

***Latinos of Boulder County, Colorado,
1900-1980***

**Volume I:
*History and Contributions***

**Chapter Three:
*The Contributions of Hispanic Workers,
1900-1940***

by

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Chapter 3

The Contributions of Hispanic Workers, 1900-1940

The economic growth and prosperity of eastern Boulder County during the early twentieth century rested in large part upon two sectors with heavy demands for labor: agriculture, especially growing sugar beets; and coal mining. By around 1930, though not at the very beginning of the century, most of the workers in local sugar beet fields and many miners were from Spanish-speaking backgrounds. Other Hispanic men and women were employed in different kinds of agriculture, construction, or food processing plants. Without the hard physical labor they provided day in and day out, working under the burning sun in the fields, in dark and dangerous tunnels, or in hot, unventilated factories, Boulder County could not have gained the economic well-being it enjoyed then and subsequently.

The labor demands of agriculture and coal mining are shown in the 1930 U.S. Census. According to that survey, Boulder County had about 32,500 residents, of whom about 9,270 men and 2,280 women worked in “industry,” the largest category, which included agriculture and mining.¹ Farming engaged the most people—around 2,600—of whom 1,290 men and 135 women were owners or tenant farmers; 1,130 men and 60 women were regularly employed “wage workers.” The breakdown by sex obscures the fact that men were often joined in the fields by their wives and older children. The county’s second largest occupation, coal mining, employed 1,125 men and 2 women according to the 1930 Census. Due to the nature of those types of work, many Spanish-speaking families lived on farms or in mining camps, not in the county’s towns, through

¹ “Farm work and coal mining make most jobs.” In Colorado as a whole, agriculture (primarily production of sugar beets and wheat) eclipsed mining as the primary source of economic growth in the early twentieth century: agriculture provided 27% of all jobs by 1920 (Abbott et al., *Colorado*, p. 181).

the 1920s.²

The types of jobs most commonly filled by Hispanics depended in part on their background. Thanks to information in the U.S. Censuses of 1920, 1930, and 1940, we can compare type of labor to place of birth for the three largest groups of Spanish-surnamed employees in Longmont and Lafayette: sugar beet workers, general or unspecified agricultural laborers, and coal miners. This analysis shows some degree of occupational stratification.³ Most Mexican-born men did seasonal work in the beet fields, the lowest paid and least desirable type of employment. Immigrants from New Mexico had a better chance of finding year-round positions with farmers or ranchers or in coal mines, all of which offered somewhat better pay and usually housing. People born in Colorado were the most likely to get relatively good positions. In this chapter, we look first at Hispanic contributions to agriculture and coal mining and then at other types of male employment. A final section considers the work done by women and children.

A. Agricultural Work, Especially with Sugar Beets

Sugar beet production

Starting in the mid-1910s, many Hispanic laborers found employment in the sugar beet fields. In Boulder County, most beet workers were evidently hired as separate families, not as a team of male field hands as was common in some regions. Although it was the husband who signed the contract for a season and received payment after the harvest, the labor of other members of the family—especially during peak agricultural stages—was necessary to fulfilling that contract. Families came to the area early in the spring, living on a given farm and tending a specified number of acres across the growing season. The next spring they signed a new contract, often with a different farmer and sometimes in a different place entirely. Beet working families—especially the women—were generally isolated geographically and socially. They

² That pattern differs from the national one in which 47% of Mexican-born migrants already lived in urban areas in 1920 (Acuña, *Occupied America*, p. 165).

³ See App. 3.1. In a parallel division, most owners and managers in the citrus industry of southern California were native-born Anglos; Italian immigrants worked in the packinghouse labor force; and “Mexicans were relegated to field work” (Alamillo, *Making Lemonade*, p. 6).



Illus. 3.1. Vertical rows in a sugar beet field, Longmont, early 20th century

commonly lived in farm buildings at a distance from other people, had few interactions with other Hispanic laborers, and seldom dealt with the wider community apart from the Anglo farmer who employed them.⁴

The process by which sugar beets were grown in very large fields in northeastern Colorado required three ingredients: (1) soil suited to production of this crop; (2) ample water to supplement the often limited rainfall in this generally arid climate, provided by irrigation systems that branched out from the main rivers; and (3) a supply of laborers willing to carry out back-breaking work, moving across a given field multiple times during an extended agricultural season that lasted for around six months.⁵ Nearly all of the specific tasks involved in growing beets forced people to work either while standing but bent far over, with their hands near the ground, or kneeling: the hoes and knives provided by

⁴ For geographically separated housing and limited social or religious participation until around 1940, see Vol. II, Chs. 2A, 4A, and 5A.

⁵ Because only certain parts of eastern Boulder County had suitable soil and water, it was a small producer of sugar beets compared to several other counties in northeastern Colorado. In most years between 1920 and 1927, the area devoted to sugar beets in Boulder was 5,700 - 9,500 acres, whereas its northern neighbor, Larimer County, had 13,500 - 24,100 acres in beets; its eastern neighbor, Weld County, had 42,100 - 86,400 acres (Taylor, *Mexican Labor*, p. 106).



Illus. 3.2. Team of people with a horse-drawn digger, Longmont, 1900

the farmers had very short handles. This physically arduous work was known as “stoop labor,” and people who engaged in it commonly suffered from back problems and other joint-related ailments.

In the spring, as soon as the fields were dry enough to be worked, the seeds were planted in furrows, often using a manual beet drill.⁶ Larger drills, drawn by a horse or in later periods by a mechanized vehicle, could cover three or four rows at once, digging holes and planting one or more seeds in each. When the seeds had germinated and grown to a height of about four leaves, usually in early June, the field had to be thinned. First it was “blocked, with the weaker plants removed with a hoe so the remaining ones were evenly spaced with 8-12 inches between them. Then each plant had to be individually cropped. Sugar beet seeds are dichotomous, meaning that every seed produces two shoots. To ensure the largest possible beet roots, the smaller shoot from each seed was cut off by hand. That work was especially well suited to children. Twice during the course of the summer, workers used hoes to weed the field and remove any new shoots. Hoeing was usually done over a four- to

⁶ This paragraph and the next draw heavily on Aguayo, “Los Betabeleros,” and Hamilton, *Footprints in the Sugar*.



Illus. 3.3. Men topping sugar beets, Longmont, early 20th century

five-week period. The field was repeatedly irrigated.⁷

Harvesting commonly took place in late September or early October, as late as possible before the first serious frost, to give the beets the longest possible time to grow. A special plow was used to dig deep down under the beets, cutting off the tap root and loosening the dirt around them. Field workers then came through, pulling up each beet by hand and cutting off its large head of leaves (“topping” it) with a long knife.⁸ Because the beets were heavy, commonly weighing 3-5 pounds each, workers often grasped them between their knees or thighs, leaving the hands free to steady the beet and do the cutting. Topping resulted in many injuries to people’s hands, arms, and legs. The beets were then piled up and carried away in horse-drawn or motorized wagons, each of which held 1 ½ to 2 tons of beets. In Boulder County, some beets were taken directly to the sugar factory in Longmont, while others were hauled to a nearby railway line and dumped into huge piles to be transported by train.⁹

⁷ “Beets being irrigated.”

⁸ “Men and women topping beets” and “Harvesting sugar beets.”

⁹ “Beets outside Great Western Sugar Factory” and “Beet dump.”



Illus. 3.4. Hauling sugar beets, Longmont, early 20th century



Illus. 3.5. Pile of beets at factory, with empty rail cars, Longmont, early 20th century

Descriptions by former beet workers in Boulder County shed light on what that labor actually involved.¹⁰ Frank Martinez, who started in the beet fields around Longmont as a young man in 1911, recalled that he “crawled all over the county on my hands and knees.”¹¹ He was proud of being a “top-hand,” able to thin a quarter-acre of beets by hand in one day, but after several summers of seasonal work, he was glad to be hired on a year-round basis by a farmer with whom he remained for 18 years. Dora Bernal, born in 1911, described the work done by her family (parents and all the children) when they came seasonally from the San Luis Valley to Boulder County’s beet fields in the 1920s.¹² After sowing the seeds, they did the thinning, using a tool which she described as a *cabador* and later as an *azadón* (= digger or hoe). The second stage was weeding, which “they called the cleaning, and they said you could fly through this, but there was no flying. You went at a turtle’s pace, all covered with grass, pulling and pulling, and you were paid less because they said it was easier the second round. Well, it was not so easy. There were times when the plains were dense with grass, and the grass was so high.” Finally came the harvest, “where they claimed you could make great amounts of money per acre. . . . But we could never make what they said.”

Mary Martinez talked about her family’s work in the beet fields near the small community of Milliken, northeast of Longmont, in the 1920s and 1930s.¹³ Her grandparents and their five granddaughters got up at 4 in the morning and worked in the fields all day, regardless of the weather. When they were thinning beets, they dragged themselves along the rows, their knees covered with blisters. She was short, so while topping beets with a machete during the harvest, holding the beet between her knees, she often cut her legs. Her grandparents, whom she described as workaholics, were eager to be sure they had their beets ready when the truck came to pick them up. One fall morning they roused the family even earlier than usual, well before sun-up, but it was so cold that the beets they dug up were frozen by the time the truck arrived.

Beet growing in this area was managed by Great Western Sugar, one of the first companies to control the production of its raw material as

¹⁰ For beet workers in Greeley, some 40 miles north of Longmont, see Lopez and Lopez, *White Gold Laborers*, esp. chs. 1-3.

¹¹ *They Came to Stay*, p. 158.

¹² Bernal, Dora, interview, 1978. This is a translation of her Spanish-language interview.

¹³ Martinez, Mary, interview, 1988.

well as the processing.¹⁴ In the contracts Great Western signed each spring with farmers who owned suitable land, the farmer agreed to raise and sell to the company a given number of tons of beets for a pre-determined price per ton. Great Western also provided standard labor contracts for use by all farmers on the western high plains, printed agreements that laid out a uniform scale of pay per acre for workers during the coming growing season.¹⁵ They specified how much laborers would receive for each stage of work, to be paid as a lump sum delivered at the end of the season. As an incentive for high yields, the agreements offered a bonus payment if the weight of the beets harvested exceeded a certain amount per acre. A contracted worker could use whatever family members or friends he could line up to help with the tasks, so long as they were completed at the required times. The labor of women and older children was thus essential to the economic viability of most families. The amount paid was less than the prevailing wage for other kinds of work, but immigrants were seldom in a position to know about other options or to bargain with prospective employers.

To obtain the necessary labor, Great Western initially tried bringing permanent immigrants into northeastern Colorado.¹⁶ The first group consisted of families originally from Germany who had settled in western Russia but were made unwelcome there in the late nineteenth century. These “Volga Deutsch” had often worked previously with sugar beets, either in Europe or through an earlier stay in Nebraska. As the acreage of sugar beet farming expanded rapidly in the early years of the twentieth century, German-Russians no longer provided sufficient labor for the Colorado fields. Further, by 1910, some of them were starting to buy their own farms and grow beets through direct contracts.¹⁷ To fill the resulting gap, Great Western began in the second half of the 1910s to import unmarried Japanese men, some of whom later brought their families. Increasingly, however, they too became independent producers or moved into better kinds of work.¹⁸

¹⁴ Aguayo, “Los Betabeleros,” p. 106.

¹⁵ Although the contracts were written, those employees who were illiterate could not sign them. Esther Blazón’s Mexican-born father always confirmed his verbal agreements with farmers through a hand shake, which pledged his honor (Blazón, conversation with Marjorie McIntosh, August 29, 2014).

¹⁶ Hamilton, *Footprints in the Sugar*, chs. 5 and 6, for this and below.

¹⁷ Lopez and Lopez, *White Gold Laborers*, p. 3.

¹⁸ Several Japanese families remained in the Longmont area into the twenty-first century, growing vegetables for market sale and in a few cases becoming land developers (see, e.g., *Actual, Factual St. Vrain Valley*, pp. 30-33).

Until the mid-1910s, relatively few Spanish-speakers from Mexico or the southwestern U.S. were hired for beet field work. Only about 2,800 “Mexicans” were listed by Great Western in 1916 for its operations all through the west-central U.S.¹⁹ But at least a few Hispanics were already employed in Boulder County by 1915, when one was killed in a dispute over a contract for beet work in Lafayette.²⁰ Alex Gonzales’s family came to the Longmont area in 1918 by train from Oklahoma City initially just to harvest beets; in later years, he and his wife worked beets for the whole summer.²¹ The Longmont Census for 1920 includes 13 people with Spanish surnames described as beet laborers.²²

During the 1920s, Great Western undertook more active recruitment of Hispanic workers.²³ Each spring the company sent labor contractors to southern Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, and Mexico, carrying with them a brochure that described life as a beet worker in glowing terms.²⁴ Great Western also prepared a recruitment film, with sub-titles in Spanish, showing healthy and well-dressed laborers working in the fields, adobe homes with trees in the yard, children attending school, and families enjoying a game of baseball on a weekend afternoon. Once people started coming, word spread informally among Spanish-speaking people in the U.S. and Mexico about the availability of beet work.

Until the late 1920s, if a worker signed on with Great Western, the company paid travel costs for him and usually his family to come to Denver by train. There they would be hired by a farmer for the summer. That process may have been handled through middle-men, though these *padrones* are not mentioned in the local sources; Great Western paid for bilingual interpreters to help with the agreements.²⁵ At the end of the season the company covered travel for those workers who wished to return home, though some decided to stay in their new surroundings. That arrangement brought a much large number of Hispanics to Boulder County. The 1930 Census for Longmont shows 131 beet workers with Spanish surnames, including men, women, and children.²⁶

¹⁹ Hamilton, *Footprints in the Sugar*, p. 272.

²⁰ “Law and Order.”

²¹ Gonzales, Alex, interview, c. 1987.

²² App. 3.2.

²³ Hamilton, *Footprints in the Sugar*, chs. 5 and 6.

²⁴ Rebecca Chavez, “Making Them Count,” pp. 45-46, for this and below.

²⁵ Newby, *Longmont Album*, p. 78.

²⁶ App. 3.2.

Later residents of Boulder County described how that system affected their families. When Dora Bernal's parents were hired by Great Western in the 1920s, the whole family went from their home in the San Luis Valley to Fort Garland in a cart pulled by a horse, loaned to them by a relative.²⁷ The cart carried their necessary items (beds, clothing, and two small leather trunks) to the depot. From there, they took the train to Denver, at Great Western's expense. Lou Cardenas, born in New Mexico in 1918, came to Boulder County when she was ten years old, recruited with the rest of her family by an agent for Great Western.²⁸ Her parents and their 13 children came to Denver by train with many other workers; from there they were hired and taken to a farm in Niwot, where they were given a dwelling and set immediately to work thinning and hoeing beets.

But for Great Western, it was expensive to hire agents and pay for the travel of workers coming north each summer. The company therefore explored ways of encouraging Hispanic laborers to remain in the area during the winter, ready to accept a new contract and start work as soon as spring weather permitted. One option was for Great Western itself to provide off-season housing. Throughout the northeastern Colorado beet area, Great Western began in the mid-1920s to build *colonias*, clusters of small houses, each with space for a vegetable garden, in which workers could live during the winters, paying a small rent. In towns like Greeley and Fort Collins, the *colonias* housed hundreds of Hispanic families; located outside the main part of town, they formed distinct and often long-lived communities.²⁹ In Boulder County, however, only Longmont had a *colonia*, and it was small (containing no more than 20 units situated in cramped quarters on the edge of town) and short-lived. Although there are references to it in the later 1920s and 1930s, the *colonia* had apparently shut down by around 1940.³⁰ In another effort to persuade particularly good workers to remain in the area or at least to return to it the following spring, Great Western gave out gold buttons and hosted a dinner for top employees at the end of each season in the later 1920s; in the early 1930s, the company awarded special certificates to them.³¹ Almost without exception, the men known to have received such

²⁷ Bernal, Dora, interview, 1978. See also Aguayo, "Los Betabeleros," p. 107.

²⁸ Cardenas, Lou, interview, c. 1987.

²⁹ E.g., Lopez and Lopez, *White Gold Laborers*, esp. chs. 2 and 16.

³⁰ See Vol. II, Ch. 2B.

³¹ "Best beet thinners get gold buttons," "Beet thinners get gold buttons," and see Illus. 3.6 below.

distinction had Spanish surnames.

Although beet working families too may have disliked moving twice each year, they had to find some way to support themselves and a place to live during the six months between one agricultural contract and the next. People who had migrated from northern New Mexico or southern Colorado might return home for the winter, though employment was generally scarce there too in the colder months. A few people—especially Mexicans—probably survived the winter in poor Hispanic neighborhoods of Denver. The pattern of moving between summer and winter locations, taking a new agricultural job each summer, was what most Boulder County residents meant when describing themselves or their parents or grandparents as “migrant farm workers,” not that they moved around following the crops within each growing season.³²

For farm workers themselves, a better option was to stay in Boulder County throughout the winter, if they could make ends meet. Such arrangements, which made possible more regular schooling for children, became increasingly common across the 1920s. Whereas only 88 families of Hispanic beet workers in the Longmont area had remained in northeastern Colorado during the winter of 1921, 500 families stayed in 1927.³³ Some fortunate men were hired as coal miners in the winters, but many others had to make do with whatever short-term jobs might become available. Marcella Diaz said that when her grandparents were working as beet laborers in the 1920s and 1930s, men were generally able to find only bits and pieces of work in the winters: doing odd jobs, repairing fences, or road construction.³⁴ Esther Blazón’s father never had regular employment during the winters. Their family (her parents and their 14 children) got by thanks to the credit offered by a local grocery store, which they repaid when the family was paid for its beet work at the end of the following summer.³⁵

During the 1920s, when labor for beet production was still relatively scarce, some farmers began to offer year-round employment, allowing their best workers to stay in a building on their farm during the colder months even if little labor was needed. The few farmers who grew

³² See, e.g., Cardenas, Alfonso, interview, 2004, Hernandez, Philip, interview, 2013, and “Olivas, Ralph and Rose, biographical account.” More generally, see Kulkosky, “Mexican Migrant Workers.”

³³ Taylor, *Mexican Labor*, p. 139.

³⁴ “Martinez, Juan and Josephine; Marcella Diaz, biography.”

³⁵ Conversation with Marjorie McIntosh, August 29, 2014.

crops other than beets and ranchers who focused on animal raising were also likely to hire laborers on an annual basis, providing some kind of housing. Men who were hired for full-year agricultural positions sometimes stayed with a given farmer for multiple years, though they were free to take a different job at the end of each annual contract. The only agricultural laborers in Boulder County who were truly settled residents were those who were able to save money and rent or even buy their own housing.

Canuto Martinez's experience illustrates the increasing residential stability of beet working families in the late 1920s and 1930s, as well as the labor they performed and the payment they received. Martinez, who had come to southern Colorado in 1909 from Zacatecas, Mexico, worked as a coal miner in the winters, but he and his family did field work in the summers, traveling to wherever employment was available.³⁶ In 1928, Martinez signed a standard contract with one of Great Western's farmers in western Nebraska for a season's work.³⁷ He (assisted by his wife and children, who were not mentioned specifically) agreed to carry out the following tasks on 92 acres of sugar beet fields:

"Bunching" and thinning the plants for pay of	\$9 per acre
Hoeing	\$2 per acre
One or more weedings	\$1 per acre
Pulling and topping	\$11 per acre

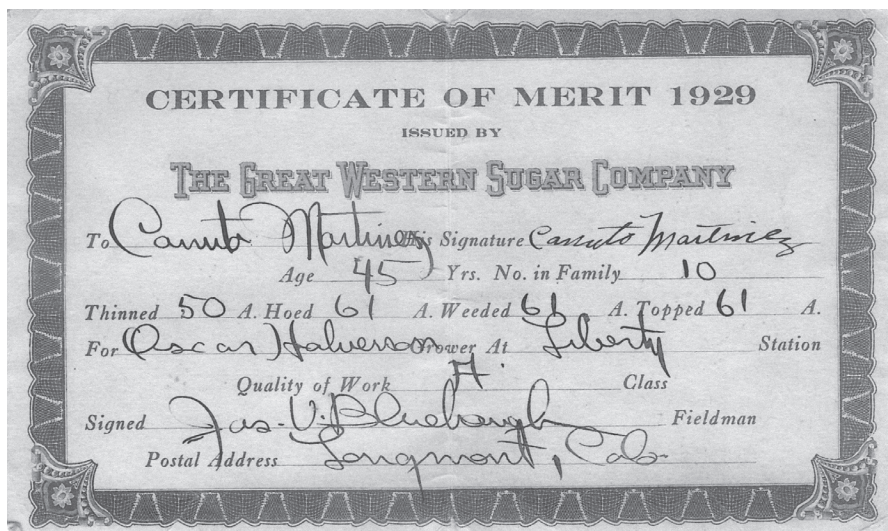
If Martinez and his family grew an average of more than 12 tons (24,000 pounds) of beets per acre, he would receive a bonus of \$0.50 per acre for each ton over that base. That means that he was expected to produce a base total of 1,104 tons (2,208,000 pounds!) of beets on his 92 acres, for a total season's wage for him and his family of \$1,288.

The farmer who signed Martinez's contract agreed to provide him with "a habitable house" and suitable water near at hand, and to carry him and other laborers (one assumes his family), plus their belongings, from the railway station at which they were left off by Great Western to the farm where they would be living.³⁸ He was not supposed to allow children aged ten years or less to work in the field, but the company—

³⁶ "Martinez, Canuto and Gregoria, biography."

³⁷ "Contract for Hand Labor, 1928." This agreement was made in June, so the planting had already been done.

³⁸ For the generally deplorable housing provided for agricultural workers, see Ch. 6B below and Vol. II, Ch. 2A.



Illus. 3.6. Certificate of Merit to Canuto Martinez, 1929

and presumably its farmers—did not enforce that rule. Should a conflict arise between Martinez and the farmer, it was to be settled by the local Agricultural Superintendent for Great Western Sugar, hardly a neutral party, one might think.

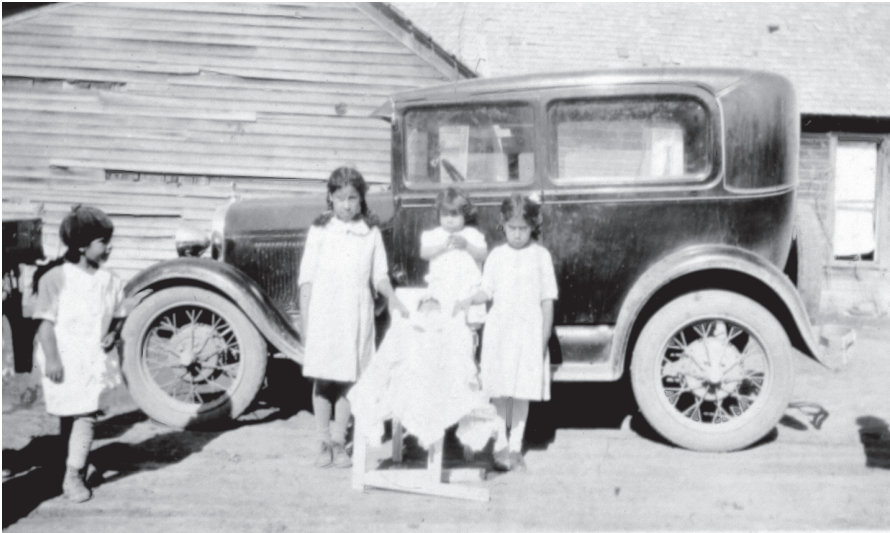
The following summer Martinez and his family took work on Oscar Halverson's beet farm in Longmont, having spent the winter in the Lafayette area, where he was now working as a miner. At the end of the 1929 season, he received a Certificate of Merit from Great Western for his work. Martinez, aged 45 years, together with nine other people in his family, had thinned, hoed, weeded, and topped between 50 and 61 acres at a performance level of "A." The Martinez family moved between different farms in Boulder County for the next few summers before settling permanently in the Water + Goss Streets area of Boulder in the mid-1930s.³⁹

Because most beet workers changed location seasonally or annually, transportation was a key issue. As cars and trucks became cheaper, more reliable, and more readily available in the late 1920s and 1930s, they offered great benefits to migrant Hispanic families. Travel was easier and faster than in a covered wagon, and being able to move without relying

³⁹ See Vol. II, Ch. 2B.



Illus. 3.7. Elderly couple in front of old car



Illus. 3.8. Four children and a baby in front of car

on train routes gave workers more choice in looking for jobs. When Oli Duncan's grandparents left Chama, New Mexico in the late 1920s to seek work in Boulder County, the family drove north in a Model T Ford.⁴⁰

Having a car or truck also enabled workers to move around on the farm that hired them. Lou Cardenas remembered that when her family received its pay check in 1929 at the end of the first season of working beets near Longmont, her daddy bought a car.⁴¹ He had not driven before but learned quickly, and in subsequent summers the family used the car to travel in the mornings from the house where they were living on the farm to the field where they were to work. (Before buying a car, the whole family had risen at three in the morning to eat breakfast, pack a lunch, and set off on a 2-mile walk to the fields, carrying their food, water, and hoes with them; they reversed that walk at the end of the day.) By around 1940, cars and trucks were also making possible greater social and religious participation for farm workers.⁴²

Owning a vehicle has been a source of pride for many Latino families from early in the twentieth century. Cars and trucks are often shown in photos.⁴³ The image used as the emblem for the Boulder County Latino History Project shows the grandmother and two great-aunts of one of the participants in the project; dressed in their best clothing, the girls, from a beet-working family in Lafayette, sit on the bumper of the family's truck on a Sunday morning in 1929.

By the early 1930s, the Great Depression was causing Great Western to cut back on production. Over the next five years, the company and its farmers reduced the number of employees and the pay per acre several times. Yet widespread unemployment led some Hispanics already in this area and those coming from nearby states to accept beet work even if the cost of travel was not covered and the pay was very low. Declining demand for Hispanic workers is demonstrated in the 1940 Census for Longmont which shows only 25 beet laborers.⁴⁴ After that, cheaper cane sugar and other factors lowered beet production even further.

Other types of agricultural work

Although the majority of early Spanish-speaking people who did

⁴⁰ "Olivas, Ralph and Rose, biographical account."

⁴¹ Cardenas, Lou, interview, c. 1987.

⁴² See Vol. II, Chs. 4A and 5C.

⁴³ See also Vol. II, Illus. 2.4, "Three boys in matching plaid jackets," and "Two men standing in front of a car."

⁴⁴ App. 3.2.



Illus. 3.9. Martinez girls on a truck on a Sunday morning, Lafayette, 1929

agricultural work in Boulder County were employed in the beet fields, a few found different kinds of jobs on farms and ranches. They might be hired short-term to harvest other crops or as full-time workers.⁴⁵ Albert (“Paco”) Borrego, born in 1906 in New Mexico, came to this area with his parents.⁴⁶ One day in the late 1920s, after performing well in some horse races, he caught the attention of C. W. Pace. Mr. Pace, owner of Pace Land and Livestock Company in Longmont and one of the area’s largest ranchers, hired young Albert, first as a cowboy and later as a top foreman. He managed the animal side of the ranch, breaking broncos and training horses, and rode the company’s entries at the Roosevelt Park Racetrack. Albert also kept up with new farming equipment, able to use and fix any machine. The high point of each year was going to the Denver Stock Show with Mr. Pace. He recalled that they stayed at the Brown Palace Hotel, Denver’s grandest, and throughout the show

⁴⁵ E.g., “Three men with shocks of grain” and “Harvesting peas.”

⁴⁶ “Borrego, Albert and Elvinia (“Bea”) Martinez, biography,” for this paragraph.



Illus. 3.10. E. E. Bernal shearing a sheep

they “wined and dined among the finest and most famous cowboys and cattlemen.”

Hispanics were sometimes hired to work with sheep, though Boulder County’s flatlands were not commonly used for these animals. People who had come from New Mexico or Huerfano or Las Animas Counties were often experienced with sheep, which formed an important part of local economies there. When Oli Duncan’s grandfather moved to Longmont around 1930, he too was hired by Mr. Pace on a year-round basis.⁴⁷ His main job was to tend the sheep, but sometimes he supervised work in the fields or raised his own cash crops on acreage rented from the farm. A few Hispanics were in demand as sheep shearers. E. E. Bernal, whose family had “dry farmed” and herded sheep in northern New Mexico and Huerfano and Las Animas Counties, did various kinds of work after he moved to northern Colorado: mining, construction, and farm labor.⁴⁸ But even after he settled his family in the town of Boulder, he continued to shear sheep on the side. J. H. Cortez, whose many types of employment over time included herding sheep, likewise kept on shearing after retiring from other work.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ “Olivas, Ralph and Rose, biographical account.”

⁴⁸ “Bernal, E. E. and Eva, biography and photo.”

⁴⁹ “Cortez, Jose Hilario (“J. H.”) and Maria Sabina, biography.”

Whereas some of the German-Russian and Japanese immigrants who had been brought to this area to work sugar beets ended up buying their own agricultural land, that pattern was less common among Hispanics. U.S. Census records describe a few Spanish-surnamed men as “farmers,” which probably meant farm owners: one in Boulder in 1900; one in Longmont in 1910; four in Longmont and Lafayette in 1920; and seven in those two towns in 1930.⁵⁰ By 1940, however, the number had dropped to just three in all the towns together, probably due to the Depression. The Zaragoza (later Saragosa) brothers in Boulder bought land on the western edge of town in the mid-1910s which they used to graze animals and for orchards and gardens, but starting in the 1930s, the one remaining widow gradually sold it off.⁵¹

A few positions secondarily associated with agriculture were available. A younger relative reported that George Madrigal, who had come from Mexico around 1910, surveyed land in eastern Boulder County.⁵² He determined the exact measurements of fields, sometimes helping to resolve disputes between farmers and their employees about how large an acreage had actually been worked. Among the jobs held by Roy Maestas in the 1920s was making pellets in an alfalfa mill.⁵³

B. Coal Mining

The experiences of the other major set of early Hispanic workers, those employed in the coal mines in and around southeastern Boulder County, differed in many respects. Male miners (adults and boys in their teens) earned cash wages, and they developed a strong sense of comradery with the men they worked alongside, regardless of national/ethnic background. Until the 1930s, many miners’ families lived in camps of small houses near the mine head, built by the company that owned the mine. Some camps contained as many as a hundred families, coming from southeastern Europe and Italy as well as Spanish-speaking backgrounds. Women in these settings had opportunities for sociability, including at the store that some company camps provided. Yet miners

⁵⁰ App. 3.2.

⁵¹ Leslie Ogeda, conversation with Marjorie McIntosh, April 12, 2013, and “Saragosa, Pete, Property records.”

⁵² “Madrigal family of Boulder, biographies.” It seems rather surprising that a Mexican immigrant would have been hired for such work.

⁵³ “Maestas, Pedro (Roy), Ruby, and Abe, biography.”

did not form a distinct group from agricultural laborers: during the summers, when the mines did not operate, many families worked in the beet fields.

The coal mines around Lafayette, Erie, and Louisville in southeastern Boulder County formed the primary economic activity of that region. They produced lignite, a soft, brown, “dirty” coal with a relatively low heat content that was used primarily for heating domestic and other buildings in Denver and the surrounding area.⁵⁴ Like mines in the southern Colorado coal field (around Trinidad and Walsenburg), production in the northern field (in Boulder and Weld Counties) peaked in the 1910s and gradually declined thereafter.

Across the full history of Boulder County’s coal extraction, nearly 50 mines are known to have operated; others lay just across the border in Weld County.⁵⁵ In 1920, nearly a million tons of coal were produced in those two counties; in 1930, nearly 30 mines operated in this area, most employing 50 to 100 men each. Yields were already decreasing, however, and demand was dropping due to increased use of oil and gas. By the early 1960s, only six mines, all founded between 1920 and 1949, were still operating. Yet as late as 1975 two dozen Boulder County Latinas/os were working for mining companies.⁵⁶

Although the process of extracting coal varied a little between local mines, depending upon the depth and nature of the seams of coal being worked, the general pattern prior to around 1940 was this. After testing to determine the extent of the site, done by taking core samples, a central shaft was sunk from the surface down to the lowest level of the coal seam. Cages going up and down the shaft transported men and equipment into the mine and brought up coal and “tipple” (rocks and dirt). From the central shaft, miners dug low, narrow tunnels going horizontally along the various levels of the seam. They reinforced the roofs with timber and laid down tracks for the carts that carried material back to the shaft.⁵⁷ Mules were initially used to pull the carts but were later replaced by machines. The animals were stabled in a special room at each level and

⁵⁴ The higher quality coal mined in southern Colorado was put to other uses, including producing electricity, coking smelters and steel mills, and fueling railroad engines. For the relationship between expansion of railroads and coal mining in Colorado, see Andrews, *Killing for Coal*, pp. 51-62. I am grateful to Tom Andrews for clarifying for me many aspects of mining history (personal communication).

⁵⁵ “Eracism: Exploring the Roots.”

⁵⁶ See Ch. 6C below.

⁵⁷ “Men in interior of Eagle Mine” and “Men in interior of Vulcan Mine.”



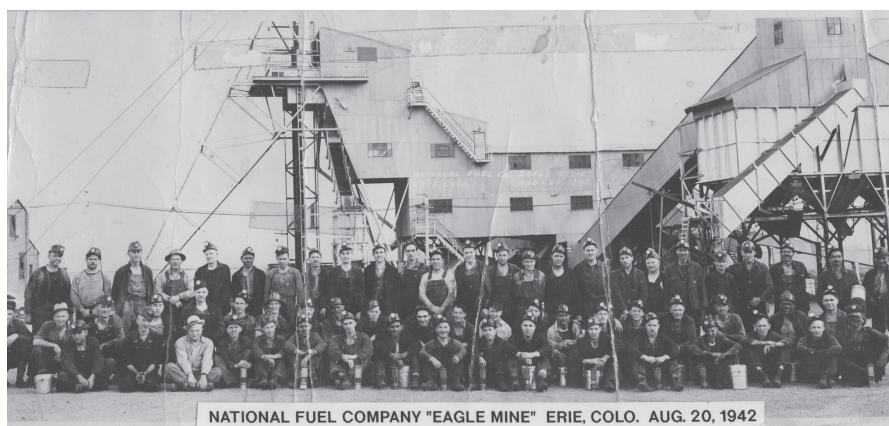
Illus. 3.11. Black Diamond Mine, Lafayette, interior, 1942

generally did not return to the surface until they were too old to work. As the tunnels of a given mine spread out, sometimes for several miles, additional shafts might be sunk to lessen the distance that the coal had to be moved underground and to ventilate the underground workings. An extensive array of buildings generally lay above ground.⁵⁸ Because demand for heating coal dropped off sharply during the warmer months, mining in this area took place only during the winter.

Colorado's coal miners came from many different national backgrounds. Of 12,894 miners in the state in 1910, 38% were whites born in the U.S., plus 3% African Americans.⁵⁹ One quarter of the workers were described as "Mexican," which apparently included everyone with a Spanish surname, regardless of where they were born. Italians constituted 15% of the men, with 11% from other western European countries; 9% came

⁵⁸ "Buildings at Industrial Mine," "Tipple at Shamrock Mine," "Simpson Mine, 1900?," "Simpson Mine, 1908," "Simpson Mine, 1909," "Tipple at Standard Mine," and "Tipple and tracks, Standard Mine."

⁵⁹ Figures calculated from Rees, "Chicanos Mine the Columbine," p. 18, citing information from Hazel Alice Glenny, "A History of Labor Disputes in the Northern Colorado Coal Mining Fields with Emphasis on the 1927-1928 Strike" (M.A. thesis, University of Colorado at Boulder, 1938), p. 7.



Illus. 3.12. Miners at Eagle Mine, 1942

from eastern or southeastern Europe, and there were a few Japanese miners. Over the following decade, however, the number of Mexican-born miners in Colorado nearly tripled, whereas other foreign-born groups decreased in size.⁶⁰

In Boulder County as early as 1920, nine Spanish-surnamed men in Lafayette and one in Longmont were coal miners.⁶¹ By 1930, those numbers had risen to 12 and 9, and as of 1936, 21 Lafayette men and 6 from Longmont were mining, according to the *Polk's City Directories* of that year.⁶² Early U.S. Censuses for Lafayette suggest concentrations of Italian and Southeastern European immigrants as well as families originally from Mexico or New Mexico.⁶³

⁶⁰ U.S. Census, 1920, as tabulated by Rees, "Chicanos Mine the Columbine," p. 18.

⁶¹ App. 3.2. By 1940, the figures had declined slightly: 15 miners in Lafayette, 8 in Longmont, and 2 in Boulder.

⁶² "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1936." *Polk's City Directories*, available in Boulder County's public libraries, list adult residents of each town by street address and give the occupations and employers of some of them. For this project, volunteers entered information into databases about those households headed by people with Hispanic surnames, using as sample years 1904, 1916 (using *Polk's Boulder County Directory*), 1926, 1936, 1946, 1955, 1965, and 1975. The resulting figures are minimum numbers, though coverage is fuller in the later decades. The *Directories* probably missed some people and did not include true migrant workers; our analysis may have failed to recognize some Hispanic names and could not spot any Latinas who married a man with a non-Latino surname, though inter-ethnic marriage was rare in this area until the 1970s. The number of Latinas/os for whom occupations were given in 1904 and 1916 was too small to analyze.

⁶³ For images, see "Miners at Lehigh Mine," "Miners at Puritan Mine," "Miners at Standard Mine," and "Miners and tippel at State Mine."

We have more specific information about the backgrounds of miners at the Columbine Mine, located a few miles east of Lafayette, during the 1920s.⁶⁴ Because there was nothing distinctive about the labor force of the Columbine, these figures probably provide a rough picture of Hispanic miners elsewhere Boulder County too. In Rees's sample of 165 Columbine miners, about half were Hispanic: 28% were born in Mexico, and 24% were Spanish-speakers born in the U.S. Of the others, 24% were American-born English-speakers, 8% came from Western Europe, and 9% from Eastern Europe. Of the 86 Hispanics working at the Columbine, 54% had been born in Mexico, and the rest in the United States. Not all of the 46 miners who had come from Mexico stayed permanently in this country; some crossed the border annually or every few years. The Mexican-born miners were on average two years older than those born in the U.S., and a slightly higher fraction of them were married. Only two of the 25 single miners from Mexico had any relatives in the United States, suggesting that they had come on their own in search of work. Eight of the wives of the 20 married men were still living in Mexico. Of the U.S.-born Hispanic miners, nearly two-thirds were literate only in Spanish or in both Spanish and English; a quarter were literate in English only.

Coal mining was dangerous work. Lesser accidents were common, stemming often from problems with tools or the carts that moved through the tunnels. More worryingly, poorly supported tunnels might allow rocks to fall or could cave in entirely, killing some miners and stranding others on the far side of the blockage. Poisonous gas and accumulations of coal dust sometimes built up if the mine was not adequately ventilated, and it was easy to fall into a vertical shaft, since men were moving about in the dark. The short-term risk of coal dust, which was easily ignitable, was that it would explode; many long-term miners developed "Black Lung Disease" from the dust, though that ailment was not recognized prior to 1940.⁶⁵

An analysis of deaths among coal miners of all ethnicities in Erie and Frederick (across the border in Weld County) between 1900 and 1945 shows the following causes:

⁶⁴ Rees, "Chicanos Mine the Columbine," pp. 21-28, 68, and 71.

⁶⁵ See Vol. II, Ch. 3B.

Falling coal and rocks:	8
Coal car collisions:	6
Falling into shafts:	4
Cave-ins:	1
Unknown or other:	3 ⁶⁶

State-maintained records of the deaths resulting from coal mining accidents show that at least 21 Spanish-surnamed miners were killed in Boulder County between the 1910s and 1950s.

1910s:	2 men
1920s:	11 men
1930s:	6 men
1940s:	1 man
1950s:	1 man ⁶⁷

The Columbine mine had nine deaths between 1922 and 1945; the Puritan had five between 1922 and 1934. Most of the entries for the first three decades indicate how many children each man left behind. Of 17 men, 9 left between 1 and 6 children each, suggesting that they were living here with their families; the other 8 listed no children, so the men were either unmarried or had not brought their families to Boulder County with them.

The most disastrous explosion in this region took place at the Monarch Mine near Lafayette in 1936, killing eight men, including Joe Jaramillo.⁶⁸ At 6:20 am on the morning of January 20, a small night crew was finishing its preparations for the day-shift workers, more than a hundred of whom had already assembled near the main entry point into the mine. Suddenly a powerful blast was heard and felt, and a fireball and smoke erupted from the top of the mine. The explosion reverberated through the mine's miles of underground tunnels, bringing down hundreds of tons of rock, coal, and timber supports; it affected about half of the total area of the mine. Two of the ten-member night crew escaped, but the others were killed: five "by the force of the blast or falling debris," and three men

⁶⁶ Adelfang, ed., *Erie*, p. 65.

⁶⁷ "Eracism: Exploring the Roots."

⁶⁸ The most complete account is William Cohen, "Blast." The next two paragraphs are taken from that description unless otherwise noted. See also "Monarch Mine."

who apparently “succumbed by suffocation from the poisonous gas that erupted following the explosion, called ‘after-damp.’”⁶⁹ Had the explosion occurred an hour later, after the day shift had gone down in the mine, the casualties would have been far greater. An investigation of the blast failed to establish the exact source of the electric spark that caused the coal dust to explode, but the disaster was attributed to the illegally unsafe conditions that the mine’s owner, the National Fuel Company, had allowed to continue for years on end. After rescue efforts were abandoned, the company sealed off the Monarch Mine and closed it permanently.⁷⁰

The bodies of seven miners were found, but despite extensive searching, Joe Jaramillo’s was never recovered. Local tradition says that Jaramillo survived the initial blast but went back into the mine to look for his comrades, but the investigative report does not confirm that.⁷¹ Jaramillo, who was in his late 40s, had worked in the Monarch Mine for 20 years. His job was to look after the mules that were stabled in a room leading off one of the tunnels, bringing back the animals tired from work and taking ones that had rested to the place they were needed. At the time of the blast, he was returning two animals to the stable from a distant point in the tunnels. Jaramillo and his wife Josephine had both come to Boulder County from New Mexico (though he was described as “Mexican” in the State Mining Inspector’s report of the explosion and as “Mexican Joe” in newspaper accounts). Their four children, born at the Monarch Mine camp between 1919 and 1924, were still living at home and preparing to leave for school when the blast was felt and the emergency sirens began to scream.

Despite the dangers inherent to mining, many men considered it better work than “stoop labor” in the beet fields. Wages were relatively good and the work was steady during the colder months. Many miners continued in that occupation throughout their lives, or as long as they were physically capable of the demanding labor. Until the 1930s, some miners lived in camps next to the central shaft, containing simple wooden houses. The camp around the Columbine Mine was sufficiently large that it was sometimes termed a town in its own right, with the (poorly suited) name of “Serene.” Married men could bring their families to live

⁶⁹ William Cohen, “Blast,” p. 3.

⁷⁰ A monument to the men who were lost was placed over the mine entrance but later moved to nearby Varra Park when a shopping mall was constructed on the site.

⁷¹ E.g., Noel and Corson, *Boulder County*, p. 97, as compared with William Cohen, “Blast.”

with them there, while single men often stayed in boarding houses. Not all miners lived in the camps, however. In October, 1929, Rudolph Ruiz was working at the Puritan Mine but lived with his wife and six children on a farm 2 miles east of Longmont.⁷² Later many miners moved their families into one of the nearby towns.

The unionization of Colorado's coal miners was a bitterly disputed issue, leading to frequent conflict with mine operators and sometimes violent strikes in every decade between the 1880s and 1930s.⁷³ Unions were already functioning as collective bargaining agents in Boulder County prior to 1914 but were then banned; they began organizing again in the late 1920s. The unions gradually achieved some limited benefits for their members, including an award to the family of a man killed at work and pay after an injury.

Miners faced some special financial problems. One was that because the mines only functioned in the winters, their employees had to look for other work during the warm weather. As we shall see, some miners found jobs as seasonal agricultural workers, especially in the beet fields, or in construction. For others, however, the summer involved a series of odd jobs at best. Tom Lopez, the first Latino mayor of Lafayette, remembered that during and after the Great Depression, many miners went into debt during the summer; they then worked to pay off those loans or advances once the mines opened again.⁷⁴

Another issue confronted those families who lived in camps, which were generally located at some distance from towns.⁷⁵ If the camp had no store, it was difficult to obtain items that people could not produce themselves. Camps run by the mining company usually provided a store, which stocked basic food and other essential items. Although these stores allowed their customers to buy on credit, with payment deducted from the miners' paychecks, the men and their wives had to pay whatever prices were demanded. The use of credit meant that women had to be thrifty managers of their family's resources, making sure they did not run up against their limit before the next pay day. Merle Travis's song "Sixteen Tons" refers to company stores at coal mines in Appalachia:

⁷² His five-year-old son fell into an irrigation ditch there and drowned ("Mexican child drowns in ditch").

⁷³ See Ch. 4A below.

⁷⁴ Lopez, Thomas, interview, 1986.

⁷⁵ "Houses in camp, Industrial Mine," and see Vol. II, Ch. 2A.

Some people say a man is made outta mud.
 A poor man's made outta muscle and blood.
 Muscle and blood, skin and bones;
 A mind that's weak and a back that's strong.
 You load sixteen tons an' what do you get?
 Another day older and deeper in debt.
 St Peter don't you call me cause I can't go:
 I owe my soul to the company store.⁷⁶

Personal narratives provide glimpses into people's experiences as miners. Some highlight the dangers involved. Patrick Arroyo described how his father had helped to stop a terrible fire in the Washington Mine, located east of Erie in Weld County.⁷⁷ He talked about starting work himself as a boy, with a description of the interior of the mine and what it was like to descend in the cage that ran up and down the shaft. He told how his hand was shattered between two coal cars when he was trying to couple them. In the 1930s, Juan Francisco Archuleta worked as a "shot-firer," planning out and firing the explosions that loosened coal from the seams.⁷⁸ Judging how much powder to use and where to place it required precise mathematical calculation, and after the explosion, he had to ensure that the area was free of harmful gases before other workers were allowed in. Other accounts offer first-person descriptions of mining procedures. Tom Lopez reported how he moved to Lafayette in 1936 to work at the newly opened Morrison mine; he was trained by a slightly older Hispanic miner, Victor Tafoya, and continued to work there until 1956.⁷⁹ His narrative gives valuable details about the processes used to extract coal and how they changed over time as power machinery was introduced.

Several records left by Canuto Martinez, the man whose sugar beet contracts we discussed above, tell us how much miners produced, how much they were paid, and how the credit system functioned. Martinez started work in Boulder County mines in the late 1920s, having moved first from Mexico and then from the mines around Trinidad.⁸⁰ Altogether

⁷⁶ Travis, "Sixteen Tons."

⁷⁷ Arroyo, Patrick, interview, 1989.

⁷⁸ *The Coal and Metal Miners' Pocket Book*, which he used in his work.

⁷⁹ Lopez, Thomas, interview, 1986. See also Martinez, Joe, interview, 1977, and Martinez, Rick, interview, 1975.

⁸⁰ "Martinez, Canuto and Gregoria, biography."

NATIONAL FUEL COMPANY
DENVER, COLORADO

MONARCH MINE

PAY ROLL STATEMENT TO Canuto Martinez DR.

WORK FOR SECOND HALF MONTH OF SEP 1932 P. R. No. 154

EARNINGS		DEDUCTIONS	
MINERS: COAL		Coupons	500
<u>44</u> 00 lbs. coal @ <u>34</u> per ton	<u>152</u>	Coal	
<u>44</u> 00 lbs. coal @ <u>52</u> per ton	<u>1836</u>	Powder	
00 lbs. coal @ per ton		Rent	
00 lbs. coal @ per ton		Smithing	
YARDAGE:		Store	1598
feet @		Board	
feet @		Doctor	50
feet @		Insurance	

NATIONAL FUEL COMPANY
DENVER, COLORADO

MONARCH MINE

PAY ROLL STATEMENT TO Canuto Martinez DR.

WORK FOR SECOND HALF MONTH OF MAR 1934 P. R. No. 259

EARNINGS		DEDUCTIONS	
MINERS: COAL		Store	298
<u>312</u> 00 lbs. coal @ <u>58 1/2</u> per ton	<u>913</u>	Coal	60
00 lbs. coal @ per ton		Powder	257
MACHINE CUTTING:		Rent	
00 lbs. coal @ per ton		Smithing	
places @ each		Board	
places @ each		Doctor	
YARDAGE:		Insurance	
X-Cuts feet @		Lamp Account	60
Entries feet @		Bath House	
feet @		Dues	150
Brushing, Top feet @		Fines	
Brushing, Bottom feet @		Initiation Fees	
Grading feet @		Assessments	31
Re-grading feet @			4
Impurities @			
Niggerheads @ each			
X-Bars @ each			
ROCK: <u>4</u> Cars @ <u>38</u> each	<u>152</u>		
DAY LABOR:			
Hours @			
Hours @			
TOTAL EARNINGS	<u>1065</u>	TOTAL DEDUCTIONS	<u>900</u>
THIS STATEMENT TO BE PRESENTED AT THE MINE OFFICE ON PAY DAY		Balance Due \$ <u>165</u>	
NOT NEGOTIABLE			

PAID

NOTE THE DROP IN PAY PER TON from 1932 to 1934

Illus. 3.13. Canuto Martinez's pay statements, Monarch Mine, 1932 and 1934

he mined for 30 winters. One of his grandsons preserved copies of two of Martinez's payroll statements, covering two weeks each, from the National Fuel Company for work at Lafayette's Monarch Mine in the early 1930s. In the second half of September, 1932, Martinez dug 332 tons of coal (= 66,400 lbs.), for which he received wages of 5.5¢ per ton or \$18.26. He also produced 12 cartloads of rocks, for 3.6¢ per load, resulting in total pay of \$22.58. We do not know how many days he worked during that period, but if it was a standard 6 1/2 days per week, he would have dug about 25.5 tons of coal per day plus nearly a full cartload of rocks, for a daily wage of around \$1.75. From his earnings, the company deducted \$15.98 for purchases made at the company store, \$5.00 for coupons used at the store, and \$0.50 for seeing a doctor. That meant that Martinez's take-home pay was \$1.10 for two weeks, in addition to free housing for his family in the camp and the items bought at the company store. In the second half of March, 1934, the company deducted from his earnings \$2.57 for "powder" (probably the explosive used in the mine), 60¢ for his "lamp account" (fuel for the headlamp he wore underground), and \$1.50 for "dues." His take-home pay for those two weeks came to \$1.65.

The complementary seasonality of the two major occupations for Hispanics in Boulder County prior to 1940—sugar beet work and coal mining—created the possibility of employment during much of the year. Many accounts refer to that pattern of seasonal/occupational rotation.⁸¹ Alex Gonzales started working in the mines in 1925, a year after his marriage.⁸² His annual employment schedule, which he maintained for 29 years, was to do field work with his family during the agricultural season while taking a mining job during the winters. Alfredo and Donaciana Arguello were Mexican immigrants who had married in the Trinidad/Walsenburg area in 1927 and then travelled north.⁸³ Alfredo was employed in mines around eastern Boulder County during the winters, and both of them worked in the fields during the summers. In other cases, however, miners laid off during the summers found different kinds of employment. Manuel Silva did construction work while the mines were closed, until he was called back at the first snowfall.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Alvarez, Teresa, interview, 1977, Martinez, Emma Gomez, interview, 2013, Montour, Eleanor, interview, 2013, "Borrego, Joseph Garfield, biography," "Manzanares, David J. and Marguerite, biography," and "Rosales, Henry and Alice, biography."

⁸² Gonzales, Alex, interview, c. 1987.

⁸³ "Arguello, Alfredo and Donaciana and family, biography."

⁸⁴ Silva, Dolores, interview, 2013.

It is not clear whether a combination of mining and sugar beet labor was formally sanctioned by employers. Jim Hutchison, a long-time expert on coal mining in the Lafayette area, said that Rocky Mountain Fuel, the main local mining company, and Great Western Sugar had an agreement that kept workers employed throughout the year.⁸⁵ It was to both owners' advantage to have trained people stay in the area, rather than having to recruit and transport new workers each year. But the miners' union apparently opposed a proposal made by sugar beet growers that formal year-long contracts should be issued that combined the two types of seasonal employment.⁸⁶ Instead, the union hoped to force the mine owners themselves to hire men for the full year. Labor organizers argued that there was work to be done in the summers, including maintenance of buildings and handling coal that had already been extracted. In practice, however, workers appear to have been hired by the mining companies and individual farmers in separate partial-year contracts, thereby losing the employment security they might otherwise have enjoyed.

C. Other Jobs for Men

Opportunities for other kinds of paid work for Hispanic men were limited. By the early twentieth century, Longmont was beginning its career as a center of food processing. The largest early factory was operated by Great Western Sugar. It was built in 1903 at the request of local farmers who had the land, water rights, and access to labor needed for beet production but lacked a market for their crops.⁸⁷ Great Western purchased the factory in 1905. The process of converting raw beets into granulated sugar involved washing and cooking the beets to get a syrup, which was then separated from the beet pulp. The syrup was boiled further until it turned into a thick, dark substance like molasses and then crystalized into sugar ready for sale. Wagons pulled by horses, railroad cars, and later motorized vehicles brought in tons of beets for processing every day. At its peak, the factory processed 3,650 tons of beets daily (about 73 railcar loads).⁸⁸ The huge building located on

⁸⁵ Conversation with Marjorie McIntosh, Jan. 7, 2014.

⁸⁶ Leigh Campbell-Hale, conversation with Marjorie McIntosh, March 25, 2013.

⁸⁷ *Actual, Factual St. Vrain Valley*, pp. 40-42, and *Longmont 125th Anniversary*, pp. 48-51. For food processing, see also Ch. 5A below.



Illus. 3.14. Great Western Sugar factory, Longmont, 1903-1925

the southeastern edge of Longmont employed workers for all of those stages. The Empson Cannery, founded in 1889, processed local fruits and vegetables; in the early 1920s, Empson merged with the Kuner Canning Factory, increasing production.⁸⁹ Several flour mills were built on the outskirts of Longmont at the end of the nineteenth century, eventually employing hundreds of workers.⁹⁰

These plants were not, however, major employers of Hispanics in the first part of the century. In 1919, Great Western built a brick dormitory to house workers in the factory who had been brought up from Mexico, but few local Spanish-speakers worked in the plant.⁹¹ The U.S. Census for Longmont in 1920 lists four workers with Spanish names at the sugar factory and three men as foremen there; a decade later, there was only one.⁹² The 1926 *Polk's City Directories* for Longmont, Lafayette,

⁸⁸ Hamilton, *Footprints in the Sugar*, p. 120.

⁸⁹ Scamehorn, *Colorado's Small Town Industrial Revolution*, chs. 2 and 5.

⁹⁰ *Longmont 125th Anniversary*, p. 48. There is no indication that Latinos were involved in growing the wheat that supplied these mills, much of it Turkey Red introduced by German-Russians.

⁹¹ *Longmont 125th Anniversary*, p. 51.

⁹² App. 3.2.



Illus. 3.15. [Men and pumpkins outside Empson Cannery, Longmont, early 20th century](#)

and Boulder mention no one with a Spanish surname working in any factory or food processing facility, but in 1936, 11 Longmont men were employed at the Great Western plant.⁹³

Men were sometimes hired in construction or transportation jobs, but as laborers, not skilled craftsmen. E. E. Bernal built houses for four years after leaving work in the mines, and Romolo Martinez, who came to Longmont in 1927, worked with various builders, “learning to be quite a good carpenter.”⁹⁴ When work was slow, Martinez made adobe blocks, which he used to build several houses or barns in the Longmont area. The early *City Directories* include one Spanish-surnamed carpenter/contractor in Boulder and two truck drivers in Longmont in 1936, though other workers may have been included among the many unspecified laborers with no employer given.⁹⁵ The U.S. Censuses show one truck driver in Boulder in 1930 and 1940 and two construction workers in

⁹³ “Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1926” and “Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1936.”

⁹⁴ Bernal, Mr. and Mrs. Emerenciano, interview, 1977, and *They Came to Stay*, p. 159.

⁹⁵ “Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1936.”

Lafayette in 1940.⁹⁶ In some parts of the American West, many Hispanics found employment in building and maintaining railroads.⁹⁷ Among Boulder County people, however, such work was rare until the 1940s.

Hispanics living in eastern Boulder County were seldom involved in the occupation that is often thought to characterize this region: hard rock mining. The mountains along the western side of the county were mined in the nineteenth century for gold and silver and later for such minerals as tungsten and fluorite. Although some mines were still being worked after 1900, we have found no mention of direct Spanish-speaking participation from our three towns. The only person known to have had a connection to mining was Roy Maestas, who moved from the southern Colorado coal fields to Boulder in 1930.⁹⁸ His first job in this area was to haul gold, tungsten, and other ores by truck down from the mountains; subsequently he found work as a coal miner.

The U.S. Censuses and *City Directories* reveal a few additional occupations among Spanish-surnamed men. A lawyer, born in Spain, lived in Longmont in 1920; Lafayette had an auto mechanic in 1930; and Boulder had a mechanic and an artist in 1940.⁹⁹ In 1936, a Hispanic prize fighter lived in Longmont, shoe shiners lived in Longmont and Boulder, and a manager and a clerk at Shorty's Place lived in Lafayette.¹⁰⁰ Benjamin Madrigal took a job in 1936 with one of the few factories in Boulder—Western States Cutlery—remaining there until 1975.¹⁰¹

New types of employment opportunities opened up in the mid-1930s. In an attempt to provide employment for the millions of people who were jobless as the result of the Great Depression, the federal government created the Works Progress Administration [WPA], one of the “New Deal” measures. In its peak year, 1938, the WPA hired 3 million people—men, women, and youth—throughout the country to carry out public works projects (like building roads, bridges, and schools and creating parks) or to engage in the arts. By the time the program closed in 1943, it had created nearly 8 million jobs. The contributions of the WPA were joined by another New Deal program, the Civilian Conservation Corps [CCC]. This program offered employment to people aged 18 to 25

⁹⁶ App. 3.2.

⁹⁷ For the work experiences and community life of Mexican railroad workers in the Southwest, see Garcilazo, *Traqueros*, chs. 3 and 5.

⁹⁸ “Maestas, Pedro (Roy), Ruby, and Abe, biography.”

⁹⁹ App. 3.2.

¹⁰⁰ “Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1936.” For boxers, see Vol. II, Ch. 4C.

¹⁰¹ “Madrigal family of Boulder, biographies.”

whose families were on relief; they were put to work on government-owned land to conserve and develop natural resources. Between 1933 and 1942 nearly 3 million young people nationally participated in the CCC.

Boulder County's Hispanics were hit hard by the Depression. Those who worked on seasonal contracts had no protection against a decreased demand for labor in agriculture and mining. Racist attitudes led some employers and local government officials to believe that if jobs were scarce, they should go to "real" Americans, not Spanish-speaking immigrants. They did not distinguish between people from Mexico and those from New Mexico/southern Colorado, or between recent immigrants and citizens.¹⁰² But even non-citizens were eligible for WPA and CCC work, and in some areas they qualified for public welfare relief. Although Hispanic farm workers in Colorado sometimes complained that they were dropped from the WPA to provide cheap labor for sugar beet production, in Boulder County New Deal programs had more beneficial consequences.¹⁰³

Their impact is made clear in our quantifiable sources. Whereas the *City Directories* for 1936 make no mention of local people with Spanish surnames employed by local governments or New Deal programs, the U.S. Census of 1940 reveals that such work had become vital to many families. In Longmont, 45 men and 4 women were working for the government.¹⁰⁴ They constituted 38% of all employed adult Hispanic men and half of all Hispanic women. Some were expressly described as participating in WPA or CCC programs; most of the others (like the 32 men working on roads, water projects, reforestation, and town buildings, and the four women in a training course for seamstresses) probably were too. Partial information from the 1940 U.S. Census for the other towns includes six men in Lafayette and three in Boulder who worked on road construction. They too may have been WPA employees.

Personal narratives confirm that some families were kept going thanks to these kinds of employment. Benjamin Madrigal, who had come to this country from Mexico as a baby in 1908, was unable to find regular work after his marriage and move to Boulder in 1931.¹⁰⁵ He was then hired on

¹⁰² See Ch. 4 below.

¹⁰³ Abbott et al., *Colorado*, p. 286.

¹⁰⁴ As calculated from "Information about all Latinos, U.S. Census Records for Longmont, 1940."

¹⁰⁵ "Madrigal family of Boulder, biographies."

WPA projects, where he helped to construct buildings on the campus of the University of Colorado, build roads in the town and mountains, and create an open-air theater at the top of Flagstaff Mountain, overlooking Boulder. Jake Espinoza, who had lost his job with a railroad elsewhere in Colorado and was doing odd jobs and field work around Lafayette to feed his family, was likewise hired by the WPA.¹⁰⁶ Jake gave credit to U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt, who “established programs and relief for unemployed persons.” Manuel Silva, who later became a coal miner, found a place with the CCC when he was in his late teens.¹⁰⁷ He worked in Rocky Mountain National Park, northwest of Boulder, and took care of town parks. As was to be true again in the later 1960s and 1970s, federal government programs made a significant difference for some local Hispanics.

D. The Work of Women and Children

Regardless of their national or ethnic origins, women prior to around 1940 were responsible for extensive domestic work. In an era with no labor-saving devices, women had to perform what may seem to us a huge amount of daily work in the house and sometimes the family’s vegetable garden. In wealthy households, many of these tasks were performed by servants, but for poorer people of any ethnicity or race, it was the women of the family who shouldered most of the burden. Female labor at home made it possible for male members of the household to take jobs that brought in a cash income.

Interviews and family histories of Boulder County Hispanics describe these duties more fully. Women cooked and served meals, made or obtained the family’s clothing and mended it, and kept the living quarters clean. They washed not only dishes but also all clothes and bedding by hand, having sometimes carried home the necessary water and the fuel for heating it. The wives of most miners and some beet workers raised vegetables and/or chickens, lessening their dependence upon purchased food. Women also needed to plan, organize, and supervise the domestic labor done by their daughters and other members of the household and keep a close eye on expenditures. Older Latinas sometimes expressed

¹⁰⁶ “Jake Espinoza at 94.”

¹⁰⁷ Silva, Dolores, interview, 2013.

amazement in the 1970s at the amount of hard physical labor performed by their mothers and their ability to help the family get by with little income. The economic survival of the family unit thus relied upon the unpaid and often unacknowledged work of its female members, upon their physical stamina, intelligence, skillful management of domestic tasks, and thrift.

In Boulder County's Hispanic households, women filled other roles as well. They shouldered the primary responsibility for bearing and caring for their children, who were often numerous. They socialized their children, taught them good values, and trained girls in domestic skills; they looked after the health of their families; and they organized home-based religious worship and sometimes offered religious instruction.¹⁰⁸ Grandmothers provided information, practical assistance, and emotional support for younger relatives. Retrospective descriptions from the 1970s and 1980s underscore the economic partnership of the narrators' parents, with their fathers earning money and their mothers managing the household and its expenses. Gender relationships between husbands and wives rested upon an ethic of complementary work for the good of the family. This marital bond was often strong enough to withstand the potentially divisive effects of expanding female education and women's employment outside the home.¹⁰⁹

Most Hispanic women in the first half of the twentieth century devoted their full efforts to their domestic tasks and made every penny count in large households with generally limited incomes. When Elvinia ("Bea") Martinez Borrego was a child in New Mexico, in the 1910s, she lived first with a grandmother and later with her father and stepmother.¹¹⁰ She was never able to attend school because she had to work at home, either helping her father in the fields or assisting her stepmother with household chores, including the care of her younger brothers and sisters. She was so small that her father made a special little bench for her to stand on when she was washing dishes or clothing and doing the ironing.

Bea later put that training to good use while she and her husband Albert were living on the Pace Ranch outside Longmont. She was

¹⁰⁸ For these topics, see Vol. II, Chs. 1A, 3A-B, and 5B.

¹⁰⁹ See Chs. 5A and 6C below and Vol. II, Ch. 6.

¹¹⁰ "Borrego, Albert and Elvinia ("Bea") Martinez, biography."

described by her daughter and granddaughter as:

a professional homemaker, sewing, crocheting, gardening, and cooking for her family. Times were hard during the Great Depression, but she always managed to cook and bake goodies for her family. She made money stretch. Taking advantage of the summer harvest, she canned everything she could for the winter months and always had a cellar full of home-canned goods. She raised her own chickens so they could have fried chicken on Sundays, plus she sold fresh eggs to a local market to bring in a little extra income and sometimes buy treats and an occasional soda for the children. She took in ironing for extra money.¹¹¹

Virginia Maestas told of the housework that had to be done when she was a child in the late 1930s and 1940s.¹¹² Her parents were agricultural laborers who moved annually with their five children to a new farm in Boulder County. The houses provided by their employers rarely had indoor plumbing, just outhouses. In one house they had a little pump in the kitchen, but normally they hauled water for drinking, cooking, and washing from ditches or an outside well. Because Virginia was the only girl in the family, she did lots of the domestic work. “Beds were made every day, the house was swept every day, ready for company, whether it came or not.” On wash days, her brothers would bring in water to heat on the stove, before they left for the fields. Virginia then helped her mother do the laundry, using a washboard. Clofes Archuleta of Boulder heated water for washing on a coal stove, using two large galvanized tubs.¹¹³ To do laundry, she punched a small hole in the bottom of a large can. Through the hole she inserted a long pole, and by pulling the pole up and down, she was able to agitate the clothes and bedding.

When Jennie and Joe Condido Vigil and their six children were living on the Lohr farm east of Boulder around 1950, in a house with two bedrooms, no running water, and a coal stove, Jennie grew and canned or preserved much of their food; she did all the cooking and house cleaning (with some help from her older daughters); and she made most of the children’s clothes on a treadle sewing machine.¹¹⁴ Her sisters supplemented home-made clothing with things they found at second-

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² Maestas, Virginia, interview, 2013. For housing, see Vol. II, Ch. 2A.

¹¹³ “Archuleta family history.”

¹¹⁴ Vigil, Jennie, and others, interview, 2001.

hand and rummage stores. Her daughter Angela remembered, "Every time our aunts came over, we KNEW we were going to get something. Used clothing was a real treat."

Many rural women also worked in the fields at least occasionally, either on land for which their families had a contract or as paid laborers for someone else.¹¹⁵ Lola Martinez, born in 1913, was one of the ten children of Canuto Martinez and his wife Gregoria. When Lola was in her teens and twenties, she did agricultural work with her parents and siblings during the summers. A nephew later commented, "Her days of hard work in the fields alongside her family gave her special sensitivity to those who need a hand up or an ear to just listen."¹¹⁶ Angie Munoz, born in Longmont in 1921, grew up in the camp beside the Columbine Mine, where her father worked. At harvest time, her mother and older siblings would all hire out to local farmers, leaving Angie at home to look after the younger children.¹¹⁷

Few local Hispanic women were engaged in other kinds of paid work until the 1950s. Just one woman was listed in *Polk's City Directories* for 1926 as employed—a maid in Longmont—though by 1936 the number had risen to nine.¹¹⁸ In the latter year, women accounted for 5%-7% of all listed workers in each of the towns. The increase in female employment may have resulted from severe need within families due to the shortage of male jobs during the Depression. Longmont's female workers now included two maids, a housekeeper, a seamstress, and an unspecified laborer; Lafayette had one maid and one housekeeper; and Boulder had one maid and one kitchen helper at Community Hospital. Eva Bernal of Boulder augmented her husband's earnings by ironing for pay.¹¹⁹ Such work—low skilled, poorly paid, and done largely within domestic contexts—was similar to that done by women of all backgrounds at the time, thereby helping to maintain a patriarchal system.

Children often contributed to the economic well-being of their families, especially during the first third of the century. The most common form of labor was with beets, where they worked alongside one

¹¹⁵ In the 1930 U.S. Census, eleven women from Longmont and Lafayette were listed as beet workers and one as an unspecified farm laborer (App. 3.1).

¹¹⁶ See Vol. II, Illus. 1.7.

¹¹⁷ "Casias, Angelina and Raymond, biography."

¹¹⁸ "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1926" and "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1936."

¹¹⁹ "Bernal, E. E. and Eva, biography and photo."

or both parents. If a mother was in the fields, she probably had no place to leave her children, and even young ones could help to collect the weeds that had been dug up or pile sugar beets. As children moved into their teens, their labor might be essential to their family's ability to complete its contract. Prior to 1938, the use of children in agriculture—which was common among many rural families, regardless of their ethnicity—was generally accepted on the grounds that they were there with their parents. The author of an essay written in 1924 said that Mexican children, "with rare exceptions, work with and under the supervision of their own parents, and except where the parents are ignorant and cruel, may not suffer physically from overwork."¹²⁰ He admitted, however, that the children were often kept out of school, especially in the fall, which slowed their advancement.

Hispanics who had worked in the fields as children remembered that life less positively. Merce Vela described the work he did as a child after coming to Longmont with his parents in 1930 as "backbreaking, hard, and heavy."¹²¹ During the harvest, his family would put in 18-hour days: he remembered working far into the night "to beat the first snowfall." His wife Mary, who came to this area in 1926, said that when her family was topping beets, "Dad would get us up at 4 am. We'd work til breakfast, when we'd be all wet from the leaves, we'd change, eat, and go out again." Al Cardenas's parents and their large family of children moved from Aguilar to the area around Erie, where they all worked in the fields. "We did sugar beets, produce, whatever it was on the farms. . . . It wasn't a pleasant job, but that's what we had to do."¹²²

The early U.S. Census records for Longmont list few Spanish-surnamed children under the age of 18 as working. In 1910, one 16-year-old boy did odd jobs; in 1920, three boys aged 12 to 16 were described as farm laborers or laborers in beet fields, while a 14-year-old boy worked for an oil company.¹²³ The Longmont Census for 1930, however, shows that children were now much more heavily engaged in agriculture. A total of 132 adults and children were described as farm laborers, beet workers, or in other agricultural employment. Of that total, 36% were children under

¹²⁰ Robert McLean, "Mexicans in the Beet Fields," p. 79.

¹²¹ "Sugar beets brought early Hispanics to Longmont" for this and Mary Vela, below.

¹²² Cardenas, Alfonso, interview, 2004. He had eight sisters and four brothers.

¹²³ "Information about all Latinos, U.S. Census Records for Longmont."

the age of 18. To our eyes, the following figures may be troubling.

Age of child	No. of boys working	No. of girls working	Total no. of children working
6-10 years	7	6	13
11-15 years	11	10	21
16-17 years	9	4	13
Total	27	20	47 ¹²⁴

Two other boys aged 16-17 were laborers at the sugar factory or did odd jobs.

The situation changed markedly in 1938 with the passage of the National Fair Labor Standards Act. That law prohibited the use of children under 18 in “oppressive child labor” or dangerous conditions, and it barred children under 16 from working during school hours. An important contributor to the restriction of child labor in agriculture was a novel published in 1935 about beet workers in northeastern Colorado. Hope Williams Sykes’ *Second Hoeing* described beet workers who were German-speaking immigrants from Russia, not Hispanics. But its powerful and painful portrayal of the harm done to children by field work, which kept them from attending school and sometimes damaged their health, helped to create pressure for legislation that affected young workers from all backgrounds.

The 1940 U.S. Census for Longmont appears to reflect the new restrictions, though some respondents may simply have refrained from mentioning children who were actually working.¹²⁵ Only five teenagers (four boys and a girl, all but one aged 16 or 17) were said to be farm laborers. Two other 17-year-old boys were participating in government employment programs for young people, while three girls aged 16 or 17 worked as maids or housekeepers in private homes. Although some of the people interviewed for this project did agricultural work as children/teens after the 1938 law, their employment normally took place after school, on weekends, or during school vacations.

Some urban children helped with other kinds of family work. Doris Gonzales, born in 1928, and her siblings lived with her Uncle Pete

¹²⁴ U.S. Census Records for Longmont, 1930: information as entered by Rebecca Chavez and analyzed by Marjorie McIntosh.

¹²⁵ “Information about all Latinos, U.S. Census Records for Longmont.”

Saragosa and his family for four years after her mother contracted tuberculosis and was placed in a sanitarium.¹²⁶ They shared a big house on the western side of Boulder with three other families. When the 15 children were not in school, they worked in the large vegetable garden and orchards where the Saragosas grew food for sale. The youngsters carried salt shakers in their pockets so they could eat wild or cultivated vegetables during the day, as they were not allowed to come back for a mid-day meal. After Marcella Diaz, who was raised by her grandparents, moved with them to Boulder, she and a young aunt helped her grandmother clean other people's houses on the weekends and in the summers.¹²⁷ They turned over their earnings to the family "pot." When her grandmother started a laundry and ironing service out of her home, the girls helped with it too.

While most working children were doing something with relatives, a few had to earn an income on their own. Mines offered employment to some teen-aged boys. In 1919, Joe Arroyo came to Colorado from Mexico with his mother, grandmother, and two sisters after his father's death.¹²⁸ He was the only person in the family able to get a job, though he was just 13 years old. He found work in a coal mine, where, after the first three days of using a pick with a cracked handle to hack at the coal face, his hands were so covered with blisters that the skin peeled entirely off. When he looked at the small piles of coal and rocks he had produced despite that pain, he lay down right where he was working and cried. Roy Maestas, born in 1909, moved with his parents from New Mexico to the area west of Trinidad in the late 1910s.¹²⁹ He started school in Delagua, where his father worked at a coke oven, but after his father's death when Roy was 14 or 15 years old, he had to leave school and take a job at a mine in order to provide for his mother and younger siblings. At first he loaded and delivered coal, but when he was a little older, he worked as a regular miner. Joe Jaramillo, Jr, the oldest son of the man killed in the 1936 Monarch Mine explosion, had been going down into the mine with his dad since he was seven to help tend the mules.¹³⁰ After his father's death, young Joe, then aged 14, left school and took a full-time job at another nearby mine to support his mother and siblings. He

¹²⁶ Gonzales, Doris, interview, 2013.

¹²⁷ "Martinez, Juan and Josephine; Marcella Diaz, biography."

¹²⁸ "Los Inmigrantes."

¹²⁹ Maestas, Roy, interview, 1978.

¹³⁰ William Cohen, "Blast," for this and below.

spent the rest of his working life—42 years—as a miner.

A job sometimes carried out by young boys was herding sheep. Future Longmont resident Albert “Paco” Borrego was born in 1906 in Clayton, New Mexico.¹³¹ Because his parents could not provide for all their offspring, he and two of his siblings were “rented out” to other people as workers, a practice he said was common among poor families at the time. When he was only eight years old, Albert was hired to tend a flock of sheep. The animals were walked in a drove up to summer grazing areas in the mountains, and Albert was left there alone to protect them. Years later he recalled that “he felt totally abandoned. Isolated, exposed to the elements, sometimes wet and cold, having to fend for himself, and even kill rattlesnakes.” His mother came up occasionally to drop off food staples. “When she drove off in the wagon, Albert ran after her, crying, begging to go home. She left him, nonetheless.”

Girls normally remained at home until they married, helping around the house, looking after younger siblings or other relatives, and perhaps joining their parents in agricultural labor. Occasionally, however, they might have to take independent paid employment. One of Oli Duncan’s great-grandmothers had been a teacher in the Chama Valley of New Mexico, but she became solely responsible for her children after her brutal husband was imprisoned for a murder.¹³² Now facing acute poverty, she went to work herself and placed her nine-year-old daughter as a live-in servant with a non-Hispanic family. Mary Martinez, then in her mid-teens, was left on her own with three younger sisters and a 15-year-old aunt when the grandparents with whom they had been living died in the 1930s.¹³³ The older girls left school and started looking for work to support their household. People did not want to hire them, because they were just girls, so at first they took whatever jobs they could find, like cleaning chicken houses and sorting peas. Later, however, a nearby farmer who needed workers gave them a chance, hiring all of the orphaned girls. A widower with five daughters of his own, he taught them everything they needed to know about a farm. Mary and one of his daughters used to ride horses to bring the cattle back in from the fields, and they learned how to drive mules, use tractors, and handle other machinery. Mary and her sisters continued to work for him for 15 years.

¹³¹ “Borrego, Albert and Elvinia (“Bea”) Martinez, biography.” For another young shepherd, hired out every summer between the ages of 6 and 11, see “Jacob Espinoza, Obituary.”

¹³² Duncan, “Some Notes.”

¹³³ Martinez, Mary, interview, 1988.

The information presented in this chapter makes clear that Hispanic workers were essential to the economic development of eastern Boulder County through the physically demanding labor they performed. While the primary workers were adult males, sugar beets required the labor of entire families at least in peak periods, and boys might start work in the mines in their teens. Women also organized and carried out—sometimes with the help of their children or other relatives—the domestic work that freed men to earn a cash income, and they exercised the frugality necessary to the family’s survival. Marriage was rightly perceived as an economic partnership between the spouses for the good of the whole family. Even in the early twenty-first century, a willingness to work very hard to support one’s family, sometimes holding multiple jobs, remained a characteristic of many of Boulder County Latinos and Latinas.¹³⁴

¹³⁴See the Epilogue, below, and Vol. II, the discussion of legacies at the end of its Epilogue.

List of Illustrations, with Credits

All the images listed below are hyperlinked to their original online sources. They can be viewed by clicking on the underlined blue text at the end of each entry. Those that have a reference number beginning with “BCLHP” are on the Boulder County Latino History website:

<http://bocolatinohistory.colorado.edu/>

It contains hundreds of additional photos and other types of material as well.

- 3.1. Vertical rows in a sugar beet field, Longmont, early 20th century. Courtesy of Longmont Museum. LM, 1973.109.328.
<http://longmont.pastperfectonline.com/photo/3BBD5DD2-B600-4481-807F-368260491136>
- 3.2. Team of people with a horse-drawn digger, Longmont, 1900. Courtesy of Longmont Museum. LM, 1973.109.323.
<http://longmont.pastperfectonline.com/photo/1DC4B9BE-15B1-4F14-8576-967829881472>
- 3.3. Men topping sugar beets, Longmont, early 20th century. Courtesy of Longmont Museum. LM, 1973.109.318.
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- 3.6. Certificate of Merit to Canuto Martinez, 1929. Courtesy of Phil Hernandez. [BCLHP-FP-038](#).
- 3.7. Elderly couple in front of old car. Courtesy of El Comité de Longmont. [BCLHP-LHS-289](#).
- 3.8. Four children and a baby in front of car. Courtesy of El Comité de Longmont. [BCLHP-LHS-183](#).

- 3.9. Martinez girls on a truck on a Sunday morning, Lafayette, 1929. Courtesy of Linda Arroyo-Holmstrom. [BCLHP-MKM-008](#).
- 3.10. E. E. Bernal shearing a sheep. Courtesy of Tom Martinez. [BCLHP-MKM-777](#).
- 3.11. Black Diamond Mine, Lafayette, interior, 1942. Courtesy of Lafayette Public Library. LPL, LP02690. <http://www.cityoflafayette.com/PhotoViewScreen.aspx?PID=296>
- 3.12. Miners at Eagle Mine, owned by National Fuel Co., 1942. Courtesy of Lafayette Miners Museum. LPL, MF28. <http://www.cityoflafayette.com/PhotoViewScreen.aspx?PID=544>
- 3.13. Canuto Martinez's pay statements, Monarch Mine, 1932 and 1934. Courtesy of Phil Hernandez. [BCLHP-FP-037](#).
- 3.14. Great Western Sugar factory, Longmont, 1903-1925. Courtesy of Longmont Museum. LM, 1973.109.001. <http://longmont.pastperfectonline.com/photo/86A76212-DFBD-45BF-9D29-449562919652>
- 3.15. Men and pumpkins outside Empson Cannery, Longmont, early 20th century. Courtesy of Longmont Museum. LM, 1973.117.002. <http://longmont.pastperfectonline.com/photo/F16B95B7-032C-497F-8C23-220976144592>

Sources

Explanations

Most of the items listed below are hyperlinked to their original online sources. They can be viewed by clicking on the underlined blue text at the end of each entry.

BCLHP Collection, Carnegie Library. Materials collected by the Boulder County Latino History Project, 2013-2014. Deposited at Carnegie Branch Library for Local History, Boulder Public Library.

BCLHP references.¹ These provide the ID number for items accessible on the Boulder County Latino History website, bocolatinohistory.colorado.edu. It contains hundreds of other sources, which can be searched in various ways.

If a given item contains multiple pages on the website, only the initial ID number is shown here; the following pages are linked to that one.

Carnegie Library. Carnegie Branch Library for Local History, Boulder Public Library.

LM. Longmont Museum.

LPL. Lafayette Public Library.

MROHP. Maria Rogers Oral History Program, Carnegie Branch Library for Local History, Boulder Public Library.

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Information cited as from a conversation with Marjorie McIntosh on a stated date has been confirmed in writing and approved for use in this study by the authors of those statements.

All websites listed below were last accessed November 10-18, 2015.

¹ For entries with a BCLHP reference:

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- Items labelled as LHS are photos loaned to the Longmont Hispanic Study in 1987-8 by a relative or descendent of the people shown. They were converted into slides by Oli Olivas Duncan for use in public presentations associated with the 1988 publication of *We, Too, Came to Stay: A History of the Longmont Hispanic Community*, which she edited. In 2014, the BCLHP was given permission to make digital copies of the slides, many of which showed unidentified people. The dates, locations, and photographers of these photos are unknown unless specified.

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