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Mi Feria Es Su Feria: How Mexican Americans Created the 1968 San Antonio HemisFair

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Dedication

This project is dedicated to my loving wife, Jennifer Urban-Flores, and all my family in El Paso and San Antonio, that supported me throughout this process. This project is also dedicated to the displaced residents of the HemisFair site and to my grandmother Janie Gutierrez, who passed away in 2019.

MI FERIA ES SU FERIA: HOW MEXICAN AMERICANS CREATED THE 1968 SAN ANTONIO HEMISFAIR

by

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Introduction

The inspiration for this study comes from my own life experience growing up in the barrios of San Antonio, Texas. Vivid images still permeate my mind of when my parents used to drive their eight children from the Southside to the Northside of San Antonio to visit our relatives. After loading up our brown Suburban, we journeyed north on Interstate Highway 35, leaving behind the familiar sights and sounds of our neighborhood into a distinct world in another part of the city. On our trips, we always passed downtown and saw the Tower of the Americas standing majestically in the distance. As a child, I did not know that this concrete Goliath was a remnant of the 1968 World's Fair or as it was officially called, HemisFair '68.[1]

Over the years, I began to hear stories about the fair from my family. Little did I know that my grandfather, Mauro Gutierrez, laid the first foundation of concrete to build the Tower of the Americas. Another story involved my father, Calestro Morales. As a teenager, he remembers the endless hours of sacrifice spent to saving up all his earnings as a dishwasher on the Westside to go the world's fair. These and other family memories sparked my interest in the event and laid the foundation for this project.

While conducting my own research on HemisFair'68, I delved deeper into the various layers previously unknown to me, including those of urban renewal, Cold War tensions, economic disparity, social injustice, race relations, and the question of American citizenship. Thus, the story that unfolds before you is not just about an international exposition and a country's attempt to showcase its prowess at the global stage. It is a story about how this world's fair became a catalyst for ethnic Mexican community in San Antonio that sought to achieve full integration and, by extension, first-class citizenship into mainstream American society. It also reveals the local,

[1] In this dissertation, I use international expositions, fairs, and exhibitions interchangeably to refer to the world's fairs.

regional, and national significance of Mexican Americans leaders such as Congressman Henry B. González, as well as the political and ideological differences between his generation and younger activists in the Chicana/o Movement who believed that mega-events such as HemisFair expanded class divisions in San Antonio and the U.S. more broadly. According to Maurice Roche, "The concept of 'mega-events' refers to specially constructed and staged international cultural and sport events such as the Olympic Games and World's Fairs…. [that] have long-lived pre- and post-event social dimensions."[2] Examining San Antonio's world's fair and the long Mexican American civil rights movement as part of mega-event history allows for a deeper discussion on urban politics, civil rights, and the Cold War.

In the Spring of 1968, HemisFair became the first world's fair to be held in the United States Southwest and to be recognized by the Bureau of International Expositions (BIE).[3] Countries from across the world came together in by shared commitment to democratic unity and Pan-American friendship, and to celebrate San Antonio's 250th anniversary. San Antonio Fair Inc. (SAF), the group in charge of the fair's construction and production, worked closely with Anglo, ethnic Mexican and African American community leaders, the Texas state government, and the U.S. federal government to create the exposition. Locally, they promised the fair would strengthen the economy of San Antonio, one of the poorest cities in the nation. Nationally and internationally, the exhibition was a Cold War measure to bring Latin American countries closer to the U.S. sphere of influence and, in doing so, showcase Pan-American unity in the face of Soviet aggression.

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[2] Maurice Roche, "Mega-Events, Time and Modernity: On Time Structures in Global Society." *Time & Society* 12, no. 1 (March 2003): 99.

[3] According to Merriam-Webster Dictionary: World's fairs are international expositions featuring exhibits and participants from all over the world. *Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, s.v. "world's fair," accessed February 5, 2020, https://www.merriam-webster.com /dictionary/ world%27s%20Fairs?utm_campaign=sd&utm_ medium=serp&utm_source=jsonld.; "EXPO 1968 SAN ANTONIO," Bureau International des Expositions, accessed February 5, 2020, https://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/1968-san-antonio.

SAF declared the fair's theme would be called *Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas.* HemisFair was a Pan-American exposition; after all, like other international expositions of the past, it shared a common theme of Pan-Americanism. However, Pan-Americanism held a different meaning for ethnic Mexicans residing in San Antonio and across the borderlands.[4] I argue that the theme, itself, takes on a different connotation for the ethnic Mexican community in San Antonio, Texas, and Mexico, one that historians have yet to address when discussing HemisFair. According to HemisFair President William Sinkin "[T]here was a confluence not only of civilizations [across the Americas,] but there was a true confluence in the community [of San Antonio.]"[5] Confluence for the fair meant the merging of the United States and Latin American societies in Texas to complete socio-political and economic allegiances in the Western Hemisphere. For communities of color in San Antonio and Latin American groups abroad, confluence became rhetoric that cut across international borders but did not cut through race and class distinctions in the United States or competing political ideologies during the Cold War in the Eastern and Western Hemispheres. To make this theme a reality, federal, state, and civic officials adopted pre-WWII measures of cultural diplomacy and Pan-Americanism, administered by Mexican Americans, to invite countries of the Western Hemisphere to participate. Pan-Americanism was the idea that all people of the Western Hemisphere shared the same American identity regardless of nationality. Considering the discrepancies between the rhetoric of "confluence" and its meaning with equality, cooperation, and integration, HemisFair provides an ideal case to explore the inconsistencies and contradictions of confluence in San Antonio, the U.S., and the Americas. In this dissertation, I argue that the discourse of confluence at the forefront of

[4] In this dissertation, I will refer to Mexican Americans, Mexican nationals, Latin Americans when referring to Mexican Americans participation in Pan-American organizations, and Chicanas/os as ethnic Mexicans.

[5] Sterlin Holmesly, *HemisFair '68 and the Transformation of San Antonio* (San Antonio: Maverick Publishing Company, 2003), 7.

HemisFair was a mask to cover up the real history of the city and the U.S. and a turning point to address issues of class, ethnic, and national tensions and divisions on local and international levels.

HemisFair officials chose *Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas* as its theme to reinforce the idea that San Antonio was a global city and an important meeting spot for social, economic, and political ideas in the Americas.[6] The idea of hosting an international exposition in San Antonio came from Jerome K. Harris. However, by 1962, this idea was taken and developed by Congressman Henry B. González, when he told Sinkin, "I want to have a Fair of the Americas….I want to do something and develop trade and develop commerce and develop our presence in Mexico and Central America."[7] In the ensuing months, after González's request, Sinkin organized a group of prominent San Antonio business and political leaders to start creating the world's fair and develop SAF. Later in his life, Sinkin, argued that "The concept was to give San Antonio a place in the sun and to bring the community together as a cohesive force."[8] Later, SAF petitioned for HemisFair's official status as a world's fair with the International Bureau of Expositions (BIE) in Paris, France. Since it was meant to be a Fair of the Americas, it was granted a "Specialised" world's fair status. HemisFair is still considered a "Specialised Expo' [also known as] …'International Recognised Exhibitions', [which] are global events designed to respond to a precise challenges facing humanity."[9] In HemisFair's case, the challenge facing humanity was "to promote [P]an-American unity [or Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas.]"[10] The argument for hemispheric unity was used to get recognition from the BIE and support from the U.S.

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[6] The dictionary definition of confluence means "a coming or flowing together, meeting, or gathering at one point." Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, s.v. "confluence," accessed April 18, 2020, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/confluence.

[7] Holmesly, *HemisFair '68 and the Transformation of San Antonio*, 3-4.

[8] Ibid., 4.

[9] "About Specialised Expos," https://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/about-specialised-expos, accessed April 18, 2020.

[10] "EXPO 1968 SAN ANTONIO," https://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/about-specialised-expos, accessed April 18, 2020.

government. Further, the BIE's guidelines advised that specialized fair sites had to be "entirely built by the [o]rganiser."[11] In San Antonio, the organizer was SAF, and it worked with a coalition of Anglo elites and African American and ethnic Mexican civil rights leaders that had formed during the citywide urban renewal campaign in the 1950s. The same leaders helped create the fairgrounds for HemisFair using President Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty urban renewal funds in the 1960s. It is through these collaborative measures that Sinkin, later argues that confluence existed in the city. Through the lens of HemisFair and its theme that echoed egalitarian hemispheric and local unity, historians can better understand how this world's fair brought about change in the city and did not create a cohesive community. Instead, I argue that HemisFair's theme *Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas* became a vessel that exposed national and international issues concerning Mexican American civil rights, urban politics, and the Cold War.

World's fair themes like confluence have been used by fair organizers in the past to construct their vision for societies and the nation-state. Historical accounts of U.S. world fairs have been documented as early as the nineteenth century when Ben C. Truman and James Piece published a picture storybook on the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exhibition.[12] The fair lasted six months and commemorated the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's journey to the Americas. Earlier exposition works like Truman and Piece's only documented pictures and personal accounts of the Chicago Exhibition and fair pavillions, however, they do not contextualize the fair within U.S. history and discuss the complexities of politics, economics, race, class, or gender. Recently, world's fair historians have been more critical of these events by examining the

[11] "About Specialised Expos," https://www.bie-paris.org/site/en/about-specialised-expos, accessed April 18, 2020.

[12] Pierce, James Wilson. *Photographic History of the World's Fair and Sketch of the City of Chicago: Also a Guide to the World's Fair and Chicago* (Baltimore: R.H. Woodward, 1893); Benjamin Cummings Truman, *History of the World's Fair: Being a Complete Description of the World's Columbian Exposition from Its Inception* (Chicago: Mammoth Publishing Company, 1893)

themes above and their connection with imperialism, nation-building, culture, and society. Addressing the 1968 HemisFair within a larger trope of exhibition scholarship, like these, allows historians to view the differences between their shared histories and encourage more nuanced approaches.

Robert Rydell's book *All the World's a Fair* is the first to examine U.S. international fairs and expositions as processes of imperialism, class, and race.[13] He explored how cultural hegemony and symbolic universes were used to help create these events. According to Rydell, city elites and national leaders used cultural hegemony to display discourses of race and ethnicity to fairgoers and demonstrate imperial and national prowess. Utilizing the works of sociologists Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, Rydll defines symbolic universes as part of a collective experience and sense of belonging, where "[a]ll the members of society can now conceive of themselves as belonging to a meaningful universe."[14] The universes that he described were U.S. expositions and their themes. In San Antonio, the symbolic universe was HemisFair and its unique theme of *Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas*.

While Rydell and scholars have examined other examples of U.S. expositions using this framework, there has been minimal attention paid to communities of color that participated at these events.[15] Communities of color did attend fairs and had exhibits in them, but scholarly works on their involvement have fallen to the wayside by contemporary world's fair historians. Those that

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[13] Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 2.

[14] Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 2.

[15] Others books by Robert W. Rydell include *World of Fairs: The Century-of-Progress Expositions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); *Guide to World's Fair Historiography and to the Literature of International Expositions in the Collections of the Smithsonian Institution Libraries*; and *Buffalo Bill in Bologna The Americanization of the World, 1869-1922* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); For more information of World's Fair read the following: Kenneth W. Luckhurst, *The Story of the Exhibition* (London: Studio Publications, 1951); Paul Kramer, *Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, & the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006);

examine these groups at expositions have expanded Rydell's original arguments to include more in-depth discussions of race, class, gender, and transnationalism within the field.

Mabel Wilson's book *Negro Building: Black Americans in the World of Fairs and Museums* examines the African American experience at various emancipation exhibitions, world fairs, and black museums between 1876 and 1960.[16] As one of the largest minority groups in the U.S., they were able to participate in numerous international expositions. Nevertheless, they were still regulated by the American black and white racial paradigm and segregated in their own exhibits. Wilson introduces two concepts to world fairs: subaltern counter publics and the Black Metropolis. Using these concepts, Wilson discussed how black elites were able to circumvent cultural hegemony with subaltern counter publics. These counter publics were in large African American urban centers that allowed black elites to represent themselves at fairs, counter white assumptions of black society, and display American racial inequalities world.

Filipinos groups also shared similar experiences to that of African Americans and had their own pavilions inside exhibitions. Paul Kramer's book *Blood of Government* has a chapter that examines Filipinos at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition and their ideas about American imperialism following the U.S. War with Spain.[17] Filipinos created an exhibit at the fair to show the world that the island was not just a colonial outpost of the U.S. but a hub for intellectual activities and independent political ideals.

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[16] Mabel Wilson, *Negro Building: Black Americans in the World of Fairs and* Museums (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012) Other works on the African American experience at world's fairs include: Thea Perdue, *Race and the Atlanta Cotton States Exposition of 1895* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010); Christopher Robert Reed, *All the World is Here! The Black Presence at White City, Blacks in* Diaspora (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000)

[17] Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, & the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006)

In comparison, Mexican Americans at these events have received less attention partly because they did not have their own exhibits, and little has been recorded on them. Although Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo's book *Mexico at the World's Fairs* examines how Mexico crafted their own vision for a nation-state through fairs and erected pavilions at different international expositions, there is limited evidence to suggest that Mexican Americans travelled great distances to see these Mexican exhibits.[18] Their absence in literature can also be attributed to the geographic restrictions of these events in U.S. history. World fairs were primarily located in major cities across the world like Chicago, New York, New Orleans, St. Louis, London, and Paris. These towns were either metropoles for empires or significant urban hubs for nations and did not have substantial Mexican American populations. However, HemisFair was the first BIE recoginzed world's fair to be located in a significant Mexican American urban center. It is necessary to have Mexican Americans placed within the historical canon and discussions of expositions. Given the significance of the Civil Rights Movement and Cold War politics in 1968, it is important to acknowledge the influence that Mexican Americans had on the fair and San Antonio. According to the 1960 U.S. Census, San Antonio's total populuation was 587, 718 and ethnic Mexicans represented 41.5 percent of the city's total population.[19] A decade later, this group would increase in size to represent 52.2 percent of the total population of San Antonio.[20] During these periods, Mexican Americans made important strides in their quest for civil justice, political inclusion, and admittance in American society, HemisFair is part of that story.

[18] Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996)

[19] Rodolfo Rosales, *The Illusion of Inclusion: The Untold Political Story of San Antonio* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 11.

[20] Ibid.

HemisFair was the only international exposition in history to incorporate and allow Mexican Americans to participate on every level of its organization, from senior officials to visitors. In addition, their attendance was documented by the U.S., Texas, and San Antonio city governments. Given the cultural, political, and international significance of Hemisfair, few studies have examined this exposition. Sterlin Holmesly's book *Hemisfair '68 and the Transformation of San Antonio* is one of the most extensive works.[21] However, it was written from the perspective of a hometown journalist and uses interviews mainly from white leaders of San Antonio Fair Inc. As a result, it does not contextualize the exposition within world's fair history, Mexican American history, or civil rights history. More recently, scholars have examined the fair within these larger discussions. Among these are John Carranza's article "The Culture of Consumption and the Consumption of Culture at HemisFair '68", Nancy Baker Jones' article "The Way We Were: Gender and the Woman's Pavilion, HemisFair '68", Abigail M. Markwyn's chapter "The Changing Role of Women in A Changing World': Universal Womanhood at HemisFair '68," in *World's Fairs in the Cold War* and also briefly discussed in Tracey Jean Boisseau's and Abigail M. Markwyn's *Gendering the Fairs*.[22] These works discuss components of HemisFair, such as women's pavilions and popular culture at the fair. The only studies that briefly examine HemisFair's complicated history are Robert Alexander González's book *Designing Pan-America*

[21] Holmesly, *HermisFair '68 and the Transformation of San Antonio.*

[22] John Carranza, "Eating Modernity: The Culture of Consumption and the Consumption of Culture at Hemisfair '68," *Journal Of The Life And Culture Of San Antonio,* accessed June 25, 2017, http://www.uiw.edu/sanantonio/HemisFairConsumption.html.; Nancy Baker Jones, "The Way We Were: Gender and the Woman's Pavilion, HemisFair '68," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 119, no. 4 (2016): 338-352.; Abigail M. Markwyn, "*The Changing Role of Women in A Changing World': Universal Womanhood at HemisFair '68,"* in *World's Fairs in the Cold War: Science, Technology, and the Culture of Progress*, eds. Arthur P. Molella, and Scott Gabriel Knowles (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2019), 137-149.; Robert W. Rydell, "Forward," in *Gendering the Fair Histories of Women and Gender at World's* Fairs, eds. Tracey Jean Boisseau and Abigail M. Markwyn (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), viii.

and Carol Keller's article "HemisFair '68 & the Cultural Matrix of San Antonio."[23] However, their scopes are small but, still, they discuss a few key points about HemisFair including architecture, federal funding, Mexican American community engagement, and urban renewal. Like the rest, it does not thoroughly examine HemisFair uses of Pan-Americanism in Mexican American society and do not discuss the effects of the exposition on San Antonio and Cold War society. This study seeks to contribute to world's fair history by focusing on HemisFair and its relationship with urban politics, Mexican American civil rights, and the Cold War. A more critical analysis of its theme, construction, and relationship with different ethnic groups will help illuminate the Mexican American experience, class relations in San Antonio, and its message of hemispheric confluence even after the exposition.

In addition to world's fair history, it is important to address how this dissertation contributes to Borderlands history. Historians that examine the borderlands reveal how San Antonio was a transnational meeting spot with a long legacy of cross-cultural interactions, as the city sat in the nexus of the empires of Spain, Mexico, and the United States. Chicana/o and Tejano histories are also part of this history of borderlands. Influenced by the civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s, historians such as Cynthia Orozco, Richard Garcia, David Montejano, Rodolfo Rosales, Arnoldo De León, Jesús F. de la Teja, and later Raúl Ramos argues that ethnic Mexicans were major contributors to the political and ethnic history of San Antonio and Texas. In contrast to the romantic narratives that extolled Manifest Destiny and the American West, their scholarship concentrated on "Chicano History." Their approaches focused on two critical objectives: examine

[23] Robert Alexander Gonzalez, *Designing Pan-America: U.S. Architectural Visions for the Western Hemisphere* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011); Carol A. Keller, "HemisFair '68 & the Cultural Matrix of San Antonio," *Community College Humanities Review* (Fall 2006-2007): 35-77.

the roots of Mexican American subjection, and chronicle the Mexican American experience as part of the U.S. historical narrative.

Following the Chicana/o revisions of U.S. and borderlands history came the production of Tejano history. The lack of attention toward the regional identity of "Tejanos" within the Chicana/o academy resulted in the introduction of Tejano history during the 1970s and 1980s. Tejano historians like Arnoldo De León focused on the regional identity of Texas, while the former used a broader lens to incorporate Chicana/o nationalist history across the United States. Although seen as a subfield of Chicana/o history, it still takes root between Borderlands and American West historiographies as historians attempted to analyze previous notions of Anglo Texas exceptionalism. Because of the Chicana/o Movement, newly minted historians researched Mexican communities within Texas during the periods of Spanish, Mexican, and American expansion. It is through the study of Tejano, Chicana/o, and Borderlands narratives that historians were able to examine how the ethnic Mexican experience has varied throughout history.

Using this rich historiography, we can see that historians are in constant conversation about the ethnic Mexican experience in the Southwest. In the colonial borderlands, this has led to community histories such as Jesús F. de la Teja's book *San Antonio De Bexar* and Gilberto Hinojosa's book *A Borderlands Town in Transition*.[24] During the Mexican Period Raúl A. Ramos' book *Beyond the Alamo* examines how Tejanos were used as cultural brokers and negotiators in the face of Mexican and American expansion in San Antonio. According to Ramos, "They forged this [Tejano] identity at the crossroad of nations and the juncture of multiple cultures….the Bexano's case exemplifies the ways identity is both transmitted and transformed under changing

[24] Jesús F. de la Teja, *San Antonio de Bexar: A Community on New Spain's Northern Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); Gilberto Miguel Hinojosa, A *Borderlands Town in Transition: Laredo, 1755-1870* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1983)

social conditions during the national and social shifts."[25] Identity formation continued well into the twentieth century as this community became deeply marginalized and engulfed in practices of racial and class segregation in the face of white American domination.

In the twentieth century, Cynthia Orozco's book *No Mexicans, Women, or Dogs Allowed* examines the importance of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement exclusively with the rise of the League of United Latin Americans Citizens (LULAC) in 1929. Orozco dissects the organization's ethnic and national roots of identity creation and contends that LULAC operated with a unique identity that was able to customize itself in many ways. According to her, "Critics in early studies scoffed at LULAC because its members called it 'Latin American' and critics assumed this was a play at whiteness rather than a Pan-American identity…. [This was a shift at] ethnic consciousness….Moreover, consciousness or identity can be ethnic, national, transitional, multinational, or some mixture."[26] In the process, LULAC became one of the first national political voices of the Mexican American middle and upper class in the twentieth century. Through means of Pan-Americanism, Mexican Americans in cities like San Antonio were able to consolidate social, economic, and political influence for the betterment of U.S. Mexican citizens while attempting to maintain their cultural identity.

Although LULAC members took pride in their identity, Mexican Americans and later Chicanas/os still had to negotiate their various identities over time and space. In the case of HemisFair, Mexican American officials used the term Latin Americans for themselves under the rhetoric of Pan-Americanism.[27] Middle-class Mexican American individuals used a form of

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[25] Raúl A. Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo: Forging Mexican Ethnicity in San Antonio, 1821-1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 2.; David J. Weber, *Barbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 2006), 256.

[26] Cynthia E. Orozco, *No Mexicans, Women, or Dogs Allowed the Rise of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2012), 18-19.

[27] Ibid., 103.

cultural and political pluralism. Under the idea of pluralism, "[for marginalized groups] power is dispersed, policy change requires extensive bargaining and compromise between groups, which in turn leads, to only small or marginal political and policy change [but by making coalitions with other groups]….[they] can have [the] opportunity to influence policies important to them[.]"[28] Pluralism plays a central role in this examination of HemisFair and Mexican Americans. They used their borderland identities as Mexican Americans, Latin Americans, and Pan-Americans to help produce HemisFair and were able to operate between national boundaries through a shared racial, cultural, and political identity.[29] It is also through this notion of identity that Chicana/o organizations were able disapproved of the methods used by older Mexican American groups to gain access to Anglo local and national politics.

In the 1960s, Chicana/o youth activism formed apart from the older Mexican American Generation's methods of political activism. Although middle-class Mexican Americans used Pan-Americanism to promote HemisFair, it paralleled the rise of the Chicana/o Movement, Chicanismo, and Chicano Nationalism a form of ethnic nationalism. Ernesto Chávez argues that "Chicano Nationalism…is best understood as a 'protonationalism' because, as Eric Hobsbawm has argued, it is based on 'the consciousness of belonging to or having belonged to a lasting political entity, in this case, Mexico."[30] In the case of San Antonio, the Chicana/o Movement took form in student organizations, political parties, and in War on Poverty organizations. These included the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO) founded in San Antonio, the Mexican American Student Organization (MASO) in Austin, La Raza Unida Party in Texas, and

[28] Rodney E. Hero, *Latinos and the U.S. Political System: Two-Tiered Pluralism* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 13-14

[29] Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in between in North American History, " *American Historical Review* 104, no. 3 (1999): 814-841.

[30] Ernesto Chávez, *"Mi Raza Primero!" (My People First!): Nationalism, Identity, and Insurgency in the Chicano Movement in Los Angeles, 1966-1978* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 5.

San Antonio Neighborhood Youth Organization (SANYO). This study addresses the unique presence of Mexican Americans and Chicana/o youths in San Antonio before and after HemisFair.

Rodolfo Rosales' book *The Illusion of Inclusion* tells the story of the rise of Chicana/o political and class conciseness in San Antonio. Rosales' analysis plays a central role in demonstrating how the ethnic Mexican identity developed within the local political system. Although the 1968 HemisFair is not addressed as the center of his analysis, his work sets an analytical foundation to distinguish political ideologies imposed by city Anglo political groups, middle-class Mexican Americans, and Chicanas/os.

In conjunction with Rosales' examination, David Montejano's book *Quixote's Soldiers* addresses the uniqueness of the Chicana/o Movement in San Antonio from 1966-1981. His analysis of barrio politics reflects the realities of urban living for both the Mexican American middle-class and Chicana/o youth perspectives in the city. Most important is his discussion of the reluctance of middle-class Mexican Americans, like Congressman Henry B. González, to address the needs of the community. The political reaction from these two divided classes complicates the civil rights story in San Antonio. Moreover, his close look at the Chicana/o Movements complicates the idea that all San Antonio ethnic Mexicans agreed with town politics, were part of the Mexican American Generation, and contributed to Pan-American unity to facilitate political and social inclusion. While his analysis of Chicana/o organizations and politics is essential to San Antonio historiography, like Rosales, he only briefly mentions HemisFair. As a result, I seek to revise the focus of San Antonio's civil rights movement to include HemisFair. Placing the fair within the conversation of civil rights, allows historians to examine the political inclusion of communities of color and see how Anglo elites, middle-class Mexican Americans, African-

Americans, and Chicana/o organizations constructed the 1968 HemisFair and dismantled the notion of hemispheric, national, and local unity.

This project also contributes to the field of urban history. It is through an urban history approach that HemisFair's idea of confluence vanishes when discussing San Antonio's city politics and urban renewal measures. Confluence in San Antonio's community did not exist, but SAF officials thought it did in 1968. This belief started in the mid-twentieth century when white, brown, and black leaders in San Antonio collaborated on different urban renewal projects in the city. However, when SAF officials created the world's fair theme of *Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas,* they did not consider the long history of discrimination against Mexican Americans and African Americans. During the Mexican national period, San Antonio Tejanos were the political and economic elites of the region. After the annexation of Texas and the U.S. War with Mexico, these elites lost their economic and political power due to American colonization that brought a new racial order to the region. As a result, San Antonio became a racially segregated city between the white, brown, and black communities. The increase in Anglo Americans and German Americans with the introduction of the railroad in the late nineteenth century further segregated the city. Major business districts that once belonged to ethnic Mexicans fell into the hands of white community members. White migrants began to dominate the labor market, depleting the financial resources of the ethnic Mexican and African American community. For example, social and physical barriers like San Pedro Park became the dividing lines between these communities.[31] The

[31] Public spaces and communal lands in the United States have existed since the start of European colonization in the Americas. In the present-day U.S. Southwest, the Spanish crown in New Spain created tierras concegiles or land of the council, which was land owned by the local community. In the U.S. Northeast, British colonial residents created Boston Common when the city purchased William Blackstone's farm in 1634. By the 1800s, communal lands in the U.S. were converted into public parks, which emphasized the motives of the Public Park Movement. Supporters of this movement sought to create parks out of public and private land for recreational and leisure usage in industrial towns. For more information read Malcolm Ebright, *Advocates for the Oppressed: Hispanos, Indians, Genizaros, and Their Land in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014), 348.; Steven R. Pendery, "Probing the Boston Common," *Archaeology* 43, No. 2 (March/April 1990), 43-45.;

park was the communal space for all San Antonians to host celebrations and events, however, over time it became it physical barrier for communities of colors because it upheld existing lines of segregation. Poor communities of color lived in neighborhoods West and South of the park that white leaders continually neglected and destroyed in the name of progress. Because of these issues, urban history plays a vital role when telling San Antonio's and HemisFair's story. Urban historians have examined the intersections between the American West and the Borderlands by investigating how the U.S. conquest led to the divide between race, class, and residential segregation in southwestern urban centers. Historians that examine San Antonio's Mexican American community and its processes of identity formation were products of this interdisciplinary approach. One of the first scholars to examine the urban landscape in the American West was Richard C. Wade's 1959 book *The Urban Frontier*.[32] Wade was the first historian to acknowledge the presence of cities within Fredrick Jackson Turner's Frontier thesis that omitted their presence in the American West. As a result, Wade argued that Western cities such as Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Kansas City were important producers of American society and to the creation of the nation along the frontier.[33] Still stuck in the arguments of American exceptionalism, urban historians like Wade in the 1950s ignored urban communities of color. It was not until the 1960s

Gunther Barth, *City People: The Rise of Modern City Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 28-57.; Also read *The Park and the Town: Public Landscape in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York: F. A. Praeger, 1966)

[32] Richard C. Wade, *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790–1830* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959); Historians since the 1950s have discussed American cities as part of U.S. conquest and international interactions. The people within them enact the policy of the government and contribute to its presence within the citizenry or its trading partners as in the case of ingenious groups.

[33] Other historians have added to the complexities of his argument. For more information please see: William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1991); Carl Abbott, *How Cities Won the West: Four Centuries of Urban Change in Western North America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008); Char Miller, *Cities and Nature in the American West* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2010)

and 1970s that historians started to focus on marginalized urban groups by incorporating interdisciplinary approaches.[34]

Albert Camarillo's book *Chicanos in a Changing Society* introduces the useful concept of "barrioization" which has proven very useful to scholars across numerous disciplines.[35] Camarillo examines the American colonization of California and the U.S. Southwest and how Mexican Americans became racially and residentially segregated to small barrios (neighborhoods) in the nineteenth to twentieth centuries. Over time, these Mexican American barrios reflected the racially stratified society they lived in as they received restricted residential housing, inadequate municipal infrastructure, and limited opportunities for political participation and representation in town and national politics.[36] Similar to southern California, barrioization transpired in San Antonio, Texas. Between the nineteenth and twentieth century, the city's ethnic Mexican community saw its political, economic, and social status in American society dwindle. As second-class citizens, they lived in segregated neighborhoods on the Westside of San Antonio and faced physical barriers like San Pedro Park to demarcated white and brown communities. Lastly, their economic potential was restricted due to limited job opportunities.

Due to the living conditions in communities of color, San Antonio officials and community members in the mid-twentieth century began a process of federally funded urban renewal and slum

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[34] Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California 1848-1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1979); Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979); Oscar J. Martinez, *Border Boom Town: Ciudad Juarez Since* 1848 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978); George J. Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Mario T. García, *Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans of El Paso, 1880-1920* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1982)

[35] Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society*, 53.

[36] For other scholars who have used and added the concept of Barrioization please read: Thomas Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses: The Mexican Community in Tucson 1854-1941* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986); David Diaz, *Barrio Urbanism: Chicanos, Planning, and American Cities* (New York: Routledge, 2005)

clearance projects that mirrored what other cities were doing across the U.S.[37] Often these projects relocated whole parts of their cities, destroyed neighborhoods, and took years to turn a profit for new business districts. Historians Howard Chudacoff and Peter Baldwin ask the question, "Was urban redevelopment a mistake?"[38] In recent years, historians have answered this question using examples from the Southwest. Lydia Otero's book *La Calle: Spatial Conflicts and Urban Renewal in a Southwest City* dispels the notion that urban renewal was only in the Northeast and Midwest by examining its use in Tucson.[39] Building on Camarillo's work, Otero examines the "shifting urban idealizations in the twentieth century that resulted in the destruction of a large Mexican American community in downtown Tucson."[40] Ortero dismisses previous urban renewal misconceptions of the Southwest made by John Mollenkopf in his 1983 book *The Contested City*. According to Mollenkopf "because development took place on a clean slate [in Southwest cities], the massive clearance and redistribution of the central-city land did not need to take place."[41]Since Otero's dismissal of Mollenkopf's statement, other works have added to the history of urban renewal in the Southwest.[42]

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[37] Urban Renewal was conducted in Dallas, Houston, and El Paso at the same time it was happening to San Antonio. In Dallas, some urban renewal projects targeted the neighborhood of Little Mexico, the Mexican American section of Dallas. In Houston, the San Felipe African American neighborhood in the Fourth Ward was one example of slum clearance. In El Paso, houses were removed throughout the middle of the city to create the Interstate Highway. For more information read: A. K. Sandoval-Strausz, Barrio America: How Latino Immigrants Saved the American City (New York: Basic Books, 2019), 97-128.; Miguel Juárez, "From Buffalo Soldiers to Redlined Communities: African American Community Building in El Paso's Lincoln Park Neighborhood," *American Studies* 58, No. 3 (2019): 107-127.; Robert Fairbanks, *The War on Slums in the Southwest: Public Housing and Slum Clearance in Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico, 1935- 1965* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014), 49-72.

[38] Howard Chudacoff and Peter Baldwin, *Major Problems in American Urban and Suburban History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005), 392.

[39] Lydia R. Otero, *La Calle: Spatial Conflicts and Urban Renewal in a Southwest City* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010)

[40] Ibid., 5.

[41] Ibid., 6.; John H. Mollenkopf, *The Contested City* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 243.

[42] For more information on urban renewal read: John H. M. Laslett, *Shameful Victory: The Los Angeles Dodgers, the Red Scare, and the Hidden History of Chavez Ravine* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015); Eric Avila, *Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight: Fear and Fantasy in Suburban Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Jerald Podair, *City of Dreams: Dodger Stadium and the Birth of Modern Los Angeles* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019); Robert B. Fairbanks, *The War on Slums in the Southwest:*

I also disagree with Mollenkopf because HemisFair was one of the most significant urban renewal projects undertaken in the Southwest. It was the most significant urban renewal project of its time in the city. The exposition's fairgrounds destroyed a 92-acre multiethnic neighborhood comprised of over 2,300 residents to make space for the fair. Also, HemisFair's story cannot be told without understanding the changes to the ethnic Mexican community and changes to the urban landscape of San Antonio. As a result, the world's fair contributes to the history of urban renewal in the Southwest.

In addition to contributing to the history of urban renewal in the U.S. Southwest, I also will use the concept of transnational urbanism to explain San Antonio's uses of Pan-Americanism to create HemisFair. This concept was developed by Michael Peter Smith to examine cities and their ties the global economies, immigrant communities, local and international politics that move past the nation-state.[43] In U.S. history, A. K. Sandoval-Strausz examines transnational urbanism as it relates to the rise of the Latinx immigrant and non-immigrant populations in major U.S. cities during the post-WWII decades of white flight into the American suburbs. He "argue[s] that the time has come for the next urban history: one that analyzes U.S. cities in their transnational contexts, particularly as they relate to the Americas."[44] While A.K. Sandoval-Strausz claims that examples of transnational urbanism are found mainly in post-World War II American cities, I contend that ample evidence resides in pre-WWII San Antonio and continues through HemisFair.[45]

Public Housing and Slum Clearance in Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico, 1935-1965 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014)

[43] Michael Peter Smith, *Transnational Urbanism: Locating Globalization (Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 165-183.*

[44] A. K. Sandoval-Strausz, "Latino Landscapes: Postwar Cities and the Transnational Origins of a New Urban America," *Journal of American History* 101, no. 3 (December 2014): 805.

[45] Ibid., 806.

The transnational concept of Pan-Americanism helped produce San Antonio's built environment before WWII. It continued with the creation of HemisFair, an exposition founded on the transnational idea of hemispheric unity. World fairs broadly encompass ideas of transnationalism as they are often products of nation-building, imperialism, and multi-national efforts to disseminate ideas of gender, class, race, politics, and modern society. San Antonio's history shows a continuous use of transnational urbanism, one that also encompassed identity formation in borderlands towns and the renovation of the built environment. The concept of Pan-Americanism was used by city officials and Mexican American leaders to help create San Antonio's built environment, change its urban politics, and end segregation: examples can be seen in the construction of La Villita Square, Good Neighbor Policy and the passing of Ordinance 649 that partially ended segregation for Latin American residents in San Antonio, and in HemisFair.

The politicization of San Antonio's Mexican American community, across political spectrums in the Southwest, gives historians new insights into HemisFair and its place within world's fair studies. By examining the 1968 HemisFair within world fairs, borderlands, and urban history contributes to a more informative and critical analysis of its construction and relationship with groups that illuminate the Mexican American experience, class relations in San Antonio, and its theme of hemispheric *Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas.*

Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 examines the development of San Antonio's community during the Spanish colonial period, the Mexican national period, Texas Revolt, and the admittance in the United States, and up to the Great Depression. In relation to HemisFair's theme of *Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas*, this section discusses how San Antonio's community formed amid competing ideas of empire, nation-building, and race. Without understanding this process during these periods, we cannot understand why William Sinkin's belief in "true confluence" was false when celebrating when celebrating the city's 250th anniversary.

During these periods, San Antonio's communities of color witnessed a drastic change in their political, economic, and social power. For ethnic Mexicans, their racialization came through the American colonization of Texas. For African Americans, slavery in the Republic of Mexico, Texas, and U.S. in the antebellum south and Jim Crow laws after the Civil War formed this group's racial identity. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century ethnic Mexicans and African Americans were second-class citizens in the U.S and in Texas and racial segregation diminished both communities to the margins of San Antonio society.

In the twentieth century, communities of color in San Antonio were further racially divided from the white population by laws and ideas based on moral values, cleanliness, and neighborhood appearance. In addition, San Antonians had to contend with a depleting labor market following the Great Depression, which further marginalized these communities. During this period, San Antonio began to annex neighboring municipalities and suburbs to increase the town's tax base. After annexation, the city approved individual bonds to construct roads, ditches, sidewalks, and sewage systems to connect these areas to San Antonio. Mexican American and African American residents were able to work in the construction industry to provide these services, predominantly in the

Northside of town. Still, in the Mexican American Westside and African American Eastside, they did not have access to most of these amenities causing outsiders to see these areas as deteriorating parts of the city. The only way communities of color could gain access to public projects was through machine politicians; this lasted until the 1940s.[46] The subjugation of communities of color in San Antonio's politics and history is what Sinkin and SAF did not consider when creating HemisFair and celebrating 250 years of confluence.

Chapter 2 explores how Mexican Americans began to build small coalitions during the Great Depression in New Deal programs and during World War II that changed San Antonio politics. The chapter fills a significant gap in San Antonio's history and contributes to a greater understanding of communities of color in urban politics and civil rights in the Southwest. Although other histories have examined the city's Mexican American and African American communities' civil rights, labor, and political activities, none have discussed their ties with urban renewal in San Antonio.

San Antonio's practice of urban renewal developed in the 1930s, when political machines were diminishing in power and when communities of color were seeking political and racial inclusion into American society through progressive reform organizations. Not until the mid-1940s did San Antonio political machines dismantle, giving way to independent city council candidates and the political slating group the Good Government League (GGL). In theory, the majority-white slating group was not a machine, but in practice, it used the same methods as previous machine politicians. Urban renewal became a notable endeavor that connected these groups and led to the creation of HemisFair. The GGL and city boosters began to develop ideas to build up San Antonio's

[46] Political machines were groups formed by mayors, city council members, city commissioners, r general town government leaders, and supporters that granted municipal funds and projects in exchange for votes, and only in some cases did these leaders care for the general wellbeing of their neighborhoods.

economy, one being a world's fair. The idea slowly came to fruition in the 1960s with a massive urban renewal project that destroyed a 92-acre community south of downtown for the fair.

Chapter 3 explores city government, pre-WWII Pan-Americanism used by Mexican Americans, and the continued measures by San Antonio Fair Inc. Influenced by their strides in urban politics, Mexican Americans started to develop outside of local governments and inside foreign affairs. By practicing a form of Pan-Americanism in Texas, Mexican Americans were able to participate in national politics and gain representation in higher governmental offices. The Texas Good Neighbor Commission (GNC) was one of the organizations where Mexican Americans worked with the state and federal government to ease relations between Mexico in WWII. The commission was an intermediary between the Texas, Mexico, and the U.S. government to resolve issues of trade, diplomacy, and labor. Also, this chapter addresses the creation of San Antonio Fair Inc. and the construction of HemisFair in San Antonio. It also discusses the use of Mexican Americans and the use of Pan-Americanism in the federal government and Latin America to promote the fair.

Chapters 4 explores HemisFair's opening, the public's perception of it, and ideas of confluence in San Antonio, the U.S., and Mexico during the fair. When the exposition opened its gates, fairgoers could finally see the years of labor by communities of color, the city, the state, and federal governments and see the different commercial exhibits and national pavilions. Outside of the gates, HemisFair had to deal with the deaths of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert "Bobby" Kennedy and the growing Chicana/o Movement in San Antonio that protested the exposition. Lastly, in this chapter, we see how the U.S. and Mexican governments took to the idea of confluence, as American immigration law during the fair loosened border restrictions to let Latin American visitors come to the U.S. with ease. In the final days of HemisFair, the Mexican

government led a student massacre in Mexico City at Tlatelolco. The slaying of students represented what was to come in Latin America in the years after HemisFair as the Cold War persisted in the Western Hemisphere.

Finally, in chapter 5, I examine the effects of HemisFair and the concept of confluence in San Antonio and in Latin America. Across the U.S., city boosters and politicians in the mid-twentieth century advocated for urban renewal projects like HemisFair to reinvigorate the local economy. The human capital was devastating, and the economic capital was minimal at best with sites like HemisFair. It is during this period, after world's fair, that the Chicana/o Movement took form and began to address financial issues and public resource allocations for their communities, questioning the need to build other urban renewal site. In addition, Chicana/o groups like the Committee for Barrio Betterment tried to get elected in the majority-white city council. Their move toward electoral politics represented a new era in San Antonio, one that finally sought to fulfill the idea of community confluence.

Internationally, the U.S. and its Cold War allies did not maintain HemisFair's message of peaceful confluence. Mexico was one of the first countries to depart from the message of confluence. The U.S. continued its involvement in the Vietnam War and the fight against the Soviet Union across the world. It also sponsored Cold War counterinsurgency initiatives across Latin America by supporting right-wing military coups. The world's fair, as a result, is a part of this broader history of Chicanas/os, Urban, and Cold War politics. Still, little has been said about San Antonio's HemisFair site after its fairgoers left. I hope to fill this void in the histories of San Antonio, Mexican American Civil Rights, and U.S. foreign relations through this examination of HemisFair.

Chapter 1: The Fantasy Heritage of San Antonio's Confluence of Cultures

HemisFair was created by San Antonio Fair Inc. (SAF), in part, to celebrate the city's 250th anniversary. Still, fair organizers did not consider the complicated history of San Antonio and the perspectives of ethnic groups and communities of color leading up toward the fair. Leaders of this organization declared that the world's fair's theme would be called *Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas.* According to San Antonio business elites in control of the organization, "[T]here was a confluence not only of civilizations [of the Americas,] but there was a true confluence in the community [of San Antonio.]"[47] Confluence for communities of color in San Antonio became a theme that cut across international borders but did not cut through race and class distinction in the United States, Texas, and San Antonio.[48] At the time, the largest Latin American population in the U.S. was composed of Mexican Americans who resided in the Southwest. SAF officials worked under the assumption that their fair facilitated good relations with the local ethnic Mexican community. They argued San Antonio had a 250-year long history of confluence and cultural exchanges between the different indigenous and ethnic groups and nationalities since the Spanish period in Texas (1680-1821).

HemisFair made San Antonio into a modern tourist destination by erecting buildings and hotels in the downtown area. This process displaced a mixed ethnic neighborhood comprised of 2,500 residents including German Americans, African Americans, and Mexican Americans living within the corridor of what became fairgrounds.[49] However, it was not the first time that San Antonio removed groups from the city's downtown corridor. Instead, the Alamo City had a legacy

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[47] Sterlin Holmesly, *HemisFair '68 and the Transformation of San Antonio* (San Antonio: Maverick Publishing Company, 2003), 7.

[48] In this chapter, Tejas and Texas will be used. Depending on the era of Spanish, Mexican, Texas, and American colonization one of the two will be used.

[49] Gonzalez, *Designing Pan-America*, 182.

of displacing, segregating, and neglecting communities of color. HemisFair's theme of confluence did not address San Antonio's deep-rooted history of ethnic Mexican racial segregation, classism, and gender inequality. Although the fair was held during the Civil Rights Movements of the 1960s and 1970s, the movement that emerged during the HemisFair are part of a more extensive history of colonization and discrimination. Ethnic Mexican communities in the Southwest had to negotiate between cultural, economic, and political spheres of influence for survival and mobility during the Spanish, Mexican, and United States periods. In this chapter, I will give a brief history of San Antonio leading to the twentieth century to explain how the city changed over time with the incorporation of different groups and transfer of national powers. Doing this answers a fundamental question: Did confluence exist between the ethnic communities in San Antonio before the 1968 HemisFair?

San Antonio before the United States

The story of San Antonio and its cross-cultural exchanges begin in its pre-colonial and colonial past.[50] Before the Spanish colonization of the city, the region was home to a network of different Native Americans groups that were collectively called the Coahuiltecans.[51] The current location of San Antonio was occupied by the Papayas, Mesquites, and Aguastaya indigenous groups who lived along the Yanaguana known today as the San Antonio River.[52] These groups

[50] Jesús F. de la Teja, *San Antonio de Béxar: A Community on New Spain's Northern Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 17.; Ramón Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1991), 148. ; Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 108, 271.

[51] Parker Nunley, "Archaeological Interpretation and The Particularistic Model: The Coahuiltecan Case" *Plains Anthropologist* 16, no. 54 (1971): 302.

[52] Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman*, 122.

shared the same language as the regional Coahuiltecans, who lived in the northern frontier of New Spain and the interior of Tejas (Texas).

In 1709, Fray Isidro Félix de Espinosa founded a network of five missions along the San Antonio River. According to Espinosa, the waterway in San Antonio was suitable "not only for a village but a city."[53] The indigenous groups mentioned above were fused into the Spanish missions where Franciscan missionaries attempted to Hispanize and Christianize them.[54] While these practices worked on keeping some of these indigenous communities inside the missions, other indigenous groups "incorporated the sites of Spanish missions into an old pattern of substance, seasonal migration, settlement, and alliance…. [that allowed them to] acquire food, shelter, and defense [and leave when it suited them]."[55] In the middle of the community, Espinosa statement became a reality, in 1718, when San Fernando de Béxar and San Antonio de Béxar became early settlements in the mission region. Under the stewardship of Viceroy Governor Martín de Alarcón, the area became home to "72 people-34 soldiers (seven which brought their families) and some muleteers."[56] It was comprised of a small population of mestizos, mulattos, indigenous groups, slaves, as well as, government leaders, missionaries, and military officials during the Spanish period.[57] This small population of residents began the process of political, social, and racial

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[53] Jesús F. de la Teja, "Colonial Views of Land and Nature," in *On the Border: An Environmental History of San Antonio*, ed. Char Miller (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 2001), 48. Jesús F. de la Teja, *San Antonio de Béxar: A Community on New Spain's Northern Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 24-27.

[54] "The mission was twofold: first, teaching the fundamentals of Christian worship and administering the holy sacraments; second, the more temporal task of instructing Indians in how to live as Christians, or more apply, as Spaniards. The Hispanicization program endeavored to instill conditions in the lives of Indians that would encourage a 'virtuous' life: recognition and respect for royal government and law; life in a communal, town setting Euromerican material accoutrements, such as dress and housing; and Euromerican familial and social practices, particularly monogamy formalized through a marriage ceremony." Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman*, 120.

[55] Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman*, 120.

[56] De la Teja, *San Antonio de Béxar,* 17.

[57] Jesús F. de la Teja, *Faces of Béxar: Early San Antonio & Texas* (College Station : Texas A&M University Press, 2016), 14. Sophie Burton, "Vagabonds along the Spanish Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1769–1803: 'Men Who Are Evil, Lazy, Gluttonous, Drunken, Libertinous, Dishonest, Mutinous, Etc. Etc. Etc—And Those Are Their Virtues," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 113, no. 4 (2010): 448. ; Robert P. Marshall, "The Battle of the

identity formation resulting in the creation of the first European villa (town) in the area and first provisional capital of Tejas.

Only after New Spain's Independence in 1821 from Spain did the population increase in the region. By 1827, empresarios, or land agents, were the primary contributors to this change in the area.[58] The Spanish crown initially established the policy by permitting people like Moses Austin to recruit and bring settlers to parts of Tejas located east of San Antonio.[59] Following independence, the newly formed government of Mexico allowed Stephen F. Austin to fulfill his father's land grants after his death in 1821.[60] He became the first empresario to create an Anglo-American colony in Texas. Other U.S. land agents followed Austin's footsteps and began to petition for land permits from the Mexican government and immigrate to Tejas.[61]

During the period of Anglo-American colonization (1821-1835), Mexican law required newly arriving immigrants to "demonstrate their 'Christianity, morality, and good habits."[62] However, over time, these laws changed to ease immigration restrictions for Anglo colonizers. Roman Catholicism was the official religion of Mexico, but Texas did not have an efficient Catholic institutional apparatus in its northern frontier.[63] Thus, that religious obligation for immigrants fell to the wayside for Mexico's government. Slavery was also a big issue. How could a Tejas resident be of moral and good habits when they owned slaves? Two forms of slavery were

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Alazán: First Texas Republic Victorious, " *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 119, no. 1 (2015): 44-56.; Sarah A. Holmes, Sandra T. Welch, and Laura R. Knudson, "The Role of Accounting Practices in the Disempowerment of the Coahuiltecan Indians," *Accounting Historians Journal* 32, no. 2 (2005): 105-43

[58] David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 163.

[59] Joseph Stout, *Schemers and Dreamers: Filibustering in Mexico, 1848-1921* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002), 3.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Andres Resendez, *Changing National Identities: Texas and New Mexico, 1800-1850* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 65.

[62] Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo*, 104.

[63] Richard White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A New History of The American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press,1993), 67.

introduced to the Mexican colonies in Texas. In 1823, Austin was able to bring slaves to Texas "but the children born to slave parents in Texas were to be free at the age of fourteen."[64] A year later, Mexico prohibited the further introduction of slavery into the republic. However, by 1828, contract slavery was able to exist, allowing masters to own slaves after an agreement was formed with the enslaved person to purchase their freedom once they worked off their debt.[65]

At the time, Texas was part of the state of Coahuila y Tejas with its capital in Saltillo. The state became part of Coahuila because both provinces were the poorest in Mexico's northern frontier.[66] They were united under the Constitution of 1824, allowing Mexico to consolidate government expenditures into one state. Also, in Mexico's northern frontier, San Antonio's Tejano population, or Mexican Texans, became mediators between Anglo settlers like Stephen F. Austin and the Mexican government.[67] In San Antonio, the Tejano population consisted of regional farmers, politicians, and commercial officials. The city's distance between Mexico City, the capital of Mexico, and its proximity to the Anglo settlements, in Northwest Tejas, allowed Tejanos to carve out a political and economic space for themselves within the state. The city also became a major political hub for the region because it was midway between Saltillo and Nacogdoches, a town along the U.S.-Mexico border that was an 8-10 days walk from New Orleans in the U.S.

San Antonio became the major financial, political, and cultural center in Texas during the Mexican Era.[68] However, the political partnership between Anglos and Tejanos did not last as civil unrest developed between the Mexican government and citizens in Texas. One turning point for this conflict came after General Manuel de Mier y Terán's Report in 1828. President Guadalupe

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[64] Eugene C. Barker, "Native Latin American Contribution to the Colonization and Independence of Texas." *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 46, no. 4 (1943): 320.

[65] Ibid., 322.

[66] Resendez, *Changing National Identities*, 24.

[67] Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo, 164.*

[68] Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846*, 26-27.

Victoria ordered the report in 1827 and requested the Comisión de Límites led by Mier y Terán to investigate Texas' colonies.[69] After he gathered his data, Mier y Terán wrote to President Victoria, "warning [him] to take timely measures" against Texas's Anglo population that outnumbered Mexican citizens in the area.[70] A year later, as the commanding general of the Eastern Interior Providences, Mier y Terán urged the Mexican government to strengthen its military garrisons in Texas and increase trade between Mexico's interior to detour trade between the U.S. and Texas.[71] His recommendations were taken into consideration and put into the Law of April 6, 1830.[72]

According to David Weber, the law "went beyond his suggestions in two particulars."[73] First, the 1830 law prohibited the immigration of Anglo-Americans; second, it did not allow the further importation of slaves in Texas.[74] Mier y Terán's suggestions and the law set the stage for the political unrest that led Anglo-American colonists to demand statehood and later nationhood. After the law was passed, request for statehood drew large support from the Texas colonies. In 1833, Mexico's acting president Antonio López de Santa Anna rejected Texas's plea to become an official state within Mexico. Amid this disagreement, Texas leaders protested Santa Anna's government and declared war against Mexico. The Texas Revolt lasted from 1835-1836 and formally ended with the Treaty of Velasco in 1836 and the establishment of the Republic of Texas that lasted ten years.[75]

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[69] David Weber, *Foreigners in Their Native Land: Historical Roots of the Mexican Americans* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003), 101.

[70] Ibid., 101-102.

[71] Ibid.; David Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), 167.

[72] Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo*, 119.

[73] Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846*, 170.

[74] Ibid.

[75] I refer to Texas in the English terminology because I will only use Tejas when referencing to the Spanish and Mexican period. I do not want to neglect the use of Spanish, but I am doing this in order to stay consistent throughout this paper.

Hostilities between Anglo-American colonists and ethnic Mexicans did not end following the war. Mexicans, now Texas citizens, became racially discriminated against by Anglo-Texans across the young republic. Biographer A.B.J. Hammett provides an example, "This family [of wealthy empresario Don Martin de Leon,] like other loyal Mexican families were driven from their homes, their treasures, their cattle[,] and horses and their lands, by an army of reckless, war-crazy people, who overran the town of Victoria. These new people distrusted and hated the Mexicans, simply because they were Mexican, regardless of the fact they were both on the same side of the fighting during the war."[76] Racial discrimination and violence was also felt in San Antonio and speaks to the experience of Tejanos subjugation.

San Antonio Mayor Juan Seguín, who donated his wealth for the war effort and a decorated war hero, became a racial minority like his fellow Tejanos. In 1841, Seguín became the first ethnic Mexican mayor of San Antonio in the Republic of Texas. Within a year, racial attitudes toward Seguín and his family began to diminish his political status and economic power, causing him to leave Texas. His departure happened after the events of 1842 when the Mexican Army, led by General Ráfael Vásquez, tried to reclaim parts of Texas. Mexico captured San Antonio for a few days before Seguin led a group of soldiers to push Vásquez's forces out of Texas. As mayor, Seguín ordered the evacuation of San Antonio. However, once in the city, "Vásquez invited all former Mexicans to return to Mexico and announced that the Mayor of San Antonio, Juan Seguín, was still a loyal Mexican."[77] After Seguin returned to San Antonio, Anglo-Texans branded the mayor as a traitor to Texas. Anglo-Texans gave him this label because they questioned Seguín's loyalty to Texas when word got out about Vásquez's remarks about his loyalty to Mexico. In

[76] David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986* (Austin: University of Texas, 1987), 27.

[77] Weber, *Foreigners in Their Native Land* ,179.

addition, he had failed to stay in San Antonio and fight while Vásquez's forces attacked the city.[78] Seguín and his family escaped to Mexico in late 1842 with other Tejano families as animosity increased between them and Anglo-Texans.[79] He wrote about his experiences in his memoirs. He recalls, "[I am] a foreigner in my native land; could I be expected stoically to endure their outrages and insults? Crushed by sorrow, convinced that my death alone would satisfy my enemies, I sought for a shelter amongst those against whom I had fought; I separated from my country."[80] The first Mexican-Texan mayor became the only one for another 125 years. Seguín's story exemplified how Tejanos lived and changed within the emerging racial hierarchies.

Three years later, Texas was annexed by the United States in 1845.[81] Shortly after its entrance, the U.S. War with Mexico broke out in 1846 because of the Nueces River and Rio Grande land disputes between Mexico, Texas, and the United States.[82] Under the Treaty of Velasco, Texas claimed that the Rio Grande was the rightful border of the newly formed republic, but Mexico recognized the Nueces River as the border between the nations. The dispute was finally resolved by the end of the war in 1848. However, by that time, Mexico had lost more than its disputed land when both countries signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Included in the treaty was the incorporation of parts of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, and California to the U.S.[83] An estimated 100,000 Mexican residents were included in these seized territories and states. The treaty granted Mexican individuals one year to either stay in the U.S. and became American citizens or

[78] Phyllis McKenzie, *The Mexican Texans* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004), 52.
[79] Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986,* 27.
[80] Weber, *Foreigners in Their Native Land,* 178.
[81] Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo*, 199.
[82] Manuel G. Gonzales, *Mexicanos: A History of Mexicans in the United States* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press,1999), 76.
[83]Omar S. Valerio-Jiménez, *River of Hope: Forging Identity and Nation in the Rio Grande Borderlands* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 139.

return to Mexico.[84] It is unclear how many Mexicans chose to leave the U.S. Still, recent studies have estimated that at least 3,000-8,000 repatriated back to Mexico after the war and well into the late nineteenth century.[85] Those that remained became part of the U.S. and were subject to American law and racial violence.

San Antonio as part of the United States

After the U.S. War with Mexico, San Antonio transformed into a divided racial community in a nation moving West. In the Southwest, the ethnic Mexican population became racialized and stereotyped as culturally inferior to that of the white population.[86] According to Arnoldo De León, "Whether it was Texas, Arizona, California, or New Mexico, Anglos considered Mexicans as 'greasers' and described them as lazy, immoral, prone to violence, and lax in moral standards." [87] In the Alamo City, town officials sought to segregate ethnic Mexicans because of these stereotypes. This racialized idea was not only a public belief in Texas but locally understood by public displays of nudity during their bath regiments.

Erecting bathhouses for ethnic Mexicans was the first step for city officials to conceal ethnic Mexicans from Anglo citizens and visitors who were uncomfortable with public scenes of nudity.[88] The bathhouses were publicized around the country as seen in the 1876 *New York Times* article titled "Peculiarities of the City [of San Antonio.]"[89] The newspaper described the San

[84]Mark Rifkin, *Manifesting America: The Imperial Construction of U.S. National Space* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 149.

[85] José Angel Hernández, *Mexican American Colonization During the Nineteenth Century: A History of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 137-139.

[86] Arnoldo De León, *They Called Them Greasers: Anglo Attitudes Toward Mexicans in Texas, 1821-1900* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), Kindle Location 1676.; Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo*, 91.

[87]Arnoldo De León, *Racial Frontiers: Africans, Chinese, and Mexicans in Western America, 1848-1890* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 32.

[88] De León, *They Called Them Greasers*, Kindle Location 896.

[89] "San Antonio: Peculiarities of the City, How and When It Was Settled," *New York Times*, July 10, 1876, 2.

Antonio River and its "residents whose houses or grounds abut on the river evidently appreciate it, if one may judge by the number of little bathhouses with their tent like coverings."[90] Residential bathing in the river had been part of San Antonio since the colonial era when most settlers held water rights and lived along the western edge of town near the river. The construction of bathhouses along the San Antonio River allowed for the demarcation of space between the Euro-Americans and the ethnic Mexicans to further divide the communities.

Racial attitudes toward ethnic Mexicans followed the process of Americanization in Texas. Cities across Texas to became Americanized politically, commercially, and socially.[91] The migration of Anglo-Americans further dwindled ethnic Mexican political participation in cities like San Antonio, Laredo, and Brownsville. Ethnic Mexican elites, who once had a substantial amount of political power and wealth, now had to navigate lines of race and class in Texas. For example, American banking institutions set time limits on mortgages increasing the debt of ethnic Mexican, moving them to falter on their loans and surrender lands and commercial property as payment.[92] In south Texas, it was no different; property loss was significant in Cameron and Hidalgo County, where Anglo businessmen started to buy and take land away from ethnic Mexicans who had lived there for centuries.[93] Americanization also came in the form of religious education and the celebration of American holidays. For example, Protestant and Methodist missionaries in Cameron County created private schools in south Texas to educate and convert ethnic Mexicans away from Catholicism.[94] In San Antonio and along the U.S-Mexico border, both Anglos and Mexicans celebrated the Fourth of July. According to Omar Valerio-Jimenez,

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[90] Ibid.

[91] Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986*, 92.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Benjamin Heber Johnson, *Revolution in Texas: How a Forgotten Rebellion and Its Bloody Suppression Turned Mexicans into Americans* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 19.

[94] Valerio-Jiménez, *River of Hope*, 242-243.

"Americanos used national holidays and leisure activities to introduce American traditions to the border region."[95] The different methods of Americanization formed the base by which American culture would stay in the borderlands. In the pursuing years, the creation of the railroad system in Texas encouraged more Anglos to move into the state.

The introduction of the Southern Pacific Railroad in 1875 and in Galveston, Harrison, and San Antonio Railroad in 1877 gave the San Antonio and south Texas an economic boost and contributed to the extensive migration of Anglos to the region.[96] Before, the local economy consisted of rural farmlands and small-scale trading from Mexico. After the introduction of the railroad, San Antonio became connected to coastal markets in Galveston and agriculture and livestock production in south Texas.

In the late nineteenth century, the changes that followed the railroad, population boom, and new trade networks further diminished the social and political presence of ethnic Mexicans across major cities in Texas and in the Southwest. Anglos living in San Antonio started to push out Mexican Americans that resided near Alamo Plaza, Main Plaza, and Military Plaza, which allowed for Anglo businesses to grow downtown. Commercial lots were sold to Anglo investors, "either because [Mexican residents] had fallen into debt or because Mexicans thought it best to move…across the San Antonio River to the areas west of Main and Military Plaza."[97] This resulted in the "barrioization" of the ethnic Mexican communities as they were compressed and pushed into smaller neighborhoods within larger cities across the Southwest.[98] In San Antonio's case, the

[95] Ibid., 241.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986*, 92.
[98] Carlos G. Velez-Ibanez, *Border Visions: Mexican Cultural of the Southwest United States* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996),7.

barrio was west of downtown. Following the move, downtown became home to Euro-American owned lots and businesses that were tailored to the incoming migrants.

Cultural, Public, Commercial, and Segregated Spaces

Amid Americanization efforts by new Anglo residents of Texas, from the 1850s-1890s, ceremonial and cultural events created ethnic Mexican spaces and facilitated a sense of community in San Antonio. San Antonio's Mexican American population still celebrated Mexico's Independence. Commemorating Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla's *grito* or call for independence against the Spanish rule in Mexico. In San Antonio, Diez y Seis de Septiembre was celebrated as a holiday since 1825, "just a little over a year after Agustin Iturbide's attempt at establishing an empire in Mexico failed and the Mexican republican constitution was adopted."[99] During the Mexican period, the federal government sanctioned this day as a national holiday as part of a nation-building scheme to create a national identity.[100]

During the decades of Texas annexation and Anglo-American expansion, Diez y Seis de Septiembre became less of a nationalist holiday and more of a cultural and civic gathering. In San Antonio, under U.S. rule, the event became a citywide two-day celebration for upper- and lower-class Mexicans and was held in the church square or park followed by a parade and dance. Historian Raúl A. Ramos explains that the celebration represented the "emergent culture developing in relating to the new social order presented to Tejanos. While Bexareños turned their attention to the secessionist rhetoric of the Anglo-Texans, they still considered themselves Mexican for reasons that went beyond the issues of the moment."[101] Their Mexican identity

[99] Judith Berg Sobre, *San Antonio on Parade: Six Historic Festivals* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2003), 73.

[100] Resendez, *Changing National Identities*, 59.

[101] Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo*, 163.

remained a way in which San Antonio Mexican Americans practiced their cultural heritage amid their dwindling social, economic, and political presence.[102]

San Pedro Park was the official meeting spots for the Diez y Seis de Septiembre celebration following U.S. colonization. While funding for the event was left to the Mexican community's mutual aid societies and social and political clubs, the park with its natural springs became an ideal location to host the event because it was green communal space even before the U.S. War with Mexico.[103] The park had always served as a communal space for San Antonio. Since the Spanish colonization of the area, the region, and its springs provided the local community with a space for cultural and community engagement. During the eighteenth century, the springs were the headwaters of the San Antonio River. They were used to irrigate agricultural plots and provided drinking water for the livestock and the local population. By 1852, the area near the springs became the first public park west of the Mississippi, and the second public park in the U.S. only to Boston Common.[104] In the nineteenth century, one San Antonio observer said it was "one of the most beautiful natural sheets of pure water in the Union."[105]

However, the creek adjacent to San Pedro Park served as the official dividing line between the Mexican Westside and the white Northside. Anglo-American and German-American migrants began settling around the headwaters of San Pedro Park as early as 1854. Residents of San Antonio understood where this line was and what it meant. One Anglo town resident stated, "[T]he dividing line between American San Antonio and Mexican San Antonio… [was just over the] 'over the San Pedro."[106] Another citizen even commented on the difference between the communities, "The

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[102] Ibid., 207.

[103] Sobre, *San Antonio on Parade,* 84.

[104]Edwinna Kirkpatrick Janert, "San Pedro Springs" (Master's Thesis., Trinity University, 1968), 49.

[105] James F. Petersen, "An Environmental Crossroads on the Texas Spring Line," in *On the Border: An Environmental History of San Antonio*, ed. Char Miller (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001), 31

[106] Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986*, 95.

Mexican could not be made to see that his slow, primitive ways, his filth and lack of comfort, are not better than the frugal decency and careful home management of the Germans and Americans who surround him."[107] Although racist and derogatory, the white citizens of San Antonio were only adhering to the social and physical realities of the different built environments. The city's Mexican community mostly lived in older one-story adobe structures with no paved walkways or streets. The German and Anglo communities that lived on the other side of the park had paved sidewalks, planted trees, and gas lamps.[108]

By the 1870s, racial discrimination against Mexican Americans became more prevalent in the Southwest. Racial stereotypes deemed them as reckless, violent, and unable to assimilate to American society. In 1879, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* stated that "These greasers are not inclined to assimilate their customs and modes to those of white…but persisted in their old ways."[109] The magazine echoed a racial discourse that swept across the American Southwest and its major cities. Mexican American discrimination continued throughout the century as they did not readily assimilate to American culture and had to navigate between race, class, and gender by any means.

Mexican American elites in San Antonio lost most of their political status and offices during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries due to racial discrimination. The power they did have resided in mutual aid societies, political clubs, and social organizations. Among the most influential of these clubs and societies were the Mexican Social Club, Los Bexareños, Democrático, Club Mexico-Texano, Sociedad Mutualista Mexicana, and the Sociedad

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[107] De León, *They Called Them Greasers*, Kindle Location 667.

[108] Char Miller, "Where the Buffalo Roamed: Ranching, Agriculture, and the Urban Marketplace,", ed. Char Miller in *On the Border: An Environmental History of San Antonio*, ed. Char Miller (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001), 73.

[109] De León, *They Called Them Greasers*, Location 659.

Benevolencia Mexicana.[110] The organizations provided political support, monetary assistance, healthcare services, burial services, and organized public events for the ethnic Mexican population. Groups like the Sociedad Mutualista Mexicana were comprised of wealthier merchants and politically connected Mexican Americans.[111] These organizations also became mediators between government officials and the ethnic Mexican community.

In 1883, the Sociedad Mutualista Mexicana, with the assistance of Bryan Callaghan Jr., a town alderman, protested the banishment of several Mexican American families from the San Pedro Park's dancefloor. At the time, Fredrick Kerbel, the main proprietor of the park, had banished these families after Anglo-Americans "refused to dance on the same floor with them [ethnic Mexicans] and…threatened to withdraw their patronage of the park."[112] Following the incident, the Sociedad and Callaghan threatened Mayor James French and Kerbel with bad publicity, a petition, and a lawsuit against them and the park. Kerbel quickly dismissed the Anglo-American complaints and apologized to the seven Mexican families.[113] The San Pedro Park incident shows one of the first collaborative efforts between elite ethnic Mexicans and white town officials of San Antonio to quell domestic racism.

In other instances, these ethnic Mexican clubs and white town officials did nothing to help the lower Mexican American class. Their political support went as far as they cared. For example, in the 1880s, Mexican American women dominated San Antonio's downtown economy by working for the customer service, tourist, and food industries. Their popularity was publicized around the nation, but in San Antonio, they became part of the working-class and facilitated a much-needed economic base for their community. David Montejano states, "By 1856 [eight years

[110] Ibid.
[111] Sobre, *San Antonio on Parade*, 85.
[112] Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo*, 85.
[113] Sobre, *San Antonio on Parade*, 85.

after the U.S. War with Mexico]….[Almost 60 percent of] Mexicans appeared to have almost no other business than that of carting [freight] goods."[114] These chili stand women became a vital part of the ethnic Mexican labor force that contributed to the remaining 40 percent of individuals that worked in San Antonio's downtown corridor. With this group's diminished political and economic strength, these women persist alongside the increasing white population.

The media started calling these Mexican American women that worked in the stands Chili Queens because chili con queso was the main dish they served to customers. By working in the customer service and food industry, these women were able to garner spaces and revenue for themselves and families. In 1889, the *San Antonio Daily Express News* published an article titled "The Women of Mexico." The title alluded to women from Mexico, but the unknown author clearly placed these women in San Antonio. Initially, the article depicts these women as "civilized, loving wives, law-abiding citizens, family-oriented, and Christian ladies." [115] A similar argument was made by William Barrett Travis, 50 years before, "Where a Mexican woman becomes attached [to Anglos] there are few who can love more warmly."[116] However, the newspaper article claims that if these women were to step outside this realm of womanhood and civility, she would be part of the uncivilized world.[117] The representation of ethnic Mexican woman both in the article and in Travis's statement emphasize the complex nature of ethnic gender norms in the nineteenth century. According to Paula Baker, this notion of gender norms affirms the nineteenth century Anglo vision of "anti-suffragist and many suffragists [who] agreed [that] woman belonged in the home. From this domain, as a wife, as a daughter, and especially as a mother…exercised moral influence and

[114] Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986*, 26.
[115] *San Antonio Daily Express,* April 14, 1889
[116] De León, *They Called Them Greasers*, Kindle Location 318.
[117] *San Antonio Daily Express,* April 14, 1889

insured national virtue and social order." [118] Further, as stated by Jeffrey Pilcher, these women and the city represented "safe danger."[119] The city and ethnic Mexican women were close enough to Mexico but still within the U.S. to be safe. Their food was deemed different compared to white American dishes yet still wanted by Anglo visitors. The Chili Queens were women that stepped outside the domestic sphere to support their families and community in some of the only jobs they could find in the city. In San Antonio, this group of women managed to fill the economic void for ethnic Mexicans and operated in the Anglo dominated downtown.

In 1885, Bryan Callaghan, now mayor of San Antonio, considered the chili stands and the Mexican women as dangerous to the fabric of "urban hygiene" and restricted the street vendors in the plazas.[120] The mutual aid societies and political clubs did nothing to help these women. Callaghan's assistance did not come for these women as it did for the Sociedad Mutualista Mexicana. Permanently banished from downtown, the Chili Queens took residence within the confines of the Westside of San Antonio. They represented one example of how ethnic Mexicans were pushed from the downtown corridor and segregated.

In the following decades, tourists traveled to the Westside of San Antonio for these cultural dishes. In 1922, Helen Keller made a similar journey to the Westside for food. According to the *San Antonio Express News*, Keller traveled with her companions to visit the "open air chili stands" until ten at night but was disappointed because of the absence of vendors.[121] Still persistent, the writer explains that Keller was going to try the next day again to eat more than a "tamale."

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[118] Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920," in *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History*, ed. Ellen Carol DuBois and Vicki L. Ruiz (New York: Routledge, 1990), 66.

[119] Jeffrey M. Pilcher, *Taco Planet: A Global History of Mexican Food* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 107.

[120] Ibid., 110.

[121] *San Antonio Express News*, March 6, 1922.

Rather, "She is going to have all the menu affords."[122] Visitors like Keller expected a type of food tourism, where they were able to experience a non-Anglo-American cuisine within the U.S. What they found was a space were ethnic food and culture persisted but only within the ethnic Mexican segregated neighborhood. In their communities, Mexican women could carve out cultural and commercial spaces for themselves and move outside of the home and into the city's economy. Despite being considered a public hygiene concern and forced out of downtown, they remained sought after by tourists.

Segregation and the Great Depression

Confluence in the early twentieth century took a different turn with Mexican Americans and African Americans in San Antonio. Instead of seeing ethnic groups join in harmony, racial segregation became more pronounced. Segregation was not only based on ideas about race but implemented through laws and the built environment. Aiding this argument is David Montejano's question of whether "segregation [was] more a matter of class or of race?"[123] I believe that it was both because the existing racial classification of non-white communities developed alongside class divisions. The socioeconomic separation that occurred between white and communities of color solidified the notion that the aesthetic appeal of one's house, neighborhood, or street was attached to a person's identity. As a result, the material culture translated into the built environment and became a significant factor in creating borders within the city.

During the turn of the century, the Westside and Southside communities were called the Mexico-Town, or in some cases, the Latin Quarter by city dwellers and newspaper reports. Many

[122] Ibid.
[123] Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986*, 221.

non-Mexican residents of San Antonio viewed these areas as the much poorer part of town.[124] The absence of municipal infrastructure, job placement, and sufficient housing only reinforced this idea. This terminology was meant to administer racial distinctions between areas where white residents lived and non-white neighborhoods. The process of barrioization moved Mexican Americans to the Westside of town but in the nineteenth century, the economy and laws and ideas about race, public health, and the built environment kept them there in the twentieth century.

Compared to the rest of Texas, economic expansion in the 1900s was minimal in San Antonio even though it developed as an agricultural hub, railroad depot, and military center in the 1800s. Still, the town did not experience the same industrial and commercial booms, as witnessed in Dallas, Fort Worth, Houston, and Galveston.[125] Historians Char Miller and David Johnson argue that industrial interests in the city did not develop because industries did not want to move there, and it did not have a big urban rival to compete against creating a sense of competition.[126] Dallas had Fort Worth, and Houston had Galveston, the most prominent commercial city in the Southwest. In south Texas, the Rio Grande Valley was a small collection of agriculture producing towns. In central Texas, San Antonio had Austin, but the state capital was too small to rival San Antonio. With its lack of economic and business growth, San Antonio took to city-building and the construction of municipal projects. This approach, however, reinforced distinct lines of segregation by law and influenced ideas about race between whites, ethnic Mexican Americans, and African Americans.

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[124] Richard Garcia, *Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class San Antonio, 1929-1941* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1991), 209.

[125] Char Miller and David R. Johnson, "The Rise of Urban Texas," in *Urban Texas: Politics and Development*, ed. Char Miller and Heywood T. Sanders (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1990), 12

[126] Ibid.

San Antonio followed similar national trends in city building such as municipal services and annexing small suburbs and municipalities to increase its tax base. The practice of annexation and incorporation of small municipalities was a national phenomenon and publicized in cities like Chicago, Detroit, and New York with its five boroughs.[127] Adding more people into a consolidated city allowed municipal authorities to increase their tax base to fund public works, town treasures, and land speculations. In some cases, these areas were segregated by town ordinances and later by neighborhood covenants.

Across the United States, private properties and incorporated towns used town ordinances and later neighborhood covenants to racially segregate communities. In the early twentieth century, communities of color were segregated from white neighborhoods by legal municipal zoning ordinances across the U.S. In San Antonio, methods of segregation for white, brown, and black communities existed since the nineteenth century. However, at the turn of the century, racial segregation was coupled with Progressive Era ideas of social control and professionalized city planning. In America, the Progressive Era was a series of reform movements between the 1890s to 1920s aimed at improving rural and urban life through "political system[s], econom[ies], and communities."[128] Social control was a concept used by many Progressives to achieve these improvements. Edward Ross' developed this idea in his 1901 book *Social Control* that argued for "artificial" restraints on industrialized society for its general welfare.[129] "As time passed, however…reformers increasingly looked to public agencies to execute their programs [for social control and town planning.]"[130]

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[127] Lisa Krissoff Boehm and Steven H. Corey, *America's Urban History* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 146-147.

[128] Arthur S. Link and Richard L. McCormick, *Progressivism* (Wheeling:Harlan Davidson, Inc., 2013),1-2.

[129] Ibid., 70.

[130] Ibid.,1-2.

Professional city planners started to develop ideas for segregated town ordinances as a method of urban planning. The National Conference of City Planning in 1909 began to develop techniques and practices on how to implement planned cities across the country.[131] Similar to other fields that professionalized during the period like doctors, social workers, attorneys, and teachers, city planners "were genuinely convinced that their methods offered the key to social harmony and justice."[132] Their approaches included mapping and designing town plans, helping cities create ordinances, designing transportation routes, sewages, and buildings. City planners "regarded land use controls as an effective social control mechanism for Blacks and other 'undesirable[s]."[133] According to Christopher Silver, ideas about social control differed depending on the region. "While northern progressives were enacting zoning as a mechanism for protecting and enhancing property values,… southern progressives were testing its effectiveness as a means of enforcing racial segregation."[134] In San Antonio, city planners had to deal with three different racial groups resulting in laws being passed for Anglos, ethnic Mexicans, and African Americans. For example, a 1915 ordinance declared property near Mahncke Park on the town's Northside to be used only for white residences. More specifically, it stated, "That said property, or any part thereof, shall not at any time be rented, leased, sold, demised or conveyed to or otherwise become the property of a negro."[135]

The San Antonio city government issued the ordinance two years before the *Buchanan v. Warley* Supreme Court case. Starting in 1917, the Supreme Court case *Buchanan vs. Warley* made

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[131] Ibid., 93.

[132] Ibid., 85.

[133] Christopher Silver, "The Racial Origins of Zoning in American Cities," in Urban Planning and the African American Community: In the Shadow, eds. June Manning Thomas and Marsha Ritzdorf (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1997), 24.

[134] Ibid., 23.

[135] "Meeting of the Commissioners of the City of San Antonio, December 27, 1915, 4 p.m.," San Antonio Municipal Archives and Records

restrictive racial city zoning ordinances unconstitutional.[136] In the pursuing years, Texas lawmakers and public interest groups tried to find loopholes around the case but still faced legal action.[137] After the decision, neighborhoods across the nation began creating racially restrictive covenants, San Antonio suburbs being some of them. [138] Forming them allowed for segregation to persist in Texas on a neighborhood by neighborhood bases.[139] Covenants also created a class hierarchy between communities. As property values increased in the suburbs and new housing developments were created, it left most ethnic Mexicans and African Americans to live in segregated communities that did not have the same high property values.

It is during this period that the Mexican population grew. Migration from rural areas in Texas and immigrants from Mexico were the cause of this population increase. The Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) brought immigrants to San Antonio. With no other place to live instead of the Westside, this community began to overflow to other parts of the town and small nearby municipalities that did not have racial covenants such as Edgewood that were comprised of low-income housing.[140] Still, stereotypes formed about these low-income urban communities in Texas by white officials.

Ideas of Mexican difference were reinforced throughout Texas society. People that opposed Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans coined them as the "Mexican Problem."[141] The assumption was that Mexicans brought crime and a social threat to the fabric of American

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[136] Michael J. Klarman, *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights: The Supreme Court and the Struggle for Racial Equality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 142-144.

[137] Jason McDonald, *Racial Dynamics in Early Twentieth-Century Austin, Texas* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2012), 109.

[138] Ibid., 159.

[139] Ibid.

[140] United States Commission on Civil Rights. *Hearing Held in San Antonio, Texas, December 9-14, 1968*, 831.

[141] Mario T. García, *Mexican Americans: Leadership, Ideology, and Identity, 1930-1960* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 26.

society. According to historian Mario T. García, Mexicanos living in the rural and urban U.S. faced similar derogatory stereotypes and methods of discrimination in cities such as El Paso and Los Angeles.[142] In El Paso, the Mexican community was confined to El Segundo Barrio and Chihuahuita, a nickname given to this crowded neighborhood because a portion of its residence hailed from Chihuahua, Mexico, or were ethnic Mexican.[143] During the era of mass Mexican immigration, communities across the U.S. divided into distinct social and classist hierarchies. Still seen as racially inferior in Texas, Mexican nationals and Mexican Americans created communities and class structures of their own, comprised of a labor class, middle-class, and a small elite class of Mexican immigrants and established Mexican Americans who were termed the *Ricos*.[144] Still, they had to endure with progressive ideas about Mexican bodies.

The early twentieth century also saw a rise in progressive ideas of public health. Similar to professional town planners, public health advocates and professionals argued that Mexicans were inferior because of their health, culture, and place within large urban communities. David Montejano argues that "regional societies used the language of racial inferiority and reinforced it with germ theories [of disease], in particular, [as] an excellent vehicle for explaining the separation or quarantine of Mexicans in Texas."[145] "The germ theory of disease…had led bacteriologists to identify the specific microorganisms responsible for certain of the most feared diseases, particularly syphilis and tuberculosis."[146] During this period, the "Mexican Problem" became associated with the spread and containment of disease and cleanliness too. However, the practice

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[142] Mario T. García, "LULAC, Mexican American Identity, and Civil Rights," in *Major Problems in Texas History*, ed. Sam W. Harnes and Car D. Wintz (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2002), 384.

[143] Alexandra Minna Stern, "Buildings, Boundaries, and Blood: Medicalization and Nation-Building on theU.S.-Mexico Border, 1910-1930," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 79, no.1 (February 1999): 55.

[144] Garcia, *Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class San Antonio, 1929-1941*, 71.

[145] Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986*, 224-225.

[146] Link and McCormick, *Progressivism,* 86.

of maintaining one's hygiene was difficult for some because of the lack of resources. According to one Texan account, "Cleanliness was impossible: Children slept on dirt floors, rolled up in quilts; clothing was kept in boxes under beds or cupboards; and although most the Mexican housewives strove for neatness and cleanliness, these were qualities impossible to achieve in the face of such [social & economic] obstacles."[147] Anglo ideas of ethnic Mexican hygiene and bodies only strengthen racist concepts of segregation.

The reality of limited access to municipal services reinforced ideas of racial difference. Regardless of their class status, San Antonio's brown and black communities were "geographically segregated," and some were physically impoverished and lived in low-income neighborhoods.[148] In these communities, access to municipal services such as sewers, sidewalks, curbs, and paved roads was limited. Modern infrastructure tied with ideas of race and lack of municipal funding created the physical side of the societal "haves" and the "have nots." Even in areas like the city of Edgewood, which later became part of the town; people saw the differences in "low-cost homes…[that were] sold primarily to low-income Mexican American families."[149]

Unlike the San Pedro Park's creek, a natural barrier that divided the communities, city authorities did not readily invest in the construction of electric lines and paved roads, curbs, sewer lines, and sidewalks for black and brown neighborhoods. For example, in 1915, town commissioners and Mayor Clinton G. Brown passed a municipal ordinance to build pedestrian safety paths against motor vehicles. However, these sidewalks were to be "paid by the owners of such property and declared such cost a personal liability of such owners."[150] In San Antonio,

[147] Ibid., 227.

[148] Ibid., 256.

[149] United States Commission on Civil Rights. Hearing Held in San Antonio, Texas, December 9-14, 1968,831.

[150] "Meeting of the Commissioners of the City of San Antonio, September 20th, 1915 at Four o'clock p.m.," San Antonio Municipal Archives and Records., 176.

communities of color could not afford to have these walkways built. This reflected the economic reality of their area because "[the] [a]nnual family income [was]…between twenty-seven and fifty-eight cents a day frequently were less than $250 [a year]."[151]

Communities of color also had to collaborate with machine politicians to get these services in place of their limited purchasing power. Political machines were groups formed by mayors, city council members, town aldermen, city commissioners, or general town government leaders that granted municipal funds and projects in exchange for patronage and votes.[152] In the town's Eastside, Charles Bellinger, a newspaper publisher and community leader, was the city's African American machine boss. During his reign, he responded to the community's needs and saw to it that black voters were granted paved streets, public parks, civil service jobs, and new school facilities.[153] At the time, the city held a small African American community and the second-largest ethnic Mexican population in the United States following Los Angeles. Like Mexicans living in the Westside of town, the African American community was marginalized in city politics and segregated in the Eastside and parts of the Westside of town.[154]

In the Westside, machine bosses curried favors for the ethnic Mexican community. However, middle-class members began to amplify their political voice for the betterment of their community. The lack of municipal infrastructure in sewer systems, sidewalks, streets, and home foundations shows that there was a form segregation in these neighborhoods.[155] The borders in San Antonio did not have to be, in this case, a line between nations. Instead, the division was set

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[151] David R. Johnson, Derral Cheatwood, and Benjamin Bradshaw, "The Landscape of Death: Homicide as a Health Problem," in *On the Border: An Environmental History of San Antonio*, ed. Char Miller (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 2001), 103.

[152] Kenneth Mason, *African Americans and Race Relations in San Antonio, Texas, 1867-1937* (New York: Garland Publishers, 1998), 272.

[153] Ibid.

[154] Ibid., 9.

[155] Ibid.

by the lack of political representation, affordable housing, public services, and racially segregating neighborhoods between white, brown, and black residents.

Only wealthier white neighborhoods were subsidized for their municipal projects and improvements. In 1930, a $2 million city bond for municipal services of San Antonio was put to the vote. The Westside community urged for the allocation of these funds for a gymnasium, but most of this money was given for street improvements on behalf of town commissioner Paul Steffler. His proposed improvements were not directed towards the Mexican Westside or the African American Eastside but given to the newly annexed suburbs.[156] San Antonio was now obligated to expand public works to white suburbs for free due to the approved city bonds. This relegated other sides of town, with lower tax bases, to have to purchase their municipal improvement projects.[157]

Public works projects and annexation were among the principal issues in town politics but not every citizen was content with the new addition of neighborhoods and fiscal responsibilities that annexations entailed. A 1929 *San Antonio Express News* article argued that San Antonian's should rethink administering bonds for the annexation and allocation of public works to the newly consolidated suburbs.[158] In San Antonio, suburbs were among the first communities to receive roads and street lines that connected the inner-city. One unknown writer in the *San Antonio Express* argued that the "municipality [inner-city San Antonio] and the residents should put the emphasis on street-extensions[, instead of annexations]."[159] The writer was arguing on behalf of an even

[156] Garcia, *Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class San Antonio, 1929-1941,* 116.

[157] Char Miller and Heywood T. Sanders, "Olmos Park and the Creation of Suburban Bastion, 1927-39," in *Urban Texas: Politics and Development,* ed. Char Miller and Heywood T. Sanders (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1990), 114.

[158] "THINK Opinion," *San Antonio Express,* July 25, 1929, 1.

[159] Ibid.

more significant issue; why were these suburbs receiving municipal funds when public works and improvements were still needed in the inner-city.

The city used private contractors that relied on the available, inexpensive brown and black labor force to help construct some of these streets.[160] The picture below, taken in 1928, shows street removal and street widening performed by Mexican individuals. What the image does not show is that most of the labor workforce did not live within the community they labored to improve.

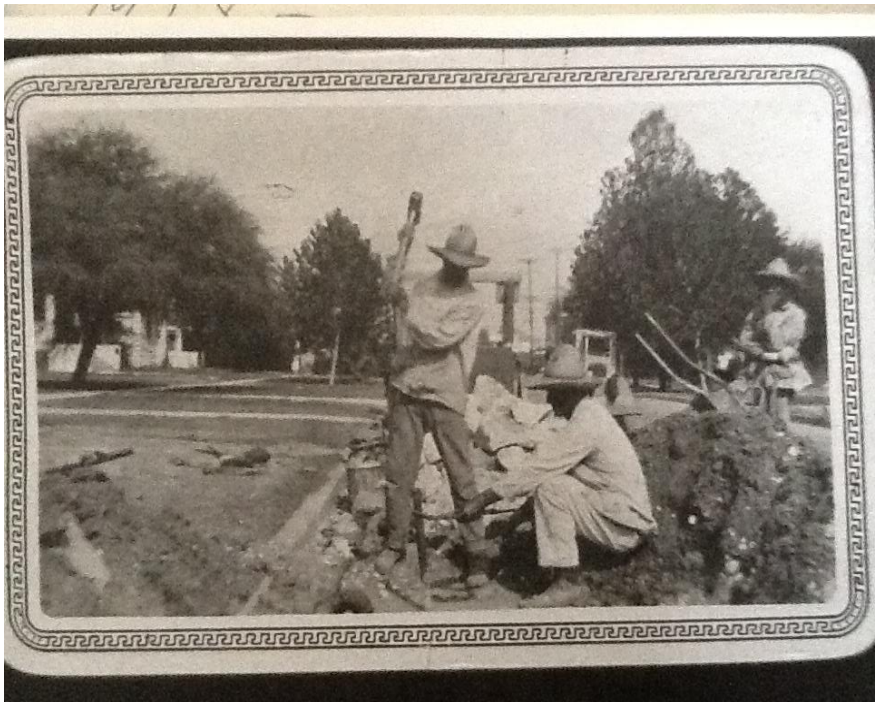

Figure 1.1: Photo of worker constructing a sewage line.[161]

Except for a few white families, many minority groups labored to improve other sections of the city and did not line within the neighborhoods.[162] In the early twentieth century, most white

[160] Box 78, Folder 78. John Kight Transportation Collection Papers, 1878-1990, MS 26, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[161] Miller and Sanders, "Olmos Park and the Creation of Suburban Bastion, 1927-39," 117.

[162] Rebecca J. Walter, Nathan Foote, Hilton A. Cordoba, and Corey Sparks, "Historic Roots of Modern Residential Segregation in a Southwestern Metropolis: San Antonio, Texas in 1910 and 2010," *Urban Science* 1, no. 19 (2017): 7.

communities in San Antonio were consolidated in white only small towns and suburbs in the Northside or near downtown San Antonio in places like Monte Vista, Olmos Park, Alamo Heights, Terrace Hills, Woodlawn Park, Summit Place, and Lincoln Heights. Some suburban communities were already built with sewage systems and other municipal services prior to 1933, but with the annexation of more land, city officials and services could expand to new neighborhoods.[163]

During this period, the Great Depression hit San Antonio. The depression was caused by the over speculation of stocks and businesses, limited banking regulations, and ultimately the collapse of the "New York stock market…sending the whole country and much of the world [into an economic downward spiral.] Incomes and home values plummeted, and hundreds of thousands of homeowners fell behind on their mortgage payments."[164] The dwindling funds and the need for new tax revenues from suburban residents only encouraged political authorities to make a move toward annexation on behalf of the city.

The Great Depression hit San Antonio's economy prominently between 1932-1935. The commercial sector took one of the biggest plunges in the city. However, the U.S. economic collapse did not deter local city projects from becoming a source of employment for Anglos, Mexican American, and African American residents. These projects were implemented following demonstrations against Mayor C.M. Chambers to use municipal projects to help laborers in the local economy.[165] The San Antonio Chamber of Commerce's reports indicates that city banks, building permits, electric meters, automobiles, and real estate had monthly increases in sales and

[163] Donald Everett, *San Antonio Monte Vista: Architecture and Society in a Gilded Age* (San Antonio: Maverick Publishing Company), 22-23.

[164] Carl Husemoller Nightingale, *Segregation: A Global History of Divided Cities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 343.

[165] Julia Kirk Blackwelder, *Women of the Depression: Caste and Culture in San Antonio, 1929-1939* (College Station: University of Texas at El Paso, 1984), 22.

additional construction jobs.[166] These reports followed the city's continued annexation of predominantly white suburbs and small municipalities. The city was able to sustain its municipal treasury and provide job opportunities in the construction sector through the annexation of these communities. However, the incorporation of these communities in the 1930s further segregated communities of color. Despite providing jobs for ethnic Mexicans and African Americans, the construction and linkage of annexed communities to San Antonio perpetuated subpar living conditions in the city's nonwhite portions.

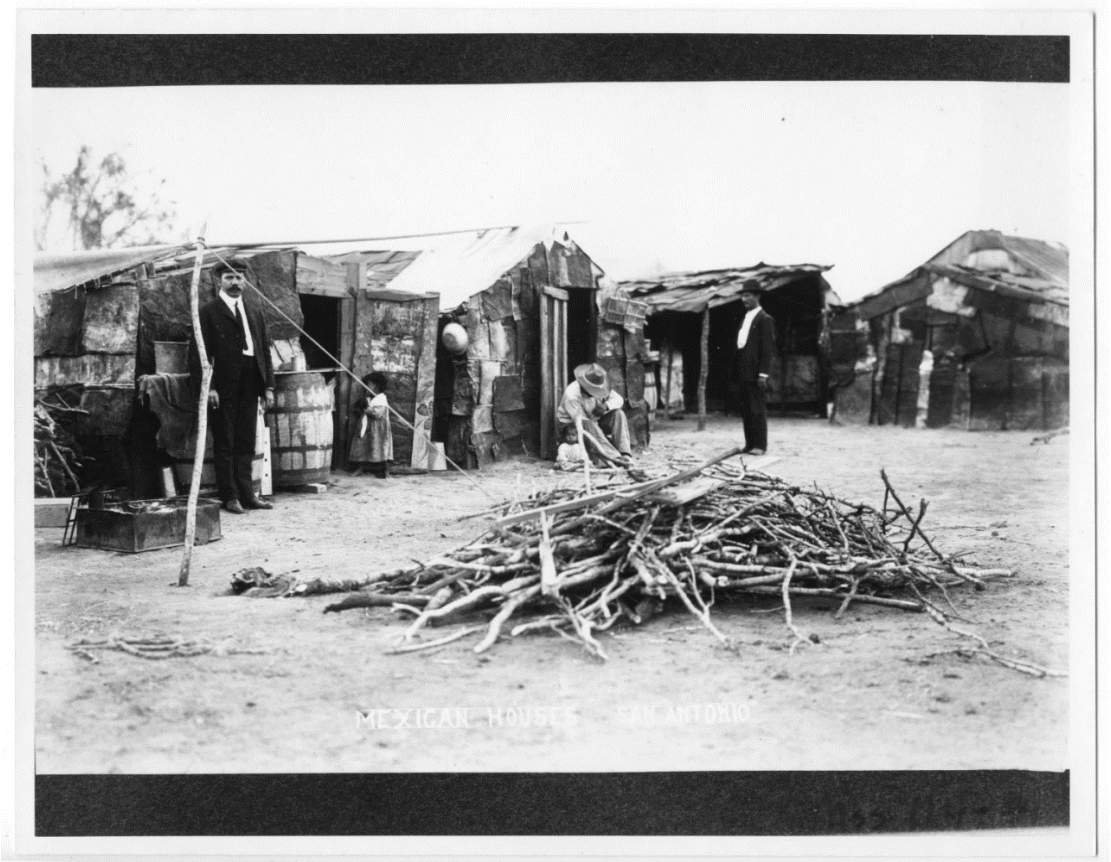

Figure 1.2: Mexican American housing in San Antonio, 1920s. [167]

[166] Richard Garcia, "*The Making of the Mexican-American Mind, San Antonio, Texas, 1929-1941: A Social and Intellectual History of an Ethnic Community"* (PhD diss., University of California, 1980), 44.

[167] Mexican American housing in San Antonio, 1920s, photograph, 192u; (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth222149/m1/1/?q=Mexican%20American%20San%20Antonio: accessed July 25, 2019), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, https://texashistory.unt.edu; crediting Houston Metropolitan Research Center at Houston Public Library.

When venturing into the Westside of San Antonio, these suburbanites might have had a different depiction of a modern city in the 1920s and 1930s. Except for major commercial streets that were paved and had electricity, the Westside of town was an impoverished community where most homes were a small wooden framed structure with no sewage line or concrete foundations.[168] The lack of municipal and residential infrastructures enforced the notion that physical borders between wealthy communities and low income communities were extremely prevalent.

Some San Antonians took it upon themselves to provide these services. Kathleen González discusses how life was on the Westside in an oral history. She explains that her father and neighbors had to pave their streets themselves. Without the slightest clue of how to construct it, she explains that "They [did not] know any more about paving a street than I know today!"[169] These new construction projects brought individuals like Kathleen's mother to terms with the modern world. Soon her mom asked if she could have her backyard "fixed to have a cement slab as big as a bed for clotheslines….In less than two months [her] mother would have all of her friends having their backyards fixed with this cement."[170] Kathleen's story is unique as it was not the cement paved streets that impressed her mother; instead, it was the practical home uses for the material.

In contrast to Kathleen's story about having her father paving their streets, in suburban communities this was not the case. Still in the Depression, suburbs like Olmos Park, north of downtown and near San Pedro Park, capitalized on municipal projects to improve rail lines and make streets accessible for automotive transportation.[171] These projects would enforce existing

[168] Ibid.
[169] Interview with Kathleen Gonzalez, 1995: Institute of Texan Cultures Oral History Collection, 18-19.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Ibid.

patterns of suburban growth and segregation by having access to modern building materials like concrete and cement.

Concrete was not just used for municipal service projects. It was also meant to be aesthetically pleasing within the suburbs. Such was the case in Alamo Heights railway, as shown below, with the photograph of a streetcar station made of concrete. Below is motorman Robert J. Frankie standing in front of the door of the streetcar.[172] The aesthetics of concrete constructions like this one were created by San Antonio officials, businesses, and women's clubs. Structures like these were beautification projects used in parks, government offices, the Spanish Missions, and along the San Antonio River.[173] Most importantly, it shows how these women, city elites, and the local government were interested in "beautifying" commercial areas and tourist spots instead of using the material to better other parts of the city. [174]

[172] John Kight Transportation Collection Papers, 1878-1990, MS 26, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[173] Lewis Fisher, *Saving San Antonio: The Precarious Preservation of Heritage* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 1996), 2.

[174] RG 7, Box 2. Professional Women's Club of San Antonio Records, 1923-2006, MS 7, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

Figure 1.3: Motorman Robert J. Frankie standing in door of streetcar.[175]

Streetcars also played an important role in connecting segregated communities. According to Kenneth Mason, "Major streetcar lines ran through the black communities to the new white neighborhoods….This permitted blacks to live in their own separate communities while working for white employers in the new outlying districts." [176] The automobiles and mass transit vehicles were the only way to travel to subdivisions from the inner city because rail lines did not extend into some newly incorporated suburbs. The cost of owning an automobile in the 1930s was expensive for some communities forcing them to take a bus to the suburbs.[177]

[175] John Kight Transportation Collection Papers, 1878-1990, MS 26, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections

[176] Mason, *African Americans and Race Relations in San Antonio, Texas, 1867-1937,* 38.

[177] Mason, *African Americans and Race Relations in San Antonio, Texas, 1867-1937,* xvi.

Figure 1.4: A San Antonio Public Service Company bus parked in front of the Alamo.[178]

Access to sanitation services also reflected the differences between white suburbs and communities of color in San Antonio. For example, in 1933 the *San Antonio Light* published an article that read, "San Antonio is the only large city in the state [of Texas] that has a free sewage system…. [However,] If a household wanted to connect to the sewage it would cost an annual fee of $562.00." [179] In *San Antonio Express News* ads, newer houses in the suburbs were built with two chief amenities: sewage lines and concrete foundation. One ad from the Makeco Building Company explained that "Concrete [was] for permanence, Architecturally correct, Precast units for [the] economy, and Hollow walls for comfort."[180] Concrete projected permanence, and if a person could obtain this material, a family would have a permanent location to reside. Non-concrete foundation homes equated instability and prone to architectural incorrectness. This was

[178] A San Antonio Public Service Company bus parked in front of the Alamo, UTSA Libraries Special Collections Digital Collection, https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p9020coll008/id/11318/rec/9 (accessed July 29, 2019)

[179] "Citizens Pay Big Sum Yearly for S.A. 'Free' Sewers," *San Antonio Light*, December 21, 1933.

[180] Unknown author, *San Antonio Express*, October 23, 1938, E8.

an everyday occurrence among Westside and Eastside households who had wooden framed and beamed risen houses. In some cases, they were seen as shacks with no indoor plumbing.[181] Below is a photograph of laborers installing seven miles worth of concrete sewage lines that connected to different San Antonio suburbs.

In the 1930s-1940s, the Mexican community's per capita income ranged from $250.00 to $500.00, which reflected a lower income per capita and a lack of purchasing power. [182] Illustrating the cost difference shows how "free" sewage was not free but an expense that only wealthy individuals could afford. The Mexican community's per capita income earnings highlight how the lack of economic means increased the possibilities of having subsidized sanitation services and adequate housing. This does not imply that all Westside community members did not own their own houses or did not have access to amenities made of concrete, but it was common for families to rent homes and live in tenement houses.[183]

[181] Richard A. Buitron, Jr. *The Quest for Tejano identity in San Antonio, Texas, 1913-2000* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 38.

[182] Garcia, *The Making of the Mexican American Mind, San Antonio Texas, 1929-1941*, 50.

[183] Unknown author, *San Antonio Light*, March 24, 1940, 9.

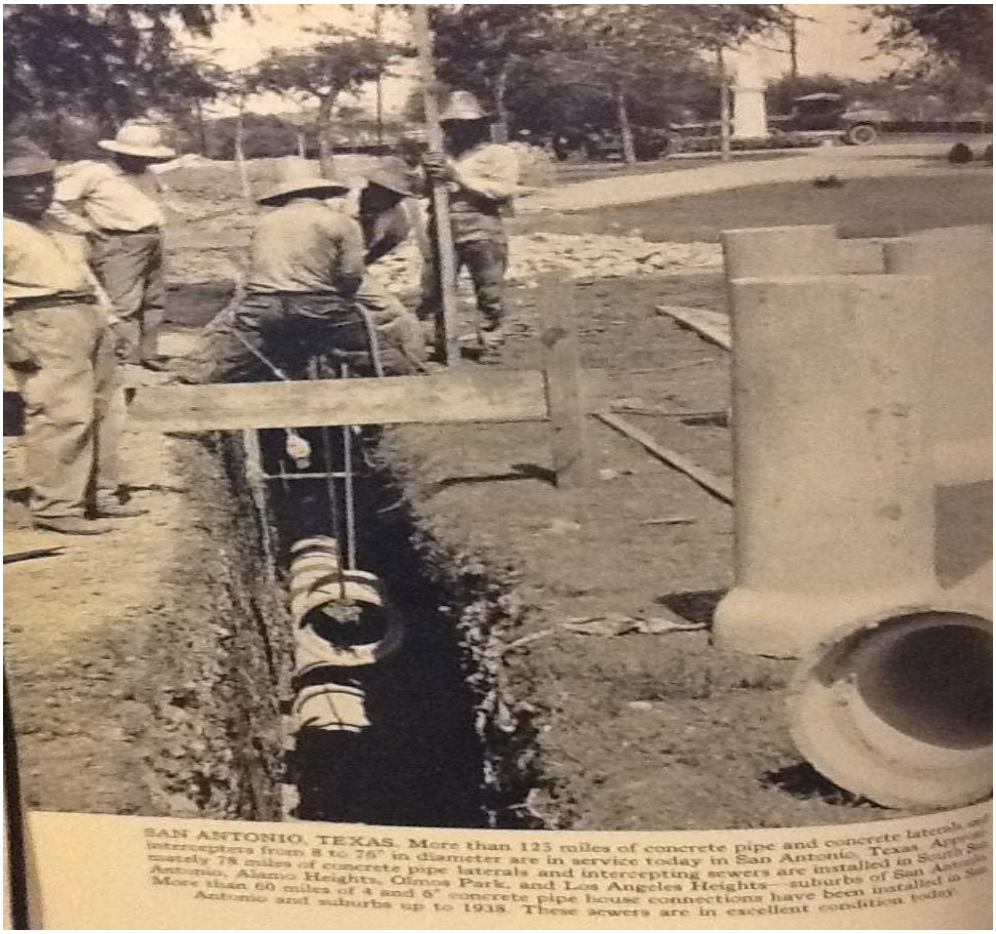

Figure 1.5: Workers installing concrete sewer pipes in the suburbs of San Antonio.[184]

For communities of color living in Texas, the Depression created low standards of living, little purchasing power, the perpetuation of inadequate housing, and labor shortages.[185] Labor markets between whites and communities of color reflected the sharp racial difference in San Antonio. During the 1930s, the industrial and commercial labor force was comprised of 50,000 Anglos, 44,000 Mexicans, 7,500 blacks, and 175 others.[186] As the decade continued, approximately 24,313 ethnic Mexican individuals were unemployed out of a total unemployment population of 48,625.[187] Due to the high unemployment rate, individuals took to the streets,

[184] Miller and Sanders, "Olmos Park and the Creation of Suburban Bastion, 1927-39," 115.
[185] Garcia, *Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class San Antonio, 1929-1941*, 61.
[186] Ibid.
[187] Ibid., 65.

Mexican American men and women protested in the streets of San Antonio for labor rights and the wages they deserved.[188]

The photograph below was taken in 1930 during the Great Depression. In a connection to the built environment and the labor market, the picture below shows a sea of over 1,000 unemployed Mexican American protesters.[189] The most interesting sign among the protesters is the second sign to the right, and with a close examination, it reads "Clean Sanitary Housing." As mentioned before, a significant issue for the ethnic Mexican community was sanitation, sewage systems, and amenities that were not allotted to them.

Figure 1.6: Parade of unemployed workers, on W. Houston Street, on way to City Hall, San Antonio, Texas.[190]

[188] Garcia, *The Making of the Mexican-American Mind, San Antonio Texas, 1929-1941,* 209.

[189] "Parade of unemployed workers, on W. Houston Street, on way to City Hall, San Antonio, Texas," San Antonio Light Photograph Collection, MS 359, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.; Unknown author, *San Antonio Light*, April 7, 1930, 3-A.; Mason, *African Americans and Race Relations in San Antonio, Texas, 1867-1937*, 22.

[190] "Parade of unemployed workers, on W. Houston Street, on way to City Hall, San Antonio, Texas," *San Antonio Light*, April 7, 1930.

While protesting their unemployment, some ethnic Mexican groups became entangled in a battle for public services.[191] Founded in 1929, the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) became one of the leading organizations to combat Mexican American poverty in the Westside. Accessing municipal public works was a significant concern for LULAC and the community. M.C. González, a prominent member of LULAC and President of the Mexican Chamber of Commerce, addressed the need for proper sanitation and street issues in both organizations. He also revised LULAC's constitution to include "sanitation and streets" as a civic mission for them.[192] González's stance on sanitation and street improvement reiterated the notion that municipal projects were just as crucial for social, political, and racial equality.

In San Antonio, material culture, politics, and ideas about race played a notable role in enforcing racial and class segregation. As we shall see in chapter 2, through departments like the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), families and individuals of the Westside and Eastside of San Antonio would see a transformation in methods of segregation and inclusion. With the election of the democratic New Dealer, Maury Maverick, the FHA, and other New Deal Programs provided the city of San Antonio with support to combat the Depression. By 1940, the city would support the rising Mexican American middle-class and witness a change in town politics.

[191] M.W. Loving, *Concrete Pipe in American Sewage Practice* (Chicago: American Concrete Pipe Association., 1938), 1-3.

[192] Garcia, *Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class San Antonio, 1929-1941*, 295.

Chapter 2: Racial Compliance for Code Enforcement: Urban Politics and Slum Clearance Policy before HemisFair, 1935-1966

On May 18, 1959, the Citizens for Decent Housing (CDH) sponsored a contest at La Villita Square just South of San Antonio's downtown. Flyers with a picture of a small wooden outhouse with the words "Best Photo Contest" were distributed across the city. The flyer promoted a contest that was opened to everyone in the city with prizes ranging from $50 to the first-place contestant and $25 to the runner-up. The objective of the competition was to take the "Best Picture of the Worst Slum in San Antonio."[193] The CDH sponsored the event and encouraged its participants to visit neighborhoods in the Westside, Southside, and Eastside of town. In the ethnic Mexican Westside, major thoroughfares such as Zarzamora Road and Guadalupe Street were "suggested areas to take pictures" because they were "typical slums, [and home to] blighted business[es], and dilapidated residences."[194] Under the federal urban renewal program, the photo contest was used to gather community support for an upcoming city bond to construct 1,500 public housing units across the city.

Support for the bond came from civic groups across town, business leaders, religious ministries, and city officials. The CDH's chairman was William Sinkin, a local businessman, president of the Texas State Bank, member of the San Antonio Housing Authority (SAHA), and future president of San Antonio Fair Inc. (SAF). Sinkin, like his affiliates in the organizations, supported urban renewal because it promised to revitalize neighborhoods and add an economic boost to San Antonio. Later, he used similar urban renewal measures to destroy an entire community downtown to create space for HemisFair.

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[193] Box 3, Folder: Politics-Public Housing Vote, 1959, William and Fay Sinkin Papers, MS 64, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[194] Ibid.

Before and after World War II, previous methods of "slum" clearance and urban renewal were administered in San Antonio by local leaders and federal authorities. In the process, Anglos and ethnic Mexicans in San Antonio collaborated to create these projects for their self-interest, amid protests by the African American community. Their actions transformed the town's government and its built environment forever. Anglos wished to use slum clearance to develop San Antonio into a modern city by destroying neighborhoods and building public housing units. However, Mexican American communities of color supported public housing and urban renewal projects because it provided their residents with suitable houses and municipal services, which were not granted in their neighborhoods.

The civil rights and urban renewal efforts by ethnic Mexicans and African American communities transformed San Antonio politics. This process encouraged communities of color to seek greater access to local and national politics and changed the town's landscape for generations. It is with this in mind that this chapter is separated into three different examples of urban renewal and issues around civil rights in San Antonio. I answer the following questions: How did urban renewal start in San Antonio? How did ethnic Mexicans and African Americans participate in controlling their urban environment? How did racial inclusion change city politics?

San Antonio Politics

In the late 1930s and 1940s, urban renewal projects changed San Antonio's landscape. In the early tweitieth century, most new municipal projects were in the town's Northside, but it is during this period that townspeople started to reform city politics and implement a citywide slum clearance program to provide these services to communities of color and poor white neighborhoods. These measures, however, were first enlisted by white reform politicians of San

Antonio as an attempt do away with machine politics and renovate the once Spanish outpost into a modern city.[195]

The San Antonio municipal government often neglected the needs of the Mexican American Westside and African American Eastside even though they represented two major voting blocs. In the American South and Southwest, communities of color were subject to similar racial injustices, as seen in San Antonio. Access to first-class citizenship for Mexican Americans and African Americans was unobtainable as they were discriminated against in education, politics, public facilities, and everyday life. People of color in the Alamo City fought against racial discrimination through civil rights organizations like the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), mutual aid organizations, and private clubs. However, they still had to go through the local government and the federal government to get meaningful and immediate change for their neighborhoods.

During the period, minority groups faced discriminatory voting practices that were meant to deter them from polling in state and federal elections. As a result, they could only vote freely in citywide races. On the state level, poll taxes and the White Primary limited Mexican American and African Americans from voting for their candidates. Which left them to wait until the nationwide elections where they mainly voted for the Republic Party because the Democratic Party represented the old Confederacy.[196] However, African Americans that voted Republican changed their political loyalties nationally during the period, as many began to vote for the Democratic

[195] Prior to this period, white clubs and organizations contributed to San Antonio's conservation projects that resembled urban renewal including the Alamo, San Antonio Missions, and Brackenridge Park.

[196] Judith K. Doyle, "Maury Maverick and Racial Politics in San Antonio, Texas, 1938-1941," *Journal of Southern History* 53 (May 1987): 194-224.; Conrey Bryson, *Dr. Lawrence A Nixon and the White Primary* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1974), 3-7.; Charles L. Zelden, *The Battle for the Black Ballot: Smith v. Allwright and the Defeat of the Texas All-White Primary* (Lawrence: Kansas University Press, 2004), 45.

Party.[197] This was a direct result of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal policies that benefitted the various civil rights coalitions built and supported by the NAACP. On the federal level, many African Americans saw the lack of Republican support for civil rights legislation as a turning point to look for support elsewhere. Famed columnist Lester Walton reiterated this idea when he suggested that "The time had come…for blacks to support candidates and parties only on the basis of present needs."[198] This turned them into a powerful voting bloc that the Democratic Party garnered in cities across the U.S. However, in San Antonio the needs of the African American and Mexican American communities rested in the hands of machine politicians.

Prior to the 1940s, compared to federal elections, when communities of color in in San Antonio voted their only options were machine politicians. Voting for political machine, like Mayor C.K. Quin's of San Antonio, were the only real way to get political support and funds from the municipal government. In some cases, jobs were even exchanged for votes. In the early twentieth century, political machines dominated San Antonio's government because they held the power to approve neighborhood improvement projects.[199] Political machines gathered support for these projects in the form of swing votes from the Mexican American Westside that represented 35.6 percent of the population and African American Eastside that represented 7.8 percent of the population.[200] The Alamo City was a segregated town that resembled two cities between its white and non-white communities of color.[201] Collecting support and ballots from these groups rested on

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[197] Harvard Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue: The Depression Decade* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 63-65.

[198] Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, 65.

[199] Alwyn Barr, *Black Texans: A History of African Americans in Texas, 1528-1995* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 138.

[200] U.S. Census Bureau. Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1930. Prepared by Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung. (accessed June 26, 2019). https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0076/twps0076.pdf.

[201] Laura Hernández-Ehrisman, *Inventing the Fiesta City: Heritage and Carnival in San Antonio* (Albuquerque: New Mexico University Press, 2008), 106.

political bosses that influenced the decision of their constituents in exchange for political positions or favors. Without minority elected officials in city offices, infrastructure improvements for street repairs, parks, and sewage lines became the main favors that Mexican Americans and African Americans could exchange with the white political establishment.

In the 1930s, Mexican Americans in the Westside formed a major part of San Antonio's voting bloc in local elections.[202] Since the nineteenth century, white political machines had sought political support in the form of votes from the ethnic Mexican Westside and African American Eastside.[203] In the 1930s, Jacobo Rubiola, a park commissioner and later health official, was the mediator for the machine in the Westside.[204] Apart from Maury Maverick's mayoral term from 1939–1941, ring politicians such as C.K. Quin campaigned in major minority neighborhoods for support in the 1930s. The city's ethnic Mexican, like its African American community, relied on corrupt officials for jobs, municipal projects, and political support. In the Eastside, the African American machine politician was Charlie Bellinger. He was an influential racketeer, real estate broker and founder of an African American newspaper called the *San Antonio Register*. Bellinger was also a political ally for white politicians hoping to get the African American swing vote.[205] This meant that minority groups could influence the outcome of the city elections, unlike most Southern urban centers.

Historian Kimberley Johnson argues that San Antonio was unique compared to other Jim Crow cities in states like Alabama because it was one of the few places where African Americans

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[202] Doyle, "Maury Maverick and Racial Politics in San Antonio, Texas, 1938-1941," 199.

[203] Richard A. Garcia, *Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class: San Antonio, 1921-1941* (College Station: Teas A&M University Press, 1991), 206.

[204] *San Antonio Light*, May 1, 1939.; Garcia, *Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class*, 210.

[205] "Charles Bellinger (1875-1937)," Black Past, last modified January 18, 2007, https://www.blackpast.org/aaw/vignette_aahw/bellinger-charles-1875-1937/.

could vote consistently.[206] Jim Crow laws were enforced across the South in areas that comprised of the former Confederate States of America. In the twentieth century, besides the poll tax and white primary, there is little evidence to suggest that black and brown voters in San Antonio had to face harsher practices of voter suppression, as seen in other towns across Texas and the American South. These practices included public lynchings and whitecapping. Alwyn Barr explains that whitecapping "generally applied to violent intimidation [tactics] short of death… [where whites] employed whipping, warning shots, threats, and destruction of property to [maintain the racial status quo.] Although located in the American South, San Antonio laws that separated Anglo, African Americans, and in San Antonio's case, Mexican American communities were less harsh for minority voters.[207]

In the late 1930s and 1940s, San Antonio began to depart from political rings and bosses. Political leadership for whites and people of color changed because of organized labor, civil rights organizations, liberal New Deal politicians, and the economic growth of the town. In 1938, Maury Maverick, a former U.S. Congressman and longtime resident of San Antonio, attempted to disband the political machine. Seen as a liberal New Dealer, Maverick was the only Southerner in the House of Representatives to vote for the Anti-Lynching Bill of 1937 and favored President Franklin Roosevelt's plan to aid depression-hit communities. He also saw political machines as disrupters to the American democratic system, which encouraged him to challenge the political status quo of San Antonio following his defeat for another term in Congress. Maverick hoped to become mayor of San Antonio but had to triumph over mayoral incumbent C.K. Quin, leader of

[206] Kimberley Johnson, *Reforming Jim Crow: Southern Politics and State in the Age Before Brown* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 209.

[207] Doyle, "Maury Maverick and Racial Politics in San Antonio, Texas, 1938-1941," 199.

the political machine. Without substantial endorsements from white communities around the city, Maverick sought support from Mexican American and African Americans voters.[208]

One of Maverick's campaign events was held in the heart of the Mexican American Westside at Sydney Lanier High School. While at the school, Maverick spoke about his campaign platform and stated that he did not support machine politics and that every citizen should be treated equally in the U.S. The *San Antonio Light* covered the event and Maverick's statement that said, "He had never spent any money among the Latin-American population," because he "never bought a vote in San Antonio." [209] He was referring to the city's political ring that bought and exchanged political favors for votes. Historian Richard Garcia claims that middle-class Mexican Americans supported the mayoral candidate's campaign because he "treated them as full-fledged citizens."[210] Maverick's liberal ideology rested on the notion that all American citizens should partake in the economic benefits and laws governed by the United States. His idealism only went as far as politics and economic mobility. Like most southern liberals of his time, he actively avoided controversial issues of social equality because he thought economic and political support allowed minority groups to become active participants and contributors to the United States government.

In the African American Eastside, Maverick tried to gather support by disapproving of machine politics as well. African American voters, now under the guardianship of boss Valmo Bellinger, who took the reins following his father's death, were more cautious of Maverick. Although Maverick voted for the 1937 Congressional Anti-Lynching Bill, in 1932, he tried to stop an injunction for C. A. Booker, an African American from San Antonio, to vote in the White

[208] At the time, the city elections held an open election meaning as long as you were within the city limits your vote counted for any office.

[209] "Maury in Plea for Westside Support," *San Antonio Light*, May 1, 1939.

[210] Garcia, *Rise of the Mexican American Middle Class*, 211.

Primary.[211] African Americans that disapproved of Maverick's actions represented 25 percent of the overall San Antonio electorate, giving them a powerful voting bloc. Further, Black voters also did not support him because he only allocated 14 percent of San Antonio's New Deal relief aid to the African American community when in Congress.[212] Even with their minimal support, Maverick managed to defeat C.K. Quin in the mayoral election of 1938.

While in office, Mayor Maury Maverick and H.B. Zachry, the chairman of the Bexar County Planning Board Financing Committee and later HemisFair official, advocated for municipal improvements and the San Antonio government reform.[213] As a reformer, Maverick encouraged municipal authorities to implement a city manager system that would rid the town of the machine ring appointees. Reforming the local government, however, was left to the wayside because of the lack of support but redeveloping the Alamo City's downtown became another priority of his to help the economy. The mayor moved beyond developing Alamo Plaza, the original site of the Battle of the Alamo, in the 1930s Maverick sponsored a series of New Deal reform measures that constructed tourist attractions around the San Antonio River and La Villita Plaza. Tourism and its economic benefit to San Antonio became one way to attract people to the Southwest city.

Using the New Deal's National Youth Administration (NYA) and Work Projects Administration (WPA) funds, Maverick and county officials renovated the San Antonio River under the River Beautification Project. Federal and city officials deepened the San Antonio River, add sidewalks, and constructed an opened air Amphitheater along its banks. Today these sites are

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[211] Doyle, "Maury Maverick and Racial Politics in San Antonio, Texas, 1938-1941," 201, 211.

[212] Ibid., 205.

[213] Heywood T. Sanders, "Building a New Urban Infrastructure: The Creation of Postwar San Antonio," in *Urban Texas: Politics and Development*, eds. Char Miller and Heywood T. Sanders (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1990), 160-161.

known as parts of Riverwalk, La Villita Plaza, and the Arneson River Theatre, but before its creation, it was a flood zoned area with houses and a small group of families and businesses.

In addition to developing the San Antonio River, renovating La Villita Plaza became Maverick's primary goal because it allowed him and city commissioners to return this old Spanish town to its "splendor." [214] Its location along the banks of the waterway and above the theatre made it an ideal location to boost tourism South of downtown. Municipal authorities pushed for the use of New Deal programs to "restore and develop it into a comprehensive community center for the 'life, liberty, and happiness' of the local citizenry."[215] They argued that the revitalization and preservation of La Villita accomplished two goals: promoting "Pan American Unity" and preserving the culture and traditions of the "90,000 Spanish-Mexican-Americans" living in the city.[216] Pan-Americanism was the belief that all North and South American residents shared a common American identity, as discussed more in chapter 3. For the city, preserving the Spanish and Mexican historical buildings facilitated good relations with the local Mexican American and international Mexican community and the opportunity to use federal funds to renovate parts of downtown.

Even though Mayor Maverick's plan to construct tourist sites in San Antonio for all its citizens, it came at the expense of the ethnic Mexican community. Nine Mexican families lived in houses in the La Villita construction zone.[217] Although city commission records do not state if these families were relocated, the master construction plan included all houses and lots bounded by the four blocks that surround this plaza. According to Municipal Property and Improvement

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[214] Lynn Jackson, "Spanish City Lore Center," *San Antonio Light,* July 19, 1939.

[215] City Council Ordinance Book 1 October 2, 1939, Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

[216] Ibid.

[217] Jackson, "Spanish City Lore Center."

Commissioners, this area of the city was deemed a "vile slum" and "Early steps must, therefore, be taken for its re-creation."[218] *San Antonio Light* columnist Lynn Jackson stated that these buildings, "were houses with walls two feet thick, adobe porches hardly two inches above the street, thick-beamed ceilings, and an air of authentic Spanish colonial style."[219] At the time, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), which sanctioned the demolition and construction of federally funded houses and materials, deemed adobe as unsuitable for residential or commercial construction.[220] La Villita's Mexican homes and residents, as a result, were removed from the plaza and replaced with federally approved prefabricated adobe structures that still exist today.

Mexican American homes around San Antonio that resembled La Villita's adobe or older houses were associated with more impoverished communities. Along with La Villita, Maverick and his colleagues were familiar with racial and stereotypical depictions of San Antonio's Mexican American and African American neighborhoods. This was seen in a 1935 Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) report. In San Antonio, the report enlisted the first use of what historians defined as "redlining" because the HOLC often drew a redline between neighborhoods they deemed criminal or poor.[221] These lines often followed preexisting lines of segregation in cities across the U.S. The report described ethnic Mexicans living in San Antonio's Westside as the "largest burden on the city" because one-sixth of the population was on some form of New Deal relief.[222] Furthermore, the document stated, "There are many economic drawbacks in San

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[218] City Council Ordinance Book 1 October 2, 1939, Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

[219] Jackson, "Spanish City Lore Center."

[220] "Around the Plaza," *San Antonio Light,* March 31, 1946.

[221] "Interactive Redlining Map Zooms in on America's History of Discrimination," NPR News, last modified October 19, 2016, http://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/10/19/498536077/interactive-redlining-map-zooms-in-on-americas-history-of-discrimination.

[222] Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC), San Antonio, University Texas at San Antonio Special Collections. Accessed June 27, 2019.

Antonio's large Mexican population. As a class, they are non-productive, socially inferior and in times of stress, a burden upon the community."[223] The African American Eastside community also faced similar derogatory depictions as it was deemed a "blighted area."[224] The 1935 report shows how racial thinking toward specific communities of color influenced the demolition of La Villita Plaza and the displacement of its residents in future neighborhoods.

Nevertheless, the renovation of San Antonio's downtown was Mayor Maury Maverick's idea and funded by the federal government to help San Antonio's economy. Although he collected political support from the ethnic Mexican Westside, he chose one of the oldest Mexican communities to destroy in the name of progress, Pan-Americanism, and community preservation, ironically. In the ensuing years, Maverick's political power in San Antonio began to dwindle following the U.S.'s entrance into World War II (1941-1945). During the war, the city and Texas witnessed an economic boom, minorities organized more heavily to oppose their second-class citizenship, and the need for municipal reforms became apparent by civic leaders.

In 1941, C.K. Quin became the mayor of San Antonio once more after defeating Maverick's bid for re-election. During Quin's first year back in office, the city enacted Ordinance 649 on October 30, 1941, as attempt to end racial discrimination for military service members and citizens from "Latin-American Republics of the [W]estern Hemisphere" in "licensed" San Antonio establishments.[225] The ordinance predates the U.S.'s entrance into WWII as it was approved more than a month before the U.S. entered WWII, which create a whole new level of cooperation between Latin American countries and the U.S. It was also enacted two years before Texas

[223] Ibid.

[224] Ibid.; During Maury Mavericks reign as mayor the African American Eastside did not gain any support from Maverick.; City blighted areas describe poorer communities that lacked community infrastructure and older houses.

[225] City Council Ordinance Book J October 9, 1941 - October 30, 1941, Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

Governor Coke Stevenson passed House Concurrent Resolution No.105 or the Caucasian Race Resolution which "prohibited discrimination against Mexican-origin persons in Texas" declaring that they were "persons of the Caucasian Race" and "entitled to equal accommodations [similar to that of white individuals in Texas]."[226] Stevenson endorsed the resolution after Mexico and the Bracero Program issued a travel ban to Texas, citing problems of racial discrimination against Mexican nationals working in Texas.[227] Nevertheless, back in San Antonio, the ordinance was possibly one of the first laws by a Texas city to end racial discrimination for Latin Americans. The language used in the city ordinance included Mexican Americans broadly, as one civil rights activist suggests, however, it did not automatically end segregation or discrimination in neighborhoods, schools, businesses, at voting polls, in courtrooms, or in everyday society the city. What can be concluded from the town ordinance is that Quin did include the language of the Good Neighbor Policy.

San Antonio residents understood the problematic language of the Good Neighbor Policy in a town comprised of a large Latin American population. Local Mexican Americans resident wrote about the empty promise of Good Neighborism in San Antonio. For example, Westsider Joe Martinez wrote an opinion piece in the *San Antonio Light* that exploited the hypocrisy of the Good Neighbor Policy in the Alamo City. According to Martinez, "How in God's creation are we going to make those people south of the Rio Grande believe that we are their friends if their nationals and even the U.S. citizens of Mexican extraction are grossly discriminated against."[228] Ethnic

[226] *Handbook of Texas Online*, Zachary Foust, "CAUCASIAN RACE RESOLUTION," accessed May 06, 2020, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/mlc04.

[227] The Bracero Program was a Mexican guest workers program, that allowed Mexican citizens to work in the U.S during WWII. I will discuss the program more in-depth later in the dissertation because it also has a connection with the Good Neighbor Commission.; *Handbook of Texas Online*, Fred L. Koestler, "BRACERO PROGRAM," accessed May 06, 2020, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/omb01.

[228] *San Antonio Light*, May 3, 1941.

Mexicans residents of San Antonio still had to deal racial segregation in San Antonio. In addition, for African Americans, the issue of seeking civil rights in public and private facilities was still a decade away from being resolved. Quin, however, understood that measures like Ordinance 649 needed to be taken even if it was just a political move to save face with the U.S. military and Latin American nations.

San Antonio, after all, was a city with five military installations and located 2-hours away from the U.S.-Mexico border of Texas. Quin's support for the Good Neighbor Policy was a pragmatic move that allowed federal funding to be funnel to U.S. military installations across San Antonio. Within days of Ordinance 649, the city government renewed a lease with the U.S. Army Reserve Air Corps to use hangers at Stinson Field, a municipal airport in southern San Antonio.[229] When the U.S. finally entered WWII on December 7, 1941, the small field became an Army aviation training base for pilots in 1942. That same year, the *San Antonio Express* reported that Kelly Field and Randolph Field, and other Army aviation training bases, were expanding physically with the addition of new buildings, hangers, and recruits.[230] By 1944, Randolph Field became one of the premier aerial training bases in the U.S. while San Antonio became a leading wartime production hub in Texas the U.S.'s South Defense Command.[231]

The same year Randolph Field also became one of the training sites for the 201st Fighter Squadron, also known as the Aguilas Aztecas. This Mexican military aviation squadron fought with the WWII Allied Forces in Asia.[232] The squadron was a great achievement for both countries

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[229] City Council Ordinance Book J November 6, 1941 - November 27, 1941, Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

[230] *San Antonio Express*, April 15, 1941.

[231] Meeting of the Commissioners of the City of San Antonio February 12, 1945, Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

[232] Walter Zapotoczny Jr., *Aztec Eagles: The Forgotten Allies of the Second World War* (Brimscombe: Fonthill Media, 2020), chap. 6, Kindle.

because it showed another level of military cooperation between both nations of the Western Hemisphere. The Aguilas Aztecas arrived in the U.S. almost 100 years after the U.S. War with Mexico. However, even with Ordinance 649 and Caucasian Race Resolution in place, once in the Lone Star State, the squadron still encountered racism against ethnic Mexicans that had pervaded Texas society for those 100 years. For example, "When a detachment of the 201st rolled into Majors Army Airfield in Greenville, Texas, one of the first tasks undertaken by American officers was to convince the local storeowners to take down the signs reading 'No Mexicans. No Dogs."[233] Just a few miles away, the Dallas based Lonestar Restaurant Association distributed similar signs to members of its organization in 1942 that read "No Dogs, Negroes, Mexicans."[234] This showed that racism still prevailed across Texas regardless of the Good Neighbor Policy and wartime cooperation between the two countries.

In San Antonio, amid racism in Texas, ethnic Mexicans were able to prosper in the economy and society as they became part of the wartime production workforce and military. In 1945, the U.S. government and the San Antonio city council, with its new Mayor Gus B. Mauermann recognized the actions of ethnic Mexicans in WWII. In an address to the city council, Army Lieutenant-General George Grunert recognized the achievements of Mexican Americans and Mexican nationals in military service and workforce during WWII. According to him,

> "Today, thousands of American soldiers of Mexican origin are, as members of the Armed Forces of the United States, courageously fighting the common enemy on most of the battle fronts of the world…Hundreds have made the supreme sacrifice, giving their lives for us and for democracy. The contribution to our war effort made by thousands of Mexican workers who have been generously permitted by the Mexican Government to come to our assistance is of great value. Many of our

[233] Ibid.

[234] Cynthia E. Orozco, *Agent of Change: Adela Sloss-Vento, Mexican American Civil Rights Activist and Texas Feminist* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2020), 19.

> airfields, our railroads, and our factories have, in many instances, been kept at top efficiency because of the availability of this assistance from Mexico."[235]

Grunert's words to the city council came at a time when San Antonio's economy was flourishing after the Great Depression and when the Good Neighbor Policy became a cornerstone to winning WWII. As a result, ethnic Mexicans were able to try to be readily accepted in the U.S. through the policy and seen as fellow patriots to some because of their actions in combat abroad and labor efforts at home. By the 1940s and 1950s, the city began to see the idea of a shared American identity fade away as WWII ended, and thousands of Mexican American and African American service members headed home to San Antonio.

Post-WWII Politics and Minority Participation in Local Government

Mayor Maury Maverick's plan to develop San Antonio's tourism industry was just one phase in his administration's objectives. Another goal of his was restructuring the city government by introducing a city manager. Under a city manager, San Antonio's government could become more efficient by hiring educated professionals allowing the town to move away from machine rings and political nepotism. Maverick failed to implement a city manager in the local government. However, in 1951, another reformer mayor by the name of A.C. "Jack" White introduced a city manager and a city council.[236] Under the approved town charter, San Antonio no longer used wards or commissioners to represent areas of the city. Now under the city manager system, the city was divided into city council districts with one representative for each district. The new districts represented a form of gerrymandering as they cut through Mexican American and African

[235] Meeting of the Commissioners of the City of San Antonio February 12, 1945, Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

[236] Amy Bridges, *Morning Glories: Municipal Reform in the Southwest* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 119.

American neighborhoods to diminish their political power that was abused by political rings in San Antonio decades before. Gerrymandering was not new in the United States. According to Erik Engstrom, "[P]artisan gerrymandering systematically structured the competitiveness of congressional elections, the partisan composition of congressional delegations, and on occasion, decided party control of the House of Representatives."[237] It was not until the 1960s that gerrymandering was taken to the Supreme Court, but these court cases were only concerned with federal and state representative districts and did not address city redistricting[238]

Restructuring local government should have benefitted Mexican American and African American voters as they were now able to represent themselves more in city politics. However, the once large minority voting blocs were now divided amongst each of the districts so that the communities of color could not sway local elections as they did during the political rings. The non-political city manager's office paved the way for other professionalized appointments in the city government.

By the 1950s, the Alamo City's government may have been reformed, but politics resembled that of the older political machines. Jack White restricted minority participation and began placing more power under the mayor and city manager posts. According to historian Laura Hernandez-Ehrisman, Mayor White and those that opposed him were quickly resembling "the machine they replaced, as [he] attempted to increase mayoral power."[239] San Antonio citizens that resisted White's rule, organized and mobilized under the Good Government League (GGL). According to the GGL's membership application, the organization was a non-partisan slating

[237] Erik J. Engstrom, *Gerrymandering and the Construction of American Democracy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2013), 1-2.

[238] Ibid.

[239] Hernandez-Ehrisman, *Inventing the Fiesta City*, 107-108.

group that wanted to usher in an efficient, non-partisan, and business-friendly government.[240] The league claimed that it was non-partisan, but most of its members were Northside white business leaders that did not reside within the inner-city, and only a handful of token minority members from the Eastside and Westside were allowed in the organization.[241] In city politics, the GGL undermined the local Democratic Party, the dominant political party in town, and cornered the political landscape by not admitting anyone who did not fit their criteria.[242] As the GGL eliminated White's attempt at a second term, they rooted themselves in town government and controlled council positions for the next two decades. Their municipal government action resembled that of the older machine politicians that sought a lot of their voter support from communities of color in exchange for services.

The business-friendly GGL emerged in San Antonio at a time of economic and demographic growth through the development of existing military installations in the 1930s and 1940s. Before, the most significant population boost in the city came from Mexican immigrants in the 1910s and 1920s. In the 1950s, the defense industry encouraged a new flood of migrants to venture to San Antonio causing a wave of economic growth.[243] Mass urbanization to San Antonio from rural sectors of Texas and Mexico made the old agricultural and railroad hub into a booming urban center. The city's population grew from 253,854 to 406, 442 residents within two decades.[244] Kelly Field and Lackland Air Force Base on the Westside of town restored part of the town's declining economy during the Depression and WWII by employing more than 15,000 men and

[240] Truett Lamar Chance, *"The Relationship of Selected City Government Services to Socio-Economic Status Characteristics of Census Tracts in San Antonio, Texas"* (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 1970), 27.

[241] Ibid.

[242] Rodolfo Rosales, *The Illusion of Inclusion: The Untold Political Story of San Antonio* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 42

[243] Ibid., 46.

[244] Ibid.

women civilian personnel.[245] Other military installations that contributed to this growth were Fort Sam Houston Army Base on the Eastside, Randolph Air Force Base on the Northside, and Brooks Air Field in the Southeast. This military growth allowed Mexican Americans and African Americans to fulfill the required labor force for these installations.[246] The Alamo City's population and economic growth mirrored the changes happening across the country as Southern and Southwestern communities of color entered a new era of civil rights, one that challenged the white political system and racial order in the judicial arena.[247] According to David Montejano, WWII policies, organizations, and economic mobility created inroads for people living in Texas by dismantling rural racial practices and claiming political and economic leverage in major cities.[248]

As people came back from war, those same racial advances by civil rights coalitions in the 1940s dwindled by the 1950s. African American and Mexican American soldiers that fought for the U.S. in WWII were faced with bigotry in their hometowns leading to major Supreme Court cases. In the mid-1950s, the NAACP argued in favor of dismantling the U.S.'s separate but equal clause with *Brown v. the Board of Education*. The court ruled in favor of the NAACP and ensured that the federal government would support desegregation in states across the U.S. In the middle of Texas, San Antonio resembled other Jim Crow cities in the American South with the segregation of public facilities. However, its Southwest racial makeup made Mexican Americans a minority by forcing them to be second-class citizens. In 1954, *Hernandez v. Texas* became another monumental civil rights case for Mexican Americans. Led by lawyers from San Antonio, Gus Garcia and Carlos Cadena with the aid of LULAC and the American GI Forum, the court case

[245] "WWII Era at Kelly Field," Kelly Field Heritage, accessed June 26, 2019, http://www.kellyheritage.org/wwii-era.asp.

[246] Rosales, *The Illusion of Inclusion*, 46.

[247] Montejano, *Anglos and Mexican in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986*, 9.

[248] Ibid., 263.

challenged the separate but equal clause between whites and Mexican Americans in Texas.[249] The two San Antonio attorneys concluded that Mexican Americans were a class apart by arguing that they were historically discriminated against in national, state, and local politics and society. In the wake of the court cases, San Antonio's government, civil rights organizations, and politicians had to address racial inclusion in the segregated city.

Henry B. González and organizations in San Antonio petitioned the local government to officially desegregate for brown and black residents. At the time of desegregation, González was a prominent Mexican American in San Antonio. He rose through the ranks of politics by winning the city council position against the GGL in 1953 and again in 1956. Support for his campaigns came from the Mexican Westside, white liberals, and members of the Bexar County Democratic Coalition.[250]

González was one of the few individuals to challenge the city's Jim Crow laws in 1954.[251] As a council member, he to addressed the desegregation petition by the local chapter of the NAACP, its President Emerson Marcee, F.D. Calmore (the Chairman of the Legal Redress Committee), and Hugh Simpson Tate of Dallas (attorney for NAACP). During the meeting, González gave the city council a brief history of race relations in the U.S. and in the Alamo City and urged his fellow council representatives to repeal the town's segregation ordinance.[252] Shortly after his speech, the city approved a bill to begin enforcing desegregation in public facilities and municipal buildings. But the victory was short lived as "City Manager [Ralph] Winton

[249] Ian F. Haney López, "Race, Ethnicity, Erasure: The Salience of Race to LatCrit Theory," *California Law Review* 85, no. 5 (1997): 1157.

[250] Rosales, *The Illusion of Inclusion*, 42-50.

[251] San Antonio City Council Meeting Minutes January 27, 1955, Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

[252] San Antonio City Council Meeting Minutes January 27, 1955, Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

clarified…that this desegregation policy would not apply to facilities owned by the county, school districts or to the Alamo Heights public pool."[253] Further, private businesses still maintained the Jim Crow status quo and did not uphold desegregation. This was a year before San Antonio schools began to integrate.[254] The move for local desegregation allowed González to solidify himself as a champion for minority groups and someone that the GGL could potentially work within San Antonio.

By 1955, William Sinkin, the future president of San Antonio Fair Inc., became González's top proponent and even tried to get conservative members of GGL to endorse him for office.[255] Sinkin failed to enlist the GGL's support for González, which allowed the Mexican American leader to run as an independent and civil rights advocate. His lack of support from the GGL made him the opposition candidate because they supported pro-business candidates rather than social and physical improvement advocates. Local radio station 860 K.O.N.O declared that independents like González were the "People's Ticket Candidates," because that they were not selected by the GGL or its Mexican Westside branch called the Committee for Community Progress (CCP) during his second term. [256] Concerned with González's city council post, the GGL told the *San Antonio Light* that "they could keep him in line if Henry wins without help."[257] In the ensuing years, González's oppositionist platform quickly faded away as he straddled the lines as an independent and supporter of the GGL's projects.

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[253] "Lest We Forget, A forgotten chapter in local civil rights struggle," https://www.mysanantonio.com/opinion/commentary/article/Lest-we-forget-a-forgotten-chapter-in-San-5582779.php#item-85307-tbla-4.

[254] Bruce Glasrud and James M. Smallwood, "The Twentieth Century Experience: An Introduction," in *The African American Experience in Texas: An Anthology*, eds. Bruce Glasrud and James M. Smallwood (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2007), 178.

[255] *San Antonio Light,* 1955.

[256] Ibid.

[257] Ibid.

González was not the only major Mexican American leader in San Antonio. Attorney Gus Garcia, local businessmen Alfred Velasquez, and County Commissioner Albert A. Peña, Jr. were also among the most significant Mexican American leaders in the city. In 1955 Garcia won a seat in the San Antonio Independent School District and San Antonio Junior College board, two of the top non-municipal positions in the city. Rodolfo Rosales argues that growth in the Mexican American population and political mobility, as in the case of González and Garcia, encouraged the GGL to start gathering Mexican American support.[258] The GGL and its wealthy white supporters took notice and began to include ethnic Mexicans in their political group. Alfred Velasquez was one of these token members of the GGL that created the Committee for Community Progress (CCP) to get Westside support for the slating group.[259] Mexican Americans that placed their lot in politics enabled these individuals to at least have a voice within the city or in the GGL politics.

Public Housing Advocates

As a councilperson, González advocated for brown and black inclusion by dismantling Jim Crow segregation but also collaborated with white San Antonio leaders to reduce the urban footprint of communities of color and poorer neighborhoods. His connection with this group was first seen when he joined the San Antonio Housing Authority (SAHA) before becoming part of the city council. The organization provided public and affordable housing to poor communities, often at the expense of removing older residents and houses.[260] By 1955, councilmen González used this idea to approve a study conducted by the San Antonio Urban Rehabilitation Commission

[258] Rosales, *The Illusion of Inclusion*, 51.

[259] Ibid., 52.

[260] Box 3, Folder: Politics-Public Housing Vote, 1959, William and Fay Sinkin Papers, MS 64, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

(SAURC) arguing for a housing code officer within the town's health department.[261] The position required a professionalized individual that understood housing codes to properly identify blighted areas in San Antonio. The study also encouraged municipal authorities to enforce housing codes for homes and neighborhoods deemed substandard and unfit within the city's limits. According to the *San Antonio Express*, González used his experience as a SAHA member to help revise the SAURC's original petition in 1953. According to him, slum clearance and housing standards created by the commission were "unconstitutional" and "a matter of vital interest" that needed to be revised and submitted for city approval when fixed.[262]

A year later, his revisions helped the commission get its study and petition for a housing code officer approved by members of San Antonio's city council. Following the approval of the study, González and SAURC leaders coordinated with SAHA and the city council for the next six years to identify sites that violated the housing code and construct public housing units. They followed the U.S. Housing Act of 1953 that approved "programs for slum redemption, the rehabilitation of existing houses and neighbors and for the demolition of worked-out structures and areas which must advance along a broad united front to accomplish the renewal of our towns and cities."[263] The act also required that two-thirds of public housing would be funding by the federal government, and the town administered the remaining third but first officials needed to identify blighted areas of San Antonio that they argued needed the funds.

In 1959, Henry B. González, now a Texas state senator, partnered with his former supporter William Sinkin to resolve San Antonio's public housing dilemma. Under the guidance of a new

[261] San Antonio City Council Minutes, January 20, 1955, Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

[262] *San Antonio Express*, June 20, 1954.

[263] C.A. Doxia, *Urban Renewal and the Future of the American City* (Chicago: Public Administration Services, 1966), 9.

organization called the Citizens for Decent Housing (CDH), González and Sinkin mobilized community leaders to ask the city council to approve a municipal bond to construct federally funded apartments for the poor and elderly. Identifying housing violations and places for public housing were methods used by SAHA and the Department of Health, but now they also had a civic organization helping them identify areas. Members of the CDH were former leaders within the SAURC that continued their work for public housing in the community. Advocates for public housing believed that demolishing and rebuilding communities made these areas safer and a more "decent environment" to live in, according to E.R. Crumrine, the Chairman of the CDH.[264]

In the ensuing months, the CDH sponsored a citywide campaign to build 1,500-housing projects funded by the federal government. The organization began collecting support from SAHA, the Archdiocese of San Antonio, labor unions, and civil rights organizations. Although the CDH advocated for a safer and cleaner city, they targeted blighted and substandard parts of town found only in communities of color. As stated earlier, in 1959, the CDH offered a cash prize for the "Best Picture of the Worst Slum in San Antonio."[265] The contest was held at La Villita, a former urban renewal, and used to show the need for slum clearance and public housing across the city. During the contest, the CDH handed out booklets that shared U.S. Census data from the most impoverished areas of the city, with over 36,000 recognized substandard homes.[266] Within the material, the CDH also suggested that neighborhoods were "thriving" at the taxpayers' expense because of the police's high cost of criminal monitoring.[267] Their goal was to persuade citizens of San Antonio to vote in favor of the public housing to eradicate blighted areas.

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[264] Box 3, Folder: Politics-Public Housing Vote, 1959, William and Fay Sinkin Papers, MS 64, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[265] Ibid.

[266] Ibid.

[267] Ibid.

Public Housing Opposition

One group opposed the CDH's referendum for federal public housing and urban renewal by arguing that it was a form of socialism. On this premise, the Taxpayers Protection Association (TPA) led the charge by encouraging citizens to vote against the CDH's petition. The organization argued that subsidized public housing diminished the competition of free enterprise in American society.[268] The TPA issued a statement in the *Northside Recorder* claiming that "public housing is socialistic because [it] trends now lead to the establishment of health clinics, playgrounds, recreation centers, and community centers by local government departments and private agencies."[269] The statement from the *Northside Recorder* suggests the community was divided on issues of social welfare and political ideologies based on Cold War politics. The war, according to Michael Lind, was to defend the American way of life from foreign interference.[270] The U.S.'s democracy and pro-capitalist system competed against and opposed the political and foreign directive of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R). The communist nation-state upheld a system of economic and social ownership by the common, rather than the individual.

In the U.S., the individual and their economic output and methods of consumption were at the heart of 1950s American society. According to economist John Kenneth Galbraith in his 1958 bestselling book *The Affluent Society,* America's "Private opulence amid public squalor [discouraged government funded roads, schools hospitals and public infrastructure for human society.]"[271] In San Antonio, fears over the perceived impact of communism and socialism went as deep as the books at the public libraries. Concerned citizens asked the city council to stamp and

[268] Box 3, Folder: Politics-Public Housing Vote, 1959, William and Fay Sinkin Papers, MS 64, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[269] Ibid.

[270] Michael Lind, *The American Way of Strategy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 124.

[271] Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Vintage Books, 2004), 10.

destroy books that were part of this "masquerading ideology."[272] Previous New Deal principles of social justice faded as American groups, like the TPA, rejected social welfare and began to critique federally funded urban renewal policies and advocates.

Socialism was not the only argument used to oppose CDH's referendum. In 1959, the San Antonio chapter of the NAACP opposed urban renewal and public housing, arguing that federal housing projects were a form of racial segregation. The NAACP argued that the San Antonio Housing Authority used the federal urban renewal program, "to perpetuate the practice of segregation in public housing" and deemed it an "illegal and evil practice."[273] It had only been a few years since the chapter helped dismantle Jim Crow's separate but equal policy in San Antonio; however, the war over segregation persisted. At this moment, San Antonio's African American and Mexican American communities stood in opposition to one another when dealing with urban renewal.

Although there are limited sources to show how far the local NAACP went with disagreeing with public housing. By 1959, the group held a wealth of knowledge and credible data from across the U.S. National public housing was linked to racial segregation following WWII. Before the war, African American New Dealers were in favor of public housing. Advocates like Robert Weaver from Clark Atlanta University suggested that African Americans needed better houses and should help build, fund, and institute these federal measures across the U.S.[274] Between 1930 and 1970, African American were concentrated in public housing in major American

[272] San Antonio City Council Meeting Minutes May 21, 1953, Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

[273] Unknown newspaper, Box 3, Folder: Politics-Public Housing Vote, 1959, William and Fay Sinkin Papers, MS 64, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[274] Rovert C. Weaver, "Racial Policy in Public Housing," *Phylon* 1. no 2 (Second Quarter, 1940): 150.

cities.[275] This also reflected the migration shift in urban centers. With the mass urbanization of minorities during WWII, Anglos increasingly moved outside the inner city to wealthier and racially exclusive suburbs. Suburbs like Alamo Heights in San Antonio increased their population and consolidated property taxes without regard to other communities, while poorer African American and Mexican Americans communities were left to fend for themselves in older parts of town.

Housing Authorities and the Federal Housing Act of 1949 perpetuated already existing racial division in cities in the North and South.[276] In cities like Chicago, St. Louis, and New Orleans, public housing moved African Americans out of inadequate housing conditions and aging neighborhoods by relocating them to more confined and segregated parts of town. In 1950, Chicago's and St. Louis's black community members were relocated from their destroyed communities and separated by race in public housing units.[277] As the decades advance For civil rights groups like the NAACP in San Antonio, examples like these only fueled the fires and knowledge of racial practices by the federal government against communities of color for decades to come.

As a result of the TPA and the NAACP, the vote for public housing in San Antonio failed to receive enough support at the ballot box. It was a bittersweet loss for San Antonio's urban renewal community because support for newer public housing projects dwindled in the Alamo City for years. However, the collaborative efforts by its community leaders solidified a sense of political harmony in San Antonio, specifically between Mexican American and white community

[275] Adam Bichford and Douglas S. Massey, "Segregation in the Second Ghetto: Racial and Ethnic Segregation in American Public Housing, 1970," *Social Forces* 69, no. 4 (June 1991): 1012.

[276] Scott Henderson, "Tarred with the Exceptional Image': Public Housing and Popular Discourse, 1950–1990," *American Studies* 36, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 33.; Mirroring this relief measure was racial segregation through slum clearance and public housing policy.

[277] Ibid., 34.

leaders. It's here where Sinkin's comment about real confluence in San Antonio stems from. Nevertheless, the CDH's argument represented a watershed moment in the town's history as the push for urban renewal would lay the foundation for future endeavors.

HemisFair Idea and Urban Renewal

San Antonio's 1950s watershed moment for public housing and municipal ordinances contributed to a growing sense of community disunity between supporters and opponents of urban renewal policies and civic leaders. In the 1960s, Mexican Americans, African Americans, and white city leaders proposed a world's fair to help develop San Antonio into a modern American city. Losing the public housing battle led civil rights and civic leaders to seek other urban renewal measures to remedy the economic and social ills that affected the town. The international exposition became known as HemisFair and it became one avenue for Mexican Americans and African Americans to remain connected to Anglo leaders and continue their struggle for inclusion and desegregation in the San Antonio.

Mexican Americans like Henry B. González provided federal and community support to assist officials of San Antonio Fair Inc., the organization responsible for the fair's construction. During this period, Mexican Americans were in the midst of a century and half long struggle for racial inclusion in Texas and the United States. Local white business and political officials worked directly with ethnic Mexican organizations to create the international exposition. HemisFair embodied the fight for ethnic Mexican inclusion and acceptance in U.S. society and the continuation of urban politics because it linked all previous civil rights measures by leaders like González. These measures included working with established Anglo political leaders in local,

regional, and national politics, coordinating with different Mexican American civil rights groups in Texas, and using urban renewal methods to combat poverty in San Antonio.

San Antonio leaders and civic organizations that created and promoted HemisFair did not anticipate its expense as a federal urban renewal project. It was the most costly and expansive urban renewal project of its time in the city. Using downtown development methods from Mayor Maury Maverick's generation, city officials called for the construction of tourist sites, commercial districts, and public houses across downtown San Antonio. Employing Code Compliance enforcement, city leaders began clearing neighborhoods and identifying spaces for commerce and tourism. Federal funding for public housing paralleled San Antonio's concerns with its image as a modern city with one goal in mind: economic growth. HemisFair became one of these constructions. In San Antonio's history, this represents a continuation of the town's legacy of urban renewal and partnership between its communities of color that ended up destroying communities of color.

The idea of hosting a world's fair came from businessman Jerome Harris who suggested San Antonio hold an international exposition that focused on the city's hemispheric community.[278] Harris was not alone in supporting this idea. Seconding Harris's proposal in the 1950s, was then state senator Henry B. González, who like Harris supported the economic growth of San Antonio. In 1962, upon González's election into the U.S Congress, he called William Sinkin telling him, "I want a Fair of the Americas and I'd like you to call a group together and talk about it."[279] Sinkin in the pursuing months organized the group and meeting. González, however, with his agenda, quickly took Harris's idea as his own. According to Sinkin, "Henry was very, very certain and

[278] *San Antonio Express-News,* April 6, 1988.

[279] Sterlin Holmesly, *HemisFair '68 and the Transformation of San Antonio* (San Antonio: Maverick Publishing Company, 2003), 4.

definite and didn't want anybody to question the fact that the fair was his idea."[280] Harris was eager to reclaim his idea, but little would be done to stop the motives of González. San Antonio's elite believed that the Mexican American congressman was vital to the political future of the city because of his congressional seat, as a result little was done to question him. When Sinkin organized a 35-member delegation of San Antonio business and professional leaders, González was his leverage. The congressman was one of the few direct lines to the federal government and Mexican community in Texas, allowing him to become a powerful ally to San Antonio Anglo leaders.

Despite minimal pushback from Harris, the wheels were already turning and Sinkin demonstrated this by requesting an audience with San Antonio's business and civic community. This collection of individuals later became SAF, the official organization in charge of the event. They were enthralled with the idea of hosting a Fair of the Americas because they claimed that San Antonio was one of the most "bilingual and bicultural of U.S. cities," to host such an event.[281] The organization was a predominantly white business organization with 35 members. Among the people were William Sinkin now acting President of SAF, Tom Frost owner of Frost Bank, H.B. Zachry, CEO of Zachry Construction, and Congressman Henry B. González.[282]

Leaders of the group insisted that other Mexican American leaders should be part of its production but only a few were allowed. According to SAF, "[T]here was a confluence not only of civilizations [of the Americas] but there was a true confluence in the community."[283] To these

[280] Interview with: William Sinkin (Tape 1 of 6) Date: 17 January 2005: Interviewer: Sterlin Holmesly, Institute of Texan Cultures Oral History Office. Accessed June 27, 2019.

[281] Bill Helmer, "HemisFair '68 is a Social Happening: Its Theme 'The Confluence of Civilization in the Americas," *Cavalier Magazine*, Folder Name: Cavalier Magazine December 1967 article, Personal Picture: 148, San Antonio Fair, Inc., Records, MS 31, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[282] Holmesly, *HemisFair '68 and the Transformation of San Antonio*, 4.

[283] Ibid., 7.

Anglo elites, confluence meant the merging of the United States and Latin American society. For minority groups in San Antonio, confluence was a rhetoric max that cut across international borders but did not cut through the complicated racial history of Mexican American segregation in the U.S., Texas, and in San Antonio. In the 1960s and still today, the biggest Latin American population in the U.S. is composed of Mexican Americans and Mexican nationals, collectively called ethnic Mexicans, who reside in the Southwest. While Mexican American officials like González helped create the fair, San Antonio had a legacy of excluding African Americans and Mexican Americans from urban society and politics by practicing Jim Crow racial segregation in the years before *Brown v. Board of Education* and through public housing. SAF officials worked under the assumption that the fair would facilitate good relations with the international and local communities of color, as seen with Henry B. González's appointment.

Even though members of the Mexican American generation, following WWII, consolidated their political might throughout the U.S in court cases like *Hernandez v. Texas* in 1954, they still had to battle for first-class citizenship against racial discrimination.[284] Mario T. Garcia defines the Mexican American generation as a conscious group of leaders and organizations that formed the "Great Depression and [matured] by WWII."[285] During the early to mid-twentieth century, this group sought integration in American culture as a means to end racial discrimination in education, town politics, and federal policies. Some leaders of this group were first-generation Mexican Americans, like Gonzalez, whose parents were immigrants that resided in major

[284] Richard Delgado, *Critical Race Theory: The Cutting Edge* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000), 369.; Manuel G. González, *Mexicanos: A History of Mexicans in the United States* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 197.

[285] Mario T Garcia, "Americans All: The Mexican American Generation and the Politics of Wartime Los Angeles, 1941-45," *Social Science Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (1984): 278.

Southwest cities. They also coalesced their support in civil rights organizations like LULAC and the American G.I. Forum to combat racial discrimination in politics and society.

In the eyes of Anglo elites in SAF, HemisFair became a physical representation of the unity that had been built before with Anglos and Mexican Americans. However, for civil rights advocate like Albert A. Peña, Jr., the first Mexican American to be elected to the Bexar County Commission, unity was very idealistic because it did not address racism as hindering factors for Mexican Americans and African Americans wanting to enjoy the fair.[286] Peña became the first of many Mexican Americans to argue against the fair and its committee members.[287] Upon receiving an invitation from Sinkin to attend SAF's inaugural meeting, Peña told him, "We're doing something that's going to be too expensive for the Mexican Americans; it was just for the Northside."[288] He pinpointed the prevailing problem with the event, that most of the Mexican American community was too poor to attend the future international exposition. Hosting a fair, to him, was not in the best interest of his community because it only applied to the Anglo businesses and the wealthier Northside of town. As we shall see in later chapters, middle-class Mexican Americans in San Antonio could gain tentative racial acceptance in American society and world's fair support from the federal government and Latin American countries, but support on the home front in San Antonio reflected a deep divide between class and race. Peña became the first of many Mexican American individuals to argue against the fair and the composition of its committee members.[289]

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[286] Lori A. Flores, "An Unladylike Strike Fashionably Clothed: Mexicana and Anglo Women Garment Workers Against Tex-Son, 1959–1963," *Pacific Historical Review* 78, no. 3 (2009): 380.; For more information read: José Angel Gutiérrez, *Albert A. Peña Jr.: Dean of Chicano Politics* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2017)

[287] Gutiérrez, *Albert A. Peña Jr,* 137.

[288] William Sinkin, interview by Sterlin Holmesly, January 17,2005, in San Antonio, transcript, Institute of Texan Cultures Oral History Office, San Antonio, TX, available online at https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p15125coll4/id/411/rec/4.

[289] Gutiérrez, *Albert A. Peña Jr,* 137.

San Antonio Fair Inc., even with the initial backlash, began a slum clearance campaign that eclipsed Mayor Maury Maverick's previous downtown renovation projects and the 1959 collaborative efforts for public housing. To start, the organization applied for a $7,500 loan from local bankers to hire Economic Research Associations.[290] The company drafted a study to identify the possible cost of construction, operations, and the number of visitors needed for a world's fair to be profitable. It also suggested, "some acreage to do it" was needed.[291] Its officials did not need to look further because plans for urban renewal projects in San Antonio had already started in 1960. By 1961, the *San Antonio Light* posted a column celebrating the town's first slum clearance site west of downtown. The scene was described as a grand ceremony as Catholic Bishop Stephen Level, San Antonio River Authority leaders, and Chamber of Commerce officials watched bulldozers remove "two [wooden] framed buildings" and an "adobe structure located in the intersection."[292] Removing the structures was the first of many leading toward the exposition as more federal funding became available for slum clearance. In an interview with the *San Antonio Light*, Henry B. González stated that he, "[Was] proud to announce the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency has informed him of a public grant of nearly $70,000 was available for the city to complete a study of a second renewal program near the Westside."[293] González, like other leaders, contributed to the idea that a clean, modern, and planned city, meant more economic revenue and mobility for minorities. The tradeoff for these projects meant further destruction of older homes and communities that did not meet the city's housing codes and expectations.

[290] Holmesly, *HemisFair '68 and the Transformation of San Antonio*, 5.

[291] William Sinkin, interview by Sterlin Holmesly, January 17,2005, in San Antonio, transcript, Institute of Texan Cultures Oral History Office, San Antonio, TX, available online at https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p15125coll4/id/411/rec/4.

[292] *San Antonio Light*, December 5, 1961.

[293] Ibid.

In 1963, the city council began coordinating with the Urban Renewal Agency and SAF to make room for HemisFair. Municipal authorities researched a series of available renewal sites that fit the Urban Renewal Agency's criteria for "the elimination and prevention of the spread of slums and urban blight through the planning."[294] By 1964, Mayor Walter McAllister identified a location Southeast of downtown as the most "desirable" spot for the event. Later that year, he signed an ordinance prohibiting the construction of any buildings, curbs, or city and residential maintenance projects within the proposed historic German and multiethnic 92-acre neighborhood.[295] According to M. W. Martin, Executive Director of the Urban Renewal Agency, 70 percent of these properties were deemed substandard, allowing them to justify its destruction.[296] The city council, however, systematically made sure that the community could not fix their properties or neighborhood. Community members as of 1964 could not renovate their houses to counterattack the city or agency's standards of homes, making it impossible for them to stop its eradication. That year, the city held a public referendum to hear any opposition to this plan, however, according to city records, no one was present at any of the meetings that year dealing with the site, which allowed for them to approve its demolition.[297]

Congressman Henry B. González approved the HemisFair site. As a federally elected official that sat on the Committee on Banking and Currency, he oversaw government funding for these types of urban renewal projects. According to urban historians Howard Chudacoff and Peter Baldwin, "Under the language of the [urban renewal policy]…the money was often used to

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[294] Ordinance 31829, Office of the City Clerk, City of San Antonio Urban Renewal Civic Center Project 5 Tex R-83, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 27, 2019.

[295] Ordinance 32116, Office of the City Clerk, City of San Antonio Urban Renewal Civic Center Project 5 Tex R-83, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records.; The Director of the Housing and Inspections Department was left with enforcing the ordinance, accessed June 27, 2019.

[296] Ibid.

[297] San Antonio City Council Meeting Minutes August 27, 1964. Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

demolish the tenements [and neighborhoods] of poor people near central business districts and to subsidize the creation of parking lots, office buildings and luxury housing."[298] In Congress, González ensured that San Antonio received the backing for clearing and redeveloping the 92-acre neighborhood. Other than González's experience in San Antonio politics, his support for urban renewal was made clear during his congressional campaign. In the *El Paso Herald*, during his campaign for U.S. Senate he ran an ad that stated, "One of his proudest accomplishments was Texas Senate passage of the bill letting cities begin slum clearance programs.[299] Since González's earlier career in San Antonio and the Texas Senate, he was a champion of legislation designed to encourage desegregation and to encourage slum clearance. Funding, however, was tied to the economic benefits of the projects. SAF and González constructed the fair to fix a necessary economic hole in blighted neighborhoods and modernize the Alamo City. They even declared that "San Antonio' may well prove to be a prototype for other American cities with the same problem of deteriorating areas in the heart of the city."[300] In the ensuing years, federal support proved beneficial for the political and business parties involved with the world's fair plaza and pavilions.

In 1965, San Antonio's city council also approved Ordinance 33132 which "direct[ed] that building permits [were] not [to be] issued for specified work within [Urban Renewal Project V, the Civic Center.]"[301] The ordinance also needed to be immediately approved by "at least 6 [out of the 9] members of the Council."[302] The reason for its urgency was to prevent any new construction by residents and businesses in the soon to be destroyed urban renewal site. At the

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[298] Howard P. Chudacoff and Peter C. Baldwin, "Race and Redevelopment, 1945-1975," *Major Problems in American Urban and Suburban History*, eds. Howard P. Chudacoff and Peter C. Baldwin (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005), 391.

[299] *El Paso Herald Post,* April 4, 1961.

[300] *San Antonio News*, May 25, 1971.

[301] Ordinance 33132, March 2, 1965. Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

[302] Ibid.

end of the meeting, all members of the council approved the ordinance to create the civic center and organized accordingly with the city attorney's office and Urban Renewal Agency. The creation of the civic center was essential to the success of HemisFair. Although the center was outside of the fairgrounds, its construction and use had the potential to add a new revenue stream to the city because it could host regional and national conferences and trade shows which brought more people to the city that could attend the world's fair.

The ordinance allowed other Mexican American leaders to join the ranks of González to support measures of slum clearance to create HemisFair. Among these individuals were Dr. Herbert Calderon, Roy S. Padilla, and city attorney Arthur Troilo, three Mexican Americans that were part of the city council and town government that approved of this urban renewal ordinance. Dr. Calderon and Roy Padilla were small business owners and GGL representatives from the Westside of San Antonio. Dr. Calderon was a dentist that began his practice in the 1950s; by the 1960s, he started his civic and civil rights career with the Pan-American Optimist Club and LULAC.[303] 1965 was his first year in the city council, but through kinship connections, he was well aware of city politics and the purpose urban renewal played in the city. His brother Manuel Calderon, a Westside grocery store owner and future city council member was a close friend to Henry B. González. According to his daughter-in-law Diana Calderon, "Henry B. used to come in the store and talk with [her father-in-law.]"[304] Dr. Calderon, in turn, used his familial ties for his election bid and supported González's urban renewal initiatives like HemisFair when in office. According to Dr. Calderon's family, he was "very proud" to have "helped in the planning and development of HemisFair Park."[305] Similar to Dr. Calderon, Padilla was also a

[303] "Popular dentist was active in community" San Antonio Express-News, September 7, 2014.
[304] "Calderon was WWII Her, City Councilman" San Antonio Express News, March 1, 2015.
[305] "Popular dentist was active in community" San Antonio Express-News, September 7, 2014.

GGL member of the city council from the Westside and a lawyer in San Antonio. Although Padilla signed the urban renewal ordinance as a GGL member in 1965, he would later be ousted from the ranks of the slating group because he campaigned for the re-election of County Commissioner Albert Peña, Jr.[306] Three years later, Padilla and Peña became founding members of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF). Lastly, Arthur Troilo was the city attorney during Mayor Walter McAllister's reign and supervising legal aid to the city during HemisFair. Collectively these individuals assisted in the creation of the civic center project by passing ordinances to approve urban renewal.

Once the city secured funding, demolition commenced and the community South of downtown witnessed slum clearance firsthand as construction crews destroyed their houses, businesses, and removed families to clear space for HemisFair, the Civic Center, and the Riverwalk extension. The site was home to a multi-ethnic community comprised of Mexican Americans, African Americans, and an older German neighborhood. Although San Antonio City Council records did not show this exact number of removed individuals, the Public Housing Administration (PHA) predicted that over 400 low-rent housing units were needed to supplement the community that resided where the exposition lay.[307] In his book *Designing Pan-America*, Robert Gonzalez recorded that "2,300 residents" were displaced due to the urban renewal project.[308] In 2017, the *San Antonio Express News* interviewed the San Antonio Conservation Society, "[that] showed [early reports] that HemisFair would displace 2,239 residences and 686 businesses, along with the demolition of 1,349 structures. In fact, 'two dozen streets were altered or disappeared, and 1,600

[306] Rodolfo Rosales, *The Illusion of Inclusion: The Untold Political Story of San Antonio*, 92.
[307] *San Antonio News*, February 19, 1964.
[308] González, *Designing Pan-America*, 182.

people moved away."[309] Although reports vary over how many structures were destroyed and people were displaced, it is clear that an overwhelming majority of the neighborhood was demolished to create the world's fair site.

According to a report decades later, urban renewal was "often against [the community's] will, residents and business owners were moved out as their former property was razed."[310] Frank Toudouze and his family famously opposed moving out of the neighborhood and resisted the demolition of their home. Toudouze told the *San Antonio Express & News*, "we would lose our home…and would be evicted because we will not sell our home."[311] The removal and relocation of residents came at the cost of the federal government but one-fourth of those that moved out of their homes were placed in overcrowded or substandard housing units in other sections of the city.[312] Toudouze and other residents were offered $9,000 and above for their houses to relocate but in the end they were forced out.[313] The Toudouze were the last family to call the future HemisFair site home. Their eviction was justified by the federal government and town government through the promise of city progress. Although there are no records to indicate that the Toudouze were not the only hold outs, it is probable that they were other individuals that protest urban renewal and removal from their homes.

Business leaders and townspeople also protested urban renewal measures across San Antonio in the 1960s. In 1964, four department store proprietors filed a city council complaint against the owner of Kallison's Department Store, Morris Kallison, and his land dealing with San

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[309] Steve Bennett, "The Neighborhood that HemisFair '68 Erased," *San Antonio Express-News*, August 27, 2017, https://www.expressnews.com/sa300/article/The-neighborhood-that-HemisFair-68-erased-12044533.php#photo-13985964.

[310] Paula Allen, "HemisFair construction erased North Street," *San Antonio Express-News*, October 2, 2011, accessed January 05, 2017, http://www.mysanantonio.com/news/article/.

[311] *San Antonio Express and News*, December 19, 1965.

[312] Lawrence C. Christy and Peter W. Coogan, "*Family Relocation in Urban Renewal*," *Harvard Law Review* 82, no. 4 (1969): 864-868.

[313] Ibid.

Antonio's Urban Renewal Agency.[314] Kallison's family was credited with developing much of downtown San Antonio but in the mid-1960s the family was losing money due to suburban shopping malls. According to their attorney Henry Lee Taylor, the businessmen protested the sale of land to Kallison because he underpaid for the property and they were not allotted the same bid for the plot.[315] A year later, Kallison died and the issue was resolved outside of the city council by the attorneys for the businesses involved. The Urban Renewal Agency land deal was one of the last purchases by the family before they sold off most of their downtown assets. However, in 1968, the family opened a new downtown western wear store that coincided with the opening of HemisFair. Once opened, they received famous customers like "Princess Grace and Prince Rainer of Monaco" who attended the fair.[316]

After the destruction of the community for HemisFair, only a few houses remained simply because they were deemed historic and needed to be restored for the exposition. Most of the preserved homes belonged to older wealthier individuals and held historical meaning to the city, and the others represented what one official described as remnants of the aesthetic "splendor" of the community.[317] The two-story Mayer Halff House was kept because it belonged to an affluent family in San Antonio in the 1800s. During the exposition, the first floor was used as a German restaurant and beer hall; and the second floor was used as the HemisFair Press Club that housed visiting journalist.[318]

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[314] "Anti-Kallison Group Hits Same Theme before URA," *San Antonio Express/News*, November 6, 1965.
[315] Regular Meeting Of The City Council of the City Of San Antonio held in the Council Chamber, City Hall, Thursday, October 28, 1965, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, Accessed June 27, 2019.
[316] Debbie M. Liles and Cecilia Gutierrez Venable. *Texas Women and Ranching: On the Range, at the Rodeo, and in Their Communities* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2019), 153.
[317] Box 3, Folder: Assorted Photographs, ITC Library Collection of HemisFair '68 Materials, MS 292, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.
[318] Bennett, "The Neighborhood that HemisFair '68 Erased." ; Box 3, Folder: Assorted Photographs, ITC Library Collection of HemisFair '68 Materials, MS 292, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

The Convention Center, Riverwalk extension, and Hilton hotel were also constructed near the fairgrounds, during the same period. President of the San Antonio Chamber of Commerce, L.H. Hudson argued that capital improvements such as these helped facilitate the movement of visitors during HemisFair and would benefit the city in future decades.[319] As a member of San Antonio Fair Inc., Hudson asked the city council to approve a $6 million bond to support these structures. Although the organization previously told the city that HemisFair would, "not cost the city of San Antonio a thin dime, either for construction or operation," Hudson, supported by the Chamber of Commerce, urged the city to approve it because it could make HemisFair more profitable.[320] The city council, later, approved a $30 million bond to fund the construction sites proposed by Hudson. [321]

As the city began to prepare the 1968 HemisFair grounds, construction sites around it began to develop. The Convention Center and Riverwalk extension were the first approved space to be constructed outside of the exposition's zone. According to architect Boone Powell, the construction of Convention Center and Riverwalk extension were essential to help bring people from the center of downtown to the world's fair. Supporters of the Convention Center argued building it helped bring big business donors, conferences, and conventions near the fair, an idea that was discussed by leading urban planners of the time.[322] Powell's designs for the Riverwalk extension also became a major attraction for HemisFair and a tourist destination for the city.

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[319] San Antonio City Council Meeting Minutes, November 14, 1963, Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

[320] Ibid.

[321] Lila Cockrell, interview by Sterlin Holmesly, July 15, 1994, in Mrs. Cockrell's Office in the San Antonio Museum of Art, Institute of Texan Cultures Oral History Office, transcript, University of Texas at San Antonio Special Collection, https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p15125coll4/id/1586.

[322] Boone Powell, interview by Sterlin Holmesly, January 27, 2003, in Mr. Powell's office in San Antonio, Texas, transcript, Institute of Texan Cultures Oral History Office, University of Texas at San Antonio Special Collection, https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p15125coll4/id/725. ; *San Antonio Express and News*, January 1, 1961.

Creating a place for it, however, required the demolition of an automotive dealership and an animal feed store.[323] The location was believed to have been the place where General Santa Anna had buried the Alamo soldiers before the remains were moved to San Fernando Cathedral on the opposite end of downtown.[324] Without first seeking proof of this claim, the Urban Renewal Agency approved the demolition of these businesses and moved forward with extending the river into the Convention Center, allowing a water entrance into the fairgrounds.

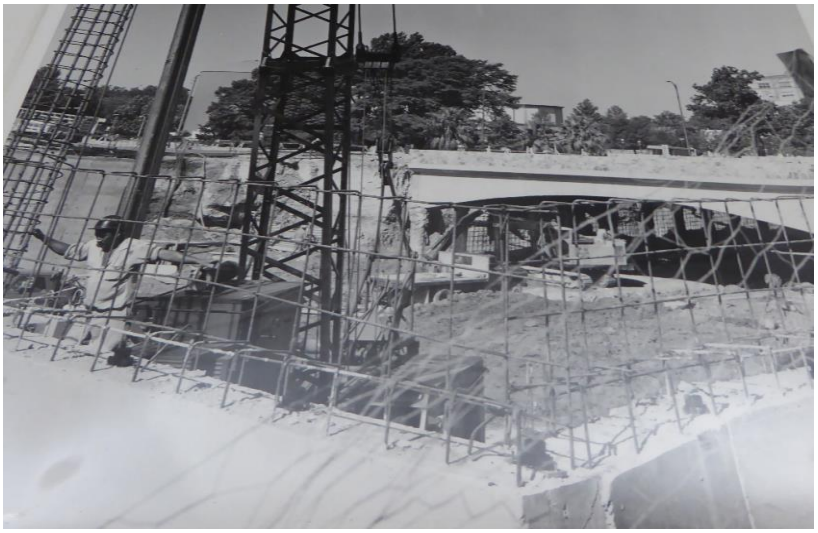

Figure 2.1: Picture of Riverwalk extension and Convention Center construction.[325]

Alongside the new Convention Center and Riverwalk extension, H.B. Zachry, Chairman of the Board of SAF, constructed the Hilton Palacio del Rio next to La Villita Plaza.[326] Zachry was the chairperson of H.B. Zachry Construction Co., one of the chief contractors to the fair. As a

[323] David Anthony Richelieu, interview by Esther MacMillan, September 27, 1989, in the Fairmount Hotel in San Antonio, Texas, transcript, Institute of Texan Cultures Oral History Office, University of Texas at San Antonio Special Collection, https://digital.utsa.edu/digital/collection/p15125coll4/id/1761/.

[324] Ibid.

[325] Picture of Riverwalk extension and Convention Center construction, Box 3, Folder: Construction sites, circa 1967, ITC Library Collection of HemisFair '68 Materials, MS 292, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[326] RG: 78/Box 1, Hamlin Terrett Paper, Folder: HemisFair '68: 20th/25th Anniversary Celebration 1987-1988, 1992-1993, Vivian Johnson Hamlin Terrett Papers, 1966-1990, MS 100, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

member of SAF, he was granted exclusive city and urban renewal contracts to fund his projects as he invested his own time in seeing that HemisFair succeeded.[327] In efforts to make the city more tourist-friendly, the Hilton stood as the tallest and most modern hotel in the town. Located west of HemisFair, the 21-story hotel was the only one in San Antonio that could house more than 500 occupants a night. During the period, the hotel became an architectural marvel of its own, as each room was constructed and furnished offsite and placed within the building as modular boxes.

Figure 2.2: Picture of Riverwalk extension, convention center, and Hilton Hotel construction.[328]

In addition to developing the surrounding areas of the HemisFair, SAF, began planning the Tower of the Americas. Operated and maintained by the Tower Corps, the building became the physical representation of hemispheric unity with an added local, state, and federal expense of $5.5

[327] Ibid.

[328] Picture of Riverwalk extension and Convention Center construction, Box 3, Folder: Construction sites, circa 1967, ITC Library Collection of HemisFair '68 Materials, MS 292, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

million to the overall budget.[329] San Antonio reporter Patrick Canty stated that the "Alamo symbolized San Antonio's past and the Tower of the Americas [in 1968] symbolized the future."[330] Similar to the 1889 Paris World's Fair's Eiffel Tower and 1962 Seattle World's Fair's Space Needle, the San Antonio tower was the exposition's architectural focal point. The 622-foot structure was constructed entirely of concrete, steel, and glass; and it stood as the tallest exposition building in history. It was also the hardest to construct.

Construction on the Tower of the Americas began before the Tower Corps finalized funding. At first, lead tower architects O'Neil Ford and Boone Powell were shocked to find that the structure was being built without the proper funding but eventually found the money using a series of private underwriters.[331] Nonetheless, Ford and Powell and their construction crew persisted with its erection for the next 16 months.[332] The building's height and concrete material made it a unique structure to build. The architect's team devised a way to move concrete using a hose system and a 24-hour labor crew. Following a day's work, according to Powell, the concrete shaft would gain an average height of "ten feet and eight inches each day as we were slipping it up."[333] The crew poured concrete into building instead of moving sheets of the dried concrete story by story up the tower.

The Tower of the Americas was among the final buildings placed within the fairgrounds and contributed to the overall appearance of the fair. The former neighborhood quickly resembled other international expositions with a fixed city plan like that of the White City at the 1893 World's

[329] Box 2, Folder: Planning 1965-1968, ITC Library Collection of HemisFair '68 Materials, MS 292, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[330] *San Antonio Light*, April 3, 1988.

[331] *San Antonio Express-News*, September 11, 1988.

[332] Box 2, Folder: News Clippings, 1965-1968, ITC Library Collection of HemisFair '68 Materials, MS 292, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[333] Holmesly, *HemisFair '68 and the Transformation of San Antonio*, 17.

Columbian Exposition. The houses where families once lived became part of the fair or the city destroyed them for newer buildings. The site included a total demolition of the old German part of town and a multi-ethnic neighborhood South of downtown. The use of slum clearance was secured by members of SAF and Congressman Henry B. González from the private sector, local government, and federal government. SAF justified the demolition of the community on the basis that the 1968 HemisFair, although years away, would generate enough revenue to make San Antonio a modern city, desirable tourist destination, and alleviate the city of one of its "blighted" communities near downtown.

Chapter 3: Existing Brotherhoods: The Construction of Pan-American Identity for the 1968 HemisFair

In 1960, Congressman Henry B. González had no idea how he or his associates would change the physical and political landscape of San Antonio and United States international relations in the following decade. Like many of the people living in the city, González saw a downtown that consisted of small shops, long streets, the San Antonio River that formed into the Riverwalk, and the Alamo. Also, like many Americans, he witnessed a changing political landscape as the U.S. responded to Cold War aggressions and attempted to limit the spread of Communism across the globe. By the time HemisFair's Henry B. González Day was declared on June 23, 1968, the congressman and his affiliates that were part of San Antonio Fair Inc. (SAF) changed the social and physical landscape of San Antonio by sponsoring and passing Senate bills that, "let cities begin slum clearance programs" as discussed in chapter two.[334] These programs began Phase One of developing the 1968 HemisFair in San Antonio, a city dominated demographically by its ethnic Mexican population and its legacy of binational cooperation between the United States and Mexico. Phase Two of the international exposition allowed González and local leaders Ed Castillo and Carlos Freymann to start facilitating the U.S.'s agenda to promote hemispheric diplomacy by inviting Latin American countries to participate in HemisFair. These Mexican American representatives attempted to rekindle pre-WWII Pan-American unity and solve post-WWII racial struggles in San Antonio as minority groups fought more vigorously to claim their civil rights. Historians have yet to discuss HemisFair's use of Pan-Americanism and its connections with the U.S. Civil Rights Movement and Cold War politics in Latin America.

[334] Box# 384, Folder: Henry B. González Bio, 1965, 336:21. Personal Picture: 214, San Antonio Fair, Inc., Records, MS 31, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

As stated previously, the fair's theme was *Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas* and according to city business elites in control of SAF, "[T]here was a confluence not only of civilizations [of the Americas] but there was a true confluence in the community."[335] To these leaders, confluence meant the equitable and mutually beneficial merging of the United States and Latin American society. However, at the time, the biggest Latin American population in the U.S. was comprised of ethnic Mexicans, both Mexican nationals and Mexican Americans, who resided in the American Southwest. SAF worked under the assumption that their international exposition facilitated good relations with this community because it was a local and binational event. Mexican Americans, however, were still engaged in a protracted battle for first-class citizenship in the Southwest, Pan-Americanism represented an avenue to accomplish their goal.

The idea of Pan-Americanism started in the late nineteenth century with Simón Bolívar, the Venezuelan military and revolutionary leader that fought against colonial Spain. After achieve independence for his country, he embarked on one of the first Pan-American initiatives that transferred into the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century.[336] According to Bolívar, Pan-Americanism was meant to unite Latin American countries and diminish European and U.S. presence in the newly formed South American republics. Following Latin American independence, different groups called for Pan-American unity, including the Conference of Panama and the Pan-American Congress that was established in 1826, and in 1898, the Council for Inter-American Affairs and Commercial Bureau of American Republics during the U.S. War with Spain. In 1920, the nations of the Americas created and settled under one organization called the Pan-American Union (PAU). By 1948, the Organization of American States (OAS) formed to handle South and

[335] Sterlin Holmesly, *HemisFair '68 and the Transformation of San Antonio* (San Antonio: Maverick Publishing Company, 2003), 7.

[336] "Bolivar's Code of Pan-Americanism Found," *New York Times* (March 26, 1916), SM13.

North American international disputes.[337] The U.S. joined these organizations and encouraged its citizens to partake in Pan-American activities and groups to promote hemispheric unity.

In the twentieth century, Pan-Americanism served as an outlet for ethnic groups and women's organizations to voice their opinions about international issues, participate in the public sphere for women and minorities, and exercise first-class citizenship. Women in Texas participated in this form of hemispheric diplomacy in 1916 with the creation of Pan American Roundtable of Texas (PART), an educational and social organization. In 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy used Pan-Americanism to promote his agenda in Latin America. The policies associated with Pan-Americanism attempted to link the U.S. and Latin American counties under a united hemispheric identity to deter Nazi German aggression in the Western Hemisphere during WWII.[338]

In the U.S. Southwest, Mexican Americans practiced a distinct form of Pan-Americanism by self-identifying as "Latin Americans" and supporting U.S.-Latin American policy to end racial discrimination for themselves. In the 1940s, the Good Neighbor Policy created a window for Mexican American leaders to advocate for Pan-Americanism in Texas. Mexican Americans that identified as Latin Americans joined organizations like LULAC and advocated for peaceful U.S.-Latin American relations. Linking Mexican Americans with other communities in the Western Hemisphere was a pragmatic and conscious approach to end racial discrimination for themselves by negotiating between political spaces in Latin America and the U.S. Historian and Mexican American civil rights leader Carlos Castañeda was one of the biggest advocates of this type of Pan-Americanism. "By linking themselves with FDR's declarations, Mexican Americans helped

[337] Betty Horwitz, *The Transformation of the Organization of American States: A Multilateral Framework for Regional Governance* (New York: Anthem Press, 2011), 162.

[338] Uwe Lubken, "Americans All': The United States, the Nazi Menace, and the Construction of a Pan-American Identity," *Amerikastudian/American Studies* vol. 48, (2003): 390.

advance Pan-Americanism at home and at the same time expanded the concept to include 'Latin America within the United States."[339] Using the Good Neighbor Policy, Mexican American civil rights leaders could draw on the cultural, economic, and political ties between Latin America and the U.S., a connection that drew on the benefits of working together in peace and goodwill as Pan-Americans. On the home front, Mexican Americans like Castañeda, worked under the assumption that if white individuals in the U.S. could see these Latin American nations as equals instead of their perceived "inferiority" then they could also see Texas ethnic Mexicans in the same light.[340]

Before HemisFair, the U.S. also practiced Pan-Americanism by using Mexican Americans as political and cultural brokers with the Good Neighbor Commission. The commission was created in 1943 after Governor Coke Stevenson signed the Caucasian Race Resolution; its job was to promote and monitor the equal treatment of Latin American residents, laborers, and visitors in Texas.[341] Whether or not these positions strengthened their alliances across the hemisphere, Mexican Americans and organizations like LULAC and the American GI Forum were able to challenge Texas racial segregation in education, housing, and city ordinances through state resolution and commission.

Although Pan-Americanism was a pluralist identity for all Americans across North and South America, Mexican Americans were still seen as racially different in the U.S. even after WWII and during the Cold War. During President Lyndon Johnson's terms in office, 1963–1969, he stereotyped and often used racist language to describe Latin Americans. In one case, when referring to the U.S. involvement in Latin America, Johnson stated, "I know these Latin

[339] Mario T. Garcia, *Mexican Americans: Leadership, Ideology, & Identity, 1930-1960* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 250.

[340] Ibid., 249-250.

[341] Handbook of Texas Online, George N. Green, "GOOD NEIGHBOR COMMISSION," accessed May 17, 2020, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/mdg02.

Americans, I grew up with Mexicans. They'll come right into your backyard and take it over if you let them."[342] President Johnson's racist comments were like other comments by Anglos living in the Southwest. Despite these demeaning stereotypes, ethnic Mexicans in Texas cooperated with Latin American nations using the ideas of Pan-Americanism to create HemisFair. Officials from SAF used the location of the fair in San Antonio and its ethnic Mexican population to create the idea that HemisFair was in the middle of the most "bilingual and bicultural of U.S. cities."[343] Seeing San Antonio as a bilingual and bicultural town was used to gain support in the U.S. Congress and international recognition from the Bureau of International Expositions (BIE) in Paris as a Pan-American fair. The promotion of Pan-Americanism in San Antonio became an avenue for Mexican Americans to become critical members of the first BIE recognized fair held in the Southwest.

The 1968 HemisFair also contributes to the historical understanding of identity formation in the Borderlands and the Southwestern United States during the Cold War and the post-WWII Civil Rights Movement. Although the fair is a central theme in this chapter, it will not be discussed in detail as it will be examined in chapter four. It is not my intention to downplay nor neglect the fair; instead, I intend to explore the groups that revolved around the production of the 1968 HemisFair. Because there are complex relationships among Anglos, Mexican Americans, African Americans and Chicanas/os during the fair's development, a study that illustrates how these groups perceived and constructed the fair is beneficial to historical scholarship because of the minimal

[342] Julie Leinnineger Pycior, *LBJ & Mexican Americans: The Paradox of Power* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997), 152.

[343] Bill Helmer, HemisFair '68 is a Social Happening: Its Theme "The Confluence of Civilization in the Americas." *Cavalier Magazine*, Box# 336, Folder Name: *Cavalier Magazine* December 1967 article, Personal Picture: 148, San Antonio Fair, Inc., Records, MS 31, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

attention it has received by academics. HemisFair and the political changes to San Antonio should be understood through the developments in its urban landscape, local government, and evolving arguments over first class-citizenship by Mexican Americans groups. The exposition is one of the only events in San Antonio and the U.S. that brought these different groups and changes together in 1968. As a result, I will answer the question: How did the theme of *Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas* and its association with Mexican Americans come about during HemisFair's production abroad and at home?

HemisFair represented a continuation of previous Pan-American measures where domestic racial issues were blurred to promote hemispheric unity and egalitarian democracy. Anglo Americans like President Johnson, Texas Governor John Connally, and Mayor Walter McAllister collaborated with top Mexican American leaders such as Congressman Henry B. González to create the 1968 world's fair in San Antonio. Their involvement in HemisFair reflected a larger initiative by the U.S. government to promote Pan-Americanism during World War II and its "artificial resuscitation," as Fredrick B. Pike puts it during the Cold War.[344]

In this chapter, I will examine how Mexican Americans influenced U.S.-Latin American affairs and the Civil Rights Movement during the production of HemisFair. I argue that Mexican Americans were essential in funding for the construction of the HemisFair grounds and promoting it not only in San Antonio but also to the world. Included in this group was Congressman Henry B. González, Ed Castillo, and Carlos Freymann as they became the exposition's most powerful Mexican American figures. Since borderlands identities are shaped by the complex ideas of nationality, culture, class, and race, I contend that these individuals used their Mexican American borderlands identity, one being a Pan-American identity, to gain access to the U.S political system

[344] Fredrick B. Pike, *FDR's Good Neighbor Policy: Sixty Years of Generally Gentle Chaos* (Austin: University of Texas, 2010), 282.

and mediate between foreign and domestic affairs.[345] This process of identity politics is most significantly shown through their public relations work with SAF in Texas and abroad in Latin America. Ethnic Mexicans in San Antonio had to adapt to their marginality and find other means to gain power and acceptance in their community. They became essential to the fair because they used their ethnic, racial, and class identities to aid its production and increase their inclusion in American society. Their ability to utilize political ties also empowered them to link themselves to pre-World War II Pan-Americanism and Good Neighbor politics in the Southwest and transfer them to the post-WWII era to assist in the development of the Fair—an international endeavor—in San Antonio. Pan-Americanism allowed Mexican American officials to gain HemisFair support abroad and in the federal government, but support in their San Antonio communities reflected a deep divide between class and race as the Chicana/o Civil Rights Movement began organizing and mobilizing in the city.

Also, in this chapter, I discuss the rise of the Chicana/o Civil Rights Movement in San Antonio. During the 1960s and 1970s, a younger group of politically active Mexican Americans formed the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO) in Texas and began to self-identify as Chicanas/os. This new group protested the injustices happening in their urban barrios and in rural areas. Chicanas/os civil rights groups used methods of direct action and grassroot organization through walkouts, protests, and boycotts to protest the racial inequalities and political establishment in cities, schools, and governments. This group developed outside the confines of the Mexican American generation that practice moderate methods of political inclusion through civil rights court cases and changes to educational policy to end segregation and discrimination. Placing Chicanas/os within the historical narrative of the world's fair and San Antonio politics

[345] Raúl Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo: Forging Mexican Ethnicity in San Antonio, 1821-1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 7.

contributes to a complete understanding of Mexican Americans not as a monolithic group but a complex and changing community. This period shows why the history of identity for ethnic Mexicans living in the Southwest was continuously changing in the mid-twentieth century. Not only did Chicanas/os seek to identify themselves apart from mainstream Mexican American Generation, but the Cold War and civil rights political climate altered their perceived identity by acting in their own best interests and for the communities they represented.

Pre-WWII Pan-Americanism

In 1933, the U.S. created the Good Neighbor Policy based on a transnational idea of Pan-American with Latin American countries. Similar tactics were used before by regional organizations like the Pan American Roundtables of Texas (PART) and the Pan American Optimistic Clubs. However, these groups only had the support but not the financial or bureaucratic backing of the federal government. The idea even gained traction in other world fairs. Attempts at engaging in Pan-Americanism in U.S. society resulted in the construction of the World's Columbian Exposition in 1893 and 1901 Buffalo Pan-American Exposition to name a few, however, both did not have Mexican American participation. Although organizations and expositions were part of Pan-Americanism at least in name, the idea became ingrained in U.S. foreign relations through the Good Neighbor Policy as German Nazi influences in the Western Hemisphere became prevalent.[346] This Pan-American policy aimed to sustain egalitarian democracy across the hemisphere, "not as North Americans or South Americans, but as Americans All."[347]

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[346] Robert Alexander González, *Designing Pan-America: U.S. Architectural Visions for the Western Hemisphere* (Austin: University of Texas, 2011), 32-48.; Lubken, "Americans All," 380-409.

[347] Lubken, "Americans All", 390.

The Good Neighbor Policy granted Mexican Americans entrance into U.S. international diplomacy during the period.[348] In Texas, middle-class Mexican Americans were able to partake in Pan-American organizations like the Pan American Progressive Association (PAPA) that addressed domestic labor and racial discrimination problems. Later, members of LULAC, such as George I. Sanchez, Carlos E. Castañeda, and William Bonilla, became officials in the newly established Texas Good Neighbor Commission (GNC) in 1944.[349] The commission was a state-sponsored organization that mediated between the U.S., the state of Texas, Latin American nations, and their residents living in Texas. The commission's purpose was to report any discriminatory practices against Latin Americans living within the state.

The GNC worked to secure the rights of workers in the Bracero Program, which was a bilateral agreement between Mexico and the U.S. that brought in between 4.8 to 5.2 million labor contracted Mexican guest workers to the country.[350] It lasted from 1942 to 1964 and still is considered the most extensive U.S. contract labor program in Mexican and American history.[351] Mexico excluded Texas for the first five years of the program because of racism and discriminatory labor practices imposed by farmers toward Mexicans.[352] Mexico did not allow their guest workers in the state even after Governor Coke Stevenson's 1943 "Caucasian Resolution" that allowed equal treatment to all public facilities for individuals like Mexicans that were deemed to be part of the

[348] This is not to suggest that Mexican nationals and Mexican Americans did not fully participate in any international endeavors.

[349] Box # 1989/059-59, Folder: IGNC Assembly San Antonio May 1963, 116-114, Records, Texas Good Neighbor Commission. Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library and Archives Commission.

[350] Lori A. Flores, "A Town Full of Dead Mexicans: The Salinas Valley Bracero Tragedy of 1963, the End of the Bracero Program, and the Evolution of California's Chicano Movement," *Western Historical Quarterly* 44, no. 2 (2013): 130.; Justin Castro, "Mexican Braceros and Arkansas Cotton: Agricultural Labor and Civil Rights in the Post-World War II South," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (2016): 29.

[351] "About," Bracero History Archive, accessed May 22, 2019, http://braceroarchive.org/about.

[352] Otey M. Scruggs, "Texas and the Bracero Program, 1942-1947," *Pacific Historical Review* 32, no. 3 (1963): 251.; Castro, "Mexican Braceros and Arkansas Cotton," 36,44.

Caucasian race.[353] Due to racial discrimination faced by ethnic Mexicans in Texas, the state government created the GNC to overseer farming practices and discrimination issues in towns across the state for both Mexican Americans, Mexican nationals, and Bracero guest workers. Apart from the Bracero program, monitoring this large number of individuals proved to be cumbersome because members of this Southwest community lived both in rural and urban areas. According to historian Edward Escobar, by the 1940s, 77 percent of Mexican Americans who listed Spanish as their mother tongue were born in the United States.[354] This population's growth also paralleled the decline of unskilled workers in the Southwest from 43 percent in 1928 to 23.5 percent in 1973.[355] Influenced by the reality of ethnic Mexican skilled and unskilled labor, the Bracero Program filled a void for the agribusinesses, which allowed the GNC to function as the bureaucratic oversite organization for the program.

The GNC's partnership with LULAC was no mistake: both claimed to be part of a Pan-American community, and both wanted to end discriminatory practices in some form for ethnic Mexicans in Texas. Founded in 1929, LULAC became the leading organization that attempted to combat racial inequalities placed against Mexican Americans in the U.S. According to historian Cynthia Orozco, "By selecting Latin American, members [of LULAC] did not simply attempt to 'arrogate to themselves the privileges of whiteness.' In fact, the use of 'Latin American' tied them to their *hispanidad* and Spain."[356] The term Latin American also connected both Mexican Americans and Mexican nationals to a shared identity, one that diminished the divide between

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[353] Thomas A. Guglielmo, "Fighting for Caucasian Rights: Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and the Transnational Struggle for Civil Rights in World War II Texas," *Journal of American History* 92, no. 4 (2006): 1212.; Otey M. Scruggs, "Texas and the Bracero Program, 1942-1947," *Pacific Historical Review* 32, no. 3 (1963): 255.

[354] Edward Escobar, *Race, Police, and the Making of a Political Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 167.

[355] Rodolfo Rosales, *The Illusion of Inclusion: The Untold Political Story of San Antonio* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 26.

[356] Orozco, *No Mexicans, Women, or Dogs Allowed*, 207-208.

both groups and strengthens the bond to end racial discrimination. Historian John Chavez further explains that "The name [alone] exhibited the break that its members were trying to promote …'Latin', like 'Spanish', called to mind the European rather than Mexican ancestry…thoughtless offensive."[357] This break with Mexican ancestry, however, did not exclude this group from being racialized in American society. But it did allow them to gain access into U.S. politics in order to facilitate a clearer line of communication between race and class issues as in the case of the Good Neighbor Commission.

Although the GNC did not have a significant role in constructing the 1968 HemisFair, its ability to bridge the divide between Latin Americans and Texas made it a significant state-sponsored tool that facilitated hemispheric unity. The GNC echoed their mission across Texas even in a speech given to the San Antonio chapter of the Pan American Roundtable of Texas, a women's organization with the sole goal in mind "to provide mutual knowledge and understanding and friendship among the peoples of the Western Hemisphere, and to foster all movements affecting the women and children of the Americas."[358] GNC representative Carter Wheelock stated, "I think one of our best hopes for an improved international relations for our state and nation lies with groups such as this...Being a Good Neighbor in this present day and age is just plain good sense."[359] Wheelock's address to the Pan American Roundtable implies that it was within the nation's and state's best interest for groups like this to carry on their practices of assisting in good

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[357] John Chavez, *The Lost Land: The Chicano Image of the Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 113.

[358] Helen B. Frantz, "Pan American Round Table," *Handbook of Texas Online* (http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/vwp01), accessed May 09, 2014. Uploaded on June 15, 2010. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

[359] Box # 1989/59-22, Folder: Wheelock, Carter-November 17, 1952, Pan American Round Table, San Antonio, 1-19, Records, Texas Good Neighbor Commission. Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library and Archives Commission.

friendship and commerce with Latin American countries and communities under the gaze of the Good Neighbor Policy.

The GNC's ability to use Pan-Americanism through the Texas government facilitated and supported the idea of hemispheric unity throughout the borderlands or at least through its policy. In the Southwest, the rhetoric of "good neighboring" was emphasized through the collaborative efforts of Latin Americans, White Americans, and Mexican Americans to facilitate positive relations between South and North Americans. As a result, this rhetoric became a method by which Mexican Americans were able to address discrimination issues and attempt to achieve first-class citizenship. The approach would later be used by Mexican Americans and Anglos to create the 1968 HemisFair.

Creating HemisFair

During the construction of HemisFair, Congressman Henry B. González was already a prominent leader in Texas's Mexican American community. However, González, like other Mexican Americans, had to negotiate between race and class in segregated San Antonio. He was the son of Mexican immigrants whose class and social status in San Antonio allowed him to receive a proper education and achieve economic security. This deviated from the majority of Mexican Americans that lived in the predominately impoverished ethnic enclaves of the Westside and Southside.[360] Similarly, González benefited from the ideals of middle-class social acceptance, as reflected by members of LULAC. According to Rodolfo Rosales, "[LULAC's] goals reflected the idealistic notion that by learning the English language, thereby becoming more American,

[360] Box: 390:19, Folder name: Henry B. González Bio, Personal Picture: 212-221, San Antonio Fair, Inc., Records, MS 31, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

Chicanos [, Mexican Americans,] would be able to gain inclusion into the 'American Dream." [361] González was able to partake in the benefits of marginal economic success and social status within his ethnic group but faced the same racial and physical realities that overwhelmed his beloved Mexican community in San Antonio and Texas.[362] These certainties included inadequate housing, education, and sanitation, which helped local officials such as González expand his political consciousness and take political action to try and remedy them for his community.[363]

During the period, González became one of the many prominent Mexican American politicians to fight against racism in politics and society in the Southwest. He made national headlines in 1961 when he became the first Mexican American ever elected from Texas to the U.S. House of Representatives. Although González's success was representative of his political inclusion in the U.S., he still was considered the political exception in a state and country where most politicians were white upper-class men. At the time, "The Chicano middle class was faced with choosing individual political inclusion at the expense of neglecting the problems facing the Chicano community as a discriminated and impoverished group, or challenging the terms of inclusion with little foreseeable success."[364] González became one of these individuals and his leadership role would later be critiqued by Chicanas/os that claimed that he neglected the needs of his own constituents in San Antonio.

González's actions in state and federal politics allowed him to negotiate between social, ethnic, and political lines to help make HemisFair a reality. In the U.S. House of Representatives, González co-sponsored and handled 42 bills before the start of the world's fair. However one of his proudest accomplishments was aiding a hearing in 1965 that allowed the fair to be called to the

[361] Rosales, *The Illusion of Inclusion*, 7.
[362] Ibid.
[363] Montejano, *Quixote's Soldiers*, 21.
[364] Rosales, *The Illusion of Inclusion*, 15.

House floor and another bill in 1966 that finally recognized the U.S.'s participation in the world's fair.[365] Although González was the main sponsor of the bill along with Congressman Ralph Yarborough, he was not alone in this political venture. San Antonio journalist Sterlin Holmesly claimed that "[President] Lyndon B. Johnson wanted this fair for Henry B., because he told [him] 'I'm going to get you that money."[366] With President Johnson's approval, the federal government approved another bill to appropriate $250,000 toward promoting the fair at home and abroad.[367]

The political alliance between President Johnson and Congressman González can be traced back to their ties in Texas politics. González was the only Mexican American politicians from Texas and San Antonio that held a congressional seat in the House of Representatives. As such, Johnson partnered with him to calm domestic racial tensions and ensure economic success for the state and its Mexican Americans population. This connection was one of Johnson's practical approaches to solving the political, economic, and racial problems in his home state. During his career in the U.S. Senate, "[Johnson] felt the South had to work toward reinterpreting itself into the nation's political and economic mainstream."[368] Johnson may have considered HemisFair as an opportunity to boost the local and regional economy of Texas and to implement his 1964 War on Poverty legislation in the South. The city's demolition of houses on the Westside and Southside of downtown San Antonio was a method to continue the city's urban renewal initiatives, a federal policy to increase the economic viability of a city by displacing people from their homes.

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[365] HemisFair 1968, House of Representatives, 89th Congress 1st Session, Report No. 975, Committee on Foreign Affairs, H.R. 9247.

[366] Holmesly, *HemisFair '68 and the Transformation of San Antonio*, 7.

[367] HemisFair 1968, House of Representatives, 89th Congress 1st Session, Report No. 975, Committee on Foreign Affairs, H.R. 9247.

[368] Sylvia Ellis, *Freedom's Pragmatist: Lyndon Johnson and Civil Rights* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2013), 62.

Politically, Mexican American support became vital to Johnson's presidency because this group constituted a large segment of his political base. In the 1960s, the Democratic Party's platform ran on a promise of racial inclusion. As a result, politicians such as John F. Kennedy and Johnson tried to garner Mexican American political support for the presidency in 1960 and again in 1964. In the process, LULAC, American GI Forum, Viva Kennedy Clubs, and Viva Johnson Clubs campaigned for both presidents. Following the death of President Kennedy in 1963 and during the presidency of Lyndon Johnson, Mexican American inclusion into federal politics began to develop. In 1966, the same year as the introduction of the bill, the Johnson Administration invited twenty Mexican American leaders to the nation's capital to discuss important issues about ethnic Mexican involvement in government programs. In the meeting, "[Mexican Americans and U.S. politicians] decided that the discussion topics should include education, employment, health, housing, the military draft, women's rights, and more Mexicans participation in poverty programs."[369] This meeting was seen as a way for Johnson to gather political support from Mexican Americans in the Southwest; however, the leaders that gathered did not address relevant issues of grassroots ethnic Mexican mobilization that was beginning to form because of the Chicana/o Movement.[370] Following the meeting, President Johnson became more involved in HemisFair as a powerful mediator between the government and big business sponsors such as the Ford Motor Company and International Business Machines (IBM). González's relationship with President Johnson was just one example of how he acted as a political power broker between the U.S. government and local political leaders in San Antonio.[371]

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[369] Julie Leininger Pycior, "From Hope to Frustration: Mexican Americans and Lyndon Johnson in 1967," *Western Historical Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (November 1993): 476.

[370] Ibid., 484.

[371] David J. Weber, *Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment* (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 2006), 256.

Pan-Americanism also influenced González's experience as a politician and community leader. Whether or not González's truly believed in Pan-Americanism, he did support the idea that racial discrimination could be ended in Texas through Pan-American organizations and the Good Neighbor Policy. In 1947, González helped found the Pan American Progressive Association (PAPA) with other likeminded middle-class Mexican Americans from San Antonio to help their community out of poverty by ending loan and housing discrimination and increasing voter participation.[372] One of PAPA's significant accomplishments was in the 1948 court case, *Clifton v. Puente*. According to court records Abdon Salazar Puente had purchased land on the Southside of San Antonio from P.J. Humphrey; however, the property deed had a racial covenant provision that "prohibit[ed] the sale or lease of the property to 'persons of Mexican descent."[373] González and PAPA quickly acted on the case by hiring two attorneys for Puente. His attorneys were none other than former LULAC president Alonso S. Perales and Carlos C. Cadena, who later assisted Gus Garcia in the 1954 *Hernandez v. Texas* Supreme Court case. Puente's attorneys argued that as a nationalized U.S. citizen, the covenant violated his 14th Amendment rights. In addition, the language of the Good Neighbor Policy was also used in the courtroom. According to the *Abilene Reporter*, "[Puente] also alleged the provision in the [property] deed…forbidding [the] sale or lease to Negroes or persons of Mexican descent is a violation of the Good Neighbor Policy and an affront to the people of Mexico."[374] Puente's reference to the policy was possibly encouraged by Alonso Perales and ideas found in his 1948 book *Are We Good Neighbors?* The book discusses Mexican American racial discrimination in the Southwest and its connection to the Good Neighbor Policy. Nevertheless, Puente won the case after the judge sided with a court ruling made by the

[372] Rosales, *Illusion of Inclusion*, 16-17, 116.

[373] "Clifton v. Puente, 218 S.W.2d 272 (Tex. App. 1948)," https://www.courtlistener.com/opinion/4194164/clifton-v-puente/, accessed April 10, 2020.

[374] *Abilene Reporter News*, December 31, 1947

Supreme court case *Shelley v. Kraemer* in 1948 that dismissed the usage of racially restrictive housing covenants. The ruling from *Clifton v. Puente* was later was used by Cadena in *Hernandez v. Texas* to prove that ethnic Mexicans faced discrimination even outside the courtroom.

The *Puente* case was not that last time González associated himself with the Good Neighbor Policy. He would file a report with the Good Neighbor Commission against residential segregation in Austin.[375] The policy also influenced his judgment as a Congressman to propose a bill for the U.S. to sponsor and fund the creation of a "Fair of the Americas" which became HemisFair.[376] This bill was passed through the Senate because it provided an outlet for U.S. foreign affairs to "enhance the existing brotherhood between New World nations, reaffirm common ties, and fortify world peace."[377] The bill would not have passed if it were not for the help of Congressman González, the influence of President Johnson, and it's the reuse of Pan-Americanism during the Cold War.

González's ability to navigate from Mexican American society to white politics led him to join and become an honorary founding member of San Antonio Fair Inc., an overwhelmingly white business organization.[378] City business executives on the board of SAF had one goal in mind, and that was to construct a world's fair with the hopes that it might generate a revenue boost for the local economy.[379] During its inception, González was the only active Mexican American in the organization because of his prominent status in the federal government.

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[375] Box # 1989/059-17, Folder: Discrimination Files-General Files 1961-1968, Records, Texas Good Neighbor Commission. Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library and Archives Commission.

[376] Holmesly, *HemisFair '68 and the Transformation of San Antonio*, 3-4.

[377] HemisFair 1968, House of Representatives, 89th Congress 1st Session, Report No. 975, Committee on Foreign Affairs, H.R. 9247.

[378] Box# 395, Folder: H.B.G Day June 23, 1965: 428-269, San Antonio Fair, Inc., Records, MS 31, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[379] Holmesly, *HemisFair '68 and the Transformation of San Antoni*, 5-8.

Congressmen González's political success as a fair representative also helped him gain a leadership role in the elite organization. William Sinkin, the first president of HemisFair '68, the organization that came after SAF, utilized Congressman González's political connections. According to Sinkin, "In order to make the fair work, business elites needed, 'the most powerful congressman…to commit to the fair."[380] The partnership was not one-sided. González also needed San Antonio white business elites such as William Sinkin, Red McCombs, Tom Frost, Forrest Smith, H.B. Zachry, and Morris Jaffe to help fund his campaigns and the day to day operation of HemisFair's organizations.[381]

The leadership of SAF also fundraised another $7.5 million to hire individuals to run their public relations team and promote the fair across the U.S and the World.[382] Two people they hired were Ed Castillo, the Chief of the HemisFair Press Branch, and Carlos Freymann, the Director of Latin American Affairs. Castillo was a local newspaper columnist and the owner of the only Mexican American public relations firm in San Antonio.[383] Freymann was also a local business owner and member of the San Antonio Mexican Chamber of Commerce, who moved to the city in 1963. They became essential members of HemisFair's public relations team in the U.S. and Latin America. Castillo brought his years of experience as a public relations professional, and Freymann brought his skills as a Mexican businessperson. Together they transformed themselves into international figures who became influential spokespersons for HemisFair.

The exposition's public relations team used similar techniques implemented by the Good Neighbor Commission, such as using Mexican Americans as Spanish language mediators to

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[380] Ibid., 6.

[381] Box# 336, Folder: HemisFair 1968-HF Committees 1965, 336:21, San Antonio Fair, Inc., Records, MS 31, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[382] Holmesly, *HemisFair '68 and the Transformation of San Antonio*, 5.

[383] Box# 336, Folder Name: Ed Castillo, Chief Press Branch 64-67, Personal picture: 142, San Antonio Fair, Inc., Records, MS 31, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

coordinate agreements between Latin American countries and the fair.[384] In Castillo's case, his journey as an intermediary came at a cost. Rather than being respected for his talents as a creditable public relations executive, he had to highlight to SAF his racial and ethnic identity and worth as a Spanish speaker to be hired by the organizing group. Although the fair promoted the idea of one hemispheric society between the U.S. and Latin America, it became apparent that race and ethnicity were lingering issues in San Antonio, and language could help bridge the divide. Using Castillo as an example, it is evident that HemisFair officials were interested in using ethnic Mexicans, like him, to cut across racial and linguistic lines.

Even in U.S. international affairs, the inability to speak Spanish was a problem for heads of state like President Johnson. For example, former U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador Henry E. Catto Jr., comments on how President Johnson did not speak Spanish,

> I remember one sort of amusing tale about that. I had gone to see Johnson before I left for the [Organization of American States] OAS post and he was regaling me with Latin American stories. One of which was that this dinner was in San Salvador and he was to meet and eat with the five Central American presidents. He was panic stricken because he didn't speak any Spanish and he thought, this is going to be one heavy duty to spend the whole evening with these guys…. Well, as it turned out, these five funny little men that he was having dinner with turned out to be pretty interesting and the language barrier was not really a barrier. [385]

Although Catto does not give evidence that these "funny little men" spoke English, it is apparent that Johnson did not speak Spanish. Johnson knew that he was walking into a dominant Spanish speaking society in Latin America. For people involved in HemisFair, Spanish needed to be used to work out participation agreements for Latin American countries. People like Ed Castillo and Carlos Freymann became involved with two of the more unique objectives of HemisFair: to speak

[384] Although not explicitly stated, the commission utilized officials of Mexican descent to act of linguistic brokers between English and Spanish society.

[385] The Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training Foreign Affairs Oral History Project, Director (Usia) Henry E. Catto, Jr., Interviewed by Charles Stuart Kennedy, Initial interview date: March 23, 1988.

Spanish and to act as fair ambassadors to Latin American countries. In these instances, Spanish did not act as a barrier between groups but reaffirmed the notion of Pan-American unity and helped mediate cross-cultural interactions.

By 1966, publicity around HemisFair was underway in America. A *New York Times* column depicted the contrast between the 1967 Montreal Expo and the 1968 HemisFair. According to this article, "Public Relations would be the name of the game," and claimed that a "good" public relations group equivocated to the success of the fair. [386] According to InfoPlan, the advertising firm for the 1962 Seattle World's Fair and Montreal Expo, "In terms of publicity, it's our job to let the country know that [Montreal] Expo '67 exists."[387] This statement represented how publicity and media coverage of international expositions were essential. Proper media coverage for these events was one method were groups could communicate with the American and Latin American public. In the case of HemisFair, its success rested on its public relations team made of Castillo and Freymann and publicized the fair in North and South America. However, by 1966, Latin American countries did not understand what HemisFair was. As a result, Castillo and Freymann had two objectives: invite Latin American nations to participate in the international exposition and simultaneously advertise it abroad.

During HemisFair's 1966 tour to Central America, Castillo and Freymann used their public relations insight, linguistic commonalities, and diplomatic skills to act as mediators between Latin America and the international exposition. Joining them on this trip was Texas Governor John Connolly. This trip was in response to an invitation sent from Hernan Arostgui, the Secretary General of SITCA (Ministry of Central American Tourist Integration), to present to the Directors of Tourism from Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Panama, Mexico,

[386] Philip H., "Advertising: Promoting Two World's Fairs," *New York Times* October 16, 1966.
[387] Ibid.

Spain, and the U.S. territory of Puerto Rico.[388] In preparation for the trip to Latin America, Castillo took it upon himself to make a bilingual press packet that stated the mission of the fair, its most important sponsors, and the history of San Antonio. According to Carlos Freymann's SAF correspondences, "Mr. Ed Castillo's assistance to the group as a press agent for Texas Governor [Connally] has been an asset to the trip."[389] Although Castillo's press packets are not mentioned in Freymann's letter, they were part of the Latin America tour. Following this comment, Castillo became the group's personal press secretary that accompanied them on other trips to Latin American countries.

In Costa Rica, Freymann and Castillo were among the top HemisFair officials to discuss the event with these nations. They went as far as to promote it on national news networks in some countries. In a group of letters, addressed to Irv Weinmann, Director of HemisFair Public Relations, Ed Castillo states, "Last night we were on TV for a panel type show. It was for 15 minutes on "Canal Seis."[390] There is little evidence to point that Spanish was spoken on the show. However, it is hard to negate the fact that Spanish may have been used for this show because it was in Costa Rica and Castillo called it Canal Seis. Speaking Spanish to Latin American communities and dignitaries was addressed in Carlos Freymann's report to HemisFair officials from Venezuela. According to him,

> The press conferences for Governor Connally, so far have not been at all difficult. Interpreting for a gentleman who makes statements for only one, two, or three minutes, and trying to make them understandable to the Latins is rather difficult, however, the Governor and I have both been pleased with the results and the comments made by the press. Ed Castillo has been sending all press material

[388] Box #:336:8 Folder name: Central American Trip 1966, Personal Pictures: 158, San Antonio Fair, Inc., Records, MS 31, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[389] Box #:336:8 Folder name: Central American Trip 1966, Personal Pictures: 193, San Antonio Fair, Inc., Records, MS 31, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[390] Box #:336:8 Folder name: Central American Trip 1966, Personal Pictures: 154, San Antonio Fair, Inc., Records, MS 31, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

> available—clippings, pictures, and information. From Panama, he sent a long release which I hope met with Irv Weinmann's approval.[391]

In his statement, Freymann indicates that he interpreted for Connally, possibly, from English to Spanish. In the process, Freymann's and Castillo's involvement was reflected in the letters and reports sent from Latin America and became promotional materials for U.S. audiences.

Meanwhile, Castillo continued to send press material from a distance; his reports allowed U.S. newspapers to show the progress of the tour. The information sent from Latin America included discussions of Freymann and Connally negotiating with Latin American presidents and business officials. One report from the *Lubbock Avalanche Journal* headlined "San Antonio's HemisFair Gets Connally Boost." The report stated, "The governor will hold a news conference on the HemisFair today [July 26, 1966] with Panamanian and foreign newsmen…. The Connally party includes W. Hagley, a HemisFair Executive, Carlos Freymann…and Ed Castillo. "[392] Although Castillo was not named as the reporter on the scene of the event, it can be inferred that this was one of his reports from Latin America. This was reiterated in a letter from Freymann to HemisFair officials that stated, "I think that Ed Castillo's reports and press clippings, in addition to my telephone call to Jim, will give you an idea of what we have accomplished here in South America."[393]

While in Latin America, Castillo and Freymann were able to position themselves as essential mediators between the fair and Latin American countries. Using Spanish, they addressed the masses in Latin America and act as interpreters for Spanish speaking dignitaries, reporters, and

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[391] Box #:336:8 Folder name: Central American Trip 1966, Personal Pictures: 194, San Antonio Fair, Inc., Records, MS 31, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[392] "San Antonio's HemisFair Gets Connally Boost," *Lubbock Avalanche Journal*-Tuesday Morning, July 26, 1966, 4A.

[393] Box# 336:8 Folder name: Central American Trip 1966, Personal Pictures: 195, San Antonio Fair, Inc., Records, MS 31, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

T.V. shows. Their achievements were reflected in the number of Latin American nations that participated and sponsored exhibitory buildings at HemisFair. In letters to SAF, Castillo and Freymann stated that "two-thirds of the nations of this hemisphere will participate in HemisFair 1968. This, of course, should be one of the major achievements of our Exposition and an excellent reason for the participation of the nations from abroad."[394] As a result, the fair's ability to create a hemispheric atmosphere was, in part, the work of Castillo and Freymann, who used their experiences as middle-class ethnic Mexicans to mediate between Latin American counties, U.S. society, and SAF.

HemisFair on the Home Front

Although middle-class Mexican Americans from San Antonio were able to participate in promoting the fair and received praise from SAF and the Texas government, support on the home front in San Antonio reflected a deep divide between class and race. In North and South America, HemisFair revived binational Pan-American relation even if it was for a fair. In the eyes of Anglo elites involved with SAF, HemisFair was the physical representation of the unity between Anglos and Mexican Americans. However, the exposition signified something different for Chicana/o activists as the city began to gear up for the opening of the fair.[395]

The municipal government of San Antonio coordinated with Congressman Henry B. González, SAF, and Urban Renewal Agency officials to make room for HemisFair's location downtown. In the 1960s, the fair displaced residents of a 92-acre community that lived south of

[394] Box#: 336:8 Folder name: Central American Trip 1966, Personal Pictures: 157, San Antonio Fair, Inc., Records, MS 31, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[395] I will be using the term Chicano/a to describe the Mexican American group of civil rights activists that started to form in the United States. I will be using Chicano/a to reference both men and women were part of this group

Commerce Street and east of Alamo Street through the federal urban renewal program. According to Char Miller and Heywood Sanders, "These, and additional elements of downtown urban renewal projects, absorbed a disproportionate amount of the city's capital spending from 1955 to 1977, accounting for more than $120 million, or about 37 percent [of the municipal funds]."[396] In 1965, on the south end of downtown, federal urban renewal programs cleared neighborhoods to make room for the HemisFair site and tourist corridor. Accounts suggest that the removal of these community members and their property was "often against their will, residents and business owners were moved out as their former property was razed."[397] These new buildings in San Antonio would later symbolize the growing racial and class disparity between Anglos and ethnic Mexicans in the city instead of promoting its theme: *Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas.*

Since González's earlier career in San Antonio and the Texas state Senate, he was a champion "against legislation designed to encourage de facto segregation and to encourage slum clearance."[398] This rhetoric was reflected in the Texas Senate in 1956, as he battled the state's southern senate bloc by staging a 36-hour filibuster. The "talkathon" as mentioned in the *San Antonio Light* was aimed at overturning a Texas segregation bill that targeted the Mexican American and African American population in the state.[399] In the Mexican American and Anglo community, he was a hero because of his racial identity and, as seen before, a federal ally for San Antonio Anglo business elites working to create HemisFair. According to David Montejano, "González had earned a heroic status in the Mexican American and African American

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[396] Char Miller and Heywood Sanders, ed., "Parks, Politics, and Patronage," in *On the Border: An Environmental History of San Antonio* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001), 96.

[397] "Paula Allen: HemisFair Construction Erased North Street," September 25, 2011, http://www.mysanantonio.com/news/article/HemisFair-construction-erased-North-Street-2185376.php

[398] Juan Gómez-Quiñonez, *Chicano Politics: Reality and Promise, 1940-1990* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 59.

[399] *San Antonio Light*, November 5, 1957, 6.

[communities] for his aggressive challenges of Jim Crow Segregation in the 1950s…. [As a U.S. Congressman, in] 1964 he was one of a handful of southern congressmen to vote for the Civil Rights Act. Henry B. was not afraid to take unpopular stances."[400] By 1968, however, his status as a political figure in San Antonio's ethnic Mexican community began to transform. The world was changing, causing San Antonio white leaders and ethnic Mexicans to modify their previous stances on civil rights.

As HemisFair began, the event became entangled in the world and racial politics of the time. David Montejano highlights the irony between hosting a fair in 1968 during the civil rights, especially after the death of Martin Luther King Jr. He states, "While rioters and soldiers faced off in several cities across the country, San Antonio was hosting a party."[401] Montejano's statement is meant to highlight the lack of SAF's adherence to world around them. However, according to SAF president William Sinkin,

> I have a theory for [not having race riots in San Antonio] that goes back to the Good Government League beginning a process of opening the doors. They began to support or select, say, a Hispanic for an office. That opening of a window or door, really …left a feeling that there was a place for Mexican Americans in the community.[402]

Sinkin's statement shows that there was a collaboration between ethnic Mexicans and Anglos through the GGL. While this statement is true, the majority-white GGL held most of the city council seats. As a result, ethnic Mexican participation was minimal because they held few elected positions and town offices in a majority white city government. In contrast to Sinkin's statement, the Chicana/o Civil Rights Movement in San Antonio erupted by the mid-1960s because of discrimination and the lack of political inclusion, economic mobility, and community

[400] Montejano, *Quixote's Soldier's*, 83-84.
[401] Ibid., 86.
[402] Holmesly, *HemisFair '68 and the Transformation of San Antonio*, 4.

infrastructure for communities of color. These were all issues that SAF believed had been remedied in years past or thought they could solve with HemisFair.

Nevertheless, the world's fair represented an opportunity for newer civil rights groups like the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO) and the Mexican American Student Organization (MASO) from Austin to prosper. As one of the major Chicana/o civil rights groups of the period, they heavily critiqued San Antonio's municipal government and Congressman González's lack of attention toward the needs of the communities of color in the city. MAYO often protested the racial and class injustices felt by communities of color in education, housing, and unemployment.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the Mexican American political community in San Antonio was split between an older generation of politically active middle-class Mexican American and a younger Chicana/o generation of student activists. This community did not join together under Pan-Americanism or middle-class objectives to gain entrance into local politics or American society. The complexities between middle-class politicians like González and student groups like MAYO reflected the sharp contrast in political action and inclusion. For middle-class Mexican Americans, the anti-discrimination agenda may have been achieved through subtle political actions, and for groups like MAYO this was attained through a direct aggressive stance.[403] MAYO's stance reflected the broader objectives of the national Civil Rights Movement that was beginning to take shape in the black community through mobilization and organizational efforts like Martin Luther King Jr.'s Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) or the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) that deviated from older tactics that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) took in gaining political inclusion.

[403] Montejano, *Quixote's Soldier's,* 10.

In San Antonio, similar actions of mobilization and organizations rejected the politics and ideologies of middle-class officials like González and organizations like LULAC as a means to gain social and political inclusion. This stance was addressed in reporter Richard Sanchez's comments in the September 18, 1967 edition of the *San Antonio Light,*

> So now you have erected an editorial monument to Mr. González unflagging devotion to his job [U.S. Representative] and your paeans to his political acumen were certainly heard in the hills of the Texas Democrat Party…and has consistently pursued a policy of discrimination against Americans of Spanish Surnames running for office….Not only have they never had one, but they don't intend to ever have one, certainly not one they will be willing to back with cash…no matter…whether he has superior qualifications of HBG [Henry B. González]….Segregated in a political ghetto built to the needs of Mr. González by his party and crammed to capacity with Mexican American voters content to be contained in a constructed area of political power, it is not unseemly to assume that…one lever fanatics will be told in years to come, as they are told now, by the Democrat Party that "You've Got González, so shut up![404]

This newspaper column reflects the great unrest that the city of San Antonio faced as Mexican Americans only had one high ranking federal official amid an increasing ethnic Mexican population. As a result, a new identity and social movement emerged in the form of the Chicana/o Movement due to the lack of racial inclusion and political representation. The Chicana/o Movement publicly challenged the oppressive racial order of the Jim Crow South and San Antonio politics.[405] Chicana/o organizations like MAYO were on the forefront of discussing these issues. Using the idealistic flag of "Chicanismo," a form of cultural nationalism that reflected the community's Mexican pride, MAYO allowed younger ethnic Mexicans to organize and mobilize in the town's Westside and Southside communities.[406]

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[404] Richard Sanchez, *San Antonio Light,* September 18, 1867, 18.

[405] David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexican in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), 285.

[406] Armando Navarro, *Mexican American Youth Organization: Avant-Garde of the Chicano Movement in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 91.

HemisFair became a major focal point for Chicana/o activists to express their grievances against San Antonio's political establishment and inequalities felt by communities of color. The fair was the largest urban renewal project in San Antonio and brought together a coalition of brown, black, and white leaders, but it still revealed the underlining disparities between race and class in town. Its advocates boasted about the benefits of renovating the downtown corridor for the exposition, claiming that it could enhance the local economy and make the inner-city more inclusive. However, the urban renewal project destroyed an entire neighborhood to create the fairgrounds instead of tackling the festering inequalities in communities of color, such as insufficient housing, schools, and municipal services. In the process, Chicanas/os formed amid the middle-class Mexican American generation. As we shall see in the next chapter, during the changing political and social climate in the 1960s, the Chicana/o Movement forced fair leaders and governmental officials like Henry B. González, to confront the racial problems and inequalities faced in other parts of the city.

Chapter 4: Confluence at the Gate: HemisFair's Six Month Affair

In 1968, countries from across the World were brought together by a shared commitment to democratic unity, Pan-American friendship, and to celebrate San Antonio's 250th Anniversary.[407] Nations from Latin America represented 8 out of 21 stand alone pavillions and the Organization of American States held 11 more countries in its exhibit at the fair. SAF made sure to incorporate these national exhibits as much as possible to enhance the general theme of HemisFair. The fair was founded on the idea of transnational unity across the Western Hemisphere with a specific focus on Latin America.

Exhibition leaders used this idea of a shared community and commissioned Mexican artist and architect Juan O'Gorman to create an outdoor mosaic for fairgoers. The piece was titled "Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas" after the fair's theme and stood along the Riverwalk as a visual representation of hemispheric unity and San Antonio's long history of confluence across the continent. The artwork depicted the history of American civilization from its Mesoamerican past through the advent of industrial societies in the 1960s. O'Gorman's international status as an artist helped bring people to the fair to gaze upon his and other artists works. The colorful mosaic rested alongside the Riverwalk entrance welcoming tourists as they arrived.

O'Gorman's mural also signified a shared history where humans and their American settings were in the crossroads of a long and continuous history. San Antonio officials placed the Alamo City in the middle of this hemispheric crossroads, where people met to share their vision of the future. American world fairs all had their perceptions of a collective future and progress;

[407] The international organizations and countries that participated Organizations of Americans States, Belgium, Bolivia, Canada, China, Costa Rica, El Salvador, France, West Germany, Guatemala, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Korea, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, Thailand, and the United States.

HemisFair was similar in this attempt.[408] These international events were also reflections and laboratories for shaping societies.[409] Similar to other world fairs, HemisFair functioned as a snapshot of modern society and future possibilities. I engage in the scholarship of international expositions by asking, "What was unique about HemisFair when compared to its predecessors?" The answer to this question is found in the exposition's time and place. In 1968, participates inside and outside the fairgrounds were being shaped by the Cold War and the Civil Rights Movement. Previous Pan-American fairs did not have to address Cold War policies during their events. However, given the context of San Antonio's fair, I argue that it was used as a tool by the U.S to contain Communism in Latin American countries, bringing them closer to America's sphere of influence and ease racial tensions. The implementation of this strategy was weaved into the fair's theme *Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas* and by SAF, who actively invited Latin American countries to participate and in the U.S. government's sponsorship of the fair. In Texas, the exposition was also built to help San Antonio's economy and ease racial tensions between civil rights groups. In the 1960s, San Antonio was one of the poorest cities in the nation and in the Jim Crow South. White fair organizers collaborated with Mexican American and African American leaders to produce HemisFair under the assumption that it would provide jobs and generate a new revenue stream for the local economy.

What O'Gorman's mosaic did not depict was how these events shaped the U.S.-Mexico borderlands and San Antonio. Internationally, the world's fair was used as a tactic to change the perception of the U.S. within the Western Hemisphere during the Cold War. The federal government did this by welcoming dignitaries and visitors from allied countries. Under Presidents

[408] Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 4-5, 15.

[409] Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 2.

John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson administrations, Latin American nations were directly involved in the U.S.'s agenda of containing Communism in the Western Hemisphere. The federal government assisted SAF in attracting these nations and organizations to participate in HemisFair as part of its Cold War initiative. Inviting Latin American countries to HemisFair helped rekindle former Pan-American diplomatic policies created before World War II. Pan-Americanism was the belief that citizens from North and South America shared a collective American identity.

Domestically, SAF officials collaborated with Mexican American and African American civil rights groups to ease racial tensions and class inequalities in San Antonio. Like other international fairs, HemisFair displayed local goods to buyers, industrialists, and international groups to help bring businesses to the city. Urban renewal funds destroyed an entire multi-ethnic 92-acre neighborhood to make way for the fairgrounds. Civil rights groups like League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) initially supported the fair to help bring needed jobs to the city but later faced the harsh reality that it did not live up to what was promised. Chicana/o activists with the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO) and Mexican American Student Organization (MASO) criticized HemisFair and its leadership through protests and media coverage. CBS's documentary *Hunger in America* publicized HemisFair's urban renewal project and its effects on the city. Supporters of the Chicana/o activist like county commissioner Alberto Peña Jr. welcomed the coverage of his hometown to display the true nature and effects of racial discrimination and class inequalities. The documentary showed how pervasive segregation was in San Antonio. It also depicted a sharp contrast between the local upper class that supported the fair and the segregated racial class that could not afford to attend the event.

The experiences that visitors, participants, and protesters felt at the exposition should be understood as a process of what was happening around them. HemisFair was a unique moment when the U.S. Cold War and Civil Rights Movement collided in the American Southwest. The effects of this collision were felt within San Antonio's community and developed throughout the fair from April 6 through October 6, 1968.

Opening Day

On April 6, 1968, HemisFair opened its fairgrounds to the public. Fairgoers could finally step inside HemisFair Park and witness the fruits of labor that were many years in the making. The event commemorated the 250th Anniversary of San Antonio and the start of the first recognized world's fair held in the U.S. Southwest. While some visitors received warm welcomes at the gate, others were greeted with protesters. As visitors passed O'Gorman's mosaic alongside the Riverwalk, and toward the fairgrounds, they could observe the Portuguese, French, and Chinese pavilions. If they walked from east to west toward Alamo Street, tourists could see the new modular Hilton Hotel and the tramway that took visitors around the fairgrounds. Outside of the gates, at the Alamo Street entrance, fairgoers also saw protesters holding signs demonstrating against HemisFair, the destruction of their community, and the Vietnam War, and in favor of the civil rights movement. This was the scene on the first day of HemisFair when the idea of confluence in San Antonio collided with the economic, social, and political reality of a segregated city in the Jim Crow south.

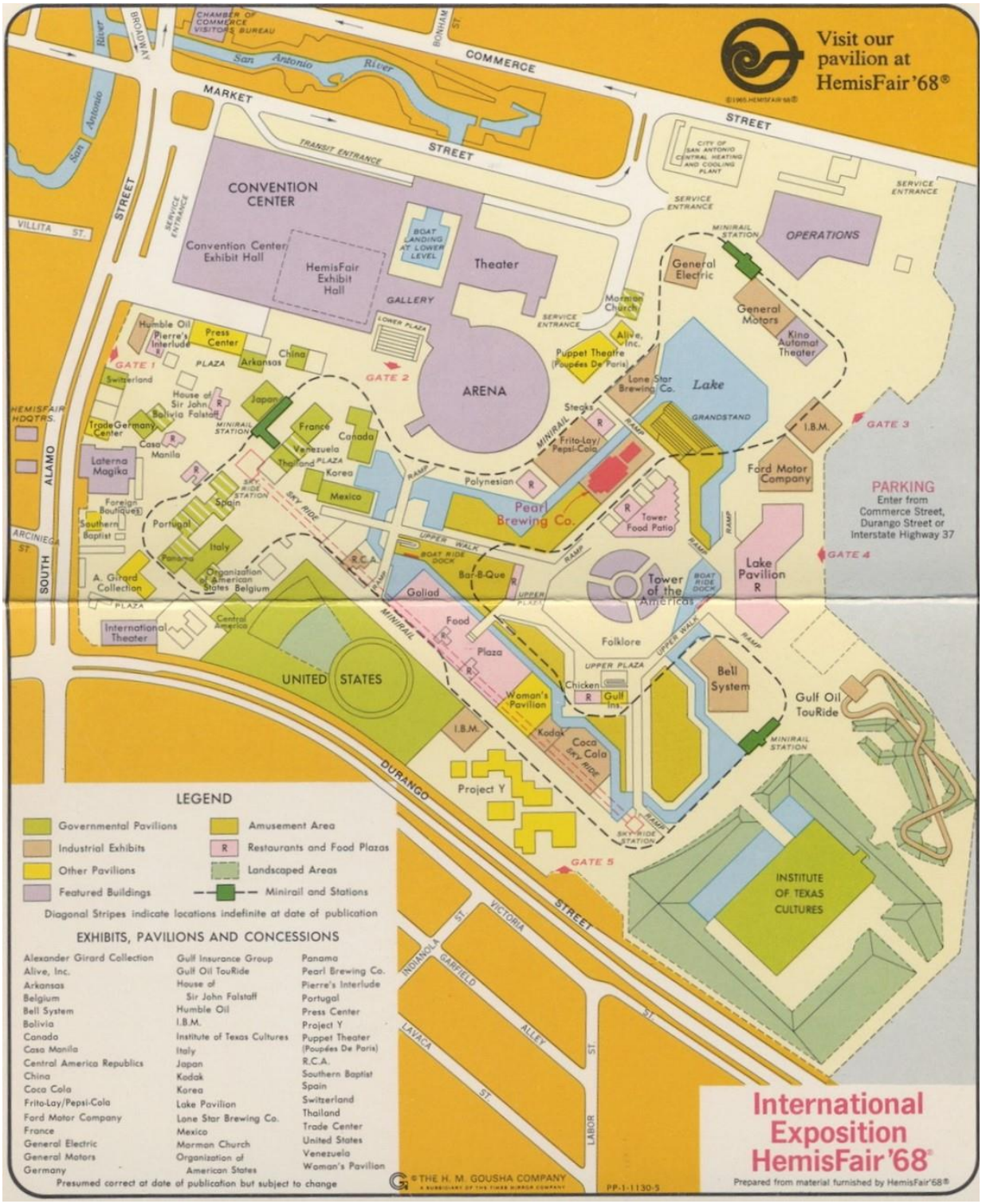

Figure 4.1: Map of HemisFair [410]

[410] Personal File: "HemisFair '68 & 1968 Olympics Mexico City," Shell Oil Company, 1968.

On that day in April, the *San Antonio Light*'s front page read "It's Here" in bold red letters with a picture of HemisFair in the city's skyline.[411] The special edition newspaper wrote about the citywide countdown that had begun a year before. Now townspeople and tourists alike were able to read the commemorative piece and see pictures of the 92.6-acre lot located south of downtown. Like the world fairs of the past, HemisFair had a grand opening that involved celebratory ribbon cuttings of pavilions, gatherings at buildings, musical performances, and a parade that traveled throughout the fairgrounds. As part of the opening ceremony, the paper had a list of activities that fairgoers could attend during the first day. The kickoff started at 8:30 am and ended at 1:00 am the next morning.[412] All of these events commemorated HemisFair.

First Lady Claudia "Lady Bird" Johnson spoke at ceremonial events on behalf of her husband President Lyndon B. Johnson. Knowing that HemisFair was part of a broader belief in Pan-Americanism, she had "hoped the fair would 'contribute to [a] better understanding between peoples."[413] While in Washington D.C., the president excused himself from attending HemisFair because he was held up in meetings that covered the escalating War in Vietnam, discussions over the death of Martin Luther King Jr., and monitoring the Civil Rights Bill of 1968.[414] Despite his absence, the First Lady welcomed visitors and accompanied foreign dignitaries throughout the fairgrounds to reinforce the transnational concept of Pan-Americanism.[415]

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411 "It's Here," *San Antonio Light*, April 6, 1968.

412 Box 2, Folder: News Clippings, 1965-1968, ITC Library Collection of HemisFair '68 Materials, MS 292, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

413 Ibid.

414 "On This Day in History," Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library, accessed July 16, 2019, http://www.lbjlibrary.net/collections/on-this-day-in-history/april.html.

415 Box 2, Folder: News Clippings, 1986-1988, ITC Library Collection of HemisFair '68 Materials, MS 292, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

The day held mixed feelings for individuals and groups attending the festivities. Lady Bird Johnson's attendance and words reinforced the exposition's theme *Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas*. For individuals from the United States, her message held a deeper meaning that cut through domestic racial issues. At the time, the nation was mourning the loss of Martin Luther King Jr., one of the most captivating Civil Rights leaders of the 1960s. King was assassinated on April 4, 1968, two days before the commencement of HemisFair. As the country grieved and looked for guidance from its leaders, SAF officials questioned if they should move the opening day of the world's fair following his assassination. They worried about the potential riots and protests as seen in news reported from Detroit, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Washington D.C. [416] The events that followed after the murder of King became known as the Holy Week Uprising with over 196 cities reporting looting, property damage, and personal injuries to their citizens.[417] The estimated cost of the riots added up to $67 million in citywide damages.[418] The affair lasted another ten days and finally calmed down in some cities after the arrival of the Army and National Guards.

Despite rioting and property damage across the United States, in San Antonio, there were no identified reports of civil disobedience. San Antonio representatives claimed that the town was spared by riots because of the "sharing of powers" that existed in the city between its racial groups.[419] The town's biggest racial group were Mexican Americans from the Westside and Southside with African Americans concentrated along the Eastside of downtown. According to Charles Cheever Jr., who participated in the exhibition and was on the Board of Managers of the

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[416] James Coates, "Riots follow killing of Martin Luther King Jr.," *Chicago Tribune*, September 8, 2018, http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/politics/chi-chicagodays-kingriots-story-story.html. ; Peter B. Levy, *The Great Uprising: Race Riots in Urban America during the 1960s* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 153.

[417] Levy, *The Great Uprising*, 153.

[418] "Rioting After Dr. King's Death Puts Claim Costs at $67-Million, " *New York Times*, May 16, 1968.

[419] Holmesly, *HermisFair '68 and the Transformation of San Antonio*, 48.

Bexar County Hospital, during the 1960s, the city began to share political and economic power between the Mexican American and Anglo communities.[420] As discussed in chapter three, political figures like Henry B. González, Albert A. Peña Jr., and Gus Garcia personified this idea that the racial equality existed in some aspects of political life in the Alamo City. In the African American community, representation was smaller because of its size, but it was noticeable through some of the major organizations and groups like the NAACP. However, racial discrimination still prevailed across the city. Cheever's statement needs to be contextualized within the major strides taken to end Jim Crow segregation in the 1950s and 1960s. During these decades, black and brown community leaders effectively lobbied against Jim Crow city ordinances. Their measures saw the end of separate but equal public facilities before HemisFair began.

San Antonio was geographically on the periphery of the Jim Crow South, but segregation and discrimination surely existed. G.J. Sutton opposed the claim that widespread equality existed in the Alamo City. Sutton was a board member and strategic committee member of San Antonio's NAACP chapter. In 1963, the Eastside leader started a petition to block federal funding for the exhibition unless the city council approved an anti-discrimination ordinance. He stated the following, "[To] give the face of a city that is desegregated, which is not true… We feel San Antonio should show its true face, and that face should be one of democracy [and segregation]."[421] Sutton argued that the city was still segregated in 1963, and an ordinance was needed to end the law of separate but equal.

In the early 1960s, San Antonio was the Texas model for voluntary business desegregation in small doses. Governor John Connally even endorsed the idea that gradual change was best to

[420] Ibid., 48, 51.
[421] "NAACP to Fight Aid to HemisFair," *San Antonio Express News*, June 18, 1963.

spare the state of large-scale civil rights campaigns, but civil rights leaders like Sutton disagreed.[422] Action needed to be taken end segregation immediately. Sutton even asked the city council to amend the 1941 municipal law which, "revoke[d] the license of any place of public accommodation refusing service 'to anyone because of his citizenship in any Latin American Republic of the Western Hemisphere or merely because of his racial origin from one of these Republics."[423] Sutton's motion to end segregation in the Alamo City was not resolved nor was the 1941 law amended. In the pursuing months, the town adopted other ordinances to desegregate public facilities. Even with the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, some housing units and private businesses upheld de facto segregation. Not until 1965 did the municipal government approved Ordinance 33863, which fined business owners that "denied services on the basis of race, color, or religion."[424] In Texas, housing segregation did not end until the Civil Rights Act of 1968.

Racial desegregation on opening day was not a major concern for the fair's administration; instead, officials were worried about potential assassination attempts of political leaders and riots. Law enforcement agencies warned politicians about protests but were mainly concerned about death threats and bomb scares on the fairgrounds. According to Jack Trawick and Major General William A. Harris, "There were a number of threats of violence, bomb scares, [and these] type of things."[425] Governor Connally received a threat on his life while at the ribbon-cutting ceremony on the first day. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) warned the governor and his security detail of a potential threat while at the exposition.[426] Lady Bird Johnson's security took extra

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[422] Robert Goldberg, "Racial Change on the Southern Periphery: The Case of San Antonio, Texas, 1960-1965," in *African Americans in South Texas History,* ed. Bruce A. Glasrud (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2011), 298,304.

[423] Ibid., 301.

[424] Ibid.

[425] Jack Trawick and Maj. Gen. William A. Harris, interview by Esther Macmillan, October 22, 1979, Bexar County Historical Commission Oral History Program, 8.

[426] Ibid.

precaution, too. When she arrived at the fair, Trawick noticed a man on top of the Tower of the Americas roof with what looked like a rifle.[427] The Tower of the Americas was evacuated to let the police and the bomb squad enter to investigate the threat. The bomb scare was just a small fire within the building's restaurant. After escorting the First Lady safely to her car, Trawick noticed that the rifleman was just a person waving and "making sure there were no more fires."[428] These threats would go unannounced to the public and media. Fair officials did not want fairgoers to be afraid to partake in the world's fair. They did not want bad publicity around these events because it could have affected ticket sales and meant the loss of revenue.

The murder of Martin Luther King Jr. and the racial riots that followed also alerted officials of the potential threats of civil disobedience. Public officials across the United States witnessed firsthand how civil unrest turned to property damage and physical violence. In Maryland, Governor Spiro Agnew and President Johnson were forced to call on the National Guard to quell Baltimore protesters and rioters.[429] Similar reports were circulating across the U.S., especially in San Antonio, where the world's fair hosted the governor of Texas, the First Lady, and foreign dignitaries for the inaugural day.

The death of King affected American society, and the town was not immune to the nation's widespread grief of his assassination. In the Alamo City, organizations held religious and memorial services to commemorate the fallen leader. The response taken by these groups allowed the fair to incorporate it and continue as scheduled. HemisFair combined its opening day with King's death and opening day by allowing the flags to be held at half-staff with a procession in the middle of downtown. Reports from the *European Stars and Stripes* newspaper claimed that this was the first

[427] Ibid.
[428] Ibid.
[429] Levy, *The Great Uprising*, 166-168.

time that U.S. flags were held at half-staff for an African American individual in the United States.[430] HemisFair advisors still worried about the success of the opening day as dignitaries arrived from across the world, and visitors were filling up hotel vacancies around the city.

HemisFair and Latin America

Latin American leaders attended and opened their national pavilions as part of HemisFair's commencement festivities. Their visit to the international fair was years in the making, as seen in chapter two with the public relations team. SAF ensured that these dignitaries were welcomed to the event. Before HemisFair's opening day, the exposition group's primary goal was to facilitate good relations with Latin American countries and attract international attendees. Latin American attendance was crucial to the success of the fair and to maintain the theme of *Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas.*

The first Latin Americans to visit HemisFair's grounds arrived in 1963 with the Alliance for Progress' U.S. Goodwill Tour. The alliance's purpose was to provide financial support for Latin American countries. It was an economic assistance program formed by President John F. Kennedy in 1961.[431] Member nations toured downtown's La Villita Plaza and the future site of HemisFair as part of their mission to study innovative ideas toward "housing, medical, engineering, agricultural and other programs related to alliance projects."[432] Following the assassination of President Kennedy in Dallas, President Johnson continued the international

[430]"Lady Bird at HemisFair," *European Stars and Stripes*, April 8, 1968.; Vincent T. Davis, "50th Anniversary of HemisFair '68 sparks memories for visitors to venue," *San Antonio Express News*, April 6, 2018, https://www.expressnews.com/news/local/article/50th-Anniversary-of-Hemisfair-68-sparks-memories-12811001.php.

[431] Stephen G. Rabe, "Alliance for Progress," *Oxford Research Encyclopedias* (March 2016), http://latinamericanhistory.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.001.0001/acrefore-9780199366439-e-95.

[432] Box OM4, William and Fay Sinkin Papers, MS 64, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

agreement. In 1963, Alliance for Progress' members were the first Latin Americans, other than San Antonio's Mexican Consulate, to see the world fair's future site. William Sinkin even invite these officials back to San Antonio as Ambassadors for the exposition.[433]

In the mid-1960s, Mexico became the first official country to receive an inaugural HemisFair invitation. Participation in Mexico was essential to the fair's success. The U.S., San Antonio, and Mexico shared a long history of cultural exchanges, the sharing of a national border, and an intricate highway system that connected the two countries and allowed visitors to cross back and forth. Mexico's Tourist Bureau's chairman, Francisco González de la Vega, was the first to accept the invitation in person from Sinkin.[434] Chairman González de la Vega was also Congressmen González's on their father's side, besides, being a prominent lawyer, former Governor of Durango, and the architect of the Mexican Pinal code.[435] Sinkin considered this trip to be an honor as he traveled by plane to Mexico to deliver the HemisFair's invitation to González de la Vega personally. Mexico was hosting the 1968 Olympic games in Mexico City, and tourism across borders was profitable for both countries and events. HemisFair officials and Mexico's Olympic committee agreed that the world's fair would end before the opening games in October of 1968.[436] These groups were thinking about the possible tourist dollars and pesos from people that crossed back and forth from the expositions to the 1968 Olympics games.

The agreement was meant to facilitate good relations and open communication between the two countries. The two events relied on the Pan-American Highway built 50 years before to

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[433] Ibid.

[434] Box OM4, William and Fay Sinkin Papers, MS 64, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[435] Barbara González Cigarroa, *A Mexican Dream and Other Compositions* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 2016), 27-30.; Roderic A. Camp, *Mexican Political Biographies, 1935-2009* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 406.

[436] Box 391, Folder 2, San Antonio Fair, Inc., Records, MS 31, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

help travelers cross the border. The international highway went through Mexico City and connected to Interstate Highway 35 that led directly to the world's fair. In the twentieth century, highway transportation and automotive tourism were encouraged by nations of the Western Hemisphere. The highways between the United States and Mexico allowed visitors and businesses to transport goods across the border with ease. In the U.S., transportation tourism increased as the government funded freeways with the National Interstate and Highway Defense Act of 1956. Also, the increase in economic mobility allowed U.S. citizens to partake in automotive leisure activities. By 1956, 72 percent of Americans owned an automobile, and this number increased by 15 percent during the fair.[437] According to historian Michael Bess, in 1950s Mexico, "Tourism rose roughly 50 percent, with an average 435,000 foreign visitors arriving per year, while the number of motor vehicles in circulation increased to more than 402,000 on average, annually."[438] This, coupled with automobiles' affordability, permitted drivers to travel between the two countries leading to the 1960s.[439]

In Mexico, highways were constructed between cities across the country. According to historian Benjamin Fulwider, Mexico's national highway ran from Mexico City to the Texas border town of Laredo.[440] It was seen as one of the most important of all the country's roadways because of its route through major urban centers in Mexico.[441] President Lázaro Cárdenas in the 1930s anticipated the American tourist industry could become a significant addition to Mexico's

[437] Tom Lewis, *Divided Highways: Building the Interstate Highways, Transforming American Life* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 22.

[438] Michael Bess, *Routes of Compromise: Building Roads and Shaping the Nation in Mexico, 1917-1952* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), 138.

[439] Elisheva Blas, "The Dwight D. Eisenhower National System of Interstate and Defense Highways: The Road to Success?" *The History Teacher* 44, no. 1 (2010): 127-42.

[440] Benjamin Fulwider, *"Driving the Nation: Road Transportation and the Postrevolutionary Mexican States, 1925-1960"* (PhD diss., Georgetown University, 2009), 79.

[441] Ibid.

economy.[442] The U.S. government provided $9.1 million to fund the highway system as part of the U.S.-Mexico Wartime Cooperation agreement.[443] Mexican officials believed that this freeway could lead to more tourism and increase "its cooperative relationship with the United States."[444] The extent of this belief was felt in 1968 when the route transported visitors between both countries to partake in HemisFair and the Olympic games.

The Shell Oil Company distributed pamphlets of this highway system to gas station customers and guests of HemisFair.[445] The orange guidebook held multiple maps showing the fairgrounds of both events and highway routes from Mexico City to San Antonio. Inside were instructions for visitors planning to cross the international border. Mexican citizens that crossed into the U.S. were held under more scrutiny than their U.S. counterparts. If an American citizen crossed into Mexico, the U.S. government recommended that they only have a valid form of identification. Mexican tourists heading to the U.S. had to endure a more severe journey when crossing the U.S-Mexico border. According to the pamphlet, Mexican citizens were required to hold a valid passport, smallpox vaccination, and a six-month tourist visa from the Mexican government.[446] These requirements were imposed, in part, after President Johnson signed the Hart-Celler Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 that limited Latin American immigration to the U.S.[447] While the fair welcomed visitors from across the world, U.S. immigration policy played a unique role in welcoming and limiting visitors to HemisFair.

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[442] Ibid., 68.

[443] Kelly Lytle Hernández, *Migra! A History of the U.S. Border Patrol* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 112.

[444] Fulwider, "Driving the Nation," 79.

[445] "HemisFair '68 & 1968 Olympics Mexico City," Shell Oil Company, 1968.

[446] Ibid.

[447] A. K. Sandoval-Strausz, *Barrio America: How Latino Immigrants Saved the American City* (New York: Basic Books, 2019),131-135.

In 1968, foreseeing the troubles that Mexican nationals and Latin American travelers might have while entering the United States, Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) sent a memorandum to all border checkpoints in the Southwest. The regional commissioner of INS, Harlon B. Carter, sent the notice encouraging border patrol officers to "treat tourist cordially and fairly."[448] Mexican tourist that had the opportunity to travel abroad were mainly middle to upper-class individuals, as discussed by historian Eric Zolov.[449] However, to increase participation from Mexico and Latin America, INS officers were ordered to practice "goodwill" to all the visitors traveling to HemisFair.[450] In the document, Carter stated, "All officers will be expected to exercise permissible discretion dealing with minor technicalities to the extent possible within sound administrative and enforcement practices-and upon admission, to impart to all applicants a warm welcome and the sincere impression that we want them to visit again."[451] The announcement allowed Mexican nationals and other Latin American HemisFair attendees to feel some relief at least at border checkpoints in 1968 for this special event.

Working-class Mexican national that did not attend HemisFair might have held different impressions of INS in the borderlands. The memorandum included Mexican national and Latin American tourist heading to the fair but did not include immigrant Mexican working-class laborers. This group lived and faced harsher treatments by Border Patrol agents during the period. At the time, U.S. immigration policy discouraged illegal immigration because of the constant flow of groups between the two countries.[452] Carter's notice shows that immigration enforcement along

[448] Box 2, Folder: News Clippings, 1965-1968, ITC Library Collection of HemisFair '68 Materials, MS 292, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[449] Eric Zolov, *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the Mexican Counterculture* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1999), 34.

[450] Ibid.

[451] Ibid.

[452] Hernández, *Migra,* 161.

the U.S. and Mexico border changed depending on time and space. For example, the U.S. government allowed contracted farm workers to enter the U.S. from Mexico during the Bracero Program from 1942-1964.[453] The guest workers program was an agreement between the two countries, however, immigrants from Mexico continued to cross the border to the U.S. without sanctions from the program. Historian Kelly Lytle Hernandez claims that "Between 1942 and 1964, more Mexican nationals were apprehended for unsanctioned entry into the United States than were participants in the Bracero Program."[454] During this time period, in 1954, INS tried to halt illegal immigration with "Operation Wetback." The plan was to deport Mexican nationals entering the country illegally. By 1960, the apprehension of Mexican nationals had reached a low of 29,881.[455] In 1965, the Hart-Celler Act increased border security and surveillance which enhanced the role of the agency in the borderlands, just three years before the fair.

In 1968, the U.S. federal government tried to curb restrictions for Mexican national tourists crossing back and forth between HemisFair and the Olympic games. However, decline in unsanctioned crossing did not stop border enforcement agencies from apprehending and questioning Mexican nationals during the decade. INS's practice of goodwill toward Mexican tourists enabled this groups to temporarily bypass some of harsher treatments and policies that laborers and individuals faced during the decade. This provided a moment where U.S. border policy was blurred in an attempted to provide access for the world's fair and encourage the idea of hemispheric confluence. Yet still highlighted the disparities faced by people of a lower socio-economic status.

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[453] Otey M. Scruggs, "Texas and the Bracero Program, 1942-1947," *Pacific Historical Review* 32, no. 3 (1963), 251. For more information see: Castro, J. Justin, "Mexican Braceros and Arkansas Cotton: Agricultural Labor and Civil Rights in the Post-World War II South," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (2016), 27-46.

[454] Kelly Lytle Hernández, "Mexican Immigration to the United States," *OAH Magazine of History* 23, no. 4 (2009), 26.

[455] Ibid., 26-27.

HemisFair and San Antonio

The idea of confluence across the Americas might have been enforced along the border, but for citizens of San Antonio, socioeconomic status restricted access to the exposition. HemisFair President, William Sinkin, brought the issue of local attendance to Congressman Henry B. González in 1965.[456] Sinkin told the congressman that the cost of the international fair was going to be transferred to the increase in ticket prices. González worried that his constituents would not be able to afford the high gate prices. In the 1960s, San Antonio was one of the most impoverished cities in the nation. 42 percent of the town's population was underemployed according to the Gilbert J. Murillo a representative from the South Texas chapter of the National Association of Social Workers.[457] Half of the population was not employed in full time or regular job positions leading to less income. Mexican American and African Americans made up most of the 42 percent. Racial segregation and class divisions had placed them in the lower brackets of society. Across the nation, higher levels of income allowed families to leave the inner cities for the suburbs and boost the buying power of many white citizens. In the Alamo City, half of the minority population lived below the $3,000 poverty line in the inner city.[458] 13 percent of the town's population was unemployed, which was 9 percent above the national average.[459]

The event was funded by the tax dollars of San Antonio's working-class community, but most could not afford to attend. González was agitated with the idea that the city's ethnic Mexican population could not afford to partake in the event. He stated that "We boast, rightfully, of living

[456] Box 10, Folder: William Sinkin-Politics, Correspondence, 1945-2007, William and Fay Sinkin Papers, MS 64, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[457] San Antonio City Council Meeting Minutes, March 14, 1968, Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

[458] David Diaz, *Barrio Urbanism: Chicanos, Planning and American Cities* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 59.; David Montejano, *Quixote's Soldiers: A Local History of the Chicano Movement 1966–1981* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 25.

[459] Diaz, *Barrio Urbanism*, 59.

in the largest bi-cultural, bi-lingual city in America. In fact, this claim went a long way towards helping us obtain Federal recognition in Washington…. Now it seems to me that the king of ingenuity and hard work…[cannot] be used to help the low-income families to attend." [460] Advocates of the fair were predominantly affluent white male citizens of the city as reflected in its board members. These individuals and board members did share in the same worldview in their town, as seen with the creation of HemisFair, but this worldview varied drastically compared to the communities of color. The exposition was meant to boost the local economy and contribute job opportunities to a minority workforce that needed relief. González and Sinkin's argument was resolved on opening day as the cost of attendance fell to $2 a ticket. This was still a high price for groups that could not afford to eat or pay rent. Race and class disparities in San Antonio led to other conflicts throughout HemisFair.

In 1968, CBS's documentary "Hunger in America" showed San Antonio's wage gap and how its impoverished community lived.[461] A month after HemisFair opened to the public, CBS demonstrated the contrast between the fair and issues faced by its ethnic Mexican communities. It showed the nation how families lived in neighborhoods of poverty, in hunger, and with limited job opportunities. These conditions were apparent even before HemisFair, and the televised event aired it to the public. Although members of SAF promised that the fair would fill the economic void of the city and boost job placement, it sadly fell short as it did not bring either. In addition, most of the town's Mexican American citizens could not afford to attend the international exposition because of ticket prices. The success of the fair relied on its complete access to San Antonio society regardless of race or class. While President Sinkin and Congressman González

[460] Box 10, Folder: William Sinkin-Politics, Correspondence, 1945-2007, William and Fay Sinkin Papers, MS 64, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[461] CBS reports (Television program), and CBS News. *Hunger in America*. 1968.

were concerned about the fair's affordability, they failed to examine for the community's wellbeing.

HemisFair's theme *Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas* also pushed the limits of race, citizenship, and class during the Cold War, Civil Rights Movement, and President Lyndon B. Johnson's administration. Fear of retaliation from civil rights groups, as seen in other American cities, affected the exposition's opening day. Whether international visitors could attend was handled through INS and its restrictive ever-changing protocols administered during the 1950s. The act of goodwill toward the U.S.'s neighboring nation changed how border entries were conducted during the world's fair. While middle-class and international visitors were welcomed in the U.S., San Antonio struggled with its working-class community and the affordability of the event.

Inside the Fair

Once visitors entered HemisFair's grounds, they experienced a different world from that of ordinary San Antonio. HemisFair welcomed foreign dignitaries, countries, and tourist to witness different parts of the world and celebrate the city's monumental bicentennial. People visited pavilions from different nations, states, technology companies, and participated in events presented inside and outside of the fairgrounds. Participating nations like the United States, Mexico, and Japan erected the largest pavilions, and smaller countries collaborated with other republics in other exhibitions. Texas had the largest state pavilion called the Institute of Texas Cultures, a museum that was built to showcase the history of the region and San Antonio's past within the Western Hemisphere. Outside of HemisFair's grounds, the Spanish missions and

Mexican Westside were recognized as part of the exposition too.[462] Attractions inside and outside of the fairgrounds allowed tourists to experience something, not in at a typical fairs.

The United States Pavilion was named *Confluence U.S.A.* to honor HemisFair's theme of *Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas*. When visitors entered the building, they were given a pamphlet with a statement from President Johnson. Inside the pamphlet, the president greeted individuals by stating, "The diverse cultures of people everywhere are merged in the United States of America….This confluence of peoples and civilizations is the source of our legacy from the past, the bountiful harvest we reap today, and the magnificent promise of our future."[463] Johnson's statement reiterated the overall idea that people and groups across the Western Hemisphere shared a similar past, possible future, and that HemisFair was part of this story. The U.S. building also housed Confluence Theater, a three-room cinema with retractable walls, that once lifted, merged the three theaters and audiences together when the 23-minute movie ended. Together the building's theme and its theater reinforced the idea of confluence and its existence not just in San Antonio, but across the United States.

The U.S. Pavilion changed its theme year after year to meet the requirements of different international expositions. For example, at the International and Universal Exposition, known as Expo '67 in Montreal, Canada, *Creative America* was the country's exhibit theme.[464] Scholars of this fair argue that the U.S. rebranded its international image through cultural diplomacy during the Cold War.[465] At Expo '67, the United States Pavillion portrayed itself as a modern nation

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[462] Technological innovations were sponsored by the Ford Company, International Business Machines (IBM), and Southwestern Bell. Visitors described these pavilions as the most striking and exciting of all attractions at the World's Fair. Historians of World's Fair have examined the complexities technological marvels at Fair.

[463] Box 2, Folder: Pavilion Material, 1968 2/3, Box 2, Folder: News Clippings, 1965-1968, ITC Library Collection of HemisFair '68 Materials, MS 292, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[464] Richard Burnett, "Montréal celebrates the 50th anniversary of Expo 67," *Tourisme Montréal*, September 8, 2018, https://www.mtl.org/en/experience/50th-anniversary-expo-67.

[465] Kailey Hansson, *Canadian Public Diplomacy and Nation Building: Expo 67 and the World Festival of Arts and Entertainment* (Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2016), 11.; Asa McKercher, "The Art of Soft Power at Expo

through representations of popular culture and life in a capitalist society. One reason why the U.S. did this was because it was located right across from the Soviet Union Pavillion and needed to distinguish itself between the two buildings and countries. A year later, the U.S. changed its pavilion to portray itself as part of a broader partnership with the rest of Latin America and the world. The shift in concepts confirms that U.S. fair exhibits changed over time, space, and was dependent on the context of the world's fair. It is at HemisFair that one can see that the U.S. used different methods of cultural diplomacy throughout the years. Also, HemisFair officials did not invite any waring nations to San Antonio, such as the U.S.S.R because the U.S. did not want the Soviet Union to be in direct contact with Latin American nations at the world's fair. Again, the United States wanted to bring Latin American countries closer to its Cold War sphere of influence and why HemisFair invitations were only sent to U.S. allied nations.

At HemisFair, the U.S. pavillion was named *Confluence U.S.A.* The most popular attraction inside the building was the film titled *U.S.* that criticized America's unwillingness to change in 1968.[466] On opening day, Lady Bird Johnson, members of Congress, and foreign officials were among the first to watch it.[467] According to reports, the film was not well-received by this viewing audience. In an interview with local newspapers, Lady Bird Johnson claimed that the film, "lack[ed] the element of hope," a significant theme in past U.S. pavilions. *LIFE* magazine writer, Richard Schicke described the movie as, "[O]ne of the very few films of any sort sponsored by a government-any government- that dares to criticize the nation whose taxpayers underwrote it."[468] Its directors Francis Thompson and Alexander Hammid claimed they created the motion picture

67: Creative America and Cultural Diplomacy in the US Pavilion," *Journal of Curatorial Studies* 5, no. 3 (October 2016), 368-389.

[466] Box 2, Folder: News Clippings, 1968-1969, Box 2, Folder: News Clippings, 1965-1968, ITC Library Collection of HemisFair '68 Materials, MS 292, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[467] Ibid.

[468] Ibid.

to show the effects of poverty, pollution, eminent domain, and racial discrimination in American society.

While viewers of the film walked out of the pavilion in dismay over the harshness of it, others like *LIFE* magazine praised the movie. One report suggested that there was a letter-writing campaign to request the removal of the film from HemisFair.[469] In a *Life* article, Schicke suggested that the movie represented "Faith" and the belief that the U.S. could solve the issues depicted by Thompson and Hammid. Even with its critics, the film was very popular with fairgoers and one of the many reasons they visited the pavilion.

Mexico's pavilion and attractions also captivated HemisFair crowds. The building sat feet away from the Juan O'Gorman mosaic. The artist's work complemented his country's pavilion where his fellow artist Rufino Tamayo's painting hung.[470] In the interior of the building, Mexico divided its exhibit into three sections, each one highlighting three distinct periods in the country's history: Pre-Columbian, Colonial, and the Modern. Mexico used its pavilion to show how the country shared a similar past with that of the United States. Mexico surrounded its paintings and space with other art pieces, including the Spanish influenced stone sculptures of angels that resembled those that hung in Mexican cathedrals.[471] The pavilion also incorporated the nation's diverse cultures to display its confluence of different peoples and histories.

The Danza de Los Voladores de Papantla by the Totonac people was the most notable of Mexico's performances. According to the *San Antonio Express News*, it was estimated that over

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[469] Ibid.

[470] "Mexico Pavilion Brochure," Welcome to HemisFair, accessed September 8, 2018, http://www.worldsfair68.info/. ; "Rufino Tamayo Mural Returns to New York UN Building," *Banderas News*, May 4, 2015, http://www.banderasnews.com/1505/art-rufino-tamayo-mural-returns-to-ny.htm.

[471] "Mexico Pavilion Brochure," Welcome to HemisFair, accessed September 8, 2018, http://www.worldsfair68.info/.

1,000 people watched the ceremony take place on the fair's opening day.[472] William Sinkin cited the show as being one of the most viewed throughout the six months of the fair. [473] Bystanders looked in amazement as four individuals spun down from 100 feet in the air with just a rope. The areal show was a ceremony from Veracruz, Mexico, that exhibited the changing of the years. For fairgoers, this was the opportunity to witness a different culture. Fair historians have examined these events as part of HemisFair's efforts to inform and exert a form of cultural hegemony.[474] Events like this allowed fairgoers to take in the fair's exhibits and for exposition officials to disseminate these ideas to visitors. The Mexican government brought this ceremony as a way to inform guests of the different cultures that resided within their country.

Mexican Americans, like their Mexican national counterparts, did not only participate in HemisFair but were part of the experience, even if they did not intend too. Exposition tourists had the opportunity to view Mexican American life in San Antonio through guidebooks. This was the first time Mexican Americas became part of the international exposition experience. Previously, Mexican Americans participation at world fairs was relegated to attendance or as administrators. HemisFair's location within the Southwest and in San Antonio contributed to this group's placement as an official attraction of the fair. Other groups like women, African Americans, Native Americans, and colonial subjects participated in their exhibits at world fairs. Examples of these are found at the Women's Pavilions, "Negro Buildings," Native American buildings, and Philippino exhibits held at the World Columbian Exposition, St. Louis World's Fair, and the New

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[472] Terry Bertling, "The 'Flying Indians' of Mexico made a big impression at HemisFair '68," *San Antonio Express News*, April 1, 2018, https://www.mysanantonio.com/sa300/article/The-Flying-Indians-of-Mexico-made-a-big-12797316.php. ; Los Voladores De Pazeantla- flying Indians from Mexico, photograph, 1968; (texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth66469/: accessed June 8, 2018), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, texashistory.unt.edu; crediting UT San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[473] Bertling, "The 'Flying Indians' of Mexico made a big impression at HemisFair '68."

[474] Michael Robertson, "Cultural Hegemony Goes to the Fair: The Case of E. L. Doctorow's World's Fair," *American Studies* 33, no. 1 (1992): 31-44.

Orleans Cotton Exhibition. In these spaces, communities of color exchanged knowledge, shared their histories, and protested the status quo of American society.

In San Antonio, Mexican Americans did not have a building inside HemisFair, Instead, their Southside and Westside impoverished neighborhoods became part of the fair. Similar to Mexican American food destinations in the nineteenth and twentieth century, the city's ethnic Mexican population became part of the exposition experience. In Charles Ramsdell book *San Antonio: A Historical and Pictorial Guide (HemisFair Edition),* he writes that "The Mexican Town" was a point of interest for visitors.[475] Ramsdell was a staff writer for the *San Antonio Express News* and wrote a guidebook for HemisFair and the city. Previously written in 1959, this edition emphasized the role of HemisFair's change in the city. However, he racializes the town's Mexican Westside and Southside as "quaint" and "picturesque" with limited interaction with the rest of the city's civic life.[476] According to him, "Latin Americans not only numbered more than half of the city's population: they had now decided to take a hand in civic affairs. This was a surprising turn, for until very recently[,] Mexican[s] seldom bothered to vote unless they or someone in their family had a job at stake." [477]

Ramsdell depiction of Mexican life in San Antonio portrayed them as inactive in social and political life of the city. He hints at the actions taken by local civil rights leaders in 1968, rather than acknowledging their political legacy in the Alamo City. In addition, Ramsdell shared his views of the local sites like Guadalupe Catholic Church, which he described as "ugly." In the guidebook, he claims that this "rather ugly [building] and of red brick, has nevertheless, a personality all its own. The mainstay of the very Mexican (or very Indian) Catholic, who clings to

[475] Charles Ramsdell, *San Antonio: A Historical and Pictorial Guide (HemisFair Guide),* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), s5.

[476] Ibid., 163.

[477] Ibid., 164

the old customs like the oyster to his shell."[478] His comments on the ethnic Mexican community continued to perpetuate stereotypes that were prevalent in South Texas society where a majority of its residents resided in similar conditions. Ramsdell's racial depictions were not used in other HemisFair tourist books because it might have deterred Mexican American participation. Nevertheless, his guidebook represents how stereotypes toward communities of color were still prevalent in Texas society. HemisFair still welcomed Latin Americans and encouraged local ethnic Mexicans to visit the fair.

The exposition was organized around the idea that San Antonio shared in a unique form of Hemispheric political, economic, and cultural unity, one that was only found in this city. The world's fair followed similar methods of cultural hegemony by pushing its agenda on its attendees. Most fair exhibits exemplified the theme that not only looked toward the past for answers, but the future to administer these ideas. The United State Pavilion showed visitors where American ideals of prosperity began and ended for social issues and communities of color. The film titled the *U.S.* documented the harsh treatment imposed on rural and urban American centers. Critics of this film did not advocate for its showing, but then it became one of the most viewed events at the fair. Mexico's Totonac indigenous group was another popular attraction at HemisFair. To extend the festival outside of its grounds, Charles Ramsdell used his popular guidebook of San Antonio to show visitors the ethnic Mexican enclaves of the city. The impoverished Westside became a tourist destination for fairgoers willing to venture outside to HemisFair. His writing perpetuated old stereotypes and a fetishization of the Mexican quarters. In these areas, outsiders had the opportunity to witness a different culture interaction, and even if it was in the United States. HemisFair brought out various depictions of the city, nation, and Western Hemisphere that was

[478] Ibid.

changing with its time. Critics of the world's fair showed their dismay over the class and racial struggles in San Antonio in the ensuing months.

Chicanas/os at the Gate

Looking into the neighborhoods from the Tower of the America's, fairgoers would have seen the housing disparities between the newly built HemisFair Park and its neighboring community. Before the international expositions started, residents opposed and resisted the demolition of their homes in what was now the fairgrounds. Slowly, the federal government used eminent domain to take over the area for HemisFair. Now that the event was underway, citizens protested the urban renewal site and glaring disparities in San Antonio. Also, the Alamo City was on the verge of a political revolution brewing in the ethnic Mexican West and Southside of the city. Congressman González and city leaders, in contrast, did not share the same political views as their constituents. The Mexican American generation had to compete with the new ideologies of the Chicana/o Movement in San Antonio. San Antonio Chicanas/os began to protest the town's social and political establishment that helped construct HemisFair.

Niether historians of the Chicana/o Movement nor world fairs have addressed the complexities of the Mexican American civil rights movement and labor protests within the context of this international exposition. Works on the 1968 HemisFair have briefly focused exclusively on the events that happened within the fairgrounds without contextualizing it as part of the regional and national picture. Other scholarship by world's fair historians have solely focused on Women, African Americans, Philippino freedom struggles, and the long civil rights movement.[479]

[479] John Carranza, "Eating Modernity: The Culture of Consumption and the Consumption of Culture at Hemisfair '68," *Journal Of The Life And Culture Of San Antonio,* accessed June 25, 2017, http://www.uiw.edu/sanantonio/HemisFairConsumption.html.; Nancy Baker Jones, "The Way We Were: Gender and the Woman's Pavilion, HemisFair '68," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 119, no. 4 (2016): 338-352.; Abigail

Discussing San Antonio's civil rights movement as part of the exposition experience allows historians to contextualize HemsiFair within a more complex history of the U.S.

Considering the growing discontent over urban renewal projects and eminent domain, as well as the increasingly vocal community of Chicana/o activists in San Antonio, it should have come as no surprise to the city elites that people would protest HemisFair. City leaders were not surprised at all; in fact, they had been preparing for the inevitable: for community backlash. Two months before the fair, on February 15, 1968, the city council approved Ordinance 36222 that made public protests, parades, and assemblies unlawful in a clear violation of their first amendment rights. [480] Under Mayor Walter McAllister's leadership, the announcement was meant to prevent protesters and picketers from assembling in the fair or on the streets. Seeing protests around the nation, McAllister foresaw what could become of the Alamo City's image right before HemisFair.

When the city council approved the Ordinance 36222, it was not without opposition by local members of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). Now, Maury Maverick Jr. was the ACLU's lawyer and opposed the ordinance. He was the son of the former progressive San Antonio Mayor Maury Maverick. His son now fought with the ACLU in Texas and came to the aid of San Antonians in 1968.[481] Standing in the same city council chambers that his father stood in, Maverick Jr. declared that the ordinance was unconstitutional and infringed on American citizens first

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M. Markwyn, "*The Changing Role of Women in A Changing World': Universal Womanhood at HemisFair '68,"* in *World's Fairs in the Cold War: Science, Technology, and the Culture of Progress*, eds. Arthur P. Molella, and Scott Gabriel Knowles (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2019), 137-149.; Robert W. Rydell, "Forward," in *Gendering the Fair Histories of Women and Gender at World's* Fairs, eds. Tracey Jean Boisseau and Abigail M. Markwyn (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), viii. ; Robert Alexander Gonzalez, *Designing Pan-America: U.S. Architectural Visions for the Western Hemisphere* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011); Carol A. Keller, "HemisFair '68 & the Cultural Matrix of San Antonio," *Community College Humanities Review* (Fall 2006-2007): 35-77.

[480] San Antonio City Council Meeting Minutes, February 15, 1968, Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

[481] Jan Jarboe Russell, "The Last Maverick," *Texas Monthly*, July 2003, https://www.texasmonthly.com/articles/the-last-maverick/.

amendment rights because of its broad interpretation and the council's inability to define their meaning of lawful assemblies.[482] However, mayor McAllister passed the bill that day despite opposition from the ACLU, Maverick, and other community leaders.

On group that openly opposed the city council's actions was the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). Once the ordinance was passed, the AFL-CIO was notified. The labor group already followed the city's other political decisions and began an organization-wide boycott on HemisFair due to San Antonio's opposition to collective bargaining.[483] The ordinance was just another layer of resentment toward the city.

San Antonio's city council assumed that the ordinance discouraged future protests near HemisFair, but this did not work. HemisFair and city officials attempted to portray San Antonio as a modest and modern Southwest city. As discussed in chapter three, the town did not have the same racial or political problems that were seen across America; however, covering up the widespread inequalities encouraged more people to protest the fair. On opening day, groups from across the city and state protested HemisFair in newspapers and directly at its entrance gates.

The newspaper *Inferno* covered these activists. The Mexican American Student Organization (MASO) from Austin demonstrated against Governor John Connally and HemisFair. Others stood among the protesters to memorialize Martin Luther King Jr.'s death and to protest for the ending of the Vietnam War. According to the newspaper, no arrests were made to stop the protesters, but armed guards were standing on the buildings across the street to ensure demonstrators did not get out of hand.[484]

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[482] San Antonio City Council Meeting Minutes, February 15, 1968, Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

[483] Texas AFL-CIO Records, AR394, Box 7, 278-8-7-1, HemisFair, Special Collections, University of Texas at Arlington Library.

[484] Box OM1, *Inferno*, April 1968, Mario Marcel Salas Papers, MS 142, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

One of MASO's demonstrationposters read, "HemisFair is for the rich only."[485] San Antonio's class struggle finally became apparent for fairgoers. *Inferno* published columns and took photos of demonstrators to show the public how the fair, city, state, and nation hosted a lavished event that destroyed the community instead of helping it. In the April edition of *Inferno*, the front page held a picture of the Tower of America standing in the back of a poor neighborhood. Its headline read, "Despite Vietnam War and 40 percent of [the] city in [s]qualor…San Antonio power brokers hawk industrial Carnival called 'HemisFair."[486] Its writer Patricio Tamez titled the piece "Confluence of the Westside," and described the high levels of deprivation in one of the nation's most impoverished urban communities. Tamez also references local newspaper writer Arthur Bruent's political columns in the *San Antonio Express News* where he calls city leaders Russian Czars as they "planted the seeds of communism" with their use of "extreme oppression of the landless peasantry."[487] The reference is meant to invoke the overt oppression of the San Antonio population by its leaders. The fair had been built using private and public money, but public services, educational inequalities, and malnutrition ran high in its Mexican sectors. San Antonio had advanced its commercial agenda, but its local efforts of social welfare were small. *Inferno,* like the AFL-CIO, protested the fair and its leadership. Instead, they supported local organizations that tried to change the social and political structure in San Antonio, like the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO). The civil rights group organized and mobilized its effort first in San Antonio's Westside and Southside but expanded across Texas. *Inferno* often advertised for MAYO and published articles on why not to attend HemisFair.

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[485] Box OM1, *Inferno*, May 1968. Mario Marcel Salas Papers, MS 142, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[486] Box OM1, *Inferno*, April 1968. Mario Marcel Salas Papers, MS 142, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[487] Ibid.

People were also upset with the high ticket prices of HemisFair. MASO may have been right when it said the world's fair was only for the rich and this was evident right at the gate. Congressman González and Sinkin's fears were met when reports of the exposition's high ticket prices reached the public. Linda Sustaita and her grandmother did not know of the $2.00 price until they reached the gates. In an interview with *Inferno*, the two individuals were hesitant about entering the gate. She stated, "Oh, and I wanted to get in to see everything I told my grandmother to please give me 2 dollars… and she didn't want to in a way because that was too much and she only had five dollars to pay some bills….but she wanted to make me happy, and she took out the five dollars." [488] After they entered the fair, the two did not have enough money to buy anything; instead, they chose only to sightsee.

Three years before the fair started, González and Sinkin warned each other about this issue. High levels of poverty still existed in the Alamo City even if HemisFair promised to fix it. In April 1968, San Antonio was one of the first cities in the U.S. to approve a minimum wage increase to $1.60/hr.[489] Even with this increase, a majority of townspeople were still underemployed or unemployed. The *San Antonio Express* tried to convince residents that a lot of HemisFair's entertainment was free to those that paid the entrance fee, but food, drinks, and rides would cost the consumer.[490] While news sources encouraged their readers to pay the two dollars, *Inferno*'s editors warned its readers to "Save your Money" because costs were high. Attendance for a family

[488] Ibid.

[489] San Antonio City Council Meeting Minutes, April 11, 1968, Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

[490] "Much of the Entertainment is Free," *San Antonio Express*, April 11, 1968.

of 7 costs a total of $92.20 with all the rides and shows included.[491] San Antonians witnessed firsthand the price of HemisFair and their inability to attend the exposition.

Public schools were also affected by the cost of HemisFair's two-dollar admissions fee. By the time the fair opened its gates, HemisFair had created a school discount program that allowed students to pay 90 cents per pupil when they attended in school groups, but even this was a high price to pay. Anne Prince, a local teacher from a disadvantaged school district where few of her students or fellow staff members could afford the prices, took it upon herself to address this issue.[492] She contacted HemisFair's Educational Coordinator Sam Godrey, requesting a price deduction from the 90 cents that was issued. However, Godrey had already issued a press release stating the price had been set and advised teachers like Prince to look for "civic groups [that] might undertake projects which would pay for the admissions of pupils from disadvantaged families."[493] In the end, Prince's letters did not receive a response from Godrey, and the student discount price stayed at 90 cents.

Civic boosters and leaders may have created HemisFair, but the cost of it hit the lives and pockets of communities of color and disadvantaged groups. The city prepared for protests with an ordinance that forbid unlawful street demonstrations but what they did not account for were sidewalks protests by Chicanas/os and objections in the newspapers. Members of labor, civil rights and former community groups protested the event. Local newspapers like *Inferno* promoted these protesters and boycotted the fair. Stories of exclusion and high prices at the gate encouraged people

[491] Box OM1, *Inferno*, April 1968. Mario Marcel Salas Papers, MS 142, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.; Texas AFL-CIO Records, AR394, Box 7, 278-8-7-1, HemisFair, Special Collections, University of Texas at Arlington Library.

[492] Ibid.

[493] Ibid.

not to attend. Apparent class inequalities finally reached the front gates, a problem that Congressman González and Sinkin worried about from the beginning.

The Day Confluence Died in Mexico

On October 2, 1968, four days before HemisFair closed, Mexico entered one of its darkest parts of history with the student massacre at Tlatelolco.[494] Although the killings did not affect the outcome of HemisFair, it does add a new dimension to Mexico's international cover-up of the event. Its within the silence that historians can see that confluence was only kept inside the gates of HemisFair, despite being met for the entire continent. The 1968 massacre showed that Mexico was not immune to violent governmental actions to contain dissent, as seen in other parts of the Western Hemisphere.

In 1968, Mexico City preparatory and college and university students, as well as faculty members, began to protest the police and injustices commited by the Mexican government in the summer and fall of that year. As a result of the continued assault by the Mexican government, students organized the Comite Nacional de Huelga (CNH).[495] The student committee protested and petitioned the government to request, "Freedom for political prisoners, elimination of Article 145 of the Penal Code, Abolition of riot police, Dismissal of the Mexico City Chiefs of Police, Indemnification of victims of repression, and Justice against the responsible for repression."[496] Historian Eric Zolov argues that the protests were part of the "New Left" movement that developed from revolutionary ideologies and the counterculture of the 1960s.[497] Student participation in the

[494] Elaine Carey, *Plaza of Sacrifices: Gender, Power, and Terror in 1968 Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 148.

[495] Eric Zolov, *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the Mexican Counterculture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 119.

[496] Ibid., 121.

[497] Ibid.

committee reflected the increase in student enrollment in institutions of higher education and the changing economy of the nation-state. In 1965 secondary school and higher education enrollment had spiked to 100 percent "without a corresponding increase in faculty and infrastructure."[498] By 1968, Mexico became the first developing country in Latin America to host the Olympics games.[499] President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz and his supporting Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) used the Olympic Games to show the world how modern and industrialized the nation became following WWII.[500]

By the fall of 1968, these students were already protesting in the streets and plazas for changes to government policies. According to David Huerta, a student at the protests, "We didn't want to overthrow the government. We want some changes. It was really reasonable."[501] One of the changes was to the antiquated Article 145 of the penal code that used the "dissolution-clause'…that dated back to World War II efforts to fight international subversion instigated by the Axis powers." [502] In WWII, Mexico was allied with the U.S. against the Axis powers, sixteen years later, the constitutionality of the code was up for debate. However, Mexican courts argued that "as long as the law is such and the political regime remains…the crime of social dissolution will continue to be a crime."[503] During the Cold War, the Mexican government argued that these students were being used by "Communist or CIA or FBI dupes" and as such social dissolution by this group was seen as a crime.[504]

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[498] Jeffrey L. Gould, "Solidarity under Siege: The Latin American Left, 1968," *American Historical Review* 114, no. 2 (2009): 353.

[499] Claire Brewster, "The Student Movement of 1968 and the Mexican Press: The Cases of 'Excélsior' and 'Siempre'!," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 21, no. 2 (2002): 171.

[500] Zolov, *Refried Elvis*, 119.

[501] "Mexico's 1968 Massacre: What Really Happened?," *National Public Radio*, accessed November 10, 2019, https://www.npr.org/templates/transcript/transcript.php?storyId=97546687.

[502] Zolov, *Refried Elvis*, 121-122.

[503] Evelyn P. Stevens, "Legality and Extra-Legality in Mexico," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 12, no. 1 (1970): 66.

[504] Carey, *Plaza of Sacrifices*, 119.

Similar to protests against HemisFair, student protesters had planned to use the games to bring international attention to their cause because of the insufficient coverage in Mexico.[505] Using its network of spies, the Mexican government had planned a response to the student protests so that there would be no disorder before the Olympics. [506] The military even set up its own secuity force for the games. Its opening date was set as part of the binational agreement between the Olympic committee and SAF so tourists could visit both events.

Ten days before the Olympics opened its doors, the students continued to protest the Díaz Ordaz regime. This time students were going to march against the Army occupation of the Polytechnical Institute in Mexico City.[507] However, the march was canceled due to claims of the Army being present during the event. Students were already aware of the violence that ensued during their protests in 1968. In one meeting, a filmmaking student argued that "Every time we do something, the police react by doing something more violent."[508] With this in mind, plans for more protests persisted. After the march's cancellation, students agreed to hold a mass meeting at the Plaza de las Tres Culturas in Tlatelolco. The plaza's name derived from the pre-onquest, post-conquest, and modern architectural buildings all placed in the same space. That evening, between 5,000 to 10,000 people gathered in the plaza.[509] When the shooting started to happen, the main speakers of the event were talking over the crowd in the balcony of one of the nearby buildings. According to one of the students, "Suddenly a helicopter began to circle overhead, and two flares were dropped….[soon] army troops flied into the plaza from the streets, blocking off the only route

[505] Zolov, *Refried Elvis*, 128.

[506] Fernando Herrera Calderon and Adela Cedillo, eds., *Challenging Authoritarianism in Mexico: Revolutionary Struggles and the Dirty War, 1964-1982* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 4.

[507] Zolov, *Refried Elvis*, 129.

[508] Carter Wilson, *Hidden in the Blood: A Personal Investigation of AIDS in the Yucatán* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), 8.

[509] Zolov, *Refried Elvis*, 129.

of escape."[510] It was then that soldiers began firing at the students trying to flee the scene by any way they could. The *New York Times* reported that over a thousand soldiers participated and were not only coming from the streets but "from the Aztec ruins." [511] Members of the Olympic Battalion were also present at the massacre, even though the Olympics grounds were situated several miles away. Other military and police forces blocked off the area with only one exit for students. Rolando Cordera remembers, "[There] was [s]hooting after shooting. And then suddenly, the shooting stopped." [512] By the end of the horrific night, hundreds of men, women, and children were dead with hundreds more wounded but the Mexican government only reported 49 dead.[513] On the same night, the Mexican government ordered the bodies and blood to be cleaned up before morning. [514]

On October 3, 1968, different government and newspaper reports came out of Mexico City about the massacre. The government gave the death toll of 49, while foreign press agents gave a conservative estimate of 200 dead on the scene In the *San Antonio Light*, the death toll was set at 27. Until this day, there is no official death toll. At the time the government also claimed that the massacre was a result of "militant students….[that] originated by interests influenced by foreign groups." [515] Officials in Mexico City argued that foreign insurgents collaborated with student activists to protest the Mexican government. The same claims circled between Mexico and U.S. intelligence agencies declassified documents. In telegrams, officials in Washington already knew

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[510] Ibid.

[511] "At Least 20 Dead as Mexico Strife Reaches a Peak," *New York Times*, October 3, 1968.

[512] "Mexico's 1968 Massacre: What Really Happened?" *National Public Radio*, accessed November 10, 2019, https://www.npr.org/templates/transcript/transcript.php?storyId=97546687.

[513] Zolov, *Refried Elvis*, 129.

[514] Vicky Katsoni, and Anastasia Stratigea, eds., *Tourism and Culture in the Age of Innovation: Second International Conference IACuDiT* (New York: Springer International Publishing, 2016), 30.

[515] *San Antonio Light*, October 3, 1968.

that this was a "student movement and perhaps to some degree [Mexico's argument was used] to divert the attention from the deeper local roots of the problem." [516]

In the end, both governments were concerned with the start of the Olympic games and the "safety" of the participating athletes. In Mexico City, the International Olympic Committee held an emergency meeting on the morning of October 3rd. At the meeting, they discussed the potential cancellation of the event, but it was decided by the committee's president Avery Brundage move forward with the games.[517] According to the committee's vice president Javier Ostos,"The government will take every precaution to see that the games are run off without incident."[518] This meant that the Olympic Battalion was still going to be in use for the games. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) source in Mexico City advised the U.S. Embassy Olympic liaison to ensure "protection for the American Athletes[.]" [519] Whether the reports were transferred to the U.S. team remains uncertain, but the team took note and imposed a curfew on its athletes. [520] Other reports state that there was a heavy presence of Mexican armed guards around the Olympic Village. [521]

Reports began to hit the newsstands in the following days in San Antonio. On October 4th, the *San Antonio Express* published pictures of tanks and the student meeting at the Plaza of Tres Culturas on its front page. The newspaper still maintianed that police and army officials were looking for snipers from that night. A column on HemisFair was right next to the picture of the student protests in Mexico City. The column was written for a news conference hosted by Mayor McAllister. At the meeting, the mayor echoed the theme of confluence by saying, "that goodwill

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[516] Carey, *Plaza of Sacrifices*, 141.

[517] "The Mexican Student Movement of 1968: An Olympic Perspective," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 26, no. 6 (2009): 832.

[518] *San Antonio Light*, October 3, 1968.

[519] Document 20: FBI cable, Olympic Games, Mexico City, Mexico, October Twelve - Twenty Seven, Nineteen Sixty Eight, October 8, 1968, Confidential, Director FBI to LEGAT Mexico City

[520] "The Mexican Student Movement of 1968," 832.

[521] Ibid., 833.

generated by the fair will have a lasting benefit. He said fair exhibitors from foreign lands are leaving with extreme regret that they received friendly treatment here."[522] Still, HemisFair and the Mexican Pavillion operated without hesitation.[523] According to news reports, the representation of Mexico was still moving forward, and there were no protests at the pavilion.

Mexico continued political pressure in Mexico City even after the fair closed its doors on October 6th. The student protests that started in Mexico City would have been the best representation of Mexico. One that would have reflected Mexico's better half if students were allowed to execute its proposals under the PRI government. Confluence for Mexico was its continued subversive techniques to stop its citizens from full participation during the Cold War. Internationally, after HemisFair closed, the 1968 Olympic Games opened in Mexico City. Overall the Cold War and Mexico's actions changed the peaceful idea of confluence across the Western Hemisphere as practiced during the international exposition.

[522] "Mayor Calls HemisFair a Big Success," *San Antonio Express* October 4, 1968.
[523] *San Antonio Light* October 6, 1968.

Chapter 5: "The Future is Full of Promises": Confluence after the Fair [524]

In 2018, San Antonio hosted HemisFair's 50th Anniversary. The event had been planned for years. However, the original members of San Antonio Fair Inc. did not create this one; instead, a group called the HemisFair Conservation Society took the reins. Fifty years later, only a few world's fair buildings remained, and the social and political landscape of San Antonio and the United States had changed along with its theme *Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas*. The event was hosted in locations scattered around the former fairgrounds. They include the Institute of Texas Cultures (ITC), Tower of the Americas, and in the old Mexican Pavilion, now the San Antonio campus of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM). The ITC hosted the inaugural ceremony welcoming visitors with public speakers and by displaying a HemisFair exhibit filled with pictures, memorabilia, and stories from past attendees and workers. Mexico was the only nation present at the event through the Mexican Consulate in San Antonio. Other attendees spoke of their experiences at the fair and how it affected the city.

Half a century had passed, and tourists and community members were able to see how this international exposition changed San Antonio. However, HemisFair's original rides, attractions, and shows did not stand the test of time, as SAF predicted. Compared to the 1968 opening day, in 2018, there were no crowds, protesters, or security service members in the area. Instead, police officers were sitting down watching pedestrians walk by as construction crews set up a stage and booths for the anniversary festivities.[525] All the national pavilions had closed. The buildings and attractions of the past gave way to the food vendors, playgrounds, and open gates of the present.

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[524] Box 2, Folder: News Clippings, 1986-1988, ITC Library Collection of HemisFair '68 Materials, MS 292, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[525] "Hemisfair Announces ¡Viva Hemisfair! A 50th Anniversary Celebration," Hemisfair Park Area Redevelopment Corporation, accessed November 9, 2019, https://hemisfair.org/hemisfair-announces-viva-hemisfair-a-50th-anniversary-celebration/.

People that remembered the fair shared their experiences at the ITC's exhibit.[526] Others used local newspapers or the internet via Instagram and Facebook to share their photos of the exposition in its heydays, adding the hashtag, #HemisFair.[527]

The San Antonio Conservation Society had not forgotten HemisFair's destruction. The organization created a public history exhibit for anniversary attendees and community members. The exhibit showed photographs of a thriving neighborhood comprised of local businesses, churches, houses, and local children playing before slum clearance policies tragically displaced them.[528] SAF and urban renewal orders had ensured that only a few houses remained of the community while destroying the multi-ethnic neighborhood to make way for the event.[529] The people that lived in the neighborhood finally received some recognition for their involuntary part in changing San Antonio, if only through photographs in an outdoor exhibit 50 years after the loss of their community.

This chapter will discuss the immediate effects of the world's fair internationally and locally through a brief examination of U.S.-Latin American policy in the Western Hemisphere and the Chicana/o Movement in San Antonio. I will answer the questions: What happened after the 1968 HemisFair ended? In 1968, leaders in San Antonio assured the public that the world's fair would bring economic prosperity to the city. Did economic prosperity really happen? Fairgoers remembered the glamour of the pavilions, exhibits, and production but forgot about the promises that were never kept internationally and locally.

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[526] "Viva Hemisfair!" UTSA Institute Of Texan Cultures, accessed November 9, 2019, http://www.texancultures.com/exhibit/vivahemisfair/.

[527] Richard Marini, "Got HemisFair '68 memories? Share them!," *San Antonio Express-News*, March 6, 2018, https://www.mysanantonio.com/entertainment/article/Got-HemisFair-68-memories-Share-them-12731899.php.

[528] "The Transformation Begins," San Antonio Conservation Society, accessed November 9, 2019, https://www.saconservation.org/VirtualExhibits/hemisfair/toc.html.

[529] Robert Alexander González, *Designing Pan-America: U.S. Architectural Visions for the Western Hemisphere* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 182.

Scholarship on the aftermath of world's fairs, celebratory occasions, mega sites, and urban renewal projects argue that these events often fell short of providing lasting economic, political, and social change.[530] It is through HemisFair's message and theme *Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas* during the Cold War and Civil Rights Movement that historians can see that the fair was different from other international expositions because it only existed inside the fairgrounds and did not exist outside for the common person. This process of short-lived change and unrealistic confluence first took place in Mexico with the killing of students' activists before HemisFair closed its gates. Making Mexico the first country not to honor HemisFair's theme and promise of confluence. Beyond Mexico, across Latin America, peaceful confluence did not resonate with Washington's Communist containment methods in the 1970s and 1980s. In San Antonio, not only did HemisFair fail to provide an economic boost, but its message of confluence did not continue in the city, as the fair created substantial monetary debt and faced the growing Chicana/o Movement. The ownership of the exposition site, apart from the U.S. Pavilion, was transferred to the city as it's caretaker. The federal government funded the U.S. Pavilion, and the city did not have ownership of its property. The fairgrounds came in the middle of the town's political and economic battle as activists and politicians tried to solve the class and social problems of the Alamo City that HemisFair did not resolve. As the city council developed into a more racially inclusive political space, the question of what to do with the exposition site was still debated, to infighting

[530] Kleinhans, Reinout, "Social Implications of Housing Diversification in Urban Renewal: A Review of Recent Literature," *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment* 19, no. 4 (2004): 367-390.; Collins, William J., and Katharine L. Shester, "Slum Clearance and Urban Renewal in the United States," *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 5, no. 1 (2013): 239- 273.; C. A. Doxiadis, "Problems of Urban Renewal," *Ekistics* 72, no. 430/435 (2005): 83-100.; Bauman, John F., and David Schuyler, "Urban Politics and the Vision of a Modern City: Philadelphia and Lancaster after World War II," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*132, no. 4 (2008): 401.; Marco Duranti, "Utopia, Nostalgia and World War at the 1939-40 New York World's Fair," *Journal of Contemporary History* 41, no. 4 (2006): 663-83.; Jules Boykoff, "Green Games: The Olympics, Sustainability, and Rio 2016," in *Rio 2016: Olympic Myths, Hard Realities*, ed. Zimbalist Andrew (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2017), 179-206.

between political opponents, further government restructuring in the 1970s, and different economic models to boost city development.

The historical memory of HemisFair was not lost to San Antonio's history, evident by the 50th Anniversary celebration. Instead, it was the political and social battles that occurred after the world's fair that have been lost to history. Public interest faded following its closure on October 6, 1968. I argue that large town resource allocations, the Civil Rights Movement, and Cold War policies overshadowed the exposition's closure causing the space to no longer be of public interest. The exposition did not bring an economic benefit to the city, but it did create a divide between business classes, the Good Government League (GGL), and Chicana/o activists. The divide created a whole new space for townspeople to participate in local government and changed how the Alamo City would develop its industries. In the 1970s, new business developers in San Antonio's Northside began to compete against the established old business class that were connected to the GGL and former members of SAF. The newer business community, using HemisFair as an example, argued against the further development of downtown because it was not fiscally beneficial for investors. Instead, they developed other parts of the city away from the inner-city, downtown, and HemisFair. Large scale investment followed similar trends of white flight that escalated during the 1970s witnessed cashflow moving out of the inner city to suburban areas.[531]

The divide also created inroads for members of the Chicana/o Movement. Although this group was already politically activated in city and county elections, the divide helped solidify their position in city council and did not support future plans for HemisFair. Chicana/o activism was underway before HemisFair. It sought to end racial discrimination in the Southwest, called for accountability in the San Antonio city council, and argued for methods of self-determination

[531] Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2017), vii, 93-99.

against the Mexican American Generation, as discussed in chapter 4. Their call for action in Texas and San Antonio made groups like the Mexican American Youth Organization, Raza Unida Party, and their leaders' part of the unique brand of Chicana/o activism. Following HemisFair's closure, these groups fought for seats in San Antonio's political using independent election tickets away from the GGL's slating group. Their actions, in conjunction with the new San Antonio business class, dismantled the GGL's stronghold in the city and did away with the final political machines infecting their community.

Confluence in Latin American

During the Cold War, the United States was aware of the spread of the Soviet Union's style of Communism across the world, as discussed in the previous chapters. While the U.S. continued its War in Vietnam and pitched battles around the world against the U.S.S.R., fear over its domino Latin America created concerns in the American public and military. After HemisFair, Washington continued its Cold War policies-one of indirect and direct military action in Latin America. The human rights violations across the Americas destroyed the message of peaceful confluence but enforced another measure of unity, one that ensured U.S. dominance in the Western Hemisphere. Although the U.S. feared the spread of Communism, domestic Marxism and Socialism became the major concern in Latin America.[532] Federal officials in Washington worried that the Soviet Union or Cuban field operatives were directly fueling these political ideologies. Instead of addressing the domestic issues of class conflict and political unrest in democratically elected countries or locally motivated revolutions, the U.S. and its allies in the Western Hemisphere took measures to contain these players in Latin America. Their containment strategies did reiterate a sense of hemispheric

[532] Peter H. Smith, *Talons of the Eagle: Latin America, the United States, and the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 186.

confluence because countries of the Western Hemisphere collaborated or worked individually with the U.S. government to maintain the status quo in their respective nations. However, this idea extended mainly to the juntas, leaders, and political parties upholding U.S. policies in Latin America and did not reach to people.

In Post-WWII Latin America, nations witnessed shifts in national governments and economic policies. Before HemisFair began, Cuba was one of Washington's main fears. Fidel Castro overthrew the dictator Fulgencio Batista in 1959. The Cuban Revolution was supported heavily by the labor class and social movements. Later, it received strong support from the Soviet Bloc. The U.S. feared that the proximity of Cuba to the Americas increased the chances of a Cold War attack and perhaps a Communist domino effect in Latin America. However, John Dinges argues there was a "reverse domino effect" in some nations of the Western Hemisphere. "Country after country whose democratic system had given leftist ideology a foothold fell under military rule and was subject to merciless political cleansing."[533]

In South America, the U.S. backed right-wing government coups that supported the containment of Communism. In 1970, Salvador Allende became the first democratically elected Socialist president in Chile. Despite his election, the U.S. government was quick to act and stop his presidency. From 1970-1973, President Richard Nixon worked to destabilize the Chilean economy while still providing monetary aid to its military and opposition parties.[534] The controversial measures taken by the U.S. government were meant to gain military favor from Augusto Pinochet, the Chilean Army general at the time. On September 11, 1973, Pinochet led a military junto against Allende's government in the capital of Santiago. Pinochet's military forces

[533] John Dinges, *The Condor Years: How Pinochet And His Allies Brought Terrorism to Three Continents* (New York: New Press, 2004)

[534] Tanya Harmer, *Allende's Chile and the Inter-American Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 113.

bombarded Palacio de La Moneda, the capital building, with tanks, gunfire, and airplane missiles. At the end of the day, Allende was dead, and Pinochet took power and began to collaborate with U.S officials.[535] His reign lasted from 1974-1990 and was considered one of the most repressive regimes in Latin America by Chileans and foreign presses.

In 1975, Chilean Colonel Manuel Contreras helped launch Operation Condor. "Condor's countersubversive operations extended into the rest of South America, Central and North America, and Europe."[536] Despite its global network, it mainly operated as a transnational intelligence and imprisonment operation for the governments of Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Brazil against homegrown left-leaning individuals and subversive groups in South America. By 1976, General Jorge Rafael Videla had seized power in Argentina after overthrowing the Populist President Isabel Peron.[537] Videla worked in conjunction with Operation Condor because it provided a "hemispheric defense defined by ideological frontiers."[538] Southern Cone governments like Videla's became involved in Condor's "target [against] persons on the basis of their political ideas rather than illegal acts."[539] With Washington's knowledge, these dictators and nations, worked with secret police and intelligence agencies across the Americas and targeted anyone that they deemed subversive to the state "not only guerrillas."[540] The operation relied on encrypted messages ran from U.S. military bases to sites across Latin America. Most of these acts were documented in the Archive of Terror in Paraguay.[541] Their monitoring of left-wing subversives led

[535] Ibid., 247.

[536] J. Patrice McSherry, "Operation Condor: Clandestine Inter-American System," *Social Justice* 26, no. 4 (1999): 149.

[537] Valeria Manzano, *The Age of Youth in Argentina: Culture, Politics, and Sexuality from Perón to Videla*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 233.

[538] McSherry, "Operation Condor: Clandestine Inter-American System," 150.

[539] Ibid.

[540] Ibid.

[541] Smith, *Talons of the Eagle*, 198.

to thousands of missing persons, thousands of dead, and thousands more imprisoned across South America.

In 1977, President Jimmy Carter held monetary aid to Latin American nations that practices atrocities against human rights.[542] These sanctions came after the Democratic Representative from Iowa Thomas Harkin proposed a human-rights amendment to the International Development and Food Assistance Act in 1975. Soon economic aid would be connected to governments that "recognized human rights" instead of violating them as atrocities around the World grew to quale domestic upheaval.[543] While some sanctions were used against Latin American nations, the U.S. continued to work with countries that practiced human rights violations in Asia and the Middle East to contain the influence of the Soviet Union and encourage anti-communist measures.

Those that did not pledge their support to either the U.S. or U.S.S.R. were left out of assistance from both countries. Other nations started to witness their raw material exports diminish in the Post-WWII era and imports increased causing middle- and working-class individuals to ask for changes within the government systems, as seen in Chile and Argentina.[544] Latin America, Asia, and Africa nation's, Gross Domestic Products began to be hit by the changing global economy. As a result, they felt the shift of capital flowing to major free market economies like the U.S.[545]

Mexico presents a unique player in the Cold War because of two reasons: its proximity to the U.S. made it a valuable ally to Washington and it was a very strong economic and political

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[542] Ibid.

[543] Lisa L. Martin, *Coercive Cooperation: Explaining Multilateral Economic Sanctions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 111.

[544] Smith, *Talons of the Eagle*, 200.

[545] Ibid.

nation in Latin America. Fearful of the spread of communism, U.S. intelligence agencies supplied Mexico with initial about possible subversive actions in their country. As discussed in the previous chapter, in 1968, one of the main threats in Mexico were student activist. Jeffrey Gould argues this group represented the "New Left" because student activist aligned themselves with middle-class intellectuals old left political and labor groups to demonstrate for economic and democratic reforms.[546] According to Eric Zolov, the "New Left' here refers to participants in a wide variety of protest movements, many of whom did not fully endorse the ideological and tactical principles of the revolutionary left, which was committed to urban and rural guerrilla warfare."[547] However, Mexico tried every means to repress the concerns of 1960s and 1970s.

At the same time, the nation witnessed what economists called the Mexican Miracle due to its unprecedented economic growth in the 1950s-1960s.[548] In the late 1960s and 1970s, the Mexican economy was already starting to feel the inverse effects of economic growth with the rise in domestic prices and lack of exports.[549] Within this period, Luis Echeverria became president of Mexico, the same person that orchestrated the student massacre in 1968. Renata Keller argues, "that Mexican leaders use of repression eventually created the very thing they were trying to avoid: a new revolutionary movement."[550] Mexico, like the U.S., was fearful of foreign influences in interior matters even if citizens were asking for reform measures. After the massacre, some reformers turned toward revolutionaries and joined with guerrilla groups in Mexico. The country

[546] Jeffrey L. Gould, "Solidarity Under Siege: The Latin American Left, 1968," *American Historical Review* 114, no. 2 (2009): 348-75.

[547] Gould, "Solidarity Under Siege," 350.

[548] Sarah L. Babb, *Managing Mexico: Economists from Nationalism to Neoliberalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 107.

[549] Ibid.

[550] Renata Keller, *Mexico's Cold War: Cuba, the United States, and the Legacy of the Mexican Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 12.

began to intensify its "Dirty War" like the rest of Latin America against leftist and revolutionary groups well into the 1980s. [551]

Internationally, under Echeverria's administration, Mexico did not fall into the direct umbrella of the United States government. Nor did the country follow the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) that collaborated with non-warring and post-colonial nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America to "avoid diplomatic entanglements in the Cold War."[552] Instead, by 1975, Mexico stood against the U.S. in the United Nations in support of "Arab and Third World nations… denouncing Zionism as a form racism."[553] These measures resulted in backlash from Washington. Nevertheless, in 1979, under Mexico's new president José López Portillo, the nation began to support U.S. initiatives in Central America by denouncing the Somoza government in Nicaragua.[554]

In Central America, national governments began to move toward right-wing dictators that objected to Communism while still upholding unfair elections in Nicaragua with Anastasio Somoza and Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina in Dominican Republic.[555] In both cases, the U.S. withdrew their initial support because of their dictatorships but settled on helping them in the 1970s and 1980s with monetary funds and military support in exchange for their support, against Communism.[556] Under President Ronald Reagan in the 1980s, support for Nicaragua depleted following the overthrow of Somoza's Regime in 1979 by the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN) and their supporters called Sandinista. In the 1980s, the Republican Party's

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[551] Ibid., 234-237.

[552] Smith, *Talons of the Eagle,* 203.

[553] Ibid., 205.

[554] Ibid.

[555] Knut Walter, *The Regime of Anastasio Somoza, 1936-1956* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), xiii.; Lauren Derby, *The Dictator's Seduction: Politics and the Popular Imagination in the Era of Trujillo* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 4.

[556] Smith, *Talons of the Eagle,* 192.

platform stated "We deplore the Marxist Sandinista takeover of Nicaragua and the Marxist attempts to destabilize El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. We do not support the United States assistance to any Marxist government in this hemisphere[.]"[557] Later, the Republican platform became a staple in the Reagan Doctrine that sought to overthrow the Soviet Union's "Evil Empire"[558]

Until the fall of the Soviet Union and end of the Cold War in 1991, U.S. policy toward Latin America still tried to contain Communism in all aspects of political and social life. The message of peaceful confluence that HemisFair practices were not being obeyed in Latin America or by the United States. The multiple Dirty Wars and collaboration with the U.S. intelligence agencies and military outfits point to the simple fact that Cold War confluence meant the containment of liberal and revolutionary ideologies by any means instead of addressing the needs of its citizenry.

Confluence in San Antonio

In San Antonio, HemisFair fell into neglect after it ended on October 6, 1968, with no set plan for the space. Similar to Latin America, the message of confluence also did not resonate well with the local community. Like other urban renewal sites across the country and temporary mega event venues around the world, it did not accomplish its goal of bringing lasting change to the community. The fair expected attendance was 11 million but was only able to gather 6 million

[557] Héctor Perla, Jr., *Sandinista Nicaragua's Resistance to US Coercion: Revolutionary Deterrence in Asymmetric Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 28.

[558] James Graham Wilson, "Did Reagan Make Gorbachev Possible?" *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (2008): 466.; Chester Pach, "The Reagan Doctrine: Principle, Pragmatism, and Policy," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (2006): 75-88.

visitors.[559] The cost of the event totaled "$490 million [for the city], including $71 million on the fair site."[560] Following its closure, public and private investors found themselves in a $405 million deficit.[561] With nothing planned for the fairgrounds to recuperate their funds, the city government scrambled to find ways to make their money back.

On October 7, 1968, a day after HemisFair closed its gates, most of the world fair's lands were transferred to the city of San Antonio. Officials did not know what to do with HemisFair. Similar to previous international expositions, when it closed, all foreign and national pavilions vacated their exhibits, leaving them empty. The national pavilions that had once captivated audiences had been cleared along with their workers. Only a few attractions, some outside art installations, and exhibit buildings remained operational. According to City Manager Gerald Henckel, "There wasn't any reuse plan….We had to go in the next morning and take it over and decide what to do with it."[562] Now belonging to the city, the short term goal was to open an amusement park called Fiesta Land to generate revenue for its investors.

Fiesta Land did not have the same international appeal, same attractions, or cost as HemisFair. The name derived from San Antonio's weeklong celebration in April called Fiesta that encompassed parades, parties, and a variety of tourist attractions.[563] Nevertheless, the name was a clear departure from the world's fair theme *Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas*. Fiesta Land was a type of tourism San Antonio could sell, one that marketed it as a party city. Admission

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[559] Box 2, Folder: News Clippings, 1986-1988, ITC Library Collection of HemisFair '68 Materials, MS 292, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[560] Ibid.

[561] Box 2, Folder: Planning 1965-1968, ITC Library Collection of HemisFair '68 Materials, MS 292, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[562] Box 2, Folder: News Clippings, 1968-1969, ITC Library Collection of HemisFair '68 Materials, MS 292, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[563] For more information read Laura Hernández-Ehrisman, *Inventing the Fiesta City: Heritage and Carnival in San Antonio* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008)

for the new park ranged from "25 cents for adults and 10 cents for children."[564] Tickets at the door were considerably less than the $2.00 cover at HemisFair. If visitors bought a ticket for the Towers of the Americas, then they could get into the park for free.[565]

Fiesta Land's first major attraction was comedian Flip Wilson in November; a month HemisFair had closed its doors.[566] Again, individuals could access Fiesta Land without paying for admission if they paid to see Wilson perform. This was one of the many ways the city encouraged people to spend money at the former fairgrounds. By the time of Wilson's performance, the park had ended with "its lowest attendance figure since the close of HemisFair."[567] The ticket sales showed that it became a less disable destination for tourists to venture to this part of downtown without it's international appeal.

Following Wilson's performance, San Antonio's HemisFair Department and city council renamed the site HemisFair Plaza instead of Fiesta Land.[568] Council members wanted the name HemisFair to be associated with the exposition because visitors already linked San Antonio with the former world's fair. The motion to rebrand the site even warranted a dedication ceremony on Veteran's Day weekend. According to San Antonians E. J. Slayman, "[It was] the biggest civic event since the closing of the World's Fair[,] the dedication of HemisFair Plaza to the city's military element….[and] mark a new era[.]"[569] As stated in chapter one, plazas have been part of the urban plan since the Spanish Era. They were spaces that encouraged communities to

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[564] Box 2, Folder: News Clippings, 1965-1968, ITC Library Collection of HemisFair '68 Materials, MS 292, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[564] Ibid.

[565] Ibid.

[566] *San Antonio Light*, November 3, 1968.

[567] Box 2, Folder: News Clippings, 1968-1969, ITC Library Collection of HemisFair '68 Materials, MS 292, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[568] Ibid.

[569] Ibid.

congregate, purchase items from the market, hold meetings, and attend religious ceremonies. The only difference between the older plazas and the newer one was that visitors had to pay an entrance fee to get into this one. Renaming the area, HemisFair Plaza did not lead to more attendance in the pursuing months and did not benefit the city by sparking any large-scale job growth.

San Antonio's HemisFair Department and the Citizens' Advisory Committee on the Reuse of the HemisFair developed other ideas for the fairgrounds. Before the fair closed in 1968, committee members were already grappling over the different uses for the exposition space. At that time, Mayor McAllister stated, "I am confident that we will come out with something [over HemisFair] we will really like."[570] Their options included creating a headquarters for the Organization of States of Americas (OSA), Mexican American Cultural Exchange Institute (MACEI), U.S.-Latin American Education and Culture Center, a university, or a public park.[571] Opening a state university at the site only went as far as making the Institute of Texans Cultures part of the University of Texas at San Antonio, which created its main campus in North of downtown in 1969.[572] In 1973, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) built a permanent school in Mexico's former national pavilion.[573] However, none of the other ideas went into place after the world's fair. The OSA and MACEI centers did not gain enough support by the federal or local governments. Building support for this site was difficult because of its debt, and underwriters did not want to contribute more financial support.

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[570] Box 2, Folder: News Clippings, 1968-1969, ITC Library Collection of HemisFair '68 Materials, MS 292, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[571] Ibid.

[572] "History of UTSA," *University of Texas at San Antonio*, accessed November 9, 2019, https://www.utsa.edu/commencement/traditions/history.html.

[573] "UNAM in San Antonio," UNAM - San Antonio, accessed November 9, 2019, http://unamsa.edu/mission.html.

The U.S. Pavilion was the only building not given to the city because it was considered federal property and funded solely by Washington for the fair. However, this did not stop San Antonio's leaders from arguing about its reuse.[574] In 1970, Senator John Tower of Texas, Congressmen Henry B. González, and George H. W. Bush, also a representative at the time, signed a $7 million proposal through the Government Services Administration (GSA) to retrofitted the former pavilion into a federal courthouse.[575] At the same time, the HemisFair Advisory Committee "recommend that the City Council request the federal government to delay action on the construction of the federal courthouse."[576] The Vice Chairman of the committee, Al Rhode, recommended this because "the former federal pavilion [was] the 'crown jewel, the heart of HemisFair Plaza."[577] Rhodes called it the crown jewel because the U.S. Pavilion was one of the most visited and popular exhibits at the world's fair. Businessman James Kallision agreed with him and argued that building a courthouse violated the 1968 city ordinance that designated its reuse for a U.S.-Latin American Education and Culture Center.[578]

However, the city could not claim the U.S. Pavilion because it was federal property, and the ordinance that Kallison spoke of only covered the Women's Pavilion as the center's future space.[579] Civic and business leaders lost the fight over the U.S. Pavilion, and by 1975 the courthouse was completed.[580] By 1980, the federal court was renamed the John H. Wood, Jr.

[574] City Council Meeting Minutes, Feburary 22, 1968, Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

[575] *San Antonio Express*, July 29, 1970; *Corpus Christi Times*, July 8, 1970.

[576] *San Antonio Light* October 13, 1970.

[577] Ibid.

[578] Ibid.

[579] City Council Meeting Minutes, Feburary 22, 1968, Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

[580] "U.S. offices state moving," *San Antonio Express*, June 18, 1975.

Federal Courthouse, the first federal judge to be assassinated in the twentieth century. He was killed outside his San Antonio home by Charles Harrelson.[581] The building still exists today.

"The Great White Pope"

HemisFair's economic benefit still did not show in San Antonio. Large scale unemployment for Mexican Americans prevailed, and new industries did not move to the city. The grand ideas modernizing San Antonio with new capital and industries were non-existent. In 1968, Robert McDermott, the CEO of United Services Automobile Association (USAA), stated, "The city was just kind of applauding itself for a great success [with HemisFair]….[But in] the first two or three years that I was here, I don't think any significant business moved into San Antonio."[582] At the time, the city had a large labor pool that was coupled with lower wages.[583] The San Antonio Chamber of Commerce and town booster even bolstered that it was a "cheap labor town."[584] They often cited its available workforce and low wage requirements when persuaded businesses to move. County Commissioner Albert A. Peña Jr. was one of the major critics of this idea. According to him, the root causes of the cheap labor force were discriminatory practices related to pay, workforce education, housing, and labor that were still pervasive.[585]

Other leaders like Robert McDermott turned toward recruiting industries and implementing their own economic plans for the city. In 1970, he was part of the town's Chamber of Commerce and the Economic Development Foundation (EDF), after becoming the CEO of USAA, that

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[581] David Berg, *Run, Brother, Run: A Memoir of a Murder in My Family* (New York: Scribner, 2013), 216.; "Federal Courthouse Renamed for Slain Judge Wood," *Brownsville Herald*, April 9, 1980.; The father of actor Woody Harrelson.

[582] Sterlin Holmesly, *HemisFair '68 and the Transformation of San Antonio* (San Antonio: Maverick Publishing Company, 2003), 32.

[583] Ibid., 36.

[584] José Angel Gutiérrez, *Albert A. Peña Jr Dean of Chicano Politics* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2017), 141.

[585] Ibid.

implemented a citywide economic plan.[586] According to Mario Hernandez, a former president of the EDF in the 2000s, "[McDermott was] San Antonio's first major corporate citizen."[587] His goal was to change San Antonio's commercial persona and encourage others to come to the Alamo City. He followed the models of other cities across America that were trying to do the same thing in the wake of the Civil Rights Movement. These ideas brought in businesses to the Southwest, causing the rise of sunbelt cities.[588] Towns in the American South invested in business plans and infrastructure to bring manufacturing jobs. At times, factories relocated themselves from the Midwest and East Coast to southern metropolises where labor was abundant, cheap, and cost of living was low. [589]

McDermott mirrored his plan after Georgia's Forward Atlanta Movement, a three-year model that raised $600,000 for economic development.[590] Similar to San Antonio, Atlanta was trying to rebrand itself away from its Jim Crow past and grow its economic portfolio claiming it was "the city too busy to hate."[591] San Antonio had tried to do this with HemisFair with little luck. During the world's fair, the documentary "Hunger in America" publicized the impoverished and segregated side of the city's Mexican American community. In Atlanta, poverty and racial

[586] Holmesly, *HemisFair'68 and the Transformation of San Antonio*, 36.

[587] Patrick Danner, "San Antonio's first major corporate citizen' — USAA," *San Antonio Express-News*, March 17, 2015.

[588] Bernard, Richard M., and Bradley Robert Rice. *Sunbelt Cities: Politics and Growth Since World War II* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988), 5-10.

[589] Thomas Sugrue, "The Deindustrialization of Detroit," *Major Problems in American Urban and Suburban History*, eds. Howard P. Chudacoff and Peter C. Baldwin (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005), 472.; Jon Teaford, *Cities of the Heartland: The Rise and Fall of the Industrial Midwest* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 211-252.

[590] Holmesly, *HemisFair'68 and the Transformation of San Antonio*, 35.

[591] Margaret Pugh, *Moving Beyond Sprawl: The Challenge for Metropolitan Atlanta* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Center on Urban & Metropolitan Policy, 2000), 33.

prejudices were still present in everyday life and politics for African Americans. For example, the southern city did not see its first black mayor elected until 1973.[592]

The Forward Atlanta Movement was an attempt to erase the city's racial past in the Jim Crow south. It followed previous measures that began in 1964 under Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen. During his administration, the mayor invited local leaders to a dinner to honor civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr., who just won the Nobel Peace Prize. [593] At the time, white businessmen were reluctant to give into King's vocal support of desegregation and the civil rights activism, resulting in minimum support for Allen's dinner. In a show of business might, Coca-Cola's CEO J. Paul Austin told businesses, "Coca-Cola cannot stay in a city that's going to have this kind of reaction and not honor a Nobel Peace Prize winner." [594] Austin's threat to leave the city encouraged local leaders to attend the event. Shortly after Austin's comments, the dinner flooded with supporters, and the town began to incorporate a city plan to end segregation and develop the local employment initiatives.

The most prominent labor industry in San Antonio was the military-industrial complex. However, HemisFair had left a void in the local economy, leaving people like McDermott looking for answers when the city itself was on a "sabbatical after the event[,]" as he said.[595] The development of the tourist industry was the only benefit that came from the fair.[596] However, McDermott did not have companies like Coca-Cola to call for action against discrimination.

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[592] Winston A. Grady-Willis, *Challenging U.S. Apartheid: Atlanta and Black Struggles for Human Rights, 1960-1977* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 192.

[593] Frye Gaillard, *A Hard Rain: America in the 1960s, Our Decade of Hope, Possibility, and Innocence Lost*. (Montgomery: New South Books, 2018), 199.

[594] "The Time Coca-Cola got White Elites in Atlanta to Honor Martin Luther King, Jr.," National Public Radio, accessed November 9, 2019, https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2015/04/04/397391510/when-corporations-take-the-lead-on-social-change.

[595] Holmesly, *HemisFair'68 and the Transformation of San Antonio,* 33.

[596] Ibid., 33.

Instead, the focus turned toward military bases in San Antonio as part of the problem.[597] Job advancement for Mexican Americans was almost non-existent at places like Kelly Air Force Base on the town's Southside.[598] After reading the 1968 U.S. Civil Rights Commission report, Congressman González agreed that there was job discrimination on the base.[599] Kelly Air Force Base, at the time, held a large labor force comprised of skilled workers mainly from communities of color, according to the U.S. Census. Rodolfo Rosales argues that "A Kelly job held out a promise more than a reality."[600] These skilled positions did grant social and economic mobility for people of color that worked on base but these groups did not have the same benefits compared to their white counterparts. On base, communities of color did not have the same access to job advancement and workforce education.[601] Workforce discrimination at Kelly Air Force Base mirrored practices of racial discrimination across the city.

The Alamo City was dealing with its own racial issues during McDermott's tenure at USAA and his call for economic change. Civil Rights for Mexican Americans and African Americans in San Antonio did not stop when Jim Crow ordinances ended in the 1950s and 1960s. The issues between middle-class Mexican American and Chicana/o activists ushered a new type of politics in 1968. Still, people like McDermott looked toward the economy after HemisFair and did not respond to the town's racial issues. HemisFair promised an economic boost by using urban renewal funds to remove an entire neighborhood for it, but racism was still present in the city. Chicana/o and African American activists were the ones protesting the international exposition.

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[597] Roger A. Bruns, *Documents of the Chicano Movement* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2018); Holmesly, *HemisFair'68 and the Transformation of San Antonio*, 32.

[598] "Kelly Employment Practices Okayed," *Brownwood Bulletin* November 18, 1968

[599] Ibid.

[600] Rodolfo Rosales, *The Illusion of Inclusion: The Untold Political Story of San Antonio* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 10.

[601] Ibid.

During the period, the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO) fought against classism and racism through politics, education, and community development projects in the Westside and Southside communities. Their main goal was to bring about social and political change for the ethnic Mexican communities across the state.[602] For MAYO, change started at home.

As discussed in chapter three, the federal government sponsored sites like HemisFair but they also paid for other programs like the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) of 1964 known as the War on Poverty.[603] According to the Office of Economic Opportunity directed by Sargent Shriver, the program promoted the "maximum feasible participation of the residents of the area or neighborhood' and allowing 'residents (of poverty areas) to influence the ways in which policy decisions are made and carried out."[604] San Antonio was one of these communities were the War on Poverty targeted. The world's fair did not end the debate over poverty or equality in town, rather, it brought the issues of inequality and deprivation to the national spotlight.

Before the world's fair, Congressman González and Mexican American organizations like LULAC and the American GI Forum supported President Johnson's Great Society initiatives.[605] LBJ's push for the EOA resonated with Mexican Texans that saw the War on Poverty as a means to help their communities out of poverty. However, civil rights leaders were not involved in creating the legislation.[606] Originally, Texas Governor John Connolly opposed the EOA because it "bypassed state authority, and most of his constituents opposed it as another liberal spending

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[602] Armando Navarro, *La Raza Unida Party: A Chicano Challenge to the U.S. Two-Party Dictatorship* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000), 25.

[603] Rosales, *The Illusion of Inclusion*, 105.

[604] Ernesto B. Vigil, *The Crusade for Justice: Chicano Militancy and the Government's War on Dissent* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999), 22.

[605] Julie Leininger Pycior, *LBJ and Mexican Americans: The Paradox of Power* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997), 151.

[606] William Clayson, "*Texas Poverty and Liberal Politics: The Office of Economic Opportunity and the War on Poverty in the Lone Star State*" (PhD diss., Texas Tech University, 2001), 128.

program targeted at minorities."[607] Locally, politicians would create their own organizations using funds from the War on Poverty. In San Antonio, upper-class establishment leaders like Mayor Walter McAllister sponsored the local Community Action Agencies (CAA), a subsidiary agency to Community Action Programs (CAP) with little input from communities of color.

War on Poverty and Chicana/o Confluence

Similar to Mexican Americans, Chicanas/os saw the War on Poverty as a way to help their communities between 1964 and 1971.[608] In Texas, Chicanas/os were among the primary workers in these organizations. According to Carlos Munoz, Jr. War on Poverty programs provided "training ground[s]" for student activists to help their neighborhoods and get involved in politics.[609] In San Antonio, there were two programs. One was the CAA's Economic Opportunities Development Corporation (EODC) sponsored by Mayor McAllister, the Good Government League (GGL), and the city council. At the time, the GGL acted less as a non-partisan group and more like a political machine as it was the only town council slating group in the city.[610] The second was the San Antonio Neighborhood Youth Organization (SANYO) started in 1964. It was an off shoot of the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC).[611] According to historian William Clayson, SANYO was the liberal community-based organization that supported Chicana/o initiatives. The group was initially supported by Congressman González, Archbishop Robert Lucey, and Father John Yanta.[612] This added another level of complexity for Chicanas/os and Mexican Americans,

[607] William Clayson, *Freedom Is Not Enough: The War on Poverty and the Civil Rights Movement in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 128.

[608] Clayson, *Texas Poverty and Liberal Politics*, 145.

[609] Carlos Muñoz, Jr., *Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Movement* (London: Verso, 1989), 58.

[610] Luther Lee Sanders, *How to Win Elections in San Antonio the Good Government Way 1955-1971* (San Antonio: St. Mary;s University, 1975), 55

[611] Clayson, *Texas Poverty and Liberal Politics*, 151.

[612] Ibid.,153.

as this organization developed alongside the Chicana/o Movement. SANYO became a springboard for local civil rights activities. Father Yanta, who headed the organization, encouraged youth organizers to take action in their community but disapproved of the Chicana/o activists that headed the organization there by leading to infighting in the years to come.[613]

This disapproval was not uncommon in Texas or nationally.[614] For example, in Del Rio, MAYO members were fired from a Volunteer in Service to America (VISTA) program because locals Mexican Americans were fearful of these "youth radicals destroying their momentum" in the fight for civil rights.[615] Another example was Colorado's Crusade for Justice leader Rodolfo "Corky" González, who in 1965 was in charge of the Denver NYC. González was criticized within months of his appointment as he disapproved of local politics, encouraged protests, and was accused of hiring biases toward Chicana/o youths. He disagreed with the notion that he put priority to Chicana/o job candidates. He stated, "If a kid comes along from a family of 10 children where the income is $2,000, he gets a job quicker than a kid from a family of 4 with a $4,000 income. If that's favoritism, then let it be that way."[616] Gonzalez's intentions to secure job placements for youths quickly came under fire by the *Rocky Mountain News.* He went on to boycott the newspaper. However, in 1966, he was fired by Denver Mayor Thomas Currigan after claiming that Gonzalez's stance "was improper for a public official."[617] Organizations and Chicana/o leaders that operated under the War on Poverty umbrella faced the reality that this program was jointly run by the federal government and regional power structures. These structures often ran counter to the ideas of self-determination, community uplifting, and civil rights.

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[613] Ibid., 178.

[614] Vigil, *The Crusade for Justice*, 23.

[615] Juan A. Sepulveda, *Life and Times of Willie Velásquez: Su Voto Es Su Voz* (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2014), 79.

[616] Vigil, *The Crusade for Justice,* 26.

[617] Ibid.

War on Poverty workers grew in numbers in San Antonio, which paralleled the increase in support for the Chicana/o Movement. Chicanas/os activists worked in both War on Poverty programs and in Civil Rights organizations. In Texas, Jose Angel Gutierrez was a youth counselor for the NYC and SANYO and encouraged other local teenagers to join other organizations like MAYO.[618] It was common for individuals to have overlapping membership in different Chicana/o groups, as seen by their Mexican American Generation counterparts.[619] In 1968, one of these individuals was Irma Mireles.[620] She worked for SANYO after graduating from Brackenridge High School; the same year, she got involved in MAYO.[621] Women like Mireles, comprised of twenty-five percent of SANYO's labor force but very few were assigned leadership roles.[622] Women's inability to advance in the work place mirrored other Chicano organization structures with overwhelmingly male leadership. However, in MAYO, she rose to be one of the leading organizers alongside Anna Rojas and Rosie Castro.[623]

In 1971, Father Yanta stepped down as the director of SANYO as he felt the powerful sway of Chicana/o activists within the organization. One Chicano member of the program claimed that "Father Yanta, with all due respect, was a gringo. At the time we had some rebel priests, and they [Chicanas/os] couldn't see a gringo trying to be a great white pope for Mexicanos."[624] Yanta denied leaving his post under these circumstances. Instead, he claims that he wanted to focus on his vocation as a priest. Nevertheless, the call for Chicana/o leadership rippled across the ethnic

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[618] José Angel Gutiérrez, *The Making of a Chicano Militant: Lessons from Cristal* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998), 104.

[619] David Montejano, *Quixote's Soldiers: A Local History of the Chicano Movement, 1966-1981* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 82.

[620] Oral History Interview with Irma Mireles, by José Angel Gutiérrez. CMAS No.66.

[621] Ibid.; Gutiérrez, *The Making of a Chicano Militant*, 104.

[622] Clayson, *Texas Poverty and Liberal Politics*, 155.

[623] Oral History Interview with Irma Mireles, by José Angel Gutiérrez. CMAS No.66.

[624] Frances Jerome Woods, *The Model Cities Program in Perspective: The San Antonio, Texas, Experience*. (Washington: U.S. G.P.O., 1982), 124.

Mexican community in San Antonio. SANYO became a leading federal sponsored organization that fought against poverty in the workplace, in education, and politics. During the period, four other organizations saw white leaders lose their positions, which included the Guadalupe Community Center, Good Samaritan Center, Wesley Community Center, and the Madonna Center.[625] According to Sister Frances Jerome Woods, "It [was] unlikely that all of these replacements were happenstance. The Chicano Movement was in its heyday, and earlier conscious-raising events were bearing fruit."[626] The efforts to change the makeup of local organizations started in the community. Chicanas/os sought a self-determination stance and welcomed a conscious electorate to fight for its Mexican American citizenry in the city council against GGL and the Democratic establishment.[627]

Local Mexican American and Chicana/o Politics

The political battle between the Mexican American and Chicana/o activists was present in San Antonio. Citywide elections became one place where activists could advocate for larger community initiatives like public works and wage increases. In 1969, San Antonians were electing representatives to the city council through two slating groups.[628] In one corner, the GGL supported middle-class Mexican Americans and white business-friendly candidates. This slating group was comprised of established San Antonians, wealthy business leaders, and elites. [629] In the other corner, Chicanas/os were supported by the Committee for Barrio Betterment (CBB).[630] Major

[625] Ibid., 125.
[626] Ibid.
[627] Clayson, *Texas Poverty and Liberal Politics*, 181.
[628] "San Antonio City Council Candidates," *San Antonio Express News-Sunday*, March 10, 1969.
[629] Montejano, *Quixote's Soldiers*, 14-15.
[630] "Community Activity and Government Involvement," from Mario Compean oral history interview with Steve Arionus and Vinicio Sinta, June 20, 2016, San Antonio, TX, Civil Rights in Black and Brown Interview Database, https://crbb.tcu.edu/clips/3213/community-activity-and-government-involvement, accessed February 10, 2019.

support for the group came after the 1969 Palm Sunday march in Del Rio, Texas. The demonstration comprised of 3,000 protesters, which included San Antonio politicians like Jose Bernal and Albert A. Peña Jr., organizations like MAYO, VISTA, LULAC, and the American G.I Forum, and reporters from the *New York Times* and the *National Observer*.[631] Protesters called for immediate action against the newly elected Governor Preston E. Smith and the Val Verde County's attempts at closing the VISTA and Minority Mobilization programs in the region.[632]

A month later, Chicanas/os channeled the political momentum of the march and used it for San Antonio's upcoming elections. Coordinated Chicana/o electorate activities had already happened in small towns like Crystal City, Texas. Still challenges to major urban centers, as in the case of San Antonio, held its own problems. The CBB worked alongside SANYO, MAYO, and the Brown Berets to organize and mobilize voters across the town's Southside and Westside. John Summerville, a leader in SANYO, recalls that these groups acted as political "pressure blocks." [633] This diminished his previous assertion that SANYO was going to be a simple kid "babysitting program" under the War on Poverty because its goal was just to help teenagers. However, the group became fundamental to changing the social and political character of the community.[634] The organization and its affiliates had a steady hand in the mobilization and coalition building of Chicana/os in San Antonio politics. Their efforts did not go unnoticed as CBB gathered "20 and 30 percent" of the town's at-large votes forcing a run-off for GGL members seats, including Mayor McAllister's position.[635]

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631 Montejano, *Quixote's Soldiers*, 88.
632 Sepulveda, *The Life and Times of Willie Velásquez*, 80.
633 Woods, *The Model Cities Program in Perspective*, 122.
634 Ibid., 120.
635 Montejano, *Quixote's Soldiers*, 92.

In 1969, other Mexican American politicians ran for these Westside and Southside seats. They included Dr. Herbert Calderon, Perry Salinas, C.H. "Candy" Alejos, Dario Chapa, and Mario Compean. Calderon was a member of LULAC and GGL members. Alejos, on the other hand, was the Chairman of the Chicano Committee of Better Wages in San Antonio.[636] Salinas was also a member of LULAC and the past President of the Mexican Chamber of Commerce but ran independently.[637] MAYO backed Alejos, Chapa, and Compean as they supported initiatives that focused on community development and organization.[638] While Calderon also favored community development, he was a member of the GGL. One of the reasons why HemisFair was successfully passed in the city government was its close connection with this group. Calderon was not excepted from collaborating with business-friendly policy, while he favored laws that ended segregation in the Alamo City, he sat on the coordinating committee for HemisFair. In addition, Salinas ran independent and was associated with members of the HemisFair Speaking Bureau.[639] According to Albert Peña, Jr. members of the GGL like Calderon were "little more than puppets."[640] The GGL was a top-down organization with old business leaders being on top and city council members on the bottom. The at-large elections meant that town representatives could be from all parts of the city. Placing Mexican Americans in these positions encouraged more electoral support from the Westside and Southside communities even if Chicanas/os did not support them.

The battle for the town council rested in the hands of the GGL and CBB. Two main platform issues were HemisFair and poverty. The world's fair site became a key issue for multiple politicians. GGL member Lila Cockrell was among the representatives who supported future

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[636] "San Antonio City Council Candidates," *San Antonio Express News-Sunday,* March 10, 1969.
[637] Ibid.
[638] Ibid.
[639] Ibid.
[640] Montejano, *Quixote's Soldiers,*16.

proposals for it as a method for economic growth and city expansion.[641] As a councilperson in the 1960s, she ordered the world's fair construction and even sat on the Urban Renewal Agency board of commissioners.[642] Other candidates that supported future proposals for HemisFair included Perry Salinas, Evaristo Gonzalez, Mayor Walter McAllister, Joe Rainey Mannion, C.M. Minor, Dr. D. Ford Nielsen, and Mike O'Leary.[643] Still, middle-class Mexican Americans put their faith in HemisFair even if the party was over. Chicanos like Alejos, Chapa, and Compean did not discuss the possibilities of HemisFair within their platforms as they optional discussed more pressing matters of poverty devoted to helping the Mexican Westside and Southside.[644]

The confrontation between Mexican Americans and Chicanas/os escaladed as Congressman Henry B. González nationally dismissed their activities and labeled them as radicals. In 1969, González publicly disapproved of Chicano groups like MAYO, claiming they were supporters of hate. Chicana/o activists and collaborating San Antonio politicians were outspoken about González's claims because he did little to help his community, but still, he spoke against them. The congressman said, "I am against hate and against the spreaders of hate; I am for justice, and for honest tactics in obtaining justice."[645] In the same speech, he claimed that the Ford Foundation Grant for the Southwest Council of La Raza and the Mexican American Unity Council of San Antonio, "has not given any assistance that I know of to bring anybody together…[but rather] promote… the odd and I might say generally unaccepted and unpopular views of its directors."[646] The Ford Foundation had granted $630,000 to be allocated by the Southwest Council

[641] Rosales, *The Illusion of Inclusion*, 148.
[642] "San Antonio City Council Candidates," *San Antonio Express News-Sunday*, March 10,1969.
[643] Ibid.
[644] Erika Fernbach, *Rosie Castro:Trailblazer* (Scotts Valley: Createspace Independent Publishing, 2013),68.
[645] Henry B. Gonzalez, April 22, 1969, Congressional Record, 91 Congress, 1st Session. April 22, 1969.
[646] Ibid.

to promote civic involvement and aid to the Mexican American communities in San Antonio.[647] The congressman was not the only one attacking the foundation. Mayor McAllister supported his ideas against it as it affected the status quo of the city.[648] González, who once showed his support for his community, was in a political crossroads with the Chicana/o groups.

González used urban renewal funds to build HemisFair and gather community support for projects to provide an economic outlet for the community. The fair failed fiscally, and hard times still lingered. Even before the congressman spoke against the Chicana/o Movement, individuals were organizing to end discriminatory practices in his neighborhoods. Beginning in 1967, the Mexican American Unity Council (MAUC) started to advocate for the teaching of Mexican American studies and speaking Spanish in schools.[649] Ironically, while the council was protesting for reforms in the barrios, downtown HemisFair was supporting the use of Spanish with foreign dignitaries and visitors. SAF and the Good Neighbor Commission of Texas went as far as to invite students from the Pan-American Student Forum from Alamo Heights High School to volunteer as translators and assist the Bolivian and Organization of American States pavilions at HemisFair. [650] The school on the Northside of San Antonio belonged to one of the wealthiest districts in the state.

The court case *Rodríguez v. San Antonio ISD* in 1973 showed a sharp contrast in school funding in the city. The case compared Alamo Heights Independent School District to San Antonio Independent School District.[651] While at the fair, students from the Pan American Student Forum

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[647] Maggie Rivas-Rodriguez, *Texas Mexican Americans and Postwar Civil Rights* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015), 102

[648] Navarro, *Mexican American Youth Organization,* 172.

[649] "Our History," Mexican American Unity Council, accessed November 9, 2019, https://www.mauc.org/about/.

[650] Box 391, Folder 5, San Antonio Fair, Inc., Records, MS 31, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[651] Handbook of Texas Online, Cynthia E. Orozco, "Rodriguez v. San Antonio ISD," accessed February 02, 2019, http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/jrrht. Uploaded on June 15, 2010. Modified on May 22, 2018. Published by the Texas State Historical Association.

were able to speak Spanish that they learned in school without being punished. Ironically, Congressman Gonzalez supported these Alamo Heights students at the fair but did not support students or organizations like MAUC in his neighborhood that were trying to do the same thing.

The congressman's efforts to distort the role of Chicana/o activists happened during the Cold War. As a result, Gonzalez argued that Chicana/o groups like MAYO were Communist. However, Chicana/o activists were just the outspoken branch of the Mexican American long freedom struggle in the U.S. Using examples of peaceful protest from figures like Cesar Chavez, Martin Luther King Jr., and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Chicanas/os used grassroots organizations to ask for public aid to help their community. This is something that González had been fighting for decades even before the rise of the Chicana/o Movement.

The battles over the issue of class between middle-class Mexican Americans and Chicana/o youths continued throughout the 1970s. Mario Compean, a community activist from San Antonio, recalls that in the 1970s, Chicanos/as were still trying to be elected in city government.[652] One of these members was Rosie Castro in 1971 by the CBB. Castro was the core CBB organizer for MAYO. At the time, women represented most of the workforce in these organization, but gender discrimination was apparent and very few were public leaders. Like the War on Poverty programs, gender gaps existed. According to Armando Navarro, it would not be until the formation of La Raza Unida Party did women gain prominent leadership roles.[653] Chicanas in the movement, like Rosie Castro, nevertheless, pressed for representation while organizing against San Antonio's political establishment.

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[652] "Community Activity and Government Involvement," from Mario Compean oral history interview with Steve Arionus and Vinicio Sinta, June 20, 2016, San Antonio, TX, Civil Rights in Black and Brown Interview Database, https://crbb.tcu.edu/clips/3213/community-activity-and-government-involvement, accessed February 10, 2019.

[653] Navarro, *Mexican American Youth Organization*, 111.

One of these protests was in 1969 when MAYO started to boycott the San Antonio Savings Association (SASA), where Mayor McAllister was the board chairman.[654] The demonstration came after his racist remarks on NBC's Huntley Brinkley Report with Alex Morris.[655] McAllister was on NBC to discuss the recent protests in Los Angeles and police brutality against Chicana/o protesters in San Antonio where he called them "communist." Later in the newscast, he claimed: "that there is a difference of temperament between the Anglos and our Americans of Mexican decent….'Perhaps [Mexican Americans] they're not quite as ambitiously motivated as the Anglos are to get ahead financially, but they manage to get a lot out of life."[656] Rosie Castro distinctly remembered when McAllister was asked if Chicanas/os were going to be trouble and if they are political ambitious in the Alamo City. McAllister responded by saying, "They make good maids, garbage collectors, restaurant workers, and gardeners. They aren't going into politics. They lack ambition."[657] In San Antonio, this galvanized Chicana/o activists and Mexican Americans to demonstrate against McAllister and his offices of power. It even brought new support for "La Causa" in the form of Catholic Bishop Patrick Flores, the first Mexican American Bishop in the United States. When asked if the groups he supported were militant, he said, "I hope so…. As long as we seek justice, militancy is the word of the day."[658]

Two days later, McAllister came back to San Antonio, and activists were ready to protest. Castro remembers, "Men and women walking back and forth in front of the bank holding signs and shouting. 'DON'T BANK HERE. McALLISTER IS A RACIST' others said 'DOWN WITH McALLISTER! HE'S A SNAKE."[659] Individuals like Hilda Cantu made signs that read

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654 Montejano, *Quixote's Soldiers*, 153.
655 Ibid., 157.
656 *Del Rio News Herald*, July 8, 1970
657 Fernbach, *Rosie Castro*, 58.
658 *Del Rio News Herald*, July 8, 1970.
659 Fernbach, Rosie Castro, 60.

"Withdraw all Chicano Money" from the banking institution.[660] Picketing did not stop here; it would go on for weeks.[661] In the pursuing week, protests escalated, leading to an increase in arrests for Chicanas/os.

At the protest site, ten women formed a wall around a security guard named Randy Nugent. The guard had recently pushed a pregnant Andrea Gamez, who was picketing at the event.[662] Before the incident, Nugent had warned her and others to "Leave now. If you don't, I won't be responsible for what happens," this was when he pushed Gamez and made his way to the elevator.[663] At the elevator, police tried to escort him out of the area, but the women started to chant, "you aren't going to take him."[664] Police reporter Jesse Clements recalled that the protest escalated between demonstrators and police as individuals start to fight with each other. He stated that the scene quickly turned into a "free-swinging melee with officers attempting to make arrests and member of the crowd attempting to prevent them."[665] However, according to Castro, "We were just peacefully protesting. The big guy who started the trouble was not arrested, but we were."[666] After 20 minutes of fighting, the protest disappeared with Chicana/o activists in handcuffs, one being Castro. This moment represented how far women were invested in the movement in San Antonio. David Montejano claimed that "it earned Chicana activists two of the four seats on the CBB slate in 1971."[667] These Chicanas were Rosie Castro and Gloria Cabrera.

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[660] *San Antonio Express*, September 11, 1970.

[661] Fernbach, *Rosie Castro*, 60.

[662] Ruben Charles Cordova, *Con Safo: The Chicano Art Group and the Politics of South Texas* (Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center Press, 2009), 17.

[663] Fernbach, *Rosie Castro*, 62.

[664] *San Antonio Express*, September 11, 1970.

[665] Ibid.

[666] Fernbach, *Rosie Castro*, 62.

[667] Montejano, *Quixote's Soldiers*, 152.

Castro and Cabrera became part of the CBB's slate candidates and the first Mexican American women to run for town offices. Castro was only 23 and had to quit her job as the MACU Director of Education. She also had to confront machismo on the campaign trail and patriarchal ideas in town politics. Castro recalls the following, "I would go out to the barrios and try to get women to register to vote [but] they wouldn't without the men's permission…. It was told to women do not get involved in political. That was a carryover from the Mexican [culture]." [668] Castro had to navigate between spaces of machismo, the Chicana/o movement, and Anglo politics in San Antonio.[669] During the election, her main platform ideas were calls for municipal reforms and ending police brutality.[670] At the end of the 1971 election, she lost to GGL member Charles Becker. She was able to gather most of the Westside ballots resulting in a 20 percent increase in voter turnout using grassroots organizing. Castro claimed that "the cards were stacked against me…and something needed to be done so that the many small districts within the city…would be represented."[671] She ran against the GGL machine and lost. Her cause for concern was fair as the at-large elections heavily favored GGL candidates.

The GGL's hold on San Antonio politics did not change until the 1973 election. The contest showed that the slating group could not hold onto the "majority of [the] city['s] council seats for the first time since 1955."[672] There were two reasons why this happened. First, a lawsuit by the Mexican American League Defense Fund (MALDEF) tried to turn the at-large city council election to a single representative district election.[673] MALDEF used the Voting Right Act of 1968 to argue for provisions to allow fair elections in San Antonio. Second, Northside developers ran

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[668] Navarro, *Mexican American Youth Organization*, 112.
[669] Montejano, *Quixote's Soldiers*, 152-159.
[670] Ibid.
[671] Fernbach, *Rosie Castro*, 68.
[672] Rosales, *The Illusion of Inclusion*, 142.
[673] Montejano, *Quixote's Soldiers*, 241.

their own slating group apart from the GGL, which affected the voter turnout for GGL candidates.[674] The GGL often ran pro-businessman candidates, but now the new developers could campaign for their own candidates cutting into the GGL voters.[675]

The story of HemisFair and city politics was not over. Community welfare and civic participation and representation in San Antonio politics was still up for debate. HemisFair's once economic boost was not felt, instead, it left developers and businessmen like McDermott looking for ideas to expand San Antonio's economy. Contributing to the GGL's demise were whether to continue developing downtown or work toward developing the Northside of the city.[676] The population growth of San Antonio's Northside influenced the city council's decision to annex nine new subdivisions. In 1973, MALDEF opposed the inclusion of these new areas because they were predominantly Anglo communities that favored GGL or developer independent candidates.[677] During this period, the CBB was dismantled, which led Chicana/o candidates to seek council positions independently and others to be sponsored by the GGL.[678] In 1975, the once-powerful GGL managed only to get a handful of people elected to the city council including, Henry Cisneros and Mayor Lila Cockrell, the first women to be elected to the position.[679] Their inability to get enough candidates elected would result in their demise in the future. It inevitably changed how the political game was going to be waged in San Antonio, as candidates were now going to be elected by their own districts.

The next step was to develop a more racially conscientious town government, while expand the local economy. Leaders like McDermott did not speak outright against racism in the city

[674] Rosales, *The Illusion of Inclusion*, 142.
[675] Sanders, *How to Win Elections in San Antonio, The Good Government Way*, 56.
[676] Rosales, *The Illusion of Inclusion*, 142.
[677] Ibid., 143.
[678] Montejano, *Quixote's Soldiers*, 240.
[679] Rosales, *The Illusion of Inclusion*, 142.

because he pressed mainly for the economy. This left former HemisFair leaders and GGL members like Lila Cockrell and Henry Cisneros to confront the issues of how to form pragmatic coalitions with Civil Rights leaders and communities of color. Between 1975-1977, the former GGL members was losing to independent candidates resulting in a reorganization of internal politics and conceding to the demands of previous political adversaries. One of the GGL's foes was Albert Peña, Jr. the former county commissioner who had been a major supporter of the Chicana/o Movement in Texas. José Ángel Gutiérrez called him the "Dean of Chicano Politics" in his biography of the former commissioner because he helped Chicana/o activist navigate the political spectrum in local, state, and federal governments.[680]

In 1975, Cockrell asked Peña for his support in her mayoral campaign, but he did not commit to her bid for mayor. Instead, he chose to stay silent. His silence was vital because if he spoke out against her, she would not have been voted into office. At the time, Peña had fallen on financial hardships but still maintained his political might in Southside and Westside barrios. [681] Cockrell knew that she could not win without his support and decided to think about supporting him for a judge position. Henry Cisneros recommended Peña for the position, and by 1977 Peña was appointed as a municipal judge in San Antonio.[682] This was one of the first collaborations between Chicana/o supporters and the GGL.

By 1977, after voting on the issue of individual district representation, the GGL disbanded, allowing more independent candidates and increased ethnic Mexican participation city council

[680] José Angel Gutiérrez, *Albert A. Peña Jr Dean of Chicano Politics* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2017)

[681] Staff on the *San Antonio Express-News*, *San Antonio: Our Story of 150 Years in the Alamo* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 2015), 235.

[682] Gutiérrez, *Albert A. Peña Jr Dean of Chicano Politics*, 198.

elections.[683] Now with single district elections and at-large mayoral race, city council positions were up for grabs. This led to a surge of Mexican American and Chicana/o participation more than ever before in the city government. Without slating groups, individuals were free to seek their own platforms. Two of these individuals were Henry Cisneros and Bernardo Eureste. Cisneros was the former GGL Mexican American candidate. When he became a city councilman, he already held a Master's degree from Harvard and a Ph.D. in Public Administration from George Washington University.[684] In the city council, Cisneros already had a record of bring in viable companies to the area, including Ray-Ban Sunglass Company and Levi Strauss Factory in 1976. Levi took over Farah Manufacturing Company's factory that closed on the towns Southside due in part to labor strikes.[685]

Following Lila Cockrell's last term in office, Cisneros was elected as San Antonio's mayor in 1980.[686] He was the first ethnic Mexican mayor to hold the post since Juan Seguin in 1840. Within a century, San Antonio had changed socially and in government to allow Mexican Americans to participate actively in the city, state, and national politics. In comparison, Seguin was a Tejano and did not have the same support from city residents while in office, because he was forcefully pushed out of his mayor seat and seen as a foreigner in his own country due to the overt racial terror of Anglo-Texans in the 1800s. Cisneros, however, was elected with the support of the Mexican American, white, and business community, as in the case of McDermott. During

[683] George E. Peterson, *Big-city Politics, Governance, and Fiscal Constraints* (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute Press, 1994), 109.; Gutiérrez, *Albert A. Peña Jr Dean of Chicano Politics*, 190.

[684] Matt S. Meier, and Margo Gutiérrez, *Encyclopedia of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000), 50.

[685] *San Antonio Express-News*, October 3, 1976.; Holmesly, *HemisFair '68 and the Transformation of San Antonio*, 91.

[686] Staff on the *San Antonio Express-News*, *San Antonio*, 235.

Cisneros term, some level of local confluence was finally being reached in San Antonio society, if not just in government.

District Five city councilman Bernardo Eureste joined Cisneros. His district was located primarily in the Mexican American Westside but buffered between the growing Northside and working-class Southside. He was a Chicano activist originally from the Southside of San Antonio, received his bachelor's from the University of Michigan. After leaving Michigan, he received a professorship at Our Lady of Lake University in the Westside of San Antonio.[687] Eureste was a community first politician and one of the first Westside councilmen to be elected after the eradication of the at-large city council elections. To Anglo members of the council, he signaled what they feared the most, a woke Mexican American electorate that demanded accountability from the town's elected officials.

Eureste was considered a "muckraker" bent on changing the political status quo set by the GGL.[688] He often did not take no for an answer and asked questions about town initiatives that favored Northside developers and neglected his own district in the Westside. According to Rodolfo Rosales, "Not only did he consistently and loudly pit his district's needs against those of the more affluent Anglo middle-class districts, he also challenged his colleagues over policies concerning growth and expansion, the historic priorities of the business class."[689] Former pro-business GGL members like Lila Cockrell gloated that they had solved the Alamo City's infrastructure problems in the Westside. Still, according to Eureste's stance on neighborhood infrastructure repair, this was far from the truth even after the mayor left the office.[690] The representative's actions in city council often ran against Cisneros' political allegiance to people like Lila Cockrell. Still, Eureste and

[687] Rosales, *The Illusion of Inclusion*, 149.
[688] Montejano, *Quixote's Soldiers*, 242.
[689] Rosales, *The Illusion of Inclusion*, 149.
[690] Staff on the *San Antonio Express-News*, *San Antonio*, 235.

Cisneros found common ground in helping their community and working with grassroots organizations in San Antonio. Eureste added a level of accountability to city council while in office. He also pushed Mayor Cisneros further to the left to address the issues that Chicanas/os deemed necessary.

Communities Organized for Public Service (COPS) was one of the leading organizations Cisneros and Eureste worked with. It was created in 1974 through a coalition of local activists and Christian church groups in the Alamo City.[691] Over 1,800 San Antonians were present at its first meeting in 1974, and by 1975, its membership had grown to include 4,500 individuals.[692] Its association with multiple Christian religions made it a staple in San Antonio. In addition, it drew from a lot of Catholic social and financial support like War on Poverty groups in the 1960s. At the time, the city belonged to one of the largest archdioceses in the nation, which encouraged a large number of Catholic parishioners to join COPS. It also influenced more community action toward coalition-building with the African American community. The organization's headquarters was based in the Westside district but still had citywide support and had backing from likeminded city council members like Cisneros and Eureste.[693]

COPS's start can be traced to Saul Alinsky's 1940s Industrial Areas Foundation that encouraged community groups to participate in politics through active lobbying.[694] A lot of Alinsky's methods were used during the Chicana/o Movement, but in 1974, Ernie Cortes Jr. used it to form COPS. Historian Richard Buitron argues that there was a difference between the movement and COPS. While they may not have been part of the same movement in name or in

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[691] Rosales, *The Illusion of Inclusion*, 142.

[692] Mexican-American Action Minutes, Communities Organized for Public Service/Metro Alliance Records, MS 346, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[693] Richard Buitron, *The Quest for Tejano Identity in San Antonio, Texas, 1913-2000* (New York: Routledge; 2004)

[694] Rosales, *The Illusion of Inclusion*, 143.

methods of self-determination as seen by Chicano Nationalism, I argue that COPS used similar methods of direct action, engaging in politics, platform issues, and was part of a major racial shift in city politics. According to Rev. Edmundo Rodriguez, "Mr. Cortes' painstaking work in organizing new leadership especially in the Westside and Southside communities of San Antonio, many action on drainage, school problems, junkyards, and vacant lots[.]"[695] The new leadership Cortes sought was meant to depart from former civil rights groups and encourage more non-activist members to take part in their community organizing. Nevertheless, like the Chicana/o Movement, COPS was still advocating for the same measure of accountability in government and municipal projects for neighborhoods of color.

In addition to education and infrastructure projects, it pushed for community awareness campaigns through political support and protests. Two of the most famous COPS protests were at Frost Bank's downtown branch and Joske's Department Store in 1979. First, at the bank, 200 COPS members continuously exchanged pennies for dollars.[696] Second, at the clothing store, protesters flooded the store with folks just trying on clothes to disrupt shoppers and clerks.[697] These tactics were used to highlight to business owner the class disparities and workforce inequalities in the city. For Robert McDermott and Tom Frost Jr., COPS led to a turning point in not just discussing civil rights and municipal issues but business community issues.

By 1980, the *San Antonio Light* and *The Christian Science Monitor* described San Antonio as "a laboratory for all five Southwestern States" due in part to the Chicana/o Movement, and the "shifted [power] from…Anglos to Chicanos, just as in Atlanta it has been shifted from white to

[695] Mexican-American Action Minutes, Communities Organized for Public Service/Metro Alliance Records, MS 346, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[696] "Stop Shouting!," *Texas Monthly*, July 1985.

[697] Holmesly, *HemisFair'68 and the Transformation of San Antonio*, 37.

blacks."[698] Mayor Henry Cisneros and Bernardo Eureste operated on the bases of racial inclusion and worked very closely with COPS to promote the economic wellbeing of the Mexican American community. As the racial and classes structures of San Antonio began to change, so did the methods of operating within government. In the 1970s, the GGL and business community had a stronghold on municipal projects for communities of color. Chicanas/os now could not only vote for change but publicly confront issues against community discrimination by demonstrating in and out of city council. This process was years in the making and echoed HemisFair original messaged of confluence in the city.

McDermott was cautious of the power that COPS and Mayor Cisneros wielded. His caution first arose in the Fantis Corps report in 1977. Fantis Corps was the top relocation firm in the United States. Their studies examined the strengths and weaknesses of communities, the viability of industries to move to a city, and the infrastructure needed to support certain companies. The report reiterated a previous belief that San Antonio was a cheap labor town with a "low cost of living…a company moving in would have lower costs of manufacturing here."[699] When the report was made, Cisneros was a council member and made copies of the report and distributed them to COPS. According to McDermott, one of COPS's founding members confronted him. "Father Albert Benavides confronted me as the man who was advocating that companies bring in low-paying jobs to San Antonio."[700] The report was just one instance where COPS made its point that jobs were needed, but only if it uplifted communities of color. The grassroots organization was not alone in this argument. La Raza Unida also discouraged low paying jobs at the expense of

[698] Geoffrey Godsell, "The CHICANOS," *The Christian Science Monitor*, April 29, 1980.
[699] Holmesly, *HemisFair'68 and the Transformation of San Antonio*, 37.
[700] Ibid., 36.

Chicanas/os laborers. As a result, McDermott began to look at the racial and class dynamics of the city.

In the ensuing years, major companies like John Deere and Texas Instruments would not move to San Antonio because they feared that "Raza Unidas will take over San Antonio."[701] Outside companies did not realize that San Antonio was reconstructing its town government through racial inclusion caused by the Civil Rights Movement and class reorientation by new developers. Businessmen like Robert McDermott and Tom Frost Jr. were barely realizing they had to work with grassroots organizations and community activists in order to move forward.

HemisFair briefly demonstrated how this process looked in the 1960s but now in the 1980s, political inclusion was different because it departed from previous methods of racial token positions in community organizations and the San Antonio government. The need to represent the whole community was essential. Mayor Cisneros claimed, "We were working very hard to balance things out to where people had a sense of participation."[702] The city did not operate at the will of the GGL. The organization left former members like Cisneros to navigate between communities of color that were now included in politics and communicate with a new business community.

The biggest hurdles in the business community ran into was trying to contract Sea World Enterprise, Inc. to build its aquatic center in San Antonio. The city already had the tourist infrastructure built by HemisFair to support it but did not have a flagship attraction other than the Alamo to bring in more visitors. The world's fair site had closed most of its facilities and only held a few attractions like HemisFair Arena, where it's American Basketball Association team, the San

[701] Ibid., 37.
[702] Ibid., 91.

Antonio Spurs, played.[703] In 1985, Sea World announced that it would build a theme park in the city.[704]

After Sea World's statement, Councilman Eureste accused the business community of wrongful insider real estate speculation. At the time, city leaders did not believe him because of his run-in with police officers. In 1983, he was appended by muggers at Brackenridge Park while he was with his mistress.[705] Newspapers quickly took to the story. He claimed that the police department planted the robbers to publicly shame him, which would diminish his ability to speak out for his community.[706] This caused him to win reelection by a very small margin of votes. Later, his accusations toward developers of the theme park turned out to be true. Real Estate broker Richard Klitch, "revealed that the Sea World announcement…had been common knowledge in the real estate community for months."[707] Although the allegations were correct, Eureste's career saw its end because business groups thought he led the charge against one of the biggest commercial investment opportunities in the city. Later, Mayor Cisneros publicly called community members of District Five to denounce Eureste for another term.[708] According to Rodolfo Rosales, Eureste's demise represented the end of city council accountability for the Westside community and enabled no challengers to the business community.[709]

Without Eureste oversight on municipal activities, Cisneros was able to enact his Orange Book Plan in 1983. During his reelection campaign, Cisneros created the plan to bring in jobs from the "biosciences, computer and aerospace, agriculturally related, [and] value-added tourism

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[703] "Former Chaparral Now SA Spurs," *Bryan Eagle*, May 19, 1973.; "Spurs Day in Seguin," *Seguin Gazette*, January 24, 1974.

[704] Rosales, *The Illusion of Inclusion*, 143.

[705] "Raging Bull," *Texas Monthly*, April 1983.

[706] Rosales, *The Illusion of Inclusion*, 153.

[707] Ibid., 155.

[708] Ibid.

[709] Ibid., 155-158.

[fields]."[710] Formally, the book would be integrated into Cisneros' Target '90 Plan that set city council goals on education, business, and community welfare, ranging from literacy rates, infrastructure repair, and business development. Included in this plan was River Center Mall, a sports arena, and HemisFair Plaza.[711] The River Center Mall opened its doors in 1987, replacing the old Joske's Department Store that had been erected in 1888 and the focus of COPS protests in 1979.[712] Although Sea World was not part of the Target '90 Plan, it represented the extent of city growth, the business and political community was willing to take on. Amid the insider information scandal, Sea World was still able to construct its aquatic center in 1988 and opening its 250-acre park that cost $140 million.[713]

The Alamodome was the first large scale investment to be undertaken by the city since HemisFair. Its purpose was to house a football team from the National Football League (NFL) and to be placed along Interstate Highway 37 across from HemisFair Plaza. The initial $186 million cost of the area was going to be paid 50/50, by the public and private investors. After this "plan fell through, proponents of the dome suggested a temporary half-cent sales tax that…only had a split support from government officials."[714] Compared to HemisFair's major support in the 1960s, in 1988, the council move to create a stadium met major public outcry.

One of these individuals that voted for a referendum on the proposed dome was María Antonietta Berriozábal, the first Latina to be elected to city council in 1981.[715] Her District One

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[710] Holmesly, *HemisFair '68 and the Transformation of San Antonio*, 90.

[711] Cisneros, Henry G. San Antonio: Target '90 -- Goals and Decisions for San Antonio's Future, report, May 1983; San Antonio, Texas. (https://texashistory.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metapth611794/: accessed September 9, 2019), University of North Texas Libraries, The Portal to Texas History, https://texashistory.unt.edu; crediting UNT Libraries Government Documents Department.

[712] *Paris News*, June 21, 1987.

[713] *Kerrville Mountain Sun*, March 16, 1988

[714] Staff on the *San Antonio Express-News*, *San Antonio*, 512.

[715] "María Berriozábal, First Latina on Council, Advises OLLU Grads to Understand Selves, Serve Others," *Rivard Report*, May 9, 2019.

council seat originally belonged to Mayor Cisneros. While running for office, she had the support of former council runners like Rosie Castro. Castro remembers going to Berriozábal's campaign rally and hearing her speak with her twin boys, Joaquin and Julián. According to her, "Spontaneously [at the event, the] boys and I got in the act by handing out pamphlets in Spanish and English extolling Maria's virtues. That day the boys saw firsthand what campaigning all was about."[716] After winning the race for city council, Berriozábal's thanked Rosie Castro for being a trailblazer and opening doors for inclusion in city politics.[717]

Rodolfo Rosales claims that Berriozábal brought a new approach to the city council and community politics.[718] She brought the ideals of "culture, community, and gender" as the first Chicana city representative.[719] Although it was one of the most inclusive councils in San Antonio history for Chicanas/os, with Mayor Henry Cisneros, Berriozábal, and the election of Yolanda Vera for District 7 in 1985, they still had to navigate lines of race and class.[720] According to Berriozábal, "Once you realize there are great, awesomely powerful money powers in this city who call the shots, you know that the battle is not just the folks sitting around the table." [721] This resonated in major resolutions that she disapproved of while in office.[722]

One of these discussions Berriozábal disapproved of was a multi-purpose sports arena where she received backlash from city council members in 1985.[723] According to city council minutes, "Berriozábal [felt that]…her constituents do not favor a domed stadium" and asked

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[716] Fernbach, *Rosie Castro*, 102.

[717] Staff on the *San Antonio Express-News*, *San Antonio*, 474-475.; "Maria Berriozábal: The first Latina to serve on City Council," *San Antonio Express-News*, September 9, 2015.

[718] Rosales, *The Illusion of Inclusion*, 165.

[719] Ibid.

[720] Ibid.

[721] Ibid., 166.

[722] Oral History Interview with María Antonietta Berriozabal, CMAS 33, Special Collections, University of Texas at Arlington Libraries.

[723] City Council Meeting Minutes, January 9, 1986, Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

Mayor Cisneros for a "yes or no" ballot on the issue.[724] Cisneros did not want to further the discussion in a citywide vote as it was "his belief that the polls show[ed] that some 70% of San Antonians want[ed] a new stadium."[725] The dome was part of his Target '90 Plan that was supported by downtown developers. The old arena Cisneros mentioned was Alamo Stadium, built in the 1940s on the town's Northside. It was the site of the 1975 World Football League's team, the San Antonio Wings. The club lasted one season before the "league folded," allowing local high school football teams to play there.[726] The new arena was proposed because Alamo Stadium was too small to house an NFL team, which Cisneros and leaders wanted.[727] Channeling the historic speeches by HemisFair supporters, the mayor spoke of its benefits to the local economy as an engine of job growth.[728] In the end, Berriozábal lost the resolution to call for a citywide vote. The funds for the dome came from the city half-cent tax and collaboration with VIA Metropolitan Transit, the local bus company.[729]

The dome was not the only plan for downtown redevelopment. HemisFair's 20th was coming about in 1988. Cisneros' Target '90 Plan spoke of renovating the former world's fair site. By 1986, city leaders started this renovation project and already reached out to contractors that worked on the original site like H.B. Zachry Company and Raba-Kistner Consultants Inc.[730] The mission was to expand the fairgrounds into a city park, expand the convention center and university

[724] City Council Meeting Minutes, May 19, 1988, Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

[725] Ibid.

[726] Staff on the *San Antonio Express-News*, 508-509.

[727] "In San Antonio, NFL snubs don't sting anymore," *San Antonio Express-News*, December 13, 2018.

[728] City Council Meeting Minutes, June 25, 1987, Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

[729] Ibid.; Rick Cantu, "Yet-to-open Alamodome is a hit already booked through 2005," *Baltimore Sun*, May 10, 1992, https://www.baltimoresun.com/news/bs-xpm-1992-05-10-1992131140-story.html.

[730] City Council Meeting Minutes, October 7, 1987, Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

facilities, parking garage, and turn the base of the Tower of the Americas into a waterpark.[731] HemisFair's total redevelopment was an estimated $133 million, according to the *Texas Monthly*.[732]

In 1988, the *San Antonio Light* interviewed Carlos Freymann, the former head of HemisFair's Latin American Division. In the interview, he said, "In all, HemisFair '68…gave me-like it gave San Antonio-the feeling that the future is full of promise as long as we are willing to take leadership and use our growing power responsibly, patiently and persistently."[733] Later, another column in the *Light* claimed the event had changed the town, "[The] party…allowed us to celebrate the rebirth of a major American city[.]"[734] The promises that Freymann spoke of were never granted, years later the rhetoric of a binational city on the crossroads of a modern Western Hemisphere were gone. After the world's fair closed its doors, what was left was the physical site of HemisFair Park and the political feuds of the municipal government and Civil Rights Movement. 20 years to the day HemisFair opened, San Antonio commemorated the former world's fair. Visitors from across the World joined the festivities. Congressman Henry B. Gonzalez and former Governor John Connolly were not in attendance due to prior engagements.[735] Their absence did not deter people from attending nor did it diminish the exposition's original theme of transnational unity. To honor HemisFair's commitment to international harmony, that day, "157 adults and eight children" were naturalized in Beethoven Hall on the fairgrounds.[736] The event was

[731] "HemisFair is restored to Beauty," *Austin American Statesmen*, April 5, 1988.

[732] Lisa Germany, "Fair or Foul?" *Texas Monthly*, January 1986.

[733] Box 2, Folder: News Clippings, 1986-1988, ITC Library Collection of HemisFair '68 Materials, MS 292, University of Texas at San Antonio Libraries Special Collections.

[734] "HemisFair '68 launched a modern San Antonio," *San Antonio Light*, April 3, 1988.

[735] "HemisFair celebrates 20th Anniversary today," *San Antonio Express-News*, April 6, 1988.

[736] Ibid.

one day and did spark some interest in by developers in HemisFair Plaza and for downtown San Antonio's redevelopment.

During the late 1980s, the Alamodome also became part of the city's downtown development efforts. Major town banking and business institutions were part of this decision to build the arena. According to William Thornton, the arena was the last major decision "muscled…along with money" made by the city's old establishment. [737] Former SAF members showed their support for the Alamodome. Local car dealer and investor Red McCombs was one of the major supporters of the project. He was familiar with types of developments as a HemisFair's committee member for the Tower of the Americas. [738] In the 1990s, as the owner of the Minnesota Viking, he attempted to move the team to San Antonio, but his efforts failed to get NFL support.

In 1993, the Alamodome opened to the public. The Spurs were the only sports team to use the arena. However, the NBA franchise used only half of the complex because it was designed for NFL teams and deemed too big. As a result, a large curtain was placed in the middle of the stadium making its max occupancy of 65,000 dwindle to 32,500 during NBA games.[739] In less than ten years, the team's CEO Robert McDermott requested that the city of San Antonio build another updated arena specifically for an NBA team. Although the Spurs had steady ticket sells, he feared the day when ticket prices would slump, and the ownership group would not be able to afford the dome's massive upkeep. [740]

Other investors were also tied to the Alamodome Area. The sons of H.B. Zachry, the former chairman of SAF, renovated the building next to the Alamodome called Sunset Train Station in

[737] Holmesly, Hemisfair '68 and the Transformation of San Antonio, 101.
[738] Ibid., 22-23.
[739] "Sold Out McCarthy Concert to open San Antonio Stadium," *Port Arthur News*, May 12, 1993
[740] "The Spurs could be leaving San Antonio," *Texas City Sun*, July 6, 1995.

1999.[741] The station was made into an entertainment center meant to profit off Spurs fans leaving the stadium and gentrify the Eastside. According to H. Bartell Zachry Jr., "We were never successful at Sunset Station. When the Spurs moved to the [SBC] Center in 2003, what business we did have was really hurt."[742] His investment had run into the same financial problems as his father's after HemisFair. The profits were just not as predicted. The foretold economy prosperity that Mayor Cisneros had discussed in the city council had barely started to show when the Spurs left for their new arena just a few miles away from the Alamodome.

San Antonio's skyline and politics changed after the Alamodome was built. It represented the ending of the Henry Cisneros reign in city politics. In 1993, he became the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development in President Bill Clinton's administration. The new Mayor Neilson Wolff and his associates were interviewed in the *Galveston Daily News* and set the tone for what the Alamodome meant to the city. According to the reporter, "Wolff and others liken the Alamodome opening to the exposure that HemisFair gave the city in 1968."[743] The old fair site and the new arena took years to make, were debated in the community, and cost the taxpayers large amounts. Nevertheless, both sites changed the city's skyline forever. The dome's construction also opened a new era of development in downtown. HemisFair, which sat across the highway from the dome, renovated its park and demolished HemisFair Arena to expand the Henry B. Gonzalez Convention Center.[744] Each building represented different areas in the city's long history of urban renewal and changes the socio-political landscape.

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[741] "Two Zachry companies share legendary origin," *San Antonio Express-News*, June 3, 2015.

[742] Nelson W Wolff, *Transforming San Antonio: An Insider's View of the AT&T Center, Toyota, the PGA Village, and the River Walk Extension* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 2012), 194.

[743] *Galveston Daily News*, May 9, 1993.

[744] Ibid.

In 2009, San Antonio saw Julián Castro, the son of Rosie Castro, become its third Mexican American mayor in modern history.[745] After his election, Castro told his constituents, "I want to make sure the future aspirations of our citizens are met."[746] Once in office, redeveloping HemisFair became one of his main initiatives and part of his SA2020 economic development plan. The same year he voted in favor of creating the HemisFair Park Area Redevelopment Corporation (HPARC) to revitalize the former world's fairgrounds.[747] In the city council, he stated, "HemisFair Park was a terrific urban space that would add a new dimension to the quality of life for residents and visitors alike."[748] Castro's comments echoed decades of HemisFair revitalization efforts that failed since its closure in 1968. According to the *San Antonio Express News* the fairgrounds had been "underutilized," and the "City leaders should endeavor to complete a meaningful transformation of HemisFair Park before 2018, [for] the 50th anniversary of HemisFair."[749] Following the creation of the HPARC, the city tried to make the old fairgrounds into a green and commercial space for the city.

By 2012, the San Antonio approved a $596 million bond program for city-wide projects. $30 million was used for HemisFair Park master plan created by the HPARC and the California based planning group Johnson Fain, Inc.[750] The plan sought to renovate streets, sidewalks, playgrounds, and the Henry B. Gonzalez center to open spaces for pedestrian use around the old fairgrounds. When Johnson Fain, Inc. and HPARC presented this plan to the city council in 2012,

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[745] "San Antonio picks mayor; incumbents, booze win," *Orange Leader*, May 11, 2009

[746] Ibid.

[747] "About HPARC," Hemisfair Park Area Redevelopment Corporation, accessed November 9, 2019, https://hemisfair.org/about/.

[748] City Council Meeting Minutes, August 12, 2009, Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

[749] "HemisFair Park merits use of city bond funds: Transform the largely dormant site into a municipal asset," *San Antonio Express-News*, August 7, 2011.

[750] City Council Meeting Minutes, February 9, 2012, Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

they stated that "HemisFair's redevelopment will rival the impact of the 1968 World's Fair."[751] Without researching the historical implication of HemisFair, the organizations reiterated the common misconception that the world's fair was successful.[752] The San Antonio Inner City Tax Increment Reinvestment Zone Board (TIRZ) also supported the master plan. The TIRZ sought to "fostering economic development and removing blight within the [inner city]" and connect it to the Eastside of town.[753] Both organizations wanted to HemisFair Park to be accessible across the city. Ironically, HemisFair's redevelopment still had underlying tones of past urban renewal measures taken in 1968, the same measures that destroyed an entire multiethnic community. Still, the city council approved the master plan for green space and increased the local economy.

In 2018, 50 years had passed and HemisFair still stood but its theme of *Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas*. The HPARC created the HemisFair Conservation Society to organization the anniversary. This was not the only change; mayor Castro had converted HemisFair's old park into a walkable green space that was still under construction. After he left his mayoral position in 2014 to become President Barack Obama's Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, the master plan was still in place and HemisFair's redevelopment still had underlaying tones of past urban renewal measures from 1968.[754]

HemisFair's 50th anniversary ceremony also spoke of transnational unity. Mexico exemplified this shared idea of unity amongst the United States with a gift. Mexico City government honored HemisFair's anniversary with a set of sculptured wings created by Mexican

[751] Ibid.

[752] Ibid.

[753] City Council Meeting Minutes, November 11, 2012, Office of the City Clerk, San Antonio Municipal Archives & Records, accessed June 26, 2019.

[754] "San Antonio Mayor Julián Castro Is Said to Be HUD Pick in Cabinet Reshuffling," *New York Times*, May 17, 2014, https://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/18/us/politics/san-antonio-mayor-to-lead-hud.html.

artist Jorge Marín.[755] Similar to O'Gorman's mosaic, art bridged the divide between cultures. In the *San Antonio Express-News* Ambassador Reyna Torres, Consul General of Mexico in San Antonio stated "There are many things that tie us together…. This gift from Mexico City and Jorge Marín is a symbol of that in this very special year."[756] Marin reiterated the idea by saying the "The world belongs to everyone and to each of us" in the same article. [757] In 2018, the artwork echoed the fair's idea of cross border unity but like its predecessors it stayed in HemisFair Plaza.

The anniversary had brought out past ideas relating to unity across the Western Hemisphere during Donald Trump's presidency. Policies in Texas and on the national stage turn toward immigrants from the Western Hemisphere. Post 9/11 immigration policies heightened the militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border. The detention and deportation of Latin American immigrates was a priority for Presidents Barack Obama and Donald Trump's administrations. In Texas, Senate Bill 4 "aim[ed] to outlaw 'sanctuary cities' by requiring local police to cooperate with federal immigration authorities and allowing police to inquire about the immigration status of people they lawfully detain."[758]

San Antonio does not deem itself a sanctuary city, which "generally refers to [cities] that [have] adopted a policy limiting the degree to which local and state law enforcement officers may assist in federal immigration enforcement."[759] Instead, the City of San Antonio supported efforts taken by the San Antonio Police Department (SAPD) Chief William McManus not to detain immigrants for Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). In 2018, the States of Texas sued

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[755] "S.A. to have permanent huge selfie wings in Hemisfair," *San Antonio Express-News*, May 2, 2018, https://www.expressnews.com/sa300/article/EN300-HemisFair-Public-Art-12874744.php#photo-15485685.

[756] Ibid.

[757] Ibid.

[758] "Everything you need to know about Texas' 'sanctuary cities' law," *Texas Tribune*, May 8, 2017.

[759] "Sanctuary City Toolkit," National Immigration Law Center, accessed November 9, 2019, https://www.nilc.org/issues/immigration-enforcement/sanctuary-city-toolkit/.

the city's and McManus's immigration policy. The lawsuit came after three events. First, it came after Donald Trump's criticism of Sanctuary Cities and their inability to cooperate with federal ICE agents. Second, it came after 39 immigrants were found in an 18-wheeler trailer in a Walmart parking lot on the Southside of San Antonio. Ten individuals died following the incident.[760] Third, after SAPD and the city of San Antonio filed a lawsuit against SB4 with MALDEF. [761]

Following HemisFair's s closure, its theme *Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas* and promise to boost the local economy began to fade over time. Ideas of peaceful confluence had to compete with U.S. Cold War initiatives, which sought to curtail communism either through economic aid, brutal military repression, changes of government, and at times all three. In San Antonio, HemisFair lost money for its underwriters and took years to turn a profit for the city. It is during the post-HemisFair years that the Chicana/o Civil Rights Movement influenced town governments, its leaders, and politicians to focus on the needs of the communities of color.

Although HemisFair transformed the physical landscape of San Antonio, its accomplishments cannot be seen in the fairgrounds or on its buildings. Instead, it was seen in the changes to San Antonio's political and economic society. Before the fair, political and business leaders focused on attracting people and businesses downtown through HemisFair; however, after the exposition, individuals and commercial industries began to move outside of the inner-city. HemisFair gave developers a clear example of what not to do, which was not to focus on large urban renewal projects in the downtown area in hopes that they would spark economic

[760] "Saldaña: Walmart Parking Lot A Tableau of Tragic Death," *Rivard Report*, July 26, 2017, https://therivardreport.com/saldana-walmart-parking-lot-a-tableau-of-tragic-death/.

[761] "City Leaders, Law Enforcement, Advocates Clear the Air on Immigrant Rights," *Rivard Report*, July 27, 2017, https://therivardreport.com/city-leaders-law-enforcement-advocates-clear-the-air-on-immigrant-rights/.

revitalization. The world's fair promised so much for developers but gave so little back to its investors.

After HemisFair, Chicana/o youth activists had their ideas on how to help San Antonio by focusing on providing economic assistance and political support for its poorest residents: the Mexican American community. Support for Chicanas/os came from the War on Poverty program SANYO, civil rights organizations such as MAYO and MALDEF, and county Mexican American leaders. Dismantling the GGL's hold on San Antonio politics was one task for this political coalition. They achieved this by running their own candidates for the city council and changing the town's voter districts through a legal court case. In the late 1970s, this coalition gave rise to some of the more affluent political voices in San Antonio, which included Rosie Castro, Bernardo Eureste, Henry Cisneros, and María Antonietta Berriozábal. Their voices, whether inside or outside the city council chambers, resonated with people across the city and made the local government more responsive toward the needs of its most vulnerable citizens.

Nevertheless, older economic models of town development, like HemisFair, rose during the 1980s. The town governments collaborated with business developers downtown to create the Alamodome. Like HemisFair, the Alamodome failed to bring a lasting change to downtown, as within a decade, the San Antonio Spurs moved out of the Alamodome to a newer sports arena a few blocks down. In the 2000s, Rosie Castro's son Julian Castro became the mayor of San Antonio and implemented Pre-K 4 SA, a citywide initiative to provide Pre-Kindergarten classes to all town residents. Seen as a progressive initiative, nonetheless, he still wanted to help the downtown economy, which was part of his SA2020 plan to redevelop HemisFair Plaza. In the late 2010s, HemisFair was redeveloped, but immigration policy reached San Antonio and borderland politics.

Now 50 years after HemisFair, the U.S. and Texas governments no longer let Mexican citizens cross the U.S.-Mexico border with ease to visit the world's fair site.

Conclusion

Today, Juan O'Gorman's mural titled "Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas" still stands above what is called the Lila Cockrell Theater now still located on the Riverwalk entrance of the HemisFair fairgrounds. However, the message of confluence, which stood for Pan-American unity and collaboration between San Antonio communities, that was supposed to have existed before and after the fair did not stand the test of time in San Antonio or abroad. Confluence stopped at the gates for HemisFair. Outside the gates, the message of confluence did not exist when confronted by the Chicana/o Movement and its political ideologies that moved away from previous middle-class Mexican American measures of political acceptance. When fair representative countries went back home to Latin America, they also found a changing world due to the Cold War in the form of domestic calls for government stability, revolution, and an increased presence of the U.S. in their countries.

In chapter 1, during the eighteenth century to the early twentieth century, the idea of community confluence did not exist in San Antonio before HemisFair. Indigenous groups had resided along the San Antonio River and San Pedro Springs for centuries before the Spanish had arrived in the 1700s. Once the Spanish colonization took form in the region, colonial policies reinforced their hold on the lands along the riverways because it provided residents with a clean drinking supply and water for farming. Following Mexico's Independence in 1821, Texas and San Antonio changed with the introduction of empresarios. Community life in the colonial era did not reflect what happened after the introduction of Anglo Americans and land agents in East Texas. Tejanos filled top positions within the Texas and Mexican government as mediators between white land agents like Stephen F. Austin. In San Antonio, Tejanos held political and economic positions

in Mexico's north and became influential and enabled people like Juan Seguín and José Antonio Navarro to rise in prominence.

This time of peace did not last, as the Texas Revolt from 1835-1836 took hold of the region, causing Tejanos and Anglos to declare war against Mexico and separate as an independent country. After the war, Tejanos were racially discriminated against in the Republic of Texas and began to be displaced within their communities. San Antonio's once-dominant elite Mexican class shifted to one of second-class citizenship because of their racial makeup. This process continued after the Annexation of Texas in 1845 and after the U.S. War with Mexico in 1848 because Mexicans, now Americans, were further displaced in Southwest society, its economy, and in politics. During this period in San Antonio, Anglo and German communities began to operate small businesses downtown in plazas, buyout, and acquire buildings that once belonged to the Mexican community. Mexican Americans that stayed downtown could only find jobs in the commercial and customer service sectors. Nevertheless, by the end of the nineteenth century, even those that stayed were pushed outside of the downtown corridor because of racism and ideas of public health by white community members. The job placement and segregated status for Mexican Americans reflected their racial caste in American society.

In the twentieth century, San Antonio's ethnic Mexican community continued to be segregated but tried to gain inclusion with the help of civil rights organizations. Mexican American organizations like the League of United Latin American Citizens fought against racial discrimination and city politics. As a result, this allowed them to gain inclusion into city politics and challenge their place within the U.S. racial system. The organization, however, reflected a complex class hierarchy where most of its membership were middle-class individuals. In the Westside community of San Antonio, however, their fellow Mexican Americans were mainly

lower-class and working-class individuals that faced the realities of impoverished housing and urban infrastructure. Anglo depictions of San Antonio's Westside resulted in racial stereotypes of their communities, calling it the Mexican-town or the Latin Quarter. Compared to the newly incorporated neighborhoods, the Westside's and Southside's built environment did not have modern roads, sewers, or sidewalks. The San Antonio municipal government funded the construction of new infrastructure projects in the white neighborhoods on the Northside of town but neglected the older Mexican communities.

San Antonio Fair Inc. kept few records of what their officials thought confluence meant and what they thought of the city's racial and urban history. Ideas of confluence in the Alamo City meant the merging of two cultures, but what the history of city shows is a divided past. In the town, Mexican Americans faced the brunt of Texas' racial caste system at the expense of their wealth, political mobility, and community's infrastructure. Racial discrimination and neighborhood segregation influenced the ways that Anglo and ethnic Mexican culture associated with each other. In the twentieth century, individuals living on the Westside and Southside of San Antonio fought for political and economic mobility and had to navigate between segregated neighborhoods.

In chapter 2, during the mid-twentieth century, San Antonio continued to restructure its downtown landscape using federal urban renewal funds. The three different sections discussed the various events and individuals that changed local politics. Mexican American and African Americans became more influential in local government by participating not just as a voting bloc, but as integral groups in shaping politics and municipal projects. This process did not happen separately, as historians have discussed; instead, it was the political and social ideas of confluence changing because of economic, political, and social mobility between Mexican Americans, African Americans, and white leaders of San Antonio. As San Antonio began to change, brown

and white coalitions were being forged to combat the problem of poverty across the city through federally funded public housing and urban renewal projects.

First, San Antonio's machine politicians controlled city policy and municipal construction projects during the late 1930s and 1940s. Mexican American and African American groups became large voting blocs with machine ring politicians. Maury Maverick became a prominent political figure and mayor for the city who that discouraged political rings. While in office, Mayor Maverick helped develop tourist sites that included the San Antonio Riverwalk and La Villita Plaza using federal New Deal programs. At the time, white officials deemed most communities of color in San Antonio as blighted areas in need of restoration; La Villita Plaza became one of these sites for Maverick. Despite renovating downtown's tourist spaces, Maverick's main dream for the city was to place a professional city manager in municipal government. A non-partisan city manager meant that machine politicians could not appoint someone without proper vetting. He did not get to implement this type of government, but in the coming years, his successors would.

Second, following World War II, San Antonio developed into a significant military-industrial hub. In the process, the need for labor increased the city's population in the Mexican American and African American corridors. Politically, the rise in jobs paralleled the increase in ethnic Mexican and African American participation in local, state, and national politics. However, the rise of minority inclusion in San Antonio happened while Jack White was elected mayor. His mayoral term resembled that of the political machine and had an inverse effect on political inclusion for communities of color. As a result of political hostilities and the Good Government League (GGL), he was limited to only one term in office. Before leaving, White implemented a city manager and new form of government that divided areas of town into individual districts. His actions separated former minority voting blocs in the city, thus pushing them further away from

city politics. San Antonio citizens that resisted White's rule, organized and mobilized under the Good Government League (GGL). The GGL quickly resembled older machine politics and leadership circles that had plagued San Antonio before. With the GGL in city government, only a few individuals and groups could access city council positions and influence policy decisions. Henry B. González became one of the only Mexican Americans to get instated as a councilman during the GGL's reign in the 1950s. Once in office, the councilman played a decisive role, along with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), to dismantle the town's Jim Crow separate but equal ordinances. González, despite being part of the Mexican American civil rights movement, saw slum clearance as a means to eradicate poverty in his Westside district. Later, as González rose in state and national political positions, he assisted the San Antonio Housing Authority and Citizens for Decent Housing (CDH) to get policies approved to eradicate "blighted" communities in the inner-city through urban renewal and housing code compliance officers. The petition for larger public housing projects did get approved by the city.

Still, this process to use urban renewal set the foundation for future collaborative efforts between the business and minority communities of San Antonio. Their efforts transferred into a more significant project in the 1960s. The same leaders that argued for urban renewal received it in the form of a World's Fair. The fair was meant to commemorate the unity between Latin America and the United States in what city officials claimed to be the most binational community in the Southwest. This claim, however, reflected a deep divide between its Mexican American, African American, and white communities. Regardless of this racial division, San Antonio Fair Inc. (SAF) began organizing the event and collaborated with the city to develop a multi-million-dollar area South of downtown. The 92-acre urban renewal zone demolished a neighborhood for

development, leaving only a few standing houses as buildings began to be erected in the area. This was the final stage for the city's urban renewal agenda during the period.

The changes in the political and urban landscape became part of the history of San Antonio as the fight for racial inclusion became visible to white leaders. The 1968 HemisFair represented the final stage to promote urban renewal and community collaboration, but by no means ended the need to fight for racial equality. This era in San Antonio history describes how communities of color were restricted from housing, society, and politics by their race and class and were placed within token local government positions despite the city government's approval of desegregation. Those like Henry B. González led the way in supporting the destruction of their communities via slum clearance. Using previous methods of urban renewal, officials decided that progress in the form of slum clearance meant more than producing a racially egalitarian society in the Alamo City. The need for more racial inclusion in San Antonio became apparent as preparation for the 1968 HemisFair shifted away from urban politics and into the federal and international spectrum.

In chapter 3, I examine how Mexican American political leaders influenced urban politics and the U.S. and Latin American affairs to help develop HemisFair. Mexican Americans were essential toward the development of HemisFair. These individuals included Congressman González, Ed Castillo, and Carlos Freymann. Since borderlands' identities are dependent on their ability to navigate among nationality, culture, and racial ideologies, these individuals used their Mexican American identity to gain access to the U.S political spectrum and used their Pan-American identity as Latin Americans to mediate between foreign and domestic policy. Furthermore, Mexican Americans in San Antonio had to adapt to their marginality and find other means to gain power and acceptance in their community. Using Spanish as a desirable skill,

individuals, such as Castillo and Freymann, were able to mediate between English and Spanish-speaking society in Latin American countries and mass media markets.

Mexican Americans that collaborated with the local Anglo elites became vital to the fair's success because they used their ethnic, racial, and class identity to gain political inclusion into American society. It was the individual actions of these HemisFair officials that acted as vehicles for change in the borderlands and in developing the fair. Their ability to utilize ethnic political ties enabled them to link themselves to pre-WWII Pan-American politics in the Southwest and transfer these ties to the post-WWII era to assist in the development of the fair in San Antonio. The Texas Good Neighbor Commission became a prime example of how the Mexican American community could use government positions to enhance the idea of Pan-American unity and use it to end racial discrimination.

These Mexican American officials used Pan-Americanism to gain HemisFair support abroad and in the federal government. However, support for the fair on the home front in San Antonio reflected a deep divide between class and race as the Chicana/o Movement began to take shape. In conjunction with developing HemisFair, local leaders neglected the inequalities faced by Mexican Americans in the Westside and Southside. A new Chicana/o militant generation started to form amid the middle-class Mexican American generation. These two generations under different ideological goals reflected the changing political and social climate because the new Chicana/o groups did not endorse itself under a Pan-American identity; instead, they associated themselves with the cultural Chicano nationalism. Nevertheless, developing the fair did not only facilitate the notion that the U.S. was under one Pan-American identity, it represents a moment in time where Mexican Americans recreated themselves as active members of the nation-state amid competing national, cultural, and racial ideologies.

In chapter 4, I examine the months the World's Fair was opened. The 1968 HemisFair was advertised across Texas, the United States, and the Western Hemisphere, to celebrate San Antonio's 250th Anniversary, bring Latin American nations closer to the U.S. Cold War sphere of influence, and to ease domestic race relations. Despite concerns over violence, the fair did go on as planned; national pavilions, like Mexico's, were able to display their national treasures, and Mexican American members were able to contribute to its production. However, by the end of HemisFair, its theme *Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas* failed to live up to its name.

The U.S. Pavilion used the theme of confluence to portray a continuous history and facilitate diplomatic relations between Latin American nations. The U.S.-Mexico border complicated this idea of confluence between the two countries. Middle-class Mexican citizens traveling to HemisFair immigration policy was blurred according to class and immigration status either as a tourist or laborer. Mexican tourists to HemisFair could cross the border with ease amid heightened U.S. border enforcement that sought to deport working-class Mexican citizens from the U.S.

Once in San Antonio, tourists from across the world were welcomed at HemisFair's gates with protesters. Although the city had tried to diminish the presence of activism through city ordinances, different groups found ways to protest and boycott HemisFair. Those that objected against it highlighted this class divide of the World's Fair and San Antonio society, and demonstrated against the Cold War, and the destruction of a community through urban renewal. Other travelers to the exposition were encouraged to participate in its free activities and but those that lived in the San Antonio could barely afford the price of food or attractions inside the fair.

San Antonio's Mexican neighborhoods were also considered attractions for visitors that ventured outside of the fairgrounds. The class and racial inequalities that HemisFair officials

claimed were nonexistent in the town, were witnessed firsthand by those that ventured to the Westside and Southside. Visitors that did not want to see this part of San Antonio could still catch a glimpse of it on CBS's Hunger in America documentary that showcased the Alamo City's class and racial divide.

HemisFair's ideas of confluence in the Western Hemisphere and its local community came face to face with the Cold War initiatives in Latin America and the Chicana/o Civil Rights Movement after 1968. As the United States tried to contain Communism in Latin America, San Antonio news reports showed that it used the same oppressive measures seen in the Soviet Union. Providing urban renewal funds to create HemisFair did not help the Alamo City's economy. Instead, it added a new level of scrutiny by Chicana/o youths that juxtaposed the fair to the impoverished neighborhoods that did not benefit from the exposition.

In chapter 5, HemisFair's use of cultural hegemony was met with the more aggressive U.S. interventionist approach to combat Communism in Latin America. Locally, the Chicana/o Movement formed inroads to change San Antonio city politics and transform the HemisFair site into a more inclusive space. Since HemisFair's closure in 1968, the message of hemispheric confluence was not upheld by nations of the Western Hemisphere, and the question of what to do with the World's Fair site had been at the heart of city politics. During the Cold War in Latin America, Mexico was not the only country to suppress the voices of the people. Hemispheric unity toward the end of the twentieth century meant the military alignment between the U.S. and right-wing governments in Latin America. Nations in North and South America, working with the U.S. military and intelligence agencies, began to suppress people that did not obey the status quo, those deemed left-leaning, and spoke out against the government.

Amid the problems, communities of color were able to actively participate in the town council because of the eradication of the Good Government League (GGL). The GGL disbanded because of the divide created by Chicana/o Movement and business developers. The Chicana/o Movement distance themselves away from established Mexican Americans like Henry B. Gonzalez, one of the creators of HemisFair and supported by GGL members. Chicanas/os in San Antonio actively protested GGL politicians and placed themselves on independent tickets to be elected in the city council. New business developers used the same technique and ran on separate tickets. The GGL represented the old business establishment that invested in HemisFair. The fair proved not to be a success and plunged the town into millions of dollars' worth of debt following its closure. The question of whether to continue developing downtown or the northside of San Antonio caused a rift in the business communities. Chicanas/os and new business members that sought independent tickets led to the dismantling of the GGL. The final dagger in the GGL was the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund lawsuit that created independent city council district elections, which removed the at-large elections. San Antonians were able to finally elect their city council members without slating groups and out of district voter interference.

In 2018, during its 50th Anniversary, HemisFair's message of confluence in San Antonio and abroad was still being debated by World's Fair attendees, town residents, city officials, and in national politics. Although contentious at times, in 1968, HemisFair represented a watershed moment for Mexican Americans, San Antonio, and United States foreign policy. In 2018, during its 50th Anniversary, HemisFair's message of confluence in San Antonio and abroad was still being debated by World's Fair attendees, town residents, city officials, and in national politics. Although contentious at times, in 1968, HemisFair represented a watershed moment for Mexican Americans, San Antonio, and United States foreign policy. Now in the twenty-first century, town

residents and federal officials are still trying to strive for *A Confluence of Civilizations in the Americas* in U.S. society.

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Vita

Gene Thomas Morales is originally from San Antonio, TX, where he earned his Associate of Liberal Arts from Palo Alto College, in 2009. Afterward, he transferred to the University of Northern Iowa, where he was part of the Ronald E. McNair Post-baccalaureate Achievement Program and received a Bachelor of History in 2011. In the fall of 2012, Morales was accepted into the doctoral program in Borderlands History at The University of Texas at El Paso (UTEP), where he received his Master's in History in 2014.

Morales' was the recipient of Dodson Research Travel Grant in and the Graduate Education Fellowship from UTEP's Graduate School. The funding allowed him to conduct oral histories and visit archival depositories across Texas during San Antonio, Austin, Dallas, and Corpus Christi to complete his project. In addition, he has presented at numerous state and national conferences, including the Texas State Historical Association Conference, Western History Association Conference, Southwestern Social Science Conference, and the Popular Culture Association Conference.

For the past eight years, Gene Morales has worked as a teaching assistant and instructor for the UTEP Department of History, graduate assistant for the UTEP Graduate School, and high school teacher at Harmony Science Academy.

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