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INTERSECTING OPPRESSION: RECOVERING
THE HISTORY OF THE INSTITUTE OF
THE DEAF, DUMB, AND BLIND
COLORED YOUTH

by

KENYA JIHAN LOUDD

Presented to the Faculty of the Honors College of
The University of Texas at Arlington in Partial Fulfillment
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May 06, 2020

ABSTRACT

INTERSECTING OPPRESSION: RECOVERING
THE HISTORY OF THE INSTITUTE OF
THE DEAF, DUMB, AND BLIND
COLORED YOUTH

Kenya J. Loudd, B.A. Interdisciplinary Studies

The University of Texas at Arlington, 2020

Faculty Mentor: Sarah F. Rose

Faculty Mentor: Delaina Price

Created out of the vision of William H. Holland, an African American man who had no known prior experience with educating those with disabilities, the Texas Institute for Deaf, Dumb and Blind Colored Youth (1887-1967) was one of a number of segregated Southern schools that served African American youth with disabilities. By and large, these schools' histories have yet to be explored. The institute's initial policies directly challenged widely held White expectations about the capabilities of African Americans with disabilities and African Americans in general. As shown by historical research in the institute's archival and published records, the institute's early years also complicate disability studies scholars' and historians' use of the term "asylum." The unique history of founder William H. Holland, along with the strong presence of almost exclusively African

American staff, also highlights the emergence of Black leadership in education and the longstanding intersections between race, disability, and civil rights. The eventual shift to an “asylum” with “inmates” around 1900, in turn, intersects with the beginnings of mass incarceration and the rise of Jim Crow. Future research plans include collecting oral history narratives from former students and their family members and extending the narrative to the 1960s.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

African Americans with disabilities have historically faced oppression on two intersecting fronts: race and disability. The intersection of race and disability constructs has made for a singular experience termed “simultaneous oppression” (Burch & Joyner, 2007; Stuart, 1992; Raines, 1983; Staples, 1999; Washington, 2007). According to Stuart, this simultaneous oppression divides disabled African Americans from their able-bodied peers and affects them in three ways: limited or no individuality and identity, resource discrimination, and isolation from the African American community and family (Stuart, 1992). These factors may also result in higher rates of life dissatisfaction for African Americans with disabilities. (Outlaw, 2001; Smith & Alston, 2009).

Due to limited resources, racism, and stigma about disability, as well as the ways in which notions of race and disability intersected, many African Americans with cognitive, psychosocial, sensory, and physical disabilities found themselves in the care of state-run facilities—asylums, state prisons, and homes for the blind and deaf—during the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries (Burch & Joyner, 2007; Carlson, 2001; Staples, 1999). Moreover, in Southern states, the facilities that held these individuals were segregated both by race and in disbursements of funds (Staples, 1999). Created out of the vision of an African American man who had no known prior experience with educating those with disabilities, William H. Holland, the Texas Institute for Deaf, Dumb and Blind

Colored Youth (1887-1967) was one of a number of segregated Southern schools that served African-American youth with disabilities (Corcoran, 2012; Tobak, 2006).

Texas's segregated institute, later renamed the Blind, Deaf and Orphan Colored School, is historically significant for both disability studies and African American studies, since its origins and development not only help to illuminate the intersection of race and disability as a singular experience but also highlight the emergence of Black leadership in education and the longstanding intersections between race, disability, and civil rights. The institute's initial policies directly challenged widely held White expectations about the capabilities of African Americans with disabilities and African Americans in general (Stuart, 1992). As shown by historical research in the institute's archival and published records, the institute's early years also complicate disability studies scholars' and historians' use of the term "asylum." The eventual shift from an "institute" with "pupils" to an "asylum" with "inmates" around 1900, in turn, intersects with the beginnings of mass incarceration and the rise of Jim Crow (Rose, 2017).

Intriguingly, this historic school was opened in response to the political and philanthropic desires of an African American legislator, William H. Holland, and its development would be facilitated by other African Americans (Corcoran, 2012; Tobak, 2006; 1870s: William H. Holland, n.d.). As little has been investigated about this school's origins and development or the experiences of its alumni and staff, archival and historical research into the Institute for the Deaf, Dumb and Blind Colored Youth provides scholars a significant snapshot into historical disability terminology, race relations, Black leadership, and the broader historical significance of segregated Southern institutions for African Americans with disabilities.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

2.1 The Legacy of the Black Codes

To place the Institute for Deaf, Dumb, and Blind Colored Youth in context, we must first consider the political, economic, and civil climates faced by African Americans in Texas during the nineteenth century. So, too, must we explore the complexities and added discrimination faced by people with disabilities at the time. In the state of Texas, enslaved Africans were not told of their freedom until June 19, 1865, now referred to as the Juneteenth holiday. Freed people were an enigma after having been treated as nothing more than property for hundreds of years—posing a concern shared by many politicians on the state and national levels (Crouch & Madaras, 2007; Pitre, 1985; Smallwood, 1981). In response to emancipation and African American men gaining the right to vote, Black men began to be elected to the state legislature, leading to advancements for African Americans that, in many cases, are still visible today, with some of the most influential being Historically Black Colleges and Universities (Pitre, 1985). Despite these accomplishments, the majority of African Americans in Texas remained a subjugated and disenfranchised class purposely limited by the legislative decisions of the Texas government (Crouch & Madaras, 2007; Smallwood, 1981).

In response to the emancipation of enslaved Africans throughout the South, Texas, like many other states in the South, created a new constitution that would incorporate the newly freed Blacks. The Texas Constitution of 1866 was drafted by the Eleventh

Legislature and included a series of laws referred to as the Black Codes, which were designed to limit the rights of freedmen by perpetuating the plantation culture of the past (Crouch & Madaras, 2007; Smallwood, 1981). Despite many early twentieth-century historians' view that the Texas Black codes were less severe than other Southern states, historian Walter T. Chapin has shown that Texas's codes nevertheless were intended to “insure” that African Americans “would remain a cheap, docile, and disciplined source of labor” (Crouch & Madaras, 2007). The Black codes were “exacting,” and Whites could provide “additional coercions” to a “politically powerless, physically defenseless people” (Crouch & Madaras, 2007). These coercions included holding Black sharecroppers and plantation workers liable for upholding contracts of service to their White employers despite poor treatment and denying them the opportunity to switch employers freely if better opportunities arose (Crouch & Madaras, 2007). Prewar plantation culture and power dynamics were also preserved by the fact that whole families were obligated to work under one employer; legal threats of jail time, as well as fines, were also used to enforce the requirement that all able-bodied African Americans of working age did so (Crouch & Madaras, 2007; Smallwood, 1981). As Crouch and Madaras explain, legislators defined “vagrants” as “fortunetellers who were not licensed to exhibit “tricks or cheats in public”; prostitutes; professional gamblers or those who kept houses for them; beggars of alms not afflicted with a disablement, physical malady, or misfortune; habitual drunkards; and “persons who stroll idly about the streets of town[s] or cities, having no local habitation, and no honest business or employment” (Crouch & Madaras, 2007).

The implementation of lien laws, apprenticeship laws, restrictions on the right to bear arms, and vagrancy statutes led to the initiation of legalized forced labor (Crouch &

Madaras, 2007). In short, the Black codes, on a large scale, produced a labor force that was undereducated, destitute, and docile to White supremacy. Crouch and Madaras explain: “The Eleventh Legislature provided for the beginning of convict leasing, no doubt realizing that blacks would be sentenced to the penitentiary in droves” (Crouch & Madaras, 2007). The residual effects of these practices can still be observed in African American communities today: African Americans comprise just 13 percent of the nation’s overall population, but 60 percent of those incarcerated. In addition to laying the foundation for mass incarceration, “[the Black codes] initiated, perhaps intentionally, the incipient stages of segregation and Jim Crowism” (Crouch & Madaras, 2007).

2.2 The Freedman’s Bureau

Amid all of this legislative pushback on freedom, the Texas Freedman’s Bureau, which existed from 1866 to 1868, was an attempt by the federal government to assist African Americans in navigating their way as newly freed people (Crouch & Madaras, 2007; Smallwood, 1981). Recognizing the propensity of some Southern Whites to continue the plantation culture of the past, as seen in the 1866 constitution, the federal government opened offices of the Freedman’s Bureau in cities that had large African-American populations (Crouch & Madaras, 2007). Attempting to prevent the abuse and misuse of African Americans made vulnerable in labor contracts because of their slavery-limited educations, the Freedman’s Bureau overturned many illegal and biased contracts between White employers and Black workers, including *Sally Ross v. J.W. Marise* in Robertson County and *Samuel Morgan v. Patrick Lyons* in Seguin. In these two cases, as well as other urban ones, the Freedman’s Bureau ruled in favor of the African American complainants (Crouch & Madaras, 2007). Unfortunately, the Freedman’s Bureau did not protect the far

larger population of African Americans living in the rural areas of the state where plantation culture persisted (Crouch & Madaras, 2007; Smallwood, 1981).

2.3. Restrictions and Resources on those with Disabilities

Historically, cultural, political, social, and medical constructions of “disability” have restricted individuals’ opportunities to advance, just as with race. Under the Social Model of disability, as detailed by disability studies scholar Tom Shakespeare (2013), society itself poses the largest threat to the advancement of people with disabilities. Through “social oppression, cultural discourse, and environmental barriers”—not medical pathology—people with disabilities have been marginalized from mainstream life. Disability studies scholar L. J. Davis likewise contextualizes the modern terms of “normalcy” and “normality,” contending that “...(the) problem is not the person with disabilities, the problem is the way that normality is constructed to create the problem of the person with disabilities” (2013). Just as the freedom of enslaved Africans led to reactionary legislation throughout the country in order to limit their development, so too were “Ugly Laws” passed to control the visibility of those with disabilities (Schweik, 2009). Beginning in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, laws and ordinances throughout the country were passed in order to relegate those with disabilities to roles as either a source of entertainment or a blemish on the American landscape. Under the assumption that people with disabilities were of lower economic status, the first Ugly Law forbidding the appearance in public of the “unsightly” was passed in San Francisco in 1867 in order to restrict begging. Such ordinances would persist in cities throughout the nation well into the twentieth century (Schweik, 2009).

During the early nineteenth century, strides were made to assist those who were born deaf or blind with obtaining the same opportunities to pursue a normative, as well as advanced, level of education (Edwards, 2012). Children with these disabilities sometimes found teachers willing to educate them, but generally, children with these disabilities, and their families, found themselves in a precarious situation, often either attending school with minimal instruction or not attending at all (Edwards, 2012). These lags in the educational system would prompt the opening of the deaf, dumb, and blind school in Washington, D.C. In 1857, the 34th Congress passed H.R. 806 which chartered the grammar school Columbia School for the Deaf and Dumb and Blind, that had been opened by Amos Kendall in 1856 after he became aware of several blind and deaf students who were not being sufficiently cared for in the city (Edwards, 2012). The passing of this legislation and the appointment of Edward Minor Gallaudet as the first superintendent initiated the long history of Gallaudet University and altered the limitations placed on those with disabilities (Davis, 2012; Edwards, 2012).

CHAPTER 3

THE INFLUENCE OF WILLIAM H. HOLLAND

3.1 A Humble and Complicated Beginning

To depict the historical relevance of the Institute for Deaf, Dumb and Blind Colored Youth appropriately and adequately, one must first begin by examining the life of its founder William H. Holland (Corcoran, 2012; Tobak, 2006). Born enslaved on a plantation in Marshall, Texas, the year of his birth is believed to fall between 1841 and 1849, as no official records were maintained for the births of slaves (Corcoran, 2012; Holland, William H., n.d.; Tobak, 2006; 1870s: William H. Holland, n.d.). Little is known about his childhood, but in the late 1850s, the future secretary of the state of Texas, Captain Byrd (Bird) Holland, purchased William's freedom as well as that of his two brothers, Milton and James, whom Captain Holland had fathered with an enslaved woman named Matilda, owned by his brother Spearman Holland (Lucko, 2010; 1870s: William H. Holland, n.d.). As a Black enslaved woman of the time, Matilda would have had no legal rights to her sons, as she herself was viewed only as property (Battles, 2016; Glasrud & Pitre, 2008). It remains unclear whether her relationship with Captain Holland was voluntary or coerced, but White men's use of Black enslaved women for forced sexualized gratification was a common practice at the time (Battles, 2016; Glasrud & Pitre, 2008; Williams, 2019). After emancipating his children, Captain Bird Holland served as secretary of state from March 1861 to November 1861, during which time Texas seceded from the United States and joined the Confederacy. After his eight-month term as secretary of state, Captain Holland

served in the Confederate Army, dying at the Battle of Pleasant Hill in Louisiana in 1864 at the age of 54. Prior to his death, Captain Holland had fathered an additional two children by his wife, Matilda Rust, a White woman (Lucko, 2010).

3.2 A Chance at Education

After having his freedom purchased by his father, William H. Holland and his brothers were sent north to Ohio, where they attended a school established in Southeast Ohio, Albany Academy, in response to the widespread lack of educational options for Blacks (the 1870s.; Holland, William H., n.d. ; Randolph, 2002; Tobak, 2006; Waite, 2001). Although no records disclose why Holland's father purchased the freedom of his children or sent them to the North, aspirations for Black men in Texas were limited (Anderson, 1988). Due to the extreme restrictions on education of Blacks in the South, Captain Holland's decision to send them North could be perceived as an attempt to provide young William and his brothers with the opportunity to surpass the restricted futures that they would have encountered as Black men in Texas at that time (Anderson, 1988; Crouch & Madaras, 2007; Woodson, 1918).

Initially established in 1851 as Albany Academy and later renamed the Albany Manual Labor Academy and then Albany Manual Labor University (Randolph, 2002), the school that the boys attended was one of many that arose out of White hostility to African American education. Despite being a "free" state upon its entrance into the Union and a popular safe haven on the Underground Railroad, education for African Americans in Ohio was a highly debated topic. In an 1827 editorial in the *Ohio State Journal*, for instance, an anonymous author wrote, "If we enlighten [African Americans'] minds by education, what a new world of misery does open to their view. Knowledge would open their eyes to their

present degraded state—their incapacity of enjoying the rights of citizenship, or of being received into the social interests of the Whites as friends. They would be rendered uneasy with their condition, and, seeing no hopes of improvement, would harbor designs unfriendly to the peace and permanency of our institutions” (Randolph, 2002). Ultimately, African Americans in Ohio found no recourse but to established schools of their own (Randolph, 2002).

After the first “educational Black law” was passed in Ohio’s legislature in 1829, it became legal for White schools to prohibit the entrance of African American students (Randolph, 2002). However, the state also ruled that tax money that had been collected from working African Americans for schools was to be returned to these communities for the establishment of dedicated Black schools. Historian and scholar Carter G. Woodson recorded that between the late 1820s and early 1830s Blacks in Ohio had established schools in “Logan, Clark, Columbiana, Guernsey, Jefferson, Highland, Brown, Darke, Shelby, Green, Miami, Warren, Scioto, Gallia, Ross, and Muskingum counties” (1918). The founding of these schools laid the groundwork for the eventual founding of Albany Enterprise Academy in 1851, and furthermore the building blocks of the education of William H. Holland; Holland and his brothers would attend Albany Enterprise Academy upon their arrival in Ohio (the 1870s: William H. Holland, n.d.; Tobak, 2006). This would become especially relevant when the original Albany Manual Labor University became a segregated institution and changed its name to Franklin College (Randolph, 2002). Responding to this change, Blacks in Ohio created their own institution, which was owned, run, and operated by African Americans: the Albany Enterprise Academy (Randolph, 2002). In its 1864 constitution, the Albany Enterprise Academy would boldly state: “To

this end we have established ALBANY ENTERPRISE ACADEMY, to be owned and controlled by colored persons.” The constitution explained the founders’ “desire to demonstrate the capacity of colored men to originate and successfully manage such a school, believing that such a demonstration will afford an argument in favor of the colored man which none can gainsay” (Randolph, 2002). Being a product of Albany Enterprise Academy during such a critical and transformational point in African American history would play a major role in shaping William H. Holland’s political and educational activism later.

3.3 Young Adulthood

Ironically, Captain Holland’s sons served the Union even as he lost his life fighting for the Confederacy. Following the brothers’ time at the Albany Enterprise Academy, Milton Holland joined the fifth United States Colored Troops and received a Congressional Medal of Honor for his heroic acts during the New Market Heights Battle in September of 1864 (1870s: William H. Holland, n.d.; Corcoran, 2012; Lucko, 2010; Tobak, 2006). William joined the war in October of the same year and enlisted in the Union Army’s Sixteenth Colored Troops Regiment, which was organized in Nashville, Tennessee, but included men from Ohio as well (Lucko, 2010; 1870s: William H. Holland, n.d.; Tobak, 2006). During his time in the Union Army, William Holland participated in the Battles of Nashville and Overton Hood and served in garrison duty in Chattanooga, Tennessee.

In 1867, after his service in the Civil War, William Holland set his focus on obtaining a higher education by entering Oberlin College in northeast Ohio (1870s: William H. Holland, n.d.; Tobak, 2006). In 1834, Oberlin had become the first college to admit African American students, which encouraged the development of a more highly

educated population of Blacks, later termed the “talented tenth” (Waite, 2001). In his 1903 essay “The Talented Tenth” (2018), Du Bois argued that “the talented tenth of the Negro race must be made leaders of thought and missionaries of culture among their people.” Oberlin College was a key venue for constructing an environment in which African Americans could aspire to this degree of excellence.

The origins of Oberlin College lay in the small evangelical community of Oberlin, Ohio, founded in 1833 (Waite, 2001). Due to the community’s initial desire to create a godly community, they took a strikingly different stance than most White towns towards educating Blacks. John Shepherd, one of the founding ministers, held that Blacks should be educated “to elevate them more rapidly,” and for “the emancipation and salvation of our colored brethren.” Shepherd further suggested that by admitting Black students to the new college, “God will bless us in doing right.” Due to this founding philosophy, students attending Oberlin prior to the twentieth century intermingled in studies regardless of race; the only prohibition regarding race was the banning of dating and marrying between Blacks and Whites (Waite, 2001). In addition to admitting Black men, Oberlin also educated Black women; in fact, the first Black woman, Mary Jane Patterson, to receive an A.B. degree did so at Oberlin (Waite, 2001). Patterson would later become the principal of the first Black high school in Washington, D.C.

Oberlin College’s revolutionary admissions policy had far-reaching impacts on the education of African Americans throughout the country, North and South alike, especially because 70 percent of its graduates worked in the field of education after graduation (Anderson, 1988; Waite, 2001). Henry Cowles, a professor at Oberlin, reported that “between 1835 and 1863, 135 African American males and 141 African American females

attended the College and that all were in the preparatory department.” Notable graduates of Oberlin College during this time period included William Sanders Scarborough, Dr. Anna Julia Cooper, and Mary Church-Terrell, respectively, the first African American classical scholar of Greek and Latin, the second principal of M Street High School in Washington, D.C., and the first Black woman to serve on a school board. The accomplishments of the graduates of Oberlin College highlight a crucial period in African American and American history that would also produce the likes of Texas’s William H. Holland.

3.4 Educator, Legislator, and Philanthropist

After completing two years of studies at Oberlin College, William H. Holland, for reasons that remain unknown, moved back to Texas and, soon thereafter, began his political career (1870s: William H. Holland, n.d.; Lucko, 2010; Tobak, 2006). In his first years back in his native state, Holland served as a teacher in schools around the Austin Doublehorn community and then as the postmaster in Waller County (1870s: William H. Holland, n.d.; Lucko, 2010). In 1876, after joining the Republican Party along with many other African American men of the time, Holland was elected to the fifteenth Texas legislature, representing Waller County (1870s: William H. Holland, n.d.; Lucko, 2010; Pitre, 1985; Tobak, 2006). Notably, Holland was also elected as a delegate for the National Republican Convention in 1876 and 1880.

Upon entering the Texas legislature in August of 1876, Holland soon evidenced an Oberlin-style commitment to expanding educational opportunities for Black Texans. He supported a bill that aimed to create the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas for Colored Youth as part of the Morrill Act (1870s: William H. Holland, n.d.; Holland,

William M., n.d.; Tobak, 2006). Under the 1862 act, states could develop land-grant universities in order to produce graduates with agricultural, mechanical, and technical skills to expand the industrial demands of the United States. With segregated schooling practices continuing to expand throughout the country, African American students were not able to receive the benefits from these federal- and state-funded institutions. (Anderson, 1988). As a result, Holland called on the Texas legislature to make appropriations for constructing a similar institution for African Americans in Texas. Upon the passing of the second Morrill Act of 1890, the later-named Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical University was established along with sixteen other Black land-grant universities nationwide (1870s: William H. Holland, n.d.; Du Bois, 1903/2018). Because of his fight for equal educational rights for African American Texans, Holland is known as “the father of Prairie View A&M University” (1870s: William H. Holland, n.d.; Tobak, 2006). In addition to his political activism, Holland initiated a charity, Friends in Need, which provided financial support to African American students who wished to attend college (1870s: William H. Holland, n.d.; Tobak, 2006).

Seeing the gap in education for African Americans with disabilities in Texas, later in his legislative career, Holland lobbied for funding to implement a school for the deaf and blind African American youth of Texas. Although legislation had been passed in 1856 that mandated the establishment of separate schools for the deaf and blind White youth of Texas, no similar facilities existed for African American deaf and blind youths (Tobak, 2006). In April of 1887, six months after his initial proposal, the legislature granted a \$50,000 fund for the establishment and founding of the Institute for Deaf, Dumb and Blind Colored Youth (1870s: William H. Holland, n.d.; Corcoran, 2012; Crouch & Madaras,

2007). Holland was named its first superintendent; he would serve in this capacity for the institute's first ten years of existence, and again in 1904 (Corcoran, 2012; Holland, William H., n.d.; Tobak, 2006). Despite having no previous experience working with those with disabilities, superintendent's reports filed by Holland reflect a man who was committed to not only serving this population but also providing these students with the skills necessary to be self-sufficient (Tobak, 2006). He served on-and-off as superintendent until his death on May 27, 1907, when he died of a heart attack in his home in Mineral Wells. He was survived by his wife Eliza and two daughters (1870s: William H. Holland, n.d.).

CHAPTER 4

THE INSTITUTE OF THE DEAF, DUMB AND BLIND COLORED YOUTH

The large influx of African Americans participating politically, affiliated with the Republican Party, allowed for the election of African Americans as legislators (Crouch & Madaras, 2007; Pitre, 1985). This would ultimately lead to William H. Holland's election in 1876 and 1880. When compared with other African Americans elected to the Texas legislature in the Reconstruction decades, William H. Holland stands out from his counterparts. In her research on the African American men who served during the time, Pitre (1985) says that they "did not differ markedly from most of those they sought to lead." The average lawmaker had been born a slave, was dark complected, and was the son of an "uprooted slave immigrant." During the Civil War, he was "probably a runaway rather than a soldier." Of the 41 Blacks whom she identifies as serving in the legislature in the latter third of the nineteenth century, "one had completed college, six had either attended or finished a normal school, three had managed elementary grades, twenty-seven had a "rudimentary education," and only four had never received some form of schooling. Emerging from the lower middle class, these legislators tended to be wealthier and more skilled "than the overwhelming majority of freedmen." In addition, only two of those African Americans who served in the legislature during the entirety of the Reconstruction Era had experienced freedom prior to the Civil War, one being William H. Holland (Crouch & Madaras, 2007).

As Holland was educated at Albany Enterprise Academy as well as Oberlin College, had fought in the Civil War, and had as parents both an enslaved woman known only as Matilda and a distinguished former secretary of state, arguments could be made that he may have been well equipped to understand the importance of education for African Americans during this period (Pitre, 1985; Randolph, 2002; Smallwood, 1981). This would be evident in his fight for the equal implementation of the Morrill Act, and his latter fight for state funding to create a facility aimed at educating a population of Black children who had not previously been properly or adequately accommodated in the past (Crouch & Madaras, 2007; Institute, 1888; Pitre, 1985; Stuart, 1992; Tobak, 2006). Holland's distinctiveness is further highlighted in the book *Significant Gestures* (Tobak, 2006).

From its beginning, the Institute was different from the American schools for the Deaf described in previous chapters of this book. The initial motivation for founding the Hartford school and the Clarke school, for example, was to address the educational needs of the founders' children. In the case of the Hartford school, Mason Cogswell sought to establish a school where his daughter Alice could be educated. In the case of the Clarke School, the Hubbards decided to found the first oral school in North America for their daughter, Mabel. Gardiner Greene Hubbard, Mabel's father, even served as the first principal. By contrast, the Institute for the Deaf and Dumb and Blind Colored Youth grew out of the work of William H. Holland (1841–1907), a humanitarian whose motivations seem to have arisen out of a general concern for the welfare of the children of Texas.

4.1 The Beginnings of the Institute: 1887-1897

Holland's fierce dedication to the school's broad mission was denoted in his first Superintendent Report, (Institute, 1888) covering the 1887-1888 school year. In this report, Holland describes how he utilized African American newspapers of the time, as well as traveling to counties in Texas with large Black populations, in order to inform these communities of the existence of the school and to recruit students for its first academic year. Holland writes that "by different methods [he] succeeded in advertising the existence of this institution, and making known to the people the great benefits which could result from it." By the spring of 1888, the enrollment of the school reached 31, of which 24 were deaf, and eight were blind.

In addition to detailing the means in which he doggedly pursued informing the African American community of the institute's existence, he also very clearly outlined his vision for the Institution. The initial indications of Holland's vision are in the name of the school. By deeming the school an institute as opposed to an asylum, Holland suggested that the admittance of the students into the institute was for the advancement of their education. Moreover, the designation of the youth as "students" and "pupils" as opposed to "inmates," a term by which they would be referred to later in the institute's history, implied that Holland's ultimate goal for each attendee was to afford them with the opportunity to graduate with both educational, social, and "industrial" skills that would allow them to be self-sufficient members of the community (Burch & Joyner, 2007; Carlson, 2001; Stuart, 1992; Tobak, 2006; Washington, 2008). At the end of his 1893-1894 report, Holland included a "General Information" section in which he further demonstrates his unprecedented philosophy for this underserved population (see Appendix A). In her

2017 book *No Right to Be Idle*, Rose describes the increasingly negative societal views of many people with disabilities saying “by the 1880s and 1890s...only rarely did pupils [at idiot asylums]—or, as they were referred to more commonly, ‘inmates’—return[ed] to live with their families at home. Instead, asylum directors presided over perpetually expanding institutions that focused on supplying permanent custodial care of the ‘feeble-minded’” (Rose, 2017). In the “General Information” section, Holland states that the education provided by the institute constituted something to which these deaf, dumb, and blind youth were “entitled” to as opposed to something that the state benevolently provided for them. Similar philosophies towards the entitlement of accommodations for African American youth emerged in the late 1940s and early 1950s in Washington, D.C., when Black parents asked the courts to rule in favor of equal public schooling accommodations for their children with disabilities (Jowers-Barber, 2008).

Holland’s view of the institute’s goals also bore a striking resemblance to the arguments made in favor of skilled vocational training by Booker T. Washington in his 1899 book, *The Future of the American Negro*. In his 1887-1888 superintendent's report, Holland argued: “There are, in Texas perhaps 450,000 colored people, yet there are not twenty-five professional tailors or dressmakers among them.” He continues to say that despite having such a large number of vocational workers, they have a limited “or occasional opportunity to learn more than the mere rudiments of their work.” He concludes by expressing that “so it is also with blacksmiths, shoemakers, and the other labor among the trade” (1888). These trade limitations that Holland observed were indeed prevalent in the South, and in Texas, because many African Americans had been relegated to plantation and field work after their emancipation (Crouch & Madaras, 2007; Smallwood, 1981). He

proceeded to note that “under these circumstances, it seems to me that the field for skilled labor among the colored people is virtually unoccupied, and offers the greatest inducements for the educated and trained experts in this line.” This is significant due to the limited amount of power associated with being undereducated, even in regards to vocational or industrial skills; with a higher skill set, the opportunities of ownership and higher profits could have substantially benefited individuals and the African American community at large. Historian Tobak further reflects that “academically, there was nowhere else to go. Many colleges did not accept African American applicants, and the remainder made no accommodations for the Deaf” (2006). By equipping his pupils with skills, Holland was not indicating a predilection towards “industrial” work as Washington later would, but instead showed an understanding of the limitations for African Americans with disabilities at the time and, furthermore, identifying the practical needs of the African American community in Texas.

Another distinguishing factor of Holland’s institute was his almost exclusive employment of African Americans as staff and instructors. In fact, the only non-Black staff members would be the physicians as, at that time, it was extremely rare for a state facility to employ an African American physician (Burch & Joyner, 2007; Tobak, 2006). During the first year, Holland was able to obtain two instructors for the blind and deaf students, both of whom had previously taught at the North Carolina School for the Deaf and Blind: Julius Garrett and Cora L. Moore. The deaf students were educated using a combined method of oralism and sign language, and the blind students utilized the New York point system (Institute, 1888; Tobak, 2006). Arising out of the New York Institute for the Education of the Blind, the New York Point System had been developed by superintendent

William Bell Wait. Wait initialized the system in 1872; similar to the American Braille system; it was comprised of two lines as opposed to the three lines of dots used in American Braille. In addition, the New York Point system was developed to assist with teaching blind pupils how to notate music. This would be advantageous as music would soon become an important addition to the institute (Institute, 1888).

In the following year's report, Holland describes how the progress of building the main building and other structures, including sheds for the stock, laundry rooms, three small cottages, bathrooms, and the barn, had been completed and were being utilized by the students. In regards to the self-sufficiency of the institute, Holland explains that there were "two workhorses and two mules, eleven head of Jersey cows and calves, twenty-eight head of hogs" and that "six of the cows and calves and all of the hogs were raised on the place." The hay produced by the land was "sufficient to feed the stock" and "the garden has supplied the table with most of the vegetables used." In addition to the garden, he noted that "one hundred and sixty well-selected peach trees and twenty plum trees" had been planted. Although Holland is clear to detail the institute's ability to utilize the land to reduce expenditures for feeding the staff and students, he never implies that the farm or garden is a means for the students to make payment to the school for the instruction, room and board, medical treatment or any other expenses. This is quite divergent from idiot asylums of the time, which often utilized inmate labor to produce goods and which did not concentrate on their education. (Rose, 2017; Tobak, 2006)

Unsurprisingly given the sparse educational offerings for African American children with disabilities at this time, the institute grew rapidly. The number of deaf students increased from 24 in the spring of 1888 to sixty in the spring of 1889, while the

ranks of blind students expanded from eight to 25 during the same time period. Students ranged in age from seven to twenty-four. Considering the lack of availability of education for African American deaf and blind children in Texas prior to the development of the institute, it is not surprising that older students were admitted into the facility. In response to this absence of educational opportunities, and more so the lack of vocational training necessary to establish a livelihood upon adulthood, Holland describes many types of training already available, along with others that he planned to implement when adequate funding was made available. These training programs included a “shoemaking shop with enough tools for nine,” “vocal and instrumental training and crochet work” for the blind students, “broom making” for the blind boys, “bottoming chairs,” “mattress making” and “general homemaking and sewing” for the girls. Yet, Holland also noted that these training programs were in addition to students’ schoolwork, rather than the reverse (Institute, 1888).

The institution was initially funded with a \$50,000 appropriation by the state’s 20th legislature. Holland concludes his first report (Institute, 1888) by describing the most recent support of the state and its implications: “the appropriation of \$33,000 by the last Legislature for its maintenance of two years demonstrates to the whole people that Texas is able and willing to educate and is educating every child within her borders who is willing to accept her generous offer.” Analysis of Holland’s records shows that he was meticulous in dictating each expense, no matter how minor, including the pay of himself and all other staff and instructors. With the total expenditures for the 1888-1889 school year amounting to \$21,026.42 and the total expenditures for the initial startup cost for the 1887-1888 school year totaling \$31,038.42, the institute seemed to be in somewhat sound financial standing and to possess the capacity to serve even more children. It can be inferred from the 1892

report that sufficient space for the enlarging population of students was more likely to become problematic in the future than the ability to adequately care and educate these students.

As the years passed, the institute's board of trustees continued to address Holland in a polite and dignified manner, being in agreement with him in most cases. However, the passion that Holland demonstrated in his reports does not seem to be in full accord with the trustees. In Holland's final report of 1897, the incongruence between Holland's vision and the board's became evident. In this report, Holland once again argued that the institute badly needed a new structure, as the existing building was experiencing severe issues with its foundation. He stated that "old, dilapidated, and unsightly" facilities should be "replaced" by a building with "modern conveniences." He then described the new structure and the amenities that it would possess. The board of trustees' report for the year described the dilapidated state of the building as an issue of which they were not aware, despite Holland's previous complaints. Intriguingly, this report was the first one to use term "asylum" by the board of trustees, in contradiction to Holland's consistent rejection of the term. While the precise details of these disputes remain unclear, the board of trustees relieved Holland of his duties as superintendent in February 1897. He was replaced by S. J. Jenkins, who had no previous experience in education or with working with people with disabilities. As Holland's tenure as superintendent came to an end, so too did the implementation of his unique views about the capabilities of African American youth with disabilities (Institute, 1897).

4.2 A Change in Culture: From an Institution to an Asylum

In Superintendent Jenkins' first report (Institute, 1897), addressing the exchange of "reins" from Holland to himself, the Institution's change of culture is immediately apparent. Jenkins claims that there was "no friction" and says that Holland did everything to "ensure my success" as he "relinquished" his duties. Holland's eagerness to make this transition as painless as possible for the students is evident in the fact that the entirety of the report was formulated by Holland, other than Jenkins' brief one-page contribution. Jenkins describes his hiring of Miss Ella B. Wilder, a recent graduate of the Institution under Holland, as a teacher in the "mute" department upon the discharge of Holland's wife, E. J. Holland. Jenkins concludes by describing the firing of almost the entire staff employed under Holland's tenure "to ensure the efficiency of the service of the Institute," then detailing their replacements (Institute, 1897). Holland's views on disability, race, and education may have been adopted by the staff, and undoubtedly shared by his wife; the dismissal of the entire staff by Jenkins gives reason to presume that he wanted no objections to his own views.

The tides of change are further evident in Jenkins' 1900 annual report; the first line of his address to the Governor presages the changes to come. Jenkins declares, "I have the honor to hand you the thirteenth annual report of the Texas Deaf, Dumb and Blind Asylum for Colored Youth." It is with these opening words that we see how Jenkins viewed the Institute and the youth who were enrolled. Any notion that Jenkins may have had an inchoate understanding of the implications of the name change is eradicated in the "general information" section of the report (see Appendix B). Taking a cue from Holland, which, as previously mentioned, always noted in the general information that the school was not an

asylum, Jenkins' first point in this section reads "this is a state ASYLUM." With the first mention of the school as an asylum coming from the board of trustees in the 1897 report, Jenkins may have acquiesced under pressure in the hope of retaining his position as superintendent. Whether it was his intention to outright replace Holland's formulation of the institute, Jenkins emphatically declared that the direction would henceforth be changed.

Furthermore, throughout the remainder of the report, Jenkins made subtle comments that suggest his pejorative views of those with disabilities—views that gradually began to change the structure of the institute itself and its educational programs. When describing the commencement speech given by Dr. A. B. Jackson, at the graduation ceremony that took place on June 4, 1900, Jenkins recalls how Dr. Jackson "forcibly reminded them of the great blessings received from the State by its unfortunate youth." When describing the part that the music program had played in the lives of the blind students, Jenkins expresses that "their enjoyment of music is the one ray of sunshine in their darkened lives." The language used by Jenkins was indicative of the growing view of the time of people with many types of disabilities as feeble and unable to perform "self-care," and served to further perpetuate these views (Rose, 2017).

In regards to Holland's commitment to placing education at the forefront of the institute's work, no flagrant changes seem to have been made. The language used by Jenkins when describing previous implementations such as the literary clubs or course of instruction for the blind and deaf seem a little grandiloquent, but those programs had the exact same structure as when Holland was superintendent. In his description of the music program, Jenkins refers to the blind being "proverbial lovers of music" and, while making a blanket statement about the blind, says "all intensely love listening to good music." He

altered the goals of the institute's industrial training program, though. Instead of utilizing these programs to enable the students to become self-reliant in adulthood as well as producing a skilled workforce that could contribute to the African American community in Texas, Jenkins describes them as being advantageous to the school as the means of reducing overhead and possibly becoming a source of supplemental revenue. Holland had never highlighted corn and hay as sources of revenue, but Jenkins proclaimed that "one hundred and fifty bushels of corn and an abundance of hay" was yielded from the land. The production of goods is not surprising, as many asylums of the time utilized those they were to serve as sources of free labor and a means of compensating for inadequate state funding (Institute, 1900; Rose, 2017).

4.3 A Merging of Ideologies

Jenkins' tenure as superintendent came to an end for unknown reasons in 1904 after seven full school years. At that time, Holland would once again be called upon to supervise and oversee the institute; however, the changes in culture implemented during his absence had become an integral part of the fabric of the school; later reports retain the use of the term "asylum." As no reports are available for the latter years of Holland's service, there is no way to definitely know if he attempted to reorient the asylum as an educational institute. Nevertheless, the term was carried into the next administration, beginning after Holland's death in the summer of 1907, after which H. S. Thompson was appointed superintendent.

In the 1909-1910 report filed by Thompson (Institute, 1910), the opening page discloses that the then-current serving staff at the institute. E. J. Holland, who had been previously fired and replaced under the Jenkins tenure, was named as the principal teacher

(see Appendix C). As such, she was in charge of the bulk of the educational administration of the institute. Assuming that E. J. Holland returned during the last three years of her husband's time as superintendent, she would have had to make the commitment not only to return but also assume a higher level of responsibility within the institute. This is quite a turning point in the history of the institute, as it is the first time that a woman had been placed in a role other than a teacher, matron, laundress, or cook (Institute, 1889; Institute, 1900; Institute, 1892; Institute, 1894; Institute, 1897).

According to the 1910 and 1912 reports from Thompson's tenure as superintendent, both Jenkins' and Holland's approaches to educating children with disabilities seem to have remained in practice, but with greater emphasis on the latter's ideology, possibly due to the influence of the board of trustees. As far as the education and industrial training programs are concerned, the initial structure delegated by Holland remained unchanged and, in fact, Thompson gave an extremely detailed account of the course work for the blind and deaf pupils for each year of study. Covering year one through year eight, the course work included geometry, reading skills, writing skills, arithmetic, philosophy, and the combined method for the deaf and New York Point System for the blind. Thompson described the music and industrial departments in detail as well. All of the industrial training concepts spoken of by Holland in his initial report had been fully developed; training offerings included shoe making, broom making, sewing, homemaking, and mattress making. The continuation and further development of Holland's original educational blueprint might well be associated with E. J. Holland serving as principal teacher. Despite the apparent realization of Holland's vision for the educational aspirations of the youth, Thompson continued to refer to the school as an asylum.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE RESEARCH

Probing the history of the Institute for Deaf, Dumb and Blind Colored Youth of Texas yields an in-depth analysis of the implications of the usage of the term asylum. With an origin meaning “a place of refuge,” the definition in modern times has come to include a place offering shelter and support to people who are mentally ill. The term “asylum” implies that people who are admitted have some sort of mental deficiency and are, therefore, unable to care for themselves. William H. Holland, being cognizant of the barriers that race already imposed, purposely rejected the use of this term when referring to the institute. It is not known how he came to adopt these views, as he had no known direct connection with a person with a disability. Nevertheless, the conclusion can be drawn that his influence was of great importance to the institute and those who attended.

Holland’s reasons for initiating an “industrial” training curriculum indicate his knowledge of the use of such training programs in other schools for the disabled. One of these was Gallaudet University, which was preceded by the examples of Hartford and Perkins. In this, the lasting effects of his time spent at Albany Enterprise on his development as an educator are seen. This information is relevant for disability studies because it indicates that, despite the social restrictions placed on people with disabilities, he understood that adequate training and accommodations could enable people with disabilities to thrive and live fully functional lives. Furthermore, this research supports the

Social Model argument that it is, in fact, society and the restrictions that it places on people with disabilities place the most barriers on the lives of those with disabilities.

In order to further explore how the influence of William H. Holland, as well as race, played a part in the continued history of the Institute for Deaf, Dumb and Blind Colored Youth, this research will be expanded in the 2019-2020 academic year. This research will analyze the latter 50 years of the institute, with considerations of the changing historical landscape in regard to both race and disability. Considerations will include the usage of African Americans for medical experimentation, increase in the incarcerated population, institutionalization, rise of the Jim Crow era, impact of the civil rights movements and its effects on race relations, growing disabilities rights, as well as both changing and residual views of those with disabilities. Comparisons between the funding of the institute in comparison to White state facilities for people with disabilities, such as the state schools for the blind and the deaf, will allow for the analysis of what separate but equal actually meant at this time. Furthermore, legislative discussions and the comparison of this institute with other asylums in Southern states will add perspective. Pairing this research with oral narratives from those who attended the institute will further allow for the critical analysis of how race and disability have resulted in not only a simultaneous oppression, but also a unique and individualized experience by each person directly affected by the collision and amalgamation of these two socially constructed forms of discrimination.

APPENDIX A

1893-1894 TRUSTEES AND SUPERINTENDENT REPORT: INSTITUTE OF
THE DEAF, DUMB AND BLIND COLORED YOUTH (PAGE 12)

The first session of the institute was opened in this residence building, on the 17th day of October, 1887, with seventeen pupils and two teachers.

This auspicious opening evidenced the necessity for the immediate erection of other buildings. Contract was immediately let for the erection of the Institute building proper, and that handsome structure was completed in the spring of 1888, at a cost of seventeen thousand nine hundred and forty dollars (\$17,940). It contains an office, a parlor and music room, four recitation rooms, two lavatories, a chapel, and seven dormitories. It is surmounted by a turret commanding an unobstructed view of many miles. The building is heated by steam and lighted by electricity. There are three large cisterns; an artesian well, 1845 feet deep, supplying abundant water of excellent curative properties; bath houses; a power house containing a 20-horse power engine, boilers, and a dynamo; a laundry building, etc.

1. This is a State school, and *not* an ASYLUM.

2. All deaf, dumb or blind colored children in this State, between seven and twenty-one years of age, of sound mind, and free from contagious diseases, are entitled to admission to this school. The terms *deaf* and *blind* are held to include all those who can not hear or see well enough to enable them to receive the benefits of the public free schools of the State.

3. Parents and guardians are urged to send their deaf and blind children to this school just as soon after reaching proper age as possible, that they may learn as early as possible correct habits, and that (in the case of blind children) they may early learn tangible reading—a thing difficult to do after the skin on the finger tips thickens.

4. Blank forms of application for admission to this school, and any information desired, will be promptly furnished by the Superintendent.

5. This Institute is neither an orphan asylum, a children's home, an asylum for imbeciles, nor a hospital, but it is a *school* for the *educable blind and deaf*.

6. Parents, guardians, or others desiring to visit pupils or the school are cordially invited to do so, but they are advised that the overcrowded condition of the school will not admit of their entertainment over night.

6. The regular monthly rehearsals of the music classes on the last Wednesday night in each month, and the meetings of the literary societies on each Friday night are open to the public. Attendance is invited.

7. Parents or guardians unable to furnish transportation for children to this school, or to clothe them, should state that fact in their applications. The Superintendent will investigate such cases, and if satisfied of the correctness of the claim, will furnish both transportation and clothing.

8. Pupils are required to go home for the summer vacation. None will be supported at the school during the summer, except in cases of extreme necessity.

9. School opens on the 15th of September of each year, and closes on the 15th of the following June.

10. All letters on business and all applications must be fully prepaid and addressed to "W. H. Holland, Superintendent Deaf, Dumb and Blind Institute, Austin, Texas." All letters and packages to pupils MUST BE FULLY PREPAID and addressed to the "Deaf, Dumb and Blind Institute, Austin, Texas."

APPENDIX B

OCTOBER 31, 1900, TRUSTEES AND SUPERINTENDENT REPORT: INSTITUTE
OF THE DEAF, DUMB AND BLIND COLORED YOUTH (P. 26)

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1908

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MORITZ SILVER, Vice-Chairman	KYRIE THRASHER.
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S. H. THOMPSON,
Superintendent and Ex-Officio Secretary.

OFFICERS, TEACHERS AND EMPLOYEES.

H. S. THOMPSON.....	Superintendent.
MRS. E. J. HOLLAND.....	Principal Teacher.
MRS. G. G. MAJORS.....	Teacher of Blind.
MRS. M. B. WHITE.....	Teacher of Blind.
MRS. F. A. HARRELL.....	Teacher of Deaf.
MISS E. B. WILDER.....	Teacher of Deaf.
MISS LIZZIE S. WELLS.....	Teacher of Music.
E. W. SCOTT.....	Broom and Mattress Maker.
L. G. WEAVER.....	Instructor in Tailoring.
A. J. JOHNSON.....	Expert Shoemaker.
MISS JEANETTA R. JONES.....	Preceptress.
MISS B. V. CUMMINGS.....	Matron.
MISS EUDORA JONES.....	Monitor.
MISS KATIE M. TYSON.....	Seamstress.
G. W. SMITH.....	Engineer and Plumber.
MILLIARD NEWMAN.....	Cook.
MACK JACKSON.....	Night Watchman.
SILAS HOLMAN.....	Farmer and Gardener.
MRS. ALICE NEWMAN.....	Assistant Cook.
MRS. ANNIE WILSON.....	Assistant Matron.
MRS. RACHEL WASHINGTON.....	Laundress.
MRS. FRANKIE PENN.....	Assistant Laundress.
W. A. HARPER, M. D.....	Oculist.
J. W. GIBSON, M. D.....	Physician.

APPENDIX C

1908 TRUSTEES AND SUPERINTENDENT REPORT: INSTITUTE OF
THE DEAF, DUMB AND BLIND COLORED YOUTH (P. 2)

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J. H. HART. G. S. DOWELL.

S. H. THOMPSON,
Superintendent and Ex-Officio Secretary.

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MRS. M. B. WHITE.....	Teacher of Blind.
MRS. F. A. HARRELL.....	Teacher of Deaf.
MISS E. B. WILDER.....	Teacher of Deaf.
MISS LIZZIE S. WELLS.....	Teacher of Music.
E. W. SCOTT.....	Broom and Mattress Maker.
L. G. WEAVER.....	Instructor in Tailoring.
A. J. JOHNSON.....	Expert Shoemaker.
MISS JEANETTA R. JONES.....	Preceptress.
MISS B. V. CUMMINGS.....	Matron.
MISS EUDORA JONES.....	Monitor.
MISS KATIE M. TYSON.....	Seamstress.
G. W. SMITH.....	Engineer and Plumber.
MILLIARD NEWMAN.....	Cook.
MACK JACKSON.....	Night Watchman.
SILAS HOLMAN.....	Farmer and Gardener.
MRS. ALICE NEWMAN.....	Assistant Cook.
MRS. ANNIE WILSON.....	Assistant Matron.
MRS. RACHEL WASHINGTON.....	Laundress.
MRS. FRANKIE PENN.....	Assistant Laundress.
W. A. HARPER, M. D.....	Oculist.
J. W. GIBSON, M. D.....	Physician.

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BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Kenya Loudd earned an Honors Bachelor of Interdisciplinary Studies from UT Arlington in May of 2020 with combined concentrations in African American Studies, Disability Studies and Leadership Studies. During her time at UT Arlington, she identified and expanded her research aspirations by participating in both the Honors College and the McNair Scholars research programs. It was through this undergraduate research where she identified her profound interest in the intersections of race and disability.

Through her research, Kenya was able to present at conferences such as the 2019 McNair's National Conference, the 2020 National Association of African American Studies (NAAAS) Conference and the 2020 National Council of Black Studies Conference. In addition, she has been awarded the Terry Kershaw essay award, the UT Arlington Exemplary Student Award, the 2020 Ford Foundation Pre-Doctoral Fellowship and a host of other awards and honors. To add to her array of academic accomplishments, Kenya has also participated in hundreds of hours of community and non-profit service.

In the Fall of 2020, Kenya will begin her graduate studies at Yale University where she will be pursuing a combined Ph.D. in the History of Science/History of Medicine and African and African American Studies. In her dissertation, she plans to build on the research that she began at UT Arlington. It is through her studies and research at Yale University that she hopes to recover lost histories related to the African American experience with disability.