? No.

However, the most obvious evidence of carpet's unchecked power is that they hired hundreds, if not thousands, of undocumented workers and saw only occasional intervention from the state or federal government. Even Dalton's Mayor, James Middleton, exclaimed the necessity of Latino/a workers. With an unemployment rate of less than 5 percent, he noted, "It doesn't take a rocket scientist to figure out why they're here…We need them."[321]

The "need" for Latino/a workers also fed another common refrain from the carpet capitalists: that the influx of labor prevented the relocation of carpet factories to Mexico. According to Jeff Lorberbaum, CEO of Mohawk Industries, the new immigrant labor truly was a godsend. In fact, he said the company "considered moving some of its facilities in the 1990s" because of a "concern we wouldn't be able to have a labor force to fund the plants and

[319] Zuñiga email to author, Hamman Dissertation, 149
[320] Hamman Dissetation, 149
[321] Series VI Box 1 "Immigrant wave valued for strong work ethic." The Times-Picayune. December 29, 1997. Hayes Ferguson.

factories."[322] Vance Bell, the Executive Vice President of Shaw Industries noted that if immigrant labor "had not moved from Mexico to this area" the carpet industry "may very well have had to move facilities down there."[323] Statements like Bell's and Lorberbaum's stoked fears of those in the region that carpet might leave for greener, or in this case cheaper, pastures. By preserving the threat of leaving the area they were able to maintain tighter control on the few white and black workers they hired. It also meant that many were fearful of challenging the carpet industries embrace of the Latino community.

One of the consequences of the discourse of "hard working immigrants" was that it helped explain the hyper productivity of Latino workers. Largely undocumented, they could be paid far less than the native-born whites who had previously held their jobs. Moreover, if carpet owners were to be believed, Latinos were capable at the level of their genetic material, of producing at a much higher rate than their black or white peers. In a 1998 interview Charles Parham, the vice president of manufacturing at Queen Carpet said, "Hispanics have been a salvation of our carpet industry." Latino workers, he went on, were "wonderful workers." Executives found that "By and large the experience of the company with Hispanic workers has been positive," in part because "Hispanic workers are compliant and not demanding." In addition to drawing broad generalizations about "Hispanic workers," the native-born white and black workers are clearly in the shadow of his statement. If Latino workers were "compliant and not demanding," that statement certainly seemed relative.[324]

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[322] Series I, Subseries A, Box 1, Folder 42 "History of the Georgia Project." "Hispanics affect carpet industry" Jamie Jones. *The Daily Citizen*. Sunday, November 24, 2002. 10D. GAPP.
[323] The Georgia Project. Series I. Box 1. Folder 42. GAPP.
[324] Davis et al., *Voices from the Nueva Frontera*, 12. Needs Assessment of the Hispanic Community in Dalton, October 28, 1997. 6. GAPP

Other executives praised "the work ethic of the new immigrants" and the "industriousness and tirelessness of Mexican immigrants."[325] "I love my Mexicans," said Durkan Spinning Mill manager Sonny Buchanan. "They go out there and run their jobs. They're loyal. The white people are just the opposite—they bounce around. These Hispanics are helping us out."[326] The paternalism inherent in many of the corporate carpet practices was made personal in Buchanan's declaration that he loved "his" Mexicans. Both possessive and infantilizing Buchanan's comment reveals the chasm between labor and management that existed in carpet. It also demonstrates the extent to which management internalized the paternalistic ethos of the company's public relations presentation. While Buchanan's bald condemnation of white worker's lack of loyalty was exceptional, much of the rhetoric used by carpet capitalists included an element of comparison. "Hispanic" workers were loyal while black and white workers refused to accept their labor conditions.

The open praise of the "loyalty" and "industriousness" of immigrant workers served two purposes. First, it undercut black and white workers ability to organize for better working conditions because management could employ, and more easily control, undocumented workers whose status made them more vulnerable. Second, it characterized Latinos as somehow innately more hardworking than their native-born peers, effectively eliding the harsh working conditions under which these superhuman feats of labor were performed. It therefore worked to naturalize the hyper-productive labor these workers did and made invisible the embodied consequences of this type of work.[327]

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[325] Murphy, Blanchard, and Hill, *Latino Workers in the Contemporary South*, 2001, 50.
[326] Series I, Subseries A, Box 1, Folder 42 "History of the Georgia Project" *Georgia: The University of Georgia Magazine*, March 1999. Vol 78 No 2. GAPP.
[327] Series I, Subseries A, Box 1, Folder 42 "History of the Georgia Project" *Georgia: The University of Georgia Magazine*, March 1999. Vol 78 No 2. GAPP.

Chad Harris, the manager of Four Square Chemical and Finishing, offered a similar account of the immigrants he hired to dye cotton at his Georgia plant. In 1997 Harris paid his Mexican employees $8 an hour, nearly 50 percent more than he had paid the native born work force a few years prior. Even with the increased pay, Harris reported that he still "comes out ahead." The explanation he offered was that "Hispanic employees work harder and produce more…[they] are just fantastic workers." "They don't call in sick," he went on, "and when they come, they really work." Hispanic workers, he noted, "work twice as hard as Americans for the same wages."[328] Comments like those of Harris presented immigrants as naturally harder working and more eager to produce at higher and higher rates. Harris successfully casts immigrants as having a natural propensity for hard work and, as a result, their increased production was a reflection of their "willingness" to work hard rather than increasingly arduous labor expectations and conditions. His comments, while on face value seem to affirm the industriousness of Latino labor, matched a "widely held view, certainly among marketers and political pundits [that] Latinos constitute[d] a more 'tamable' constituency than blacks." This view, Arlene Dávila argues, "not only generalizes the structural vulnerability of the undocumented Latino worker onto the entire Latino population, but also, and more problematically, turns such vulnerability into a 'positive' character trait."[329] By generating the script of "hardworking" Latinos, those who protested, slowed down, or failed to work at required speeds could be cast as exceptional failures.

Latinos, carpet capitalists argued, had the capacity to work harder, longer, and faster than their white or black native-born peers. This argument suggested that the capacity for productivity

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[328] Series VI Box 1 "Immigrant wave valued for strong work ethic," by Hayes Ferguson. *The Times-Picayune*. December 29, 1997. GAPP.
[329] Dávila, *Latino Spin*, 167.

was a function of both inherited traits and cultural mores for Latinos. This argument allowed carpet capitalists to appear racially progressive by praising the "hard work" of their immigrant labor force, while at the same time naturalizing the body-breaking pace of labor. Carpet capitalists affirmed that Latinos were better, faster, and stronger than their native-born peers and for that reason they could be expected to do more for less. However, these scripts were fickle and those who were one day celebrated for their hard work could the next day find themselves the victim of nativist vitriol. The image of the "hard working" Latino offered little protection and instead created a grueling production pace that many struggled to meet.

Latinos

Upon their arrival, the Monterrey teachers worked in several difference capacities in Dalton's schools. In a memo to the Superintendent of Dalton Schools, Billy Bice, Professor Nancy Westrup and Dr. Victor Zuñiga outlined the daily activities of the Monterrey teachers. The teachers, they wrote, worked both with individual and small groups of students to help reinforce reading in English as well as math, social studies and science skills. In rare cases teachers would work with "illiterate Mexican children" to help them read and write Spanish. A large function of their jobs was translation. This included translating content to non-English speaking students as well as functioning as translators for the "registration of new students, parent conferences, behavioral problems, [and] written communications."[330] They were often relegated to working in hallways, cafeterias, and libraries as a result of a shortage of space.

As evidenced by the lack of physical space afforded to these teachers to meet with students, they often ran up against challenges asserting their importance in the Dalton Public

[330] Series I. Box 4. Folder 1. Georgia Project Curriculum Design Program. To: Dr. Billy Bice, Superintendent. From: Prof. Nancy Westrup and Dr. Victor Zuñiga. January 1998. Series I, Subseries A, Box 1, Folder 42 "History of the Georgia Project" *Georgia: The University of Georgia Magazine*, March 1999. Vol 78 No 2. GAPP.

Schools. Their roles were "somewhat unclear and to some even confusing." As a result, the Monterrey teachers were frequently asked to perform tasks for which they were overqualified. Teachers and administrators seemed to exploit this confusion by treating them as "assistants or paraprofessionals since they [were] not certified by the State of Georgia."[331] Nancy Westrup, a professor at the Universidad de Monterrey detailed this mistreatment in a report to school administrators. Even though the Monterrey teachers did not have U.S. certification, "they have been certified in Mexico" and not "at the level of paraprofessionals…[or] student teachers."[332] For some of the Georgia teachers, the lack of clarity created an opportunity for exploitation. They utilized the Monterrey teachers as assistants rather than peers and would give them administrative rather than pedagogical duties.

The teachers from Monterrey used the ambiguity of their position to expand the roles they could play in the lives of the children with whom they were working. Sandra Benítez Crow, one of the Monterrey teachers, recalled that some of the new students "used to cry for two or three weeks. But if they saw me, and I'd just speak to them in Spanish, and they changed—their faces would be like, 'Oh, somebody speaks Spanish!'"[333] Other times children would be inconsolable and Crow would have to "cancel [her] schedule, just to be with that kid the whole day." Crow and the other Monterrey teachers were much more than translators or teacher's assistants, they were working as social workers, therapists, and cultural translators for children who felt foreign in their new school. They served as crucial lifelines for children in the classroom and for parents who would have been otherwise alienated from their children's education because they didn't speak English.

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[331] Davis et al., *Voices from the Nueva Frontera*, 115.
[332] Ibid.
[333] Ibid., 119.

As part of the Georgia Project mandate, a group from the Universidad de Monterrey conducted a study that assessed the demographic and social situation of the "Hispanic Community" in Dalton. Among the several topics addressed in this report, the researchers addressed discrimination and community integration. In the schools they found that some children were forbidden from speaking Spanish at school and were punished if they disobeyed.[334] Parents too felt frustrated and alienated by the school system. While parents were always invited to academic events, the small number of Georgia Project teachers meant that bilingual interpreters were not always present. As a result, parents would have to rely on their children to interpret.[335]

While the Georgia Project teachers made a huge difference in making Latino parents feel welcome in the schools, there were structural problems preventing full involvement by many parents. Dalton lacked adequate public transportation, in most households both parents worked for a carpet company and therefore had conflicting schedules, language barriers persisted for those who did not have a Georgia Project teacher in their child's classroom, and many felt a larger sense of alienation from the Dalton community and judgment from teachers in particular.[336] The Georgia Project, while it helped ameliorate the sense of alienation for some parents, it could not resolve these structural issues. The same carpet industry that helped conceive and fund the program that sought to better incorporate parents in their children's education, was also creating the work schedules that made that participation nearly impossible.

Researches for the Universidad de Monterrey found that at a structural level "the political and civic authorities of Dalton/Whitfield," they argued, "have not been able to establish a

[334] Needs Assessment of the Hispanic Community in Dalton, October 28, 1997. 14-15. GAPP.
[335] Needs Assessment of the Hispanic Community in Dalton, October 28, 1997. 19. GAPP
[336] Needs Assessment of the Hispanic Community in Dalton, October 28, 1997. 3. GAPP

relationship with the emerging and existing leadership in the Hispanic community." As a result, they continued, "despite the breadth of their community organizing experiences, Hispanics have not been incorporated into Dalton's planning processes and activities." They credited the chasm with a continued language barrier and the reliance on mediators who were not particularly invested in community-building to foster relationships. The gulf between local government and Dalton's Latino community was particularly important because, as the researchers noted, Latinos were an "established community…building its future" in Dalton. Latinos had built several community institutions, not the least of which was a robust soccer league that grew to five different leagues with nearly seventy-five teams. However, despite becoming an integral part of Dalton's community and labor force, they were largely excluded from the political process.[337]

Latino/as formed civic and community organizations that helped usher economic, social, and cultural resources to develop a collective voice through which they could engage in Dalton's political system. In 1989 Joana Sandoval joined a small community of about a hundred Latinos in Dalton. Born to Mexican parents in the United States, Sandoval grew up in Michigan and after graduating from college came to Dalton hopeful she would be able to find work. Despite her ability to speak English fluently and her college education Sandoval struggled to find a job. Being Latino, Sandoval felt, blocked her from jobs that her education should have made her qualified. During her time in Dalton the Latino community began to grow. Most of the new immigrants were poor, few spoke English, and many were undocumented. Sandoval recognized a community that was starved for resources and attempted to fill some of the gaps in service for her community.

She began by assisting immigrants eager to take advantage of IRCA, an amnesty program

[337] Engstrom, "Industry, Social Regulation, and Scale."

for undocumented immigrants passed in 1986. She partnered with her friend Jim Baird who was known to many as "El Gran Gringo" and they began assisting people with their applications. "We did services for the people like filling out applications," Sandoval explained, "They didn't have anywhere to go for help and we would do that. We didn't charge." What began as a once weekly clinic on Saturdays grew to include Wednesday evenings and eventually every evening a group of volunteers were helping recent immigrants fill out IRCA or other immigration paperwork. Joanna Sandoval and Jim Baird began to work with Reverend Lloyd Trip, an associate minister at the First Baptist Church and the project grew. With the help of Latino business leaders Norberto Reyes, Hector Alanis, Gilberto Esparza, and Saúl Adame, Centro Latino was born.[338] The group expanded their purview and began to offer English classes. When the First Baptist Church gave the group space to conduct these classes, more than sixty people to attend the first session. Eventually Father Lloyd Trip had to open up the hall upstairs, which allowed between one hundred and one hundred and fifty to attend. Sandoval recalled she would "scream so people could hear [her] when we would have the classes."[339] The Latino community continued to grow as new workers came to Dalton and their families shortly followed. Sandoval and Centro Latino attempted to meet the quickening pace of those in need of their services.

Centro Latino quickly outgrew the First Baptist Church's capacity and began to meet at a building on Redwine Street. The church paid the rent and the utilities and Centro Latino continued to run almost exclusively with volunteer support. Because the First Baptist Church was paying the cost of the building and the salary of the director they also saw Centro Latino as an important site of evangelizing. Centro Latino also approached the local Catholic Church, St. Joseph's, for support. According to Joana Sandoval, Father Juan de la Cruz felt that the Anglos

[338] Davis et al., *Voices from the Nueva Frontera*, 68–74.
[339] Ibid., 76.

at the parish weren't ready for something like Centro Latino.[340]

By 1990 Centro Latino had grown into a non-profit agency serving Latino families was formed to be a "liaison between the Spanish and English speaking communities." This multi-service agency offered classes in both English and Spanish, as well as citizenship classes, income tax assistance, legal assistance, help with legal documents and driver's licenses, housing assistance, and citizenship application assistance. In addition to the several services they provided, they organized dance festivals, poetry contests, and the *Copa Centro Latino* soccer tournament.[341]

By 2000 Centro Latino was helping nearly nine hundred people every month and had annual operating budget that was more than eighty-five thousand dollars.[342] That budget was comprised mostly of private donations from local businesses. Notably, of the top five major donors (more than one thousand dollars), three were carpet industry donors. Beaulieu, Shaw, and Durkan Carpets each donated several thousand dollars to the organization.[343] Two of the members of the Centro Latino board were the Diversity Manager and Human Resources representative from Shaw Industries and Beaulieu International respectively. Their board also included a representative from the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and Erwin Mitchell from the Georgia Project.[344]

If Centro Latino represented the Latino communities efforts to mobilize social and cultural resources to assist newcomers, the Alianza Cominutria Latino Americana (ACLA) focused on building the economic power of the Latino community. ACLA was a group of

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[340] Ibid., 69.
[341] Series II, Box 5, Folder 4 "Centro Latino". GAPP.
[342] Davis et al., *Voices from the Nueva Frontera*, 69.
[343] Series II, Box 5, Folder 4 "Centro Latino." Centro Latino 2000 Donations. GAPP.
[344] Series II, Box 5, Folder 4 "Centro Latino." Centro Latino Board of Directors. GAPP.

Mexican, Colombian, Puerto Rican, and other Latino businessmen and women. Led by Saul Adama, a successful floor covering businessman, the group brought together Latino elites who were engaged in what Arlene Dávila has called "remak[ing] ourselves for public approval."[345] Described by Ted Hamman, an educational anthropologist working in Dalton at the time, as an effort by white elites to create a Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, ACLA brought together Latino business owners who sought to raise the profile of Latinos in Dalton by promoting the entrepreneurial class of Latinos.

The organization, unlike Centro Latino, had few links with working class Latinos and new immigrants, instead focused on growing the Latino middle class.[346] Among those involved in ACLA was Alonso Acosta, a young radio and television journalist who was one of the first Latino families to settle in Dalton. He hosted a radio show called "La Voz de Dalton" and was the editor and publisher of "La Presna," one of four Spanish language newspapers in Dalton. Also active in the group was Teresa Sosa, the head of one of the first Latino families to settle in Dalton in the early 1970s. Active in the Catholic Church she had organized Mexican Independence Day in Dalton for several years in addition to community celebrations and parties that featured Mexican folk dance. Most participants were like either Acosta or Sosa. They had either excelled in the business community or were strong features of cultural life for Latinos in Dalton.[347] Members included restaurant owners, radio hosts, newspaper editors, and church members who hoped to "envision their own and their families future in Dalton."[348]

In their vision statement ACLA emphasized how the "Latin American community has become a vital part of the economic growth of the area with approximately 70 owned businesses

[345] Dávila, *Latino Spin*, 162.
[346] Zuñiga, E-mail Interview with Victor Zuñiga by Author.
[347] Series I Box 2 Folder 21. GAPP.
[348] Series II Box 2 Folder "GA Project Bilingual" p. 7. GAPP.

and employment opportunities to help offset the tight labor market." More than cogs in the carpet machine, a burgeoning middle-class, ACLA suggested, was creating jobs and helping grow the Local Dalton economy as entrepreneurs in their own right.[349] At the seminar, members of the community emphasized the impact Latinos have had on the Dalton economy as both laborers and as consumers.[350] Latinos knew, and reminded the rest of Dalton, just how integral they were as workers, consumers, and business-owners.

Latinos, aware of the power of this image of the "hardworking immigrant," appropriated it for their own uses. Their industriousness and hard work, they argued, sustained and allowed for the expansion of the carpet industry. If carpet managers were excited to extoll the virtue and industriousness of their Latino employees, Latinos were only too eager to confirm their own importance in the carpet economy. In June 1999 in one of Dalton's Spanish-language newspapers, El Tiempo, Rafael Carballo penned an op-ed defending The Georgia Project, connected the education program with the critical role Latino workers played in the local economy. "The whole of the Dalton community has to confront the reality that Dalton's demographics have changed," Carballo wrote. "It has been the Hispanic community that kept the manufacturing and agricultural industries on their feet in Dalton. It's a fact that without the labor of Hispanics," Carballo continued, "the economies of Dalton and Whitfield County would have hit rock bottom."[351] Carballo connected Latino's dominant presence in the work force to their growing population in the schools. "We are Dalton's labor force, and we make up half of the student population." "It's about time that we cooperate, that we speak up, and that we are

[349] Series II Box 4 Folder 37 ACLA. GAPP.
[350] Series II Box 2 Folder "GA Project Bilingual." GAPP.
[351] Series VI, Box 1, Folder 5 GA Project Clipping:
"Georgia Project vs. Dalton Schools hispanos: ¿Un problema u oportunidad?" by Rafael Carballo *El Tiempo*. June 9, 1999. GAPP.

respected," he implored. Corbel saw the growing economic power of Latinos as another cause for increased respect in the school system. More than just workers Carballo argued that Latinos were hardworking, tax-paying members of the community and that entitled Latinos to better treatment in the schools. Carballo wrote, "We pay taxes through our pay checks and in all of our food and goods purchased. In other words, it is we who should demand that our money is used for the well-being of our children."[352] Carballo argued that Latinos in Dalton should be treated with respect and their children should be educated because of their economic power. Unlike Mitchell and other Georgia Project fundraisers, Carballo did not simply ask for resources, he also sought respect. He appropriated the praise of carpet capitalists to make demands on the local community. Latinos, he argued, if they were truly a godsend, should be treated as such.

In near identical language to that of ACLA, Erwin Mitchell affirmed the narrative of economic progress of Latinos by highlighting the "major economic impact" of Latinos in the area by citing the "more than 70 Latino businesses in Whitfield County," and the corollary development of a "strong Latino middle class." Mitchell continued to extoll the value of Latino workers as entrepreneurs and laborers for the region in saying "our industry here will tell you that without these workers, many of these mills would not have been able to expand the way they have."[353] Both Latinos and whites in Dalton saw the expansion of a Latino middle class as evidence of the successful integration of Latinos into Dalton.

However, it was not just Latino elites who were trumpeting the "work ethic" Latinos brought to the carpet industry. When researchers from the Universidad de Monterrey created a "Needs Assessment of the Hispanic Community in Dalton," they found that Latinos had much to

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[352] Series VI, Box 1, Folder 5 GA Project Clipping:
"Georgia Project vs. Dalton Schools hispanos: ¿Un problema u oportunidad?" by Rafael Carballo *El Tiempo*. June 9, 1999. GAPP.
[353] Series I Box 1 Folder Georgia Project Committee Correspondence. GAPP.

say about their work ethic and their labor. The researchers found that the "human capital potential" of Latinos had shaped the region and would continue to help grow industry in the area. Latino families, the report also found, were "aware of the fact that they provide Dalton with the necessary labor force for continued regional development."[354] Latino workers knew that their labor was driving the success of the region and took a particular pride in their "work ethic." Latino workers, researchers found, emphasized "they carry out the most strenuous work at the company and that in turn the rest of the people in the area need the Hispanic community for just this purpose."[355]

Both Centro Latino and ACLA expressed a clear commitment to the language of "family values." Hard work, family, faith, and commitment to community uplift were the central pillars of the image that Dalton's Latino's sought to project. The leaders of the "Vision of our Future" seminar wrote that the leaders in Dalton felt that "family and religion [were] priorit[ies]" in the lives of Latinos and as a result the rest of Dalton "benefitted from the [Latino] community's positive (spiritual and family-centered) values."[356] In ACLA's vision statement they wrote: "Strong family values are reflected in the heritage of this community with the goal of contributing to the community and improving their quality of life."[357] Eager to shed the image of Latino immigrants as unattached men who drank, ACLA and Centro Latino emphasized their commitment to family and community that they hoped would appeal to white Daltonians.

The respectability politics focus on hard work and family values required a disciplining of the boundaries of the Latino community. Many Latinos in Dalton felt "there [was] more work

[354] Needs Assessment of the Hispanic Community in Dalton, October 28, 1997. 2. GAPP
[355] Needs Assessment of the Hispanic Community in Dalton, October 28, 1997. 6. GAPP
[356] Series II Box 2 Folder "GA Project Bilingual" p. 11. GAPP.
[357] Series II Box 4 Folder 37 ACLA. GAPP.

in Dalton than there are hands."[358] Francisco Palacios felt strongly that work in Dalton was abundant and those who weren't working were simply choosing to be out of work. When his relatives came from California to Dalton he found that they could "find a job when they get here." "When you live in the U.S.," he continued "if you don't want to work, it's because you are lazy. We can find jobs. None of us are afraid to kill chickens if we have to."[359] Most Latinos who came to Dalton were beneficiaries of a tight labor market and the wages were higher than could be earned elsewhere in the country and dramatically higher than in Mexico. Palacios claim that those who don't want to work were simply lazy was coated in language of racial uplift. Hard working Latinos, Palacios felt, could move up in life and those who didn't were simply reflections of some individual failing. Moreover, in Palacios eyes, Dalton was particularly well positioned to welcome the incoming Latino workers. Quoting Erwin Mitchell Palacios said, "Dalton is a city not afraid to change, and I agree."[360]

Despite Palacios' assessment, many Latinos experienced growing nativism in Dalton. Victor Zuñiga recalled that Dalton was a community profoundly unprepared for the changes it would experience in the 1980s and 1990s. "I can see today," he recalled, "that local actors were astonished and did not know how to respond to those changes." He went on that "the singular history of that Southern industrial city, did not furnish local actors the background for responding to the influx of migrants…Dalton was a community with zero experiences accommodating immigrants." This lack of preparation resulted in, according to Zuñiga, "doubts, uncertainties, and resistances," rather than xenophobia.[361]

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[358] Needs Assessment of the Hispanic Community in Dalton, October 28, 1997. 6. GAPP
[359] Davis et al., *Voices from the Nueva Frontera*, 35.
[360] Ibid., 34–35.
[361] Zuñiga, E-mail Interview with Victor Zuñiga by Author.

The mid-1990s represented a peak in anti-immigrant sentiment in Dalton. A group called Citizens Against Illegal Aliens was formed and successfully lobbied local officials to have the Dalton Police Department partner with Immigration and Natural Services (INS, now ICE). The task force used money from a federal grant to establish the Immigration Task Force in 1995. The task force had two goals: first "to become a positive force for changing the image of the police in the Hispanic community." To this end, members of the task force had to be bilingual by the end of the first two years in the program. The second goal was to "act as a liaison with the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS), participating in illegal alien sweeps and deportation activities."[362] These goals were obviously at odds with one another and it seems that the second goal, servicing the INS, won out in the task force. Dalton police officials estimated that forty percent of the Latinos hired in the carpet plants were undocumented and that in some plants they were utilizing ninety to one hundred percent undocumented labor.[363] In 1997, when INS was actively checking for undocumented immigrants in the Dalton area they apprehended over three hundred people in three days at interstate points surrounding Dalton. While raids continued throughout the mid-1990s, by the late 1990s they had mostly ceased. One historian has credited this with the "Latino worker being part of a much more stable work force in Dalton."[364] Like farmers from southern Georgia who bucked federal authority and protected the undocumented who labored in their fields, carpet likely protected their workers in similar ways.[365]

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[362] Series VII Box 2. "Hispanic Labor Migration and the Nation's Carpet Capital—Dalton, Georgia" 16
[363] Series VII Box 2. "Hispanic Labor Migration and the Nation's Carpet Capital—Dalton, Georgia" 15
[364] Davis et al., *Voices from the Nueva Frontera*, 7.
[365] Weise, *Corazón de Dixie*, 123–124.

Dalton proved to be a veritable minefield for Latinos. They were celebrated for their work ethic by some and incarcerated and deported by others. Some south to improve their educational prospects and others sought to retract necessary educational resources. Some Latinos experienced racism through veiled comments about assimilability and difference, others faced explicit nativism, and others still were embraced by the corporate progressivism of the carpet capitalists that cast Latinos as "hard working immigrants" if not fully assimilable. When Homero Luna moved to Dalton in 1993, Luna found he was treated as an oddity; whites would stop when he and his family went to Wal-Mart, openly surprised to see a Mexican.[366] However, others like Francisco Palacios, experienced explicit racism early in his time in Dalton. Born in San Francisco, California and spent his early years there, he grew up in Mexico and in 1994 he moved to Dalton where he worked as a translator. He was hired by the newspaper to help sell ads and found that people were "shutting doors in [his] face" because he was Latino. When he worked as the editor at a Spanish-language newspaper, *El Informador,* he would have to cross a picket line of white protestors from the group "Citizens Against Illegals."[367] Researchers found that in the workplace there remained simmering animosity. White and black Daltonians, the researchers felt, had begun to "resent the growing presence of Hispanics in the workplace," in part because they feared losing their jobs. While there were occasional verbal altercations and the use of ethnic slurs, "the prevalent on the job attitude [was] simply to ignore one another."[368]

Researchers from the University of Monterrey were confident that "in the short-run…inter-ethnic tension and violence" was unlikely to spread in Dalton. However, they noted

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[366] Series I, Box 1, Folder 17: "Hispanics Fueling Boom in Old South" by Gil Klein. *Richmond-Times Dispatch*. September 5, 1999. GAPP.
[367] Davis et al., *Voices from the Nueva Frontera*, 33–34. Series I, Box 2, Folder 21, "Leaders of the Hispanic Community in Dalton Individual Profiles." GAPP.
[368] Needs Assessment of the Hispanic Community in Dalton, October 28, 1997. 12. GAPP

that this did not mean there was a lack of racism in the community or the workplace. While nativist public protest may have been rare, the quotidian and interpersonal racism in Dalton was all too common. For example, middle and high school aged Latinos shared with them the common forms of racism and prejudice they experienced daily. "Wetback, Go back to your country!" was shouted at Latino students by their white peers. Teachers and other school authorities also shared some of these sentiments. Some feared "California-style" gangs appearing in Dalton, an explicitly racist fear rooted in the white supremacist portrayal of Latinos as thugs and criminals.

Schools remained a site of struggle and contestation for whites and Latinos. Adrian Gánadra, a sixth grader in Dalton struggled in school because, as he said, "kids made fun of me because of my skin." Other times they would call him black as a way to tease him. The decision to use the taunt of "blackness" against Gánadra reveals both the ways his classmates saw Latinoness and blackness as distinct racial categories and that blackness was the ultimate insult you could wage against a peer. Gánadra struggled to adjust to life in Dalton as a result of the racism he experienced in his school. "Sometimes I don't really wish I was white, but sometimes just to get away from racism…I don't wish I was white, I just wish I was in Mexico with other people like me."[369]

Some Latinos also attempted to safeguard their image in Dalton by distancing themselves from what they saw as some of the more damaging elements of the Latino community. In the 2000s as Latino immigration continued, some of Dalton's more established Latinos felt a shift in the type of person coming to Dalton. They feared that the influx of Latinos from California brought with them drugs and gang violence that the Latino community had been previously free

[369] Davis et al., *Voices from the Nueva Frontera*, 56.

from. When talking about this new population Joana Sandoval said, "it scares us, you can imagine how the Anglos feel! You know, [these newcomers] are stepping on our territory, too. We have convinced a lot of the Anglo community that we are hard-working family people and now this comes in."[370]

Sandoval's frustration is telling both because it reveals the internal discord within what most Anglos probably saw as a unified Latino community and it demonstrates the how intentionally leaders of Centro Latino, like Sandoval, had been in crafting a certain image of Latinos in Dalton. Sandoval bemoaned these newcomers because she and other leaders in the community had "convinced" the Anglo community that Latinos were "hard-working family people." The newcomers, she felt, were disrupting this well curated image. Others, like Rafael Carballo, took aim at parents as the cause of unrest. "Hispanic parents are not present in Dalton's schools, and we have to stop this immediately." In his larger polemic he indicted the schools for failing Dalton's Latino students, however at the end he turned his aim against the parents. Students' lack of success was also partly the responsibility of absent parents. If family was going to be a central value for Latinos, Carballo and others ensured that those failing to meet standards were disciplined and held responsible for their children's subpar education.[371] Even as Centro Latino and ACLA attempted to demonstrate Latinos as the penultimate Americans who embodied values of hard work and commitment to family, perhaps even to a greater extent than local Daltonians, the realities of a diverse community threatened to muddy this image.

In Dalton there were occasional expression of overt nativism and racism. At a City Council vote to fund the Georgia Project a group of nativists protested carrying signs that read

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[370] Ibid., 77.
[371] Series VI, Box 1, Folder 5 GA Project Clipping:
"Georgia Project vs. Dalton Schools hispanos: ¿Un problema u oportunidad?" by Rafael Carballo *El Tiempo*. June 9, 1999. GAPP.

"U.S.A.—English spoken here" and "Will the last person to leave Whitfield County please take the American flag with them?" The local news reporting on the protest reveals the extent to which Dalton elites sought to distance themselves from these nativist protests. The protestors were described as "a handful of still-befuddled citizens" whose patriotic gear was a "badge of their misunderstanding."[372] The local media portrayed these nativists as aberrations.

That Dalton only saw brief displays of nativism in the region made it exceptional. Historian Julie Weise has shown that in northern Georgia, white dominated, factory towns, were fertile ground for a revival of the Ku Klux Klan. It was in the 1980s when a "powerful and violent anti-Mexican discourse r[ose] to the public sphere"[373] However, this type of anti-Mexican racism never took hold in Dalton.

The story of Latinos and racism in Dalton can't be told simplistically as one of ham-fisted white supremacists eager to expel Latinos from their idyllic white community. Nor is it a haven of white progressivism that embraced new immigrants warmly. Latinos faced genuinely jarring experiences of racism in their daily lives. These experiences sit uneasily with the gospel of racial progressivism that the Georgia Project seemingly offered. Politicians, community leaders, factory owners, teachers, and parents, all lined up to extoll the virtues of hard working immigrants and the importance of programs like the Georgia Project in better assimilating new immigrants into the Dalton community. They emphasized the American values they hoped schools could bestow on new immigrants and the enormous potential in this population for preserving Dalton's status as a manufacturing giant. This disjuncture between what it seemed some whites felt about the immigrant population in Dalton and what political and manufacturing

[372] Series I Box 1 "Poll Rates Funding Pick" *Daily Citizen News*. April 24, 1997. GAPP.
[373] Weise, *Corazón de Dixie*, 134.

elites claimed through the Georgia Project, contributed to the short-lived nature of the program in Dalton County.

By the spring of 1999 the Georgia Project was defending itself against claims that it was too expensive to remain viable. Superintendent Billy Bice said the program was "too expensive to continue when money from the city ran out next year." The City Council assessed that it would require an extra $203,000 to bring back all of the University of Monterrey teaching assistants it had the previous year. While the City Council honored their three-year commitment and passed a budget that included $142,000 more for seven more teachers (as opposed to the $203,000 requested), Billy Bice announced that Spring that the Georgia Project was going to end in the Dalton Public Schools when the three year grant ran out.[374]

The Georgia Project fired back insisting that the program was cost-effective given the impact it was having in the community. In response to a request to meet and discuss the future of the Georgia Project, Erwin Mitchell issued a strongly worded memo to the Superintendent and other Dalton Public Schools administrators. He wrote: "If this School Board feels this is not an effective program and is not useful then there is no need for us to meet." "If you don't like the Georgia Project and want to curtail it, do it," Erwin Mitchell provoked. He went on, "But, I don't think that is the way you feel. I think you know it has been one of the most effective things that has happened in Dalton Public Schools in many years."[375] Robert Shaw of Shaw Industries also

[374] Series I Box 1 Folder 17. "Ga. Project future on line tonight," *The Daily Citizen-News*. June 14, 1999. By Tanuja Surpuriya. "Ga. Project survives," *The Daily Citizen-News*. June 15, 1999. By Tanuja Surpuriya. GAPP.
[375] Series I Box 1 Folder 14 Memo to Boggs, Bice, & Teddy Bears, May 17, 1999. GAPP.

weighed in saying he didn't want to see the Georgia Project end, "I think it's a well thought out project and very worthwhile."[376]

As part of the inquiry that caused Bice to assess the Georgia Project as too expensive, in the Summer of 1999 the Dalton Public School system "took stock" of its language resources. Sheila Evans, the assistant superintendent of curriculum instruction proposed a "Language Development Action Plan" that more effectively employed the pre-existing resources in the Dalton schools. "We hadn't actually written down all our strategies on one sheet before," Evans said, "but we've found that we have plenty of resources already in place." With these resources the administrators of Dalton Public Schools proposed "language academies" as a replacement for the Georgia Project. These academies would offer students a "crash course in English for a semester or two before entering regular classes full-time." Lasting a "few hours each day," these academies would serve Spanish-speaking students in separate classrooms as opposed to the Georgia Project model which kept Spanish-speaking students in integrated classrooms with the assistance of a translator.

Suspicious of such a program, Erwin Mitchell wrote to a fellow lawyer to inquire about its legality. "Under the law of Georgia," Mitchell wrote to Michael J. Bowers, "is there any impediment that would prevent separating a non-English speaking student from the remainder of the student body until such time as that student becomes sufficiently fluent in reading and understanding the written and spoken English word?"[377] Bowers responded that there were no Georgia cases at that point, however, there were "federal requirements which prohibit such

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[376] Series I Box 1 Folder 17. "2 steps back? Dropping Georgia Project from Dalton schools is no problem, some say, others say it would be a mistake," *The Daily Citizen-News*. May 23, 1999. By Tanuja Surpuriya. GAPP.

[377] Series I Box 2 Folder 11. Erwin Mitchell to Michael J. Bowers. May 20, 1996. Michael J. Bowers to Erwin Mitchell. June 11, 1996. GAPP.

segregation unless it is for a legitimate educational purpose," lacking such a purpose "it could be invidious discrimination on the basis of national origin in violation of various civil rights acts." While it doesn't seem that Mitchell pursued this line of legal reasoning by taking Dalton Public Schools to court over the language academies, his inquiry revealed one of the most problematic elements of the new plan: it supported a new form of segregation. While the Georgia Project directed resources to ensure that students could remain in "normal" classes with their peers, this new model proposed removing all Spanish-speaking students (effectively removing the entire Latino population) and segregating them until they were proficient in English. Aside from the questionable pedagogical merits of such an approach, it also helped reinforce the increasingly segregated nature of Dalton Public Schools. In fact, Whitfield County schools had "over two thousand fewer Anglo students in [the mid-2000s] than it did in 1991." However, despite the decrease in white school enrollment, the 2000 census shows that the number of whites living in Dalton remained almost entirely unchanged. Political scientist Ken W. Ellinger attributed this to a combination of "declining Anglo birth rates, rapid Latino immigration, and 'white flight' from public schools."[378]

As Latinos populated Dalton schools in higher numbers, echoes of segregation academies and white flight began to ring louder. When the new influx of Latinos allowed St. Joseph's, Dalton's Catholic Church, to purchase a new building, many Anglos felt they were no longer welcome. Members of the local congregation, the Atlanta Archdiocese, and carpet philanthropists funded the new church. On November 27, 2000, a majority Latino congregation gathered to celebrate the new thirty-two-thousand-square-foot facility. The building's six hundred seats overflowed when nearly eight hundred people attended the bilingual dedication

[378] Davis et al., *Voices from the Nueva Frontera*, 83.

mass. Some white Daltonians felt that they were investing in a new church for a community where they no longer belonged. Many of them left the church as a result, going to churches in Ft. Ogelthorpe, Georgia, and some traveled to attend mass in Chattanooga, Tennessee.[379]

A Georgia Project study, funded by the department of education, found that "as a result of the increase in the Hispanic population of the public schools a significant number of Anglo families have withdrawn their children and sent them to private schools." Some families chose to leave the county and other white families chose to remove their children from the state's public schools entirely. Many crossed the nearby border to send children to private schools in Chattanooga, Tennessee.[380]

As whites divested from public schools, Dalton school administrators continued to make the functioning of the Georgia Project more difficult. In August of 1999 right before the school year began, Billy Bice wrote to Erwin Mitchell requesting that he release the remaining $150,000 the City of Dalton promised to Dalton Public Schools for the Georgia Project Committee. Bice claimed that Dalton Public Schools had "payroll obligations and rental expenses that must be paid with this grant." Erwin Mitchell refused to release the funds arguing that it was "the responsibility of the Georgia Project to assure these moneys are spent in accordance with the purposes of the grant from the City." Since the group of Monterrey teachers was not arriving

[379] Ibid., 71.
[380] Series I, Subseries A, Box 1, Folder 1 "Assimilating Hispanic Students Into the Mainstream Curriculum in the Dalton and Whitfield County Schools Systems. Grant Application to: Fund for the Improvement of Education, US Dept of Education. Erwin Mitchell. March 31, 2001. 10. Series VI Box 1 Citizenship laws need to be better enforced by Jackie Baines (letter to the editor). Series I, Subseries A, Box 1, Folder 42 "History of the Georgia Project" *Georgia: The University of Georgia Magazine*, March 1999. Vol 78 No 2. Series VI, Box 1, Folder 7 "The Old South's New Face." David L. Kirp. June 26, 2000. The Nation. GAPP.

until October 1st, Mitchell challenged what "payroll obligations and rental expenses" needed to be paid by Bice and withheld the check.[381]

In the summer of 1999 the Georgia Project once again came under scrutiny from the Dalton Public School Board. Despite its success and recognition at the national level, many administrators felt that the project had become too costly and that money could be better spent on language academies or other solutions to the language problem. Superintendent Billy Bice argued the program was meant only to last three years. "It was never intended to be here forever," said Bice. He continued, "it was an initial way to address the language barrier in the schools." While the 1998-1999 school year had hosted seventeen teachers from Monterrey (fifteen in Dalton Schools and two in Whitfield County). Bice and other school board members only budgeted for six in the 1999-2000 school year. Unable to cancel the program entirely, Bice tried to cut the program in half. Bice cited a "tight budget" as the cause of the decrease in teachers. The principal of Dalton's Roan Elementary School, Frankie Beard, lamented the cost this cut would have for her students, "The impact that will have on Roan is that our children will not progress as they are now…they will not read and learn as fast. Test scores will regress." [382]

The debate waged on in June 1999 when the School Board ultimately agreed the program would continue at its previous capacity. All fifteen Georgia Project teachers would return in the falls although the council hoped to "replace them with homegrown bilingual teachers next year." School Board member Minnie Marsh said that until the "language academies prove they will work, the Monterrey teachers are still important in bridging the gap between teachers and

[381] Series II Box 1 Folder 29. Letter To Billy Bice from Erwin Mitchell. August 18, 1999. Letter To Erwin Mitchell from Billy Bice. August 18, 1999. GAPP.
[382] Series VI, Box 1, Folder 5 GA Project Clipping 1999 "End of Project?" *Daily Citizen News* By Tanuja Surpuriya. May 2, 1999.

students."[383]

The following two years remained tense and funding continued to be a source of conflict between the Georgia Project and Dalton Public Schools. However, in May of 2001 Dalton Public Schools successfully sounded the death knell of the Georgia Project. In an e-mail to one of the coordinators of the Georgia Project in Monterrey, the Dalton Public Schools Board of Education revealed it had come to the decision to "hire 11 Monterrey teaching assistants as paraprofessionals," thereby reducing their numbers and demoting them professionally. Five years earlier, in 1996, Bice had conservatively estimated the need for nearly sixty-eight teachers from Monterrey to handle the influx of Spanish-speaking students. Five years later when the population had grown exponentially, only eleven teachers proved too expensive for Bice and Dalton Public Schools.

If the decrease in staff wasn't enough, Dalton Public Schools only offered to pay the "salaries and benefits" of the teachers and would "no longer incur the cost of travel, housing, visa cost for new personnel, legal fees associated with personnel, or for the [Universidad de Monterrey] overhead." This massive blow to the program proved too much for the Georgia Project to withstand. Marioly Villarreal, of the Universidad de Monterrey wrote back to the Dalton School Board informing them that the Monterrey teachers would not be able to continue in Dalton under those terms. She wrote, "As you know we are talking about certified teachers in Mexico, not paraprofessionals, and the special benefits offered to them were established in order to compensate for that difference." "So," she continued, "if the members of the Dalton School Board do not change their position in the next four weeks, we will understand that the Teacher

[383] Series VI, Box 1, Folder 5 GA Project Clipping 1999. "GA Project Survives," *Daily Citizen News,* by Tanuja Surpuriya. Tuesday June 18, 1999. GAPP.

Aid Program is finished in Dalton Public Schools."[384] On May 11th, 2001 Erwin Mitchell sent a memo to the Executive Committee of the Georgia Project in which he wrote: "let us put the three years of frustration with the [Dalton Public Schools] board behind us and focus on Whitfield County and other systems that are anxious to work with us."[385] The Georgia Project had expanded beyond Dalton by 2001 and would continue to function in neighboring counties for some years to come. However, four years after the project was inaugurated in the "carpet capital of the world," it was gone from Dalton.

[384] Series II Box 2 Folder 15. E-mail to Marioly Villareal from Allene Magill. March 27, 2001. E-mail to Allene Magill from Marioly Villarreal April 5, 2001. GAPP.
[385] Series II Box 2 Folder 15. Memo to: The Executive Committee From: Erwin Mitchell Re: DPS/Monterrey Teachers. May 11, 2001. GAPP.

Conclusion
The Strange Career of Juan Crow

In 1954, shortly after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision barred racial segregation in public schools, C. Van Woodward gave a series of lectures at the University of Virginia about the history of Jim Crow segregation in the American South. These lectures were published and became one of his most famous works, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*. In the lectures, he argued that, although defenders of Jim Crow claimed that segregation was a long-held Southern tradition, the type of racial segregation that emerged after Reconstruction in the South was relatively new. Jim Crow, Woodward argued, was neither historical nor inevitable. Rather, Jim Crow laws were a southern response to the unmooring of the racial categories that only came in the wake of Reconstruction and the withdrawal of troops from the South in 1877. Jim Crow, like Juan Crow, emerged in response to political and economic changes in the region and, instead of being treated like a natural part of the southern landscape, should be dissected in order to be more easily dismantled.

The Strange Career of Juan Crow builds upon Woodward's legacy to argue that, in part, the anti-immigrant sentiment that has characterized the U.S. South in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century is a recent invention. Karla Galarza's case shows that in the 1940s, Latino/as were not Jim Crowed, and instead used white accommodations. At South of the Border Latino/as were symbolically absorbed by whites into a growing Southern nationalist backlash against the Civil Rights Movement. Latino/a civil rights activists took advantage of their ability to move freely across the South as a way to support the movement. Many had the experience of traveling from the North or West only to discover that they were no longer racialized in the South. White liberals, business elites, and Latino/as formed a tenuous coalition in Georgia to attempt bilingual

education in a state where English-only legislation was being actively debated. Despite claims of their newness Latino/as lived in the American South throughout the twentieth-century and their experience exposes new dimensions of the racial ideology of Jim Crow.

This project makes two arguments. First, the anti-immigrant vitriol of the last decades, characterized by the revival of the Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacist hate groups, English-only legislation, and efforts to pass laws that encourage "self deportation," represents a sharp break with the earlier treatment of Latino/as in the South. As with Woodward, this project demonstrates that the economic and legal apparatus created to control immigrant labor was constructed in a particular economic moment that must be historicized. Prior to the 1980s, Latino/as lived in white neighborhoods, worked in jobs reserved for whites, and attended white schools.

Second, it argues that the South was, and is, fundamentally structured around blackness and that the underlying system has remained intact in the face of the introduction of new racial and ethnic groups. Therefore, while scholars have suggested that the presence of Latino/as, Asian-Americans, and Native Americans should encourage us to push "beyond" black and white in our conceptions of the South, I suggest that we must keep blackness at the center of our analysis to better understand how Latino/as are racialized.

In October 2011, a sign appeared on the door of Allgood, Alabama's Water Works, which informed patrons that if they did not have an Alabama driver's license or picture ID before September of that year they might lose their water service. Designed to target undocumented Alabamians, the visual legacy of the sign on a government door barring a group from access to basic human rights stirred remembrances of the Jim Crow era for many. One writer immediately drew parallels to the 1960s and the struggle for Civil Rights waged in Alabama. "Today," he

wrote, "Jim Crow has become Juan Crow."[386] The article, entitled "From Jim Crow to Juan Crow," chronicled the exclusions faced by undocumented immigrants and the parallels with the Jim Crow-era South. The writer was not the first to use the term "Juan Crow" or to draw connections to the Jim Crow era in the South. In fact Juan Crow became a recurring trope for those reporting on the growing wave of legislation across the Sunbelt designed to make life unbearable for undocumented immigrants so as to create a culture of "self-deportation."

Another article, also entitled "From Jim Crow to Juan Crow," focused on Alabama's HB56 legislation which deterred children from attending public schools, denied undocumented people access to public benefits and, perhaps most reminiscent of Jim Crow, dramatically expanded the purview of state and local police officers to detain and investigate people they suspected of being undocumented. The writer implored, "If the majority of Americans don't act now and demand that their elected officials seek a humane immigration policy throughout the country, we should not be surprised if Juan Crow soon replaces the odious Jim Crow."[387] One writer, chronicling the brutal regimes of control under which the undocumented live in Alabama wrote, "Here in the South it feels like the 1960s all over again." Government officials, the writer continued are "repackaging the old arguments that were used against Jim Crow-era blacks to target the undocumented."[388]

Perhaps the best representation of the journalistic treatment of Juan Crow is a 2008 feature in *The Nation* by Roberto Lovato, entitled "Juan Crow in Georgia." The piece detailed

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[386] James Denton Engstrom, "Industry, Social Regulation, and Scale: The Carpet Manufacturing Complex of Dalton, Georgia" (Ph.D., Clark University, 1998), 46.
[387] Alvaro Huerta, "From Jim Crow to Juan Crow," *LA Progressive*, July 7, 2011, https://www.laprogressive.com/jim-crow-juan-crow/.
[388] David Person, "Column: 'Juan Crow' Law Alive and Well in Alabama," *USATODAY.COM*, accessed June 15, 2016, http://www.usatoday.com/news/opinion/forum/story/2011-11-01/alabama-illegal-immigration-law/51031138/1.

the regimes of policing and control under which many undocumented Latino/as lived in the American South. He described Juan Crow as the "matrix of laws, social customs, economic institutions and symbolic systems enabling the physical and psychic isolation needed to control and exploit undocumented immigrants." The experience of Latino/as under these systems, he notes, "[bear] more than a passing resemblance to that of African-Americans who were living under Jim Crow." He continues by arguing that the rapid growth of Latino/as in the Southeast is "moving many of the institutions and actors responsible for enforcing Jim Crow to resurrect and reconfigure themselves in line with new demographics." These actors include federal, state, and local authorities along with the "newly resurgent" groups like the Ku Klux Klan.[389]

There are two problems with these journalists' formulations of "Juan Crow." First, they cast Latino/a immigrants to the region as entirely new. This limited historical understanding also leads them to argue that this is the first time Latino/as have confronted the Southern racial order. However, this project shows that Latino/as have long existed in the South and benefitted from the black/not-black racial order. While many contemporary Southerners are likely unaware of this legacy, the history of Latino/as as white ethnics who benefitted from and, at times, helped shore up, Jim Crow is important for understanding the contemporary migration. The pre-recession welcome of new Latino/a labor to the region, as demonstrated in Dalton, Georgia, was built on twentieth-century legacies of Latino/as as "not-black." It was Latino/as' historical ability to position themselves as not-black that ensured they could benefit from whiteness.

This history helps explain the findings of a group of scholars who completed a 2006 study on the relationship between recent Latino/a migrants to the South and black southerners. The data revealed that the overwhelming majority of Latino/as "felt that they have the most in

[389] "Juan Crow in Georgia," *The Nation*, accessed June 14, 2016, http://www.thenation.com/article/juan-crow-georgia/.

common with whites and the least in common with blacks." Latino/as, the researchers found, "identifi[ed] with whites [and] distanc[ed] themselves from blacks." One explanation, the researchers hypothesized, was that Latino migrants brought anti-black racism from their home countries. Certainly Latin America, despite some countries' claims of "racial democracy," has been a bastion of anti-black and anti-indigenous sentiment. It is therefore likely that these views traveled to the United States and fused with the American South's own brand of white supremacy. However, as this project shows, this "racial distancing" is not a new phenomenon and has its roots as far back as the 1940s. Therefore, new Latino/a immigrants are both infusing Southern white supremacy with Latin American anti-blackness, while also drawing on the legacies of Latino/as before them who successfully became "not-black."[390]

The second problem with the formulation of Juan Crow by these journalists is the claim that "institutions and actors responsible for enforcing Jim Crow" needed to "resurrect and reconfigure" in light of Latino/a migration. It suggests that the successes of the Civil Rights Movement allowed many of those groups to enter a sort of hibernation from which Latino/as have caused their awakening. This framing of Juan Crow as the newest manifestation of Jim Crow, however, erases the ways that Jim Crow, both as an institutional apparatus and its legacies have remained active in the South.

Using "Juan Crow" in this way risks discursively displacing "Jim Crow" as an enduring reality in the South. That is to say, it is at times used as part of a timeline of Southern racism. First, we had Jim Crow and now we have Juan Crow. This formulation, however, elides the persistent and intergenerational effects of the Jim Crow system in the South.

Additionally, the conflation of Jim Crow and Juan Crow erases the legacies of slavery

[390] Paula D. McClain et al., "Racial Distancing in a Southern City: Latino Immigrants' Views of Black Americans," *The Journal of Politics* 68, no. 3 (August 2006): 571–84. 579-82.

and Reconstruction on which Jim Crow was built. While Lovato is correct that many of the systems that oppressed black southerners have transformed and adapted to Latino/a migration, it elides the decades of systemic and intergenerational violence that created the Jim Crow South. This is not to suggest that life for Latino/as in the South today is unmarred by increasingly dangerous and precarious labor and virulent xenophobia and racism. Rather, it is to say that if we are going to understand the nature of life under Jim Crow and the contemporary experience of Latino/as in the South, we need to better understand the intricacies of how the two systems work side by side. Flattening Jim and Juan Crow makes it impossible to understand how white supremacy has changed and how it has stayed the same.

C. Van Woodward, noting that the South had undergone many transformations over the course of history said of the Civil Rights Movement: "if the earlier eras of revolutionary change can be compared with waterfalls in the stream bed of Southern history, then we are perhaps justified in speaking of the most recent era as one of rapids—and fairly precipitous rapids at that."[391] Again, the South is in the midst of dramatic change. The growth of the Latino/a population in the South and the nation has already begun to shape the way race and ethnicity is understood. However, it is crucial that we stay attentive to the ways the South stays the same and the racial legacies that endure through the sea change.

[391] Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 11–12.

The same group of researchers studying black and Latino/a Southerners in the twenty-first century concluded with the following question: given the increasing number of Latino immigrants in the South and the possibility that over time their numbers might rival or even surpass black Americans in the region, if large portions of Latino immigrants maintain negative attitudes of black Americans, where will this leave blacks?[392] Indeed, the question of how the growing population of Latino/as will effect the South's longstanding black population is an important one. The focus on "Juan Crow" as a descendant of Jim Crow obscures the way that Jim Crow endures in the American South today. Further, it expunges the role that Latino/as played (and continue to play), unwittingly and otherwise, in maintaining Jim Crow. By recognizing the centrality of blackness and the black/not-black binary in the South we can better understand that it is anti-black racism that we must confront in order to dismantle both Jim and Juan Crow.

[392] McClain et al., "Racial Distancing in a Southern City," August 2006, 582.

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