

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

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

**Chapter Five:
*Work, Wars, and Confronting Racism,
1940-1965***

by

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Chapter 5

Work, Wars, and Confronting Racism, 1940-1965

During the generation between 1940 and 1965, the lives of Boulder County's Hispanics underwent gradual but significant change. Migration into the area continued, with some people arriving from U.S. states other than Colorado or New Mexico and others coming directly from Mexico. Opportunities for employment in the sugar beet fields and coal mines narrowed after 1946, the result of increased mechanization, lowered demand for their products, and competition from other sources. Thanks largely to improved education, Latinos and Latinas began to move into a wider range of occupations. World War II called many local men into the military, as did the Korean War and Vietnam conflict; groups like the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the G.I. Forum provided welcoming social venues after soldiers came back from service. Veterans returning to Longmont were unwilling to accept the forms of overt discrimination that still existed and tore down the "White Trade Only" signs. In Lafayette, Latinas/os became more fully incorporated into the social community, while cultural horizons in Boulder were broadened by the arrival of Latino G.I.s and the introduction of Spanish language classes in the elementary schools. Some young Mexican Americans from established families were now trying to define themselves relative to their own heritage and the prevailing Anglo world.

A. Immigration and Employment

The migration patterns of Hispanics moving into Boulder County during the period between 1940 and 1965 differed from those seen

earlier in the century. Whereas nearly all of the new arrivals prior to 1940 had come from Mexico, New Mexico, or southern Colorado, some of those who came in the following generation had previously been living in other U.S. states.¹ Many were farm workers of Mexican background who had been pushed out of employment by ongoing mechanization of agriculture and hoped for better opportunities within a state whose economy was generally healthy. But some of them had difficulty finding jobs in Boulder County too. In the first paid position that Emma Gomez Martinez held in the 1960s, serving as a translator for the city, she worked with Spanish-speaking people who had come from states like Kansas or Nebraska but ended up needing help from the welfare system.² A smaller number of new arrivals had moved recently from Mexico.

The newcomers were sometimes regarded as of lower status by Latino families who had previously settled in Boulder County. Thanks to increased interaction between earlier arrivals from Mexican and New Mexican backgrounds at work, in the neighborhoods, and at school, leading to intermarriage between young people, the distinction between those two groups was rapidly dying out. Now, however, another kind of divide appeared, based upon length of residence in the community, educational level, and type of employment. Many Latinos whose families had lived in this area for two or even three generations had gone to school and moved into better kinds of work; their wives and daughters had generally been educated too, and some women were taking paid jobs outside the home. Such families enjoyed a certain degree of financial security, they knew how to function within the local community, and they commonly had fewer children. The new arrivals, by contrast, normally arrived with limited resources, little education, and larger families to support. So they were obliged to take whatever unskilled and poorly paid work they could find.

Many families who had lived in the area for several generations distanced themselves from these newer migrants. Virginia Maestas, who moved to a farm outside Boulder in 1945 and then into the town a few years later, remembers that there was a division at school between American-born Hispanics and people just coming in from Mexico.³ When Secundino Herrera and his family arrived in Longmont from northern New Mexico as farm workers in 1951, "We found the [established

¹ See Ch. 2 above.

² Martinez, Emma Gomez, interview, 2013.

³ Conversation with Marjorie McIntosh, July 31, 2013.

Hispanic] people very different from the Mexican people of New Mexico. They were not too sociable. They kept to themselves. They didn't care to exchange information with migrant people."⁴ Divisions among Latinos in Boulder County were to become more marked in the following years.

Due to the arrival of newcomers and a high birthrate among some settled families, the number of Latino adults in our three towns nearly tripled in just 30 years. *Polk's City Directories* for 1936 list a total of 423 adults with Latino surnames.⁵ By 1946, Longmont's number had not changed, but Lafayette's had increased by 39% and Boulder's by 49%. The biggest surge came between 1946 and 1955. The total for the three towns rose to 932, with growth of 46% in Lafayette but much higher values in Longmont (103%) and Boulder (93%). Some of Boulder's expansion stemmed from a substantial rise in the number of Latino college students living in the town as listed in the *City Directories*: 9 students in 1946, but 56 in 1955.⁶ By 1965, the three towns had 1,219 Latino adults, with growth of 11% in Longmont, 25% in Lafayette, and 70% in Boulder. In that year, however, only 28 students were listed in Boulder (the rest probably lived on campus and hence were not picked up by the *City Directories*), so they did not account for much of the increase; 1965 is also the first year in which Longmont and Lafayette recorded more than just a few college students each.

A key social and economic development was that many families were now moving into urban communities, due in part to the availability of new kinds of jobs. Here they lived in neighborhoods that included other Latinas/os as well as people from different cultural backgrounds. Urban women were able to form more lasting bonds of friendship and mutual assistance with their *comadres*, neighbors and friends as well as family members; men had increased chances for sociability with their peers outside work. Town life and greater economic security enabled more children—both boys and girls—to finish high school.⁷ A few families went regularly to Catholic services or sent their children to parochial schools, but some degree of ethnic discrimination within religious contexts continued.

The work done by this expanded population of Latinas/os was more varied than what we observed prior to 1940. Employment in both

⁴ Herrera, Secundino, interview, c. 1987.

⁵ App. 1.2. For *Polk's City Directories*, see Ch. 3, note 62 above.

⁶ "Occupations and Employers, Boulder," 1946 and 1955.

⁷ See Vol. II, Ch. 6C. For below, see Vol. II, Ch. 5B.

agriculture and mining was seriously affected by mechanization. Across these 25 years, the need for hand labor continued to drop as machines were introduced that could do the same job more quickly and with greater cost effectiveness. Great Western Sugar reported that whereas it took 10.1 man-hours to produce a ton of sugar beets in 1925, only 4.4 man-hours were required in 1958 and only 2.7 man-hours in 1964.⁸ Employment was modified further by a shrinking market for beet sugar, replaced by the cane sugar produced in warmer climates, and by the decreased level of production—or in some cases, the complete closure—of many of the county’s coal mines. Because the need for labor in what had been the two major sources of work in Longmont and Lafayette declined drastically across this generation, many Latinas/os sought other local jobs or moved to larger cities, especially Denver.

In many parts of the Southwest, especially Texas and California, the *Bracero* program was a major source of agricultural labor between 1942 and 1964.⁹ This arrangement, formulated by joint agreement of the American and Mexican governments, was intended to provide the seasonal workers that U.S. commercial agriculture required without creating new long-term residents. Set up during World War II when Mexican labor was eagerly desired to replace Americans involved in the military or defense industries, the program ultimately conveyed an estimated 2 million Mexicans to the U.S., the largest influx of “guest workers” in U.S. history.

In Boulder County, however, few *braceros* appear to have come. Virginia Alvarez, who was born in Longmont in 1942, remembers going into a little grocery store on Main Street and 2nd Avenue when she was 10 or 12 years old and translating for some *braceros* who were shopping there.¹⁰ The only other reference encountered here concerned Olga Melendez (Cordero)’s father and uncle, who first came to this area as *braceros* in the 1950s or 1960s.¹¹ It is possible, however, that more *braceros* were present in the county than showed up in this study, because they normally lived on the farms where they worked and had little interaction with more settled families.

Whereas farmers throughout the Southwest had customarily

⁸ Hamilton, *Footprints in the Sugar*, p. 333.

⁹ The fullest discussion is Deborah Cohen, *Braceros*.

¹⁰ Alvarez, Virginia, interview, 2013.

¹¹ Cordero, Olga Melendez, interview, 2009. The men later returned to Longmont with their families, finding work at the turkey plant.

Illus. 5.1. Emma Suazo thinning beets with a short hoe, Longmont, 1942



required their employees to use hoes with a short handle (*el cortito*), forcing people to work on their knees or stooped way over, by the 1950s and 1960s agricultural workers in California were beginning to demand long-handled hoes.¹² Farmers claimed that the taller hoes, which made it possible to work while standing upright and let workers move more quickly through the fields, were too expensive. Agricultural laborers, however, thought that employers also liked being able to spot who was working and who was resting, by seeing who was crouched down and who was standing up. In Boulder County, Secundino Herrera argued with Lloyd Dickens, his employer for several years in the 1950s, over Dickens' refusal to provide long-handled hoes and machinery that would have decreased the physical demands placed upon beet workers.¹³

Yet the number of resident Latino families continuing to work in the beet fields was diminishing. Lou Cardenas's parents, who had come to the Longmont area in 1929 from New Mexico as beet workers, stayed

¹² Murray, "Abolition of El Cortito."

¹³ Herrera, Secundino, interviews, 1979 and c. 1987. See also Ch. 3A above and "Mechanical beet harvester." Some Boulder County farmers were still providing short-handled hoes in the 1970s (see Ch. 6C below).

in the fields into the 1940s, as did Lou and her husband in the early 1940s.¹⁴ But her husband also worked in the coal mines around Lafayette and later took construction jobs in Cheyenne, Wyoming. In the 1940s, Virginia Alvarez still moved around with her parents from one beet farm to another each year, and Esther Blazón preserved a snapshot taken of herself and her sister, aged 6 and 14, taken while their parents were farm workers in this area.¹⁵ By the 1950s, however, many local farmers were shifting to crops other than sugar beets that required less ongoing labor and were more profitable. In the 1946 *City Directories*, only three Latinas/os in Longmont identified themselves as sugar beet workers, though some of the 14 unspecified laborers might also have done such work.¹⁶ In 1955 and 1965, beets were not mentioned at all, and only a few Latino residents indicated they had any other kind of agricultural employment. Work in Boulder County's fields was henceforth done primarily by truly migrant workers, who travelled across multiple regions during the growing and harvesting seasons as their labor was needed.¹⁷

Owning farm land was rare in the middle decades of the century. In 1946, only three Latinos in Longmont and one in Boulder described themselves as "farmers" (as opposed to farm workers); Boulder had one farmer in 1955.¹⁸ The few people encountered in this study who were able to buy agricultural land had income from sources other than farm labor. Hank Blazón's father bought a farm in Mead, to the northeast of Longmont, in 1942, having come to the area in 1927.¹⁹ Among other types of work, he operated a pool hall in Longmont which became a popular social center for Latino men and presumably produced the funds for his purchase of land. Alex Gonzales, a former miner, was able to buy a farm of 40 acres outside Longmont thanks to profits from the City Café in Longmont, which he bought in 1945.²⁰

Some of the Latinas/os who had previously worked on farms found

¹⁴ Cardenas, Lou, interview, c. 1987.

¹⁵ Alvarez, Virginia, interview, 2013, and "Esther and Ann Blazón."

¹⁶ "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1946." For below, see "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1955" and "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1965."

¹⁷ See Ch. 6B below. For migrant workers in the fields in 2013, see "Longmont, film of places of historical importance."

¹⁸ "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1946" and "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1955."

¹⁹ Blazón, William ("Hank"), interview, 2013. For pool halls, see Vol. II, Ch. 4B.

²⁰ Tafoya, Mary Gonzales, interview, 2009, and Gonzales, Alex, interview, c. 1987.

employment in the expanding number of food processing plants in Longmont. Companies may have recognized the desirability of increasing production in a community with a pool of potential laborers willing to accept hard jobs for low pay. For people who had been spending long days in the fields under the hot sun, these jobs may have been seen as an improvement, even though the work was often unpleasant and sometimes dangerous. Wages were better than the earnings of agricultural laborers, work might continue throughout the year, and in some cases the companies provided benefits for their employees. Further, several of the plants hired women as well as men, opening up paid work outside the home. In 1955, 26 men and 12 women from Longmont—27% of the Latino workers listed in the *City Directory*—were employed by food-related processing plants.²¹ The four main factories were all located along the railroad tracks that ran west-east on the southern side of Longmont, an area in which some Latino families were already living.²² Several of the plants continued to provide employment until the late twentieth century.

The easternmost factory was operated by Great Western Sugar to convert raw sugar beets into sugar for sale. Long after the Longmont area had ceased growing beets itself, the company maintained the processing plant, importing by train great quantities of beets raised more cheaply in other parts of the region. At one time, more than 7,000 farms in three states shipped beets to this facility.²³ The sugar factory hired six Latinas/os as workers in the plant and one as an interpreter in 1946; ten years later it employed only five, but in 1965 it had thirteen Latino workers, including several mechanics or specialists.²⁴

The next big installation, moving west along the railroad tracks, was the turkey processing plant. This huge factory, occupying several blocks adjoining Main Street, was operated first by General Foods, later by Con-Agra, and finally by Butterball.²⁵ Work in the turkey plant, which was open to both men and women, was physically demanding and caused

²¹ "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1955."

²² See Vol. II, Ch. 2B.

²³ *Actual, Factual St. Vrain Valley*, p. 42.

²⁴ "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1946," "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1955," and "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1965." For the abandoned factory in 2013, see "Longmont, film of places of historical importance."

²⁵ For photos from the 1960s, see Illus. 6.6, "Turkey plant workers," and "Interior of Longmont Foods turkey plant"; for the disused complex of buildings in 2013, before they were torn down, see "Longmont, film of places of historical importance."

many accidents: employees used sharp equipment to dismember the turkeys, and because the floors and counters were covered with liquids and grease from the turkeys, it was easy to slip and fall. After her marriage in 1941, Mary Martinez—who had previously been doing farm work—took a job at the turkey plant.²⁶ When Lou Cardenas’s husband was fired from his agricultural job and removed from his house after being injured while working, he eventually found a job at the turkey plant.²⁷ As the turkey plant expanded in the 1950s, it hired more Latinas/os. Its 27 workers in 1955 made it the largest single employer of the Latinos listed in our three towns.²⁸

The remaining sources of food-processing jobs for Latinas/os lay further down the railway line. The Kuner-Empson cannery prepared and canned fresh vegetables, known especially for its peas.²⁹ The cannery employed five Latinos in 1946 and two a decade later.³⁰ Longmont also had two flour mills, located on the southwestern edge of town. Golden West and St. Vrain Valley Milling Companies hired one or two Latino men and women in 1946, 1955, and 1965.³¹ A few other people worked for meat packing plants, rendering companies, and related types of food processing firms. When John Borrego came to Longmont around 1932 from northern New Mexico, he worked first in the fields but in the 1940s was hired as a meat packer.³²

Work in the mines changed but did not end entirely. Some were still producing coal, while others needed labor to shut down operations or carry out land restoration projects. In 1946, 35 Latinos in Lafayette and 11 in Longmont were employed by a total of eight different mines.³³ In 1955, Lafayette still had 20 coal miners, with four each in Longmont and Boulder.³⁴ (The residential camps had now been closed: improved private transportation made it possible for men to live in nearby towns

²⁶ Martinez, Mary, interview, 1979.

²⁷ Cardenas, Lou, interview, c. 1987.

²⁸ “Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1955.”

²⁹ See “Interior, Kuner-Empson factory” for the cannery in 1946; for its exterior in 2013, after conversion into expensive apartments, see “Longmont, film of places of historical importance.”

³⁰ “Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1946” and “Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1955.”

³¹ “Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1946,” “Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1955,” and “Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1965.”

³² Marquez, Sonia, interview, 2013.

³³ “Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1946.”

³⁴ “Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1955.”

and drive to their jobs.) As late as 1965, 13 men living in Lafayette described themselves as coal miners, as did 6 or 7 each in Longmont and Boulder.³⁵ Most of the eight mines at which they worked were located just over the Weld County border. The pattern of coupling mining during the cold weather with seasonal farm labor, construction, or odd jobs continued for some time after 1940.³⁶

The nature of mining changed even further during these years. Several former miners from Boulder County who were interviewed about the period after 1940 provided detailed descriptions of the new machines and what they did.³⁷ If a miner was good with equipment and fortunate, he might get higher pay and perhaps be kept on at the mine to handle certain kinds of machinery on a year-round basis. But demand for labor was further reduced by the decreasing profitability of these mines, leading to cut-backs in production and the complete closing of some.

Many Latinos now sought other ways of supporting their families. Defense industries offered possibilities. During World War II, Helen Contrerras Beck's father left his normal routine of doing winter mine work and summer field work to go to California; employed in a navy shipyard, he sent money home to his family.³⁸ When Roy Maestas could no longer provide for his family on the amount of work offered by the Washington Mine in the early 1940s, he moved his family to Boulder and went to California, where he took a job in a shipyard during the early years of the war.³⁹ In 1942, Juan Archuleta and his son Arthur went to work at another California shipyard.⁴⁰ Tom Lopez, the first Latino mayor of Lafayette, talked about the expansion of defense-related employment opportunities within commuting distance during the Cold War period after 1945: Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Plant, a facility south of Boulder operated by Dow Chemical which manufactured plutonium triggers for hydrogen bombs; Rocky Mountain Arsenal, a munitions plant; and Beech Aircraft, which held many military contracts.⁴¹

Rocky Flats/Dow Chemical became a major employer of Latinas/os

³⁵ "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1965."

³⁶ "Rosales, Henry and Alice, biography" and Silva, Dolores, interview, 2013.

³⁷ Lopez, Thomas, interview, 1986, and Martinez, Joe, interview, 1977.

³⁸ Rough interview notes taken by Oli Duncan, undated, but probably 2007-2009.

³⁹ "Maestas, Pedro (Roy), Ruby, and Abe, biography."

⁴⁰ "Archuleta family history." Arthur was drafted in 1943.

⁴¹ Lopez, Thomas, interview, 1986.

from these towns. Although exposure to radioactive substances was to have fatal consequences for some of its workers in the future, at the time Rocky Flats attracted a wide range of employees, nearly all in jobs that required education or specialized training and hence paid far better than most previous work open to Latinas/os.⁴² In 1965, when Dow Chemical was the largest employer of Latinas/os from the three towns as listed in the *City Directories*, 22 people worked at the facility: as electrical engineers, chemical operators, laboratory technicians, inspectors, mechanics, secretaries, security guards, and custodians, as well as unspecified employees.⁴³

The University of Colorado hired a small but growing number of both unskilled and skilled workers. Whereas in 1946, only two Latino men were listed as employed by the university (a janitor and an Instructor), sixteen people were hired in 1955: one janitor, five laborers, a truck helper, three food service workers, two clerks (one of them female), and four Instructors (one female).⁴⁴ Some of the people listed as laborers may actually have had more specialized skills. Juan Francisco Archuleta, who had moved his family to Boulder in the 1930s, worked as a stonemason on the campus in the later 1940s.⁴⁵ The number of Latinos employed by the university had risen to 18 by 1965. Most were still unskilled workers, but the university now hired two female secretaries, two male Professors or Associate Professors, and a woman who described herself as a teacher there.⁴⁶

Additional kinds of professional, technical, skilled, and administrative support work opened up during the 1950s and early 1960s. Some were created by the federal government. The Federal Aviation Administration established an air traffic control center in Longmont, which handled flights coming into, out of, and over the Denver airports. Don Archuleta worked as an air traffic controller starting in 1963; based in Longmont, he was also sent to Peru to train Latin American controllers.⁴⁷ By 1965 the FAA was hiring a few other Latinas/os, as was the National Bureau of Standards in Boulder.⁴⁸ These new installations contributed to the rising

⁴² For health problems, see Ch. 6C below and Vol. II, Ch. 3B.

⁴³ "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1965."

⁴⁴ "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1946," and "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1955."

⁴⁵ "Archuleta family history."

⁴⁶ "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1965."

⁴⁷ Archuleta, Don, interview, 2009.

⁴⁸ "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1965."



Illus. 5.2. Fabricio Martinez with his mail truck, Longmont, 1960s

number of Latino professionals (37) and technicians (7).

Some men entered types of work that had previously been closed to Latinos or were just emerging as communication, mass media, and transportation developed. Construction companies began to hire Latinos. After his return from the Korean War in the mid-1950s, Richard Tafoya worked as a cement finisher.⁴⁹ Oli Duncan's father learned how to do electrical work while in the coal mines and was later hired as an electrician by a construction company.⁵⁰ When Lloyd Martinez of Lafayette left mining, he became a welder and developed skills in metal work.⁵¹ Phil Hernandez's father was a builder, but although he qualified for admission into the carpenters' union, he was blackballed by the Italian Americans who dominated that trade; after being injured and out of work for two years, he found a job as a custodian with the Boulder schools.⁵² Railroads, which still hired 14 Latinos in 1946 and 5 in 1955, then dropped out of the picture, but other kinds of transport

⁴⁹ Tafoya, Mary Gonzales, interview, 2009.

⁵⁰ Conversation with Marjorie McIntosh, April 12, 2013.

⁵¹ "Martinez, Lloyd and Sally (Salazar), biography."

⁵² Conversation with Marjorie McIntosh, Feb. 6, 2013.

work increased: 4 men were truck drivers in 1955 and 16 in 1965.⁵³ In Longmont, Cliff Martinez was hired to handle a new, faster printing press at the *Longmont Times-Call*.⁵⁴ In the early 1940s, a considerable number of men and a few women were still working for New Deal, post-Depression programs: the WPA, CCC, or local governments.⁵⁵ By 1946, however, most of those special opportunities were gone. Some of the men who had formerly been employed by them went into the military.⁵⁶

In a small but important step forward, one that benefited both their families and the economy of their communities, some Latinos began to run their own businesses. This pattern was to expand during the following decades. In the early 1940s, a few people were already demonstrating their entrepreneurial ability through income-generating activities operated from their own homes. In Boulder, the Saragosa family had a large house on the western edge of town, adjacent to the land on which they raised animals and grew food for sale.⁵⁷ They also rented out rooms, taking in boarders, mainly men. If their lodgers were not able to pay rent in cash, the Saragosas had them work in the vegetable gardens or orchards instead. E. E. Bernal, employed during the week at a coal mine, a processing mill, or in construction, had a weekend business too: a trash collection service.⁵⁸ Going around to people's houses with his truck, he emptied the ashes out of incinerators and took them and other waste to the dump. His enterprise was so successful that he spun off trash collection in certain neighborhoods to other Latinos, but under his general control. After Roy Maestas returned to Colorado in 1943 and took a job with Allied Chemical, working in a mill that processed gold brought down from the mountains, he too hauled trash on the weekends, assisted by his children.⁵⁹ In the 1930s and early 1940s, David Toledo had operated a little barber shop in Frederick to supplement his earnings as a miner; he continued that work after moving to Boulder in 1943.⁶⁰

Larger businesses were still rare. Only four or five Latinos said

⁵³ "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1946," "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1955," and "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1965."

⁵⁴ "New printing press."

⁵⁵ See Ch. 3C above.

⁵⁶ See section B below.

⁵⁷ Euvaldo Valdez, conversation with Marjorie McIntosh, July 23, 2013.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* and Bernal, Mr. and Mrs. Emerenciano, interview, 1977.

⁵⁹ "Maestas, Pedro (Roy), Ruby, and Abe, biography." Roy was also sent to Mexico to train workers in a new mill there.

⁶⁰ Toledo, David, interview, c. 1978.



Illus. 5.3. José Esquibel with his dad, Longmont, 1979



Illus. 5.4. Joe Esquibel, owner of several pharmacies, 1989

they owned or managed a business other than farming in 1946, 1955, and 1965.⁶¹ Hank Blazón recalled that the only Latino businesses in Longmont in the 1950s were George Martinez's barber shop and the auto body shops owned by Benny Rodriguez and later Casey Najera.⁶² Benny, whose parents had come from Mexico in the late 1910s, set up his body shop in 1949, and by 1965 he was hiring four workers.⁶³ When interviewed in 1979, he spoke proudly of his successful business, for which his wife served as bookkeeper.

These early enterprises usually relied upon skills acquired as an employee. Tom Lopez of Lafayette learned to handle machinery while working in the Morrison and Lincoln mines in the later 1940s and early 1950s.⁶⁴ In 1956, he founded his own backhoe business and obtained the contract to install new sewer lines for the expanding town. José (later known as Joe) Esquibel, who had come from New Mexico with his parents as a young child, went into the military and then studied

⁶¹ "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1955" and "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1965."

⁶² Blazón, William ("Hank"), interview, 2013.

⁶³ Rodriguez, Benny, interview, 1979.

⁶⁴ Lopez, Thomas, interview, 1986. He was later elected to the Lafayette City Council and then became mayor.

pharmacy.⁶⁵ After working for several drug stores, he opened two pharmacies of his own in Longmont (first Mountain View, then Francis Street) as well as ones in Boulder and Denver.

One of the most important mid-century changes was the expansion of paid work for women. Whereas only 5-7% of the total Latino workforce in these towns as recorded in the *City Directories* had been female in 1926 and 1936, in 1946 one-eighth of the workers were women; in 1955, the fraction reached one-quarter, before dropping slightly in 1965.⁶⁶ Their participation was due in part to the movement of Latino families into towns. During the 1940s and early 1950s, Dora Bernal of Boulder did domestic work for other families and babysat; Lola Martinez worked as a household servant for well-off families on University Hill.⁶⁷ Other women in the Water + Goss Streets neighborhood took in laundry, and Teresa Alvarez and her older daughters operated a beauty shop behind their house.⁶⁸ While most of these income-generating activities were carried out within their own or other people's homes, some women were able to transfer their domestic skills into waged employment. Teresa Alvarez had worked in the kitchen at Mount St. Gertrude Academy in Boulder to pay for her daughters' tuition there, while Mary Martinez left the turkey plant in Longmont in favor of a job at a laundry.⁶⁹

By the 1950s and 1960s, there were entirely new ways for Latinas to earn money, most of which required formal schooling. For the first time, they were breaking out of the lowest level of the occupational stratification system, which had been segregated by gender and race or ethnicity. Dolores Silva of Lafayette and Becky Ortega and Diana Arroyo of Boulder worked for NeoData, doing data entry.⁷⁰ Mary Martinez became a nurse's aide, then got her GED, and finally became the first Latina Licensed Practical Nurse in the county.⁷¹ As of 1965, the *City Directories* show 99 Latinas working for pay outside the home, including

⁶⁵ Esquibel, Jose, interview, 1979, and see "Mountain View Pharmacy," "Opening of Francis Street Pharmacy," "Profile of Joe Esquibel," "Francis Street Pharmacy," and "Joe Esquibel inside his Francis Street Pharmacy."

⁶⁶ App. 3.3.

⁶⁷ Maestas, Virginia, interview, 1978; Vol. II, Illus. 1.7.

⁶⁸ "Martinez, Juan and Josephine; Marcella Diaz, biography," and Alvarez, Teresa, interview, 1976.

⁶⁹ Alvarez, Teresa, interview, 1977, and Martinez, Mary, interview, 1979.

⁷⁰ Silva, Dolores, interview, 2013; Phil Hernandez, email to Marjorie McIntosh, Jan. 13, 2015.

⁷¹ Martinez, Mary, interview, 1979, Martinez, Mary, interview, 1988, and Vol. II, Ch. 6A.

secretaries (8), school teachers (5), clerks (5), nurses (4), and nurse's aides (3).⁷² Although such positions took women away from the home and required them to work with men as well as other women, their duties could be regarded as extensions of familiar female roles. So long as they accepted male authority in the workplace and at home, and so long as the income they produced was used to supplement their husbands' earnings and contribute to the well-being of the family as a whole, these jobs do not appear to have caused conflict between spouses.

Some Latinas profited from employment in defense industries during and after World War II.⁷³ Lola Martinez of Boulder worked on an aircraft assembly line during the war, while Theresa Borrego Vigil took a job at the Rocky Mountain Arsenal after World War II.⁷⁴ She was on the assembly line for explosives, where employees "were required to wear gas masks, fire proof coveralls and to work under water when handling the numerous and various chemicals. They were also trained to identify the different gases by odor, a very dangerous assignment for all." Workers in these factories were not, however, predominantly female, and they did not develop the kind of independent "women's work culture" seen, for example, in citrus packing houses or canneries in California during the 1940s and 1950s.⁷⁵ Female production workers in Boulder County were instead employed in settings shaped by male Anglo values and behaviors.

Family tension could result from women's participation in well paid defense-related work. Oli Duncan believed that because women had taken jobs to help win the war and were earning their own incomes, they became less submissive to their husbands and other male relatives, causing problems within the home.⁷⁶ In the early 1940s, when her parents were living with her father's parents, her mother was becoming increasingly resentful of the expectation on the part of her father-in-law and husband that as men they would make all the decisions for the family.⁷⁷ One whole summer she worked in the beet fields to earn money for the down payment on a nice set of bedroom furniture, but when

⁷² "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1965."

⁷³ See, more generally, Escobedo, *From Coveralls to Zoot Suits*, chs. 3-4.

⁷⁴ See Vol. II, Illus.1.8, and "Vigil, Rudy and Theresa, biography."

⁷⁵ Matt Garcia, *A World of Its Own*, pp. 167-171, citing also Ruiz, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives*, pp. 31-32.

⁷⁶ Duncan, "Some Notes."

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, and see "Olivas, Ralph and Rose, biographical account."

the fall came, her husband refused to continue the monthly payments because he saw no need for fancy things like that. Infuriated, she left her two children in the care of their grandmother and set off for California. There, with her brother's help, she found work in the Navy shipyards. But her husband, realizing how much he cared about her, picked up the children and joined her in California. For the rest of the war they both worked in the shipyards, enjoying a lively social life when not on the job. Dora Bernal moved to California in 1952 without her children in hopes of getting better employment than the domestic service she had been doing in Boulder.⁷⁸ She remained in California for eight years, finding work in several different towns and going to dances on the weekends with friends. Those cases were atypical, however. Most local families adapted to the new forms of female employment because they contributed to a higher standard of living for all their members.

Child labor was greatly reduced after 1940. The children of farming families still commonly worked alongside their parents, but now they began their employment at a later age and were required to fit their work around the edges of school: on weekends, in the summers, and perhaps in the late afternoons/early evenings. Mary Gonzales first met her future husband, Richard Tafoya, when she was 14 years old and they were both picking beans near Longmont.⁷⁹ Eleanor Montour, born in 1944, worked in the fields around Lafayette during the summers when she was in high school.⁸⁰ Secundino Herrera had an argument with a farmer who employed him near Longmont in the 1950s because the man wanted to pay Secundino less than agreed for the labor of one of his daughters because she was small in size.⁸¹ Boys were not allowed to start mining until they were 16. For children living in towns, part-time work might be available. High school girls in Boulder sometimes found jobs in drug stores, dime stores, or movie theaters, and by the 1960s, at least an occasional Latino boy was hired to deliver newspapers.⁸²

⁷⁸ Bernal, Dora, interview, 1978. When her husband divorced her a year later, the children chose to stay with their father in Boulder after a custody fight in court (Maestas, Virginia, interview, 2013).

⁷⁹ Tafoya, Mary Gonzales, interview, 2009.

⁸⁰ Montour, Eleanor, interview, 2013. She said it was hard not to be able to join in activities with other young people, because she and her siblings had to work. "At daylight, we were already in the car heading out to whatever field we were going to work at, and by the time we got home it was dark and we would take our baths and eat and go to bed and rest for the next day."

⁸¹ Herrera, Secundino, interview, 1979.

⁸² Alvarez, Teresa, interview, 1977, Maestas, Virginia, interview, 1978, and "Daily Times-Call newspaper paperboys."

B. Military Service in World War II, Korea, and Vietnam

Latinos have made a major contribution to our nation through their military service. In Colorado, Hispanics who had moved from northern New Mexico into the San Luis Valley volunteered for the Union army during the Civil War (1861-1865).⁸³ In the country as a whole, some Latinos fought in World War I (1914-1918), and their numbers soared in World War II (1939-1945) and the Korean War (1950-1953).⁸⁴ Many Latinos also went to Vietnam (main U.S. activity, 1965-1969). In addition to regular enlisted soldiers, members of the National Guard from several southwestern states, including many Latinos, were mobilized for active duty in the Caribbean or Pacific in several of the twentieth-century wars.

Although exact numbers are hard to obtain because Hispanics were initially not identified as such in the records, a higher fraction of all military personnel in the twentieth century was evidently Latino than was true for the general population. They were also courageous and effective fighters, as demonstrated by the disproportionate number of Latino soldiers who were awarded military honors and the number who were killed. During the full span of the Vietnam conflict, about 80,000 Latinos served in the U.S. armed forces. Although Latinas/os constituted only 4.5% of the country's total population at the time, they accounted for 19% of American casualties.⁸⁵

Joining the military offered some practical benefits. Signing up could resolve the problem of poor employment opportunities at home and provided a chance for skilled training while in the service. Soldiers who had come as immigrants to the United States might be granted citizenship in thanks for their contribution to their new county.⁸⁶ The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, known commonly as the G.I. Bill, provided benefits to all veterans who had been on active duty for at least 90 days during the war years and been honorably discharged, even if they had not seen combat. These benefits included money for low-cost mortgages or to start a business; cash payments for tuition for vocational education

⁸³ White, *La Garita*, pp. 23-24. Nearly all other New Mexican Hispanics likewise supported the Union cause (Jaramillo, *Spanish Civilization and Culture*, p. 155).

⁸⁴ Miguel Gonzales, *Mexicanos*, pp. 163-168 and 214-215, and Acuña, *Occupied America*, pp. 168-9, 237-239, and 264-265.

⁸⁵ "Latinos in the military."

⁸⁶ Hamilton, *Footprints in the Sugar*, p. 329.

and high school; tuition plus living expenses for college or graduate school; and one year of unemployment compensation. Modified versions of the G.I. Bill applied to veterans of later wars as well, assisting millions of servicemen and women. In practice, however, this program proved less advantageous for returning soldiers of color than for whites, as they often had to work through local organizations that were racially restrictive, such as the underwriters for home loans.⁸⁷ At a national level, the G.I. Bill also encouraged the flight of millions of Anglos out of the cities into the suburbs and indirectly facilitated urban renewal, both of which had negative effects for many Latinas/os living in poverty.⁸⁸

Boulder County's Latinas/os were generally proud to be defending their country. Although some soldiers were drafted, others enlisted voluntarily, as an act of patriotism. Their families were willing to let them go, though they feared for the soldiers' safety and dreaded receiving a telegram from the military.⁸⁹ The dozens of photos of men in uniform preserved by Latino families for decades after their service reflect the honor in which soldiers were held.⁹⁰ Most members of the armed forces were men, but starting with World War II, a few Latinas from Boulder County joined up. Women had to assume a more important place within their households when fathers or husbands were in the service. This gender destabilization presumably required some readjustment when the men returned to their families.

The importance of military service to Boulder County's Latinas/os is reflected in oral histories and family biographies. Many of the people who provided information about their families mentioned proudly that a father, uncles, brothers, or sons had been in one of the wars.⁹¹ When

⁸⁷ "Race Matters." As illustrated there, a white veteran who was able to buy a house thanks to the G.I. Bill could use it later as collateral to borrow money to send his children to college; at his death, the house would pass to his heirs. Latinas/os or African Americans who did not meet the conditions of discriminatory local mortgage underwriters, even when money was available from the G.I. Bill, remained in rental housing and therefore found it much more difficult to pay for their children's college education and had nothing they could pass on to them. This situation is presented as an example of embedded racial/ethnic inequality.

⁸⁸ Acuña, *Occupied America*, pp. 277-278.

⁸⁹ For special prayers offered for the safe return of soldiers, see Vol. II, Ch. 5B.

⁹⁰ E.g., "Terry Aragon as soldier in Berlin, early 1960s (text)," "Victor David Romero in the Navy," "Fabricio Martinez in Germany, WWII," "Ray Vigil in military uniform," "Eddie Vigil in military uniform," "Paul Cortez in military uniform," and "Ted Aragon in military uniform."

⁹¹ E.g., Bernal, Mr. and Mrs. Emerenciano, interview, 1977, Bernal, Dora, interview, 1978, Silva, Dolores, interview, 2013, and "Estrada, Cleo, autobiographical information."



Illus. 5.5. Flavio (Floyd) Martinez in World War II uniform with parents



Illus. 5.6. Terry Aragon as soldier in Berlin, early 1960s



Illus. 5.7. Ronnie Quintana in military uniform



Illus. 5.8. Dan Pineda in military uniform

Ted Archuleta of Longmont died at age 89, the eulogy delivered by his brother stressed Ted's patriotism.⁹² He was studying at the University of Denver at the time of the Pearl Harbor attack in 1941 but immediately signed up for the Army Air Corps. Thanks to his good math skills and successful training as a bombardier, he was sent to England to fly B-17s over Germany. Oli Duncan wrote that one of her three uncles who fought in World War II regarded that service as "his greatest moment of glory"; he "reveled in his warriorhood" and asked to receive a veteran's funeral when he died many years later.⁹³ Her other uncles survived being prisoners of war (one in Europe and one in the Pacific) because they had learned as children how to live through hunger and physical hardship. One of Doris Gonzales's cousins was a prisoner of war in Japan for five years.⁹⁴

We have some evidence about how many Latinos from Boulder County fought in World War II from the occupations given in *Polk's City Directories* for 1946.⁹⁵ The listing was made after some soldiers had already been demobilized, but even so, the figures are very high. In both Longmont and Lafayette, one-third of all Latino males for whom an occupation was provided in the *Directories* were currently in the military, as were about a quarter in Boulder. The total of 67 servicemen and women included 53 men in the Army, 11 men and 1 woman in the Navy, 1 man in the Air Corps, and 1 woman in the WAVE. A booklet that gives the names of 58 Latino soldiers from Lafayette who fought in World War II, in some cases with detailed information and a photo, indicates that these men were active in the European and Pacific Theaters of Operation and the South Pacific Liberation effort.⁹⁶ Nearly all were decorated with multiple medals for valor and sacrifice. In rank, however, none rose above sergeant.

Local Latinos fought in later wars too. The *City Directories* for 1955 show that 16 men from Lafayette were in uniform, 7 from Longmont, and 6 from Boulder.⁹⁷ By that time, however, most of the soldiers who fought in Korea had returned home, leaving only those who chose to

⁹² "Archuleta, Ted, eulogy."

⁹³ Duncan, "Some Notes."

⁹⁴ Gonzales, Doris, interview, 2013.

⁹⁵ "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1946."

⁹⁶ VFW, *Service Record Book*, passim.

⁹⁷ "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1955," and see, e.g., "Local GI's sent to battlefield in Korea."

remain in the military beyond their minimum years of service. The *Directories'* listings of soldiers in subsequent years are almost certainly incomplete, probably because they excluded people who were not living in the community on a full-time basis, and we have only a few references from other sources.⁹⁸ In 1965, when the U.S. was starting its active involvement in Vietnam, three men and a woman from Longmont and three men from Boulder were listed as being in the military; by 1975, after the draft had ended, only a single Latino from Longmont and one from Boulder were said to be servicemen.⁹⁹

Some Latino families furnished soldiers over several generations. John Martinez of Boulder served in Europe during World War II, working with radar and anti-aircraft artillery; his brother Victor was in a combat engineering battalion, reaching the rank of sergeant.¹⁰⁰ Tom, John's son, enlisted in 1969 after his graduation from Boulder High School and was assigned to a signal battalion in South Korea.¹⁰¹ The Archuleta family likewise furnished three soldiers over two generations.

A few men made the military their career. Seferino Espinoza joined the Navy right after graduating from Boulder High School in 1955.¹⁰² During his 23 years in service, he was twice sent to Vietnam as a Field Medic Corpsman and ended up as chief of a dental facility in California. Sergeant Felix Lopez of Longmont, who enlisted in the Marines at age 17 in 1952, was particularly dedicated.¹⁰³ During the next 18 years, he had one tour of duty in Korea and two in Vietnam, receiving the Silver Star for his valor and distinction. He then joined the Army for yet another round of service.

On the battlefield, soldiers obviously faced enormous dangers. It may have offered some comfort to the grieving family of Arthur F. Archuleta of Boulder, who was killed in action in 1944, when his remains were returned for reburial in Green Mountain Cemetery.¹⁰⁴ The first soldier from Lafayette to be killed in Vietnam was Charles E. (Johnny) Manzanares, who was shot in the chest while on a search and destroy

⁹⁸ E.g., "Quintana completes naval training."

⁹⁹ "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1965"; "Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1975." The 1975 and perhaps the 1965 *Directories* evidently excluded soldiers who were living away from home at the time of the survey.


¹⁰⁰ "John Martinez, military service"; "Victor Martinez in the military."

¹⁰¹ Tom left the military as a sergeant and later trained as an accountant.


¹⁰² "Espinoza, Seferino Albert, biography."

¹⁰³ Newby, *Longmont Album*, p. 89, and "Sgt. Felix Lopez receiving Silver Star."


¹⁰⁴ "Arthur Archuleta buried as war hero" and "Archuleta family history," p. 13.



304th Sig Bn, Yongsan, South Korea




121st Signal Bn, Ft Riley, KS




SP4. MARTINEZ


Tom Martinez
 Drafted in Apr 1969, Basic at Ft Ord, CA. then on to Ft Gordon, GA for Signal School. Stationed at Camp Long then Camp Coiner, South Korea with the 304th Signal Battalion. Reassigned to the 121st Signal Battalion at Ft Riley, KS




Illus. 5.9. Tom Martinez in South Korea, 1970s



Arthur Archuleta, son of Juan Clofes Archuleta US Army, drafted June 4, 1942 killed in action, Aachen, Germany, October 20, 1944 Interred Green Mountain Cemetery, Boulder, Colorado



Frank Ernest Archuleta, US Army, WWII enlisted in 1944 paratrooper 11th Airborne South Pacific, Philippines, Japan, Korean War, California, drill instructor with an honorable discharge. Deceased: July 26, 2011



Arthur (Archie) Fermin Archuleta, US Air Force: Vietnam, enlisted in 1964, Jet mechanic, Honorable discharge 1968

Illus. 5.10. Archuleta men in the military

mission in December, 1965.¹⁰⁵ Johnny had been in the army for two years but in Vietnam for only two months. Paul Rodriguez was the first Longmont soldier to die in Vietnam, on April 5, 1966, 12 days before his 20th birthday.¹⁰⁶ In 2013, Paul's buddy from their teenage years, Michael Bravo Lopez, headed a project to erect a memorial to Paul in Kensington Park.¹⁰⁷

Even if soldiers survived, experiences in war often left lasting scars. When talking about her husband Richard's experiences as a Marine in Korea, Mary Gonzales Tafoya said, "It was terrible for him, and sometimes he would have flashbacks. He didn't like going to the Fourth of July fireworks. All the noise would unnerve him. Once we were at a party in Denver when a guy came in and yelled something in Korean. Richard immediately dove for cover behind the sofa."¹⁰⁸

The armed forces were overtly segregated on racial grounds during World War II, and although Hispanics were in general classified as whites by the military, ethnic discrimination continued there as it did in civilian life. Jessie Velez Lehmann described the difficulties one of her brothers experienced after entering the army during World War II.¹⁰⁹ Especially while stationed in the South, he was called names and taunted by other soldiers because he was Mexican. Although normally he did not react violently, in one case he responded so furiously that he was sent to the guardhouse for punishment. Mary Gonzales Tafoya said that when Richard was in Korea, he was frequently in the midst of active fighting.¹¹⁰ He believed that "Mexicans and Blacks were always on the front line because the brass seemed to think they were more expendable than the other guys."

For those who came through military service relatively unscathed, there might be positive features to their service. Members of the armed forces interacted with people from throughout the U.S. and were often stationed overseas. These experiences expanded the horizons of many Boulder County soldiers.¹¹¹ Robert Borrego described the impact of his time in the military, which started when he was 18 and having trouble finding work. "In 1951, with the Korean War going on and feeling pretty

¹⁰⁵ "Vietnam War."

¹⁰⁶ "Memorial to Latino soldier."

¹⁰⁷ "Longmont, film of places of historical importance."

¹⁰⁸ Tafoya, Mary Gonzales, interview, 2009.

¹⁰⁹ Lehmann, Jessie Velez, interview, 1978.

¹¹⁰ Tafoya, Mary Gonzales, interview, 2009.

¹¹¹ E.g., "Gilbert Espinoza in Viet Nam."



Illus. 5.11. Ted Aragon with Vietnamese children

futile about leaving my mark on this planet (as if it was waiting), I joined and served nine months in a combat tank, Co. A on tank no. 34. Back to the states, then to Germany for eighteen months as a troop train commander. I got to see all of that country, learned to love it in a way and can see how it influenced the American way of life.”¹¹²

Thanks largely to the G.I. Bill, the armed forces offered not only job training but also veterans’ benefits in the form of educational opportunities. Al Cardenas learned to be a diesel mechanic in the navy during the Korean War, a skill he was able to use in his 20-year career at Rocky Flats.¹¹³ After Abe Maestas left the Navy, he went to college on the G.I. Bill and became a high school teacher.¹¹⁴ Don Archuleta was trained in communications while in the Navy, 1950 to 1954, and then studied at the University of Colorado before joining the Federal Aviation Administration.¹¹⁵ Larry Rosales spent four years in the Air Force—one

¹¹² “Borrego, Robert Raymond, biography.”

¹¹³ Cardenas, Alfonso, interview, 2004, and see Ch. 6C below.

¹¹⁴ Maestas, Virginia, interview, 1978.

¹¹⁵ Archuleta, Don, interview, 2009.

of them in Vietnam—after signing up in 1966; when he returned, he studied computer programming in college and worked as a database specialist.¹¹⁶

Although in some parts of the country veterans' organizations like the VFW (Veterans of Foreign Wars) and the American Legion discriminated against returning soldiers of color, in Boulder County the local posts of the VFW provided a social community for many veterans and their families.¹¹⁷ Career officer Sergeant Felix Lopez, after his final retirement from the military, became head of the VFW's Color Guard in Longmont.¹¹⁸ Francisco ("Frank") Valenzuela was in the Air Force during the Korean War and later went into the merchant marines; before his death in 2014 he received a pin as a 55-year member of the Lafayette VFW.¹¹⁹ The wives and widows of veterans could join the Auxiliary of their local VFW post. Mary Manzaneres Garcia, who worked as a clerical translator for the Boulder Valley School District and Clinica Campesina, was president of the Lafayette VFW Auxiliary in 1971.¹²⁰ Angelina Casias, in her upper 60s and a widow for eight years, listed Lafayette's VFW Auxiliary as one of her main social activities in the late 1980s, together with the Senior Center and Immaculate Conception Church.¹²¹

A group created specifically for Latino veterans was the G.I. Forum, founded in Texas in 1948. In 1961, 80 Latinos met in Longmont to sign the organization's national charter and form a local chapter.¹²² The Longmont association, which described itself as a "non-profit, charitable, veteran's family organization," helped men stay in touch with others who had been through similar military experiences and held activities for their families. Among the photos provided to the Longmont Hispanic Study in 1988 are several showing the ceremony when a young G.I. Forum Queen was crowned, accompanied by her escort and "court," a group of elegantly dressed male and female attendants.¹²³

¹¹⁶ "Rosales, Larry and Linda, biography."

¹¹⁷ Because military activity in Vietnam was never officially termed a "war," soldiers who had fought there were at first ineligible for the VFW, but that was later corrected.

¹¹⁸ Newby, *Longmont Album*, p. 89.

¹¹⁹ "Valenzuela, Francisco, Obituary."

¹²⁰ "Andrew Gilbert Garcia and Mary M. Garcia."

¹²¹ "Casias, Angelina and Raymond, biography."

¹²² "Spanish speakers sign national charter." At the national level, the organization advocated for veterans, and in some parts of the Southwest it wielded considerable political power.

¹²³ "Angie Perez as GI Forum Queen," "A GI Forum Queen with her escort," "A GI Forum Queen with her escort and court," and "A GI Forum Queen and parents."

C. Challenging Racism, Increasing Inclusion, Searching for Identity

Overt forms of discrimination were still present in Boulder County during the 1940s and 1950s. Some businesses continued to display the racist signs put up during the period of Ku Klux Klan influence.¹²⁴ When Alex Gonzales went into a bar in Louisville, a few miles from Lafayette, and asked for a beer, the bartender said, “We only serve white people. ‘White Trade Only,’ that’s what the sign says, see?”¹²⁵ Alex replied, “I’m as white as you are,” to which the bartender responded, “Sorry, but I just work here and follow the manager’s orders, and one of them is not to sell to you people.” So Alex used his pocket knife to remove the sign from the window and said, “Now can you serve me?” But the bartender still refused. Another time, Alex was told at a pool hall with a “White Trade Only” sign that he could play because he “looked a little white.” But when he learned that he could not bring in his friends, he cut down that sign too.

Even if a business did not display a written statement, Latinas/os might be excluded or given inferior service. That was particularly true in Longmont. Fabricio Martinez commented that if you tried to walk into some stores, “They’d meet you at the door and say, ‘Sorry, we don’t want your trade.’ We were very, very intimidated.”¹²⁶ A Latina who was a child in the late 1940s and early 1950s remembered having to enter a shoe store in Longmont through the alley, not the front door, and stay in the back of the building, not the section where Anglos were being served; her family had friends with darker complexions who had to drive to Berthoud to buy food since they could not get it in Longmont.¹²⁷ Longmont’s movie theater let Latinas/os attend but seated them separately. When Virginia Maestas occasionally went to see a Mexican movie in the late 1940s and early 1950s, Anglos in the theater would call out, “Tamale Eaters!”¹²⁸ Racism showed up in other ways too. A Latina friend of Ester Quintana Matheson’s was walking down a sidewalk in Longmont with her brother

¹²⁴ See Ch. 4B above.

¹²⁵ Gonzales, Alex, interview, c. 1987.

¹²⁶ *Longmont Times-Call*, Aug. 11, 2002, B1.

¹²⁷ As reported by Cherry Emerson in an email to Marjorie McIntosh, July 23, 2013.

¹²⁸ Maestas, Virginia, interview, 2013.



Illus. 5.12. Discriminatory sign like the ones in Boulder County, from Lancaster, Ohio, 1938

when they were in high school.¹²⁹ They met a group of white youths who told them to get out of their way. When her brother refused, they were both pushed off the sidewalk.

The decision about whether someone was a Latino was apparently based in large part on skin color. Oli Duncan's grandfather, who was fairly light complexioned and worked year-round on the Pace ranch, used to ignore the "White Trade Only" signs when he took his daughter shopping in Longmont in the early 1940s; he got away with it partly because he did not appear obviously Latino but also because of his strongly confident manner.¹³⁰ Doris Gonzales described an incident in 1947, when she was 19 and had taken the train from Boulder to Longmont to apply for a job.¹³¹ She was too early for her interview, so she went into a little café near the depot, dressed in her good clothes. She sat down, but no one came to serve her. After a while she noticed that the waitress and the owner were "conferring in a little huddle," so she got up to ask why they had not waited on her. The waitress then brought her a glass of water

¹²⁹ Conversation with Marjorie McIntosh, April 4, 2013.

¹³⁰ "Olivas, Ralph and Rose, biographical account."

¹³¹ Gonzales, Doris, interview, 2013.

and took her order. But as Doris was leaving, she turned back and saw a big sign in the window, "White Trade Only," that she had not noticed when she went in.

Racism in Colorado was by no means limited to Boulder County. The 1940s saw a new concern with intergroup relations, leading to several studies of how Mexicans and *Hispanos* were treated in the state.¹³² Each of those projects found severe discrimination in jobs, housing, public health, social inclusion, and education, but although they made recommendations for change, prejudice continued to limit the options open to Latinas/os. In Denver, a task force created by liberal mayor Quigg Newton in 1947 to examine human relations in the city observed massive discrimination against Hispanics, as well as against African and Asian Americans.¹³³ That committee and its successors reported that people of color were sometimes denied admission to hospitals; realtors might refuse to show them houses; they were excluded from consideration for many kinds of employment; they were not served in some restaurants and had to go to the back entry of some stores; and the police often used greater physical force when dealing with minority people. In one example, "a Latino boy went to the back door of a well known local restaurant to inquire about a job. Police seized him, demanded to know what he was doing, and knocked out his two front teeth."¹³⁴ In another instance, a Latino man was sitting in a restaurant awaiting service. "Police arrived, attacked, and beat him with blackjacks. Several other Mexicans who tried to protest were taken to jail."

In Longmont, the most openly discriminatory of our three towns, racist signs were gradually removed between 1945 and 1955. Their disappearance was due largely to the anger of Latino veterans, bolstered by a surprising degree of support from the police, some of whom may have been former servicemen themselves. Latino soldiers, who had served their country and put their lives on the line in World War II and Korea, were outraged to come home only to find that they could not get served by local businesses. They may have been particularly resentful because the rhetoric during World War II had stressed that the county was pulling together to fight the enemy, that we are defending our

¹³² Donato, *Mexicans and Hispanos*, pp. 57-63.

¹³³ Delgado and Stefancic, "Home-Grown Racism," pp. 747-748, citing Denver Commission on Human Relations, "A Report on Minorities in Denver, 1947," for the rest of this paragraph.

¹³⁴ Delgado and Stefancic, "Home-Grown Racism," p. 748, for this and below.

shared values. The “Americans All” campaign created the image of an inclusive nation with a common identity, not one where some people faced ongoing racial or ethnic discrimination.¹³⁵

A graphic account of one of the local episodes that led to removal of Longmont’s racist signs was given by Mary Gonzales Tafoya, daughter of Alex Panfilo Gonzales.

Dad opened the City Café because they wouldn’t serve him and [his brother or son] Albert at a restaurant. Albert served in World War II on the *USS South Dakota*. He was home, in uniform, and his leg was all burned from when his ship was attacked. Dad took him out for a hamburger. Everyone else in the place was getting served except Dad and Albert. Dad threw a fit. He knocked over a pie case, tore the “White Trade Only” signs off the window, and threatened bodily harm if they tried to serve anyone else. They called the cops. When Chief McPhillips got there, he agreed with Dad.¹³⁶

As the result of that confrontation, Alex “decided that there needed to be a place in Longmont where Mexicans could go for a drink or to eat and not have to worry about being hassled or not getting served.” He therefore approached the owner of the City Café, located at 333 Main Street, and was able to buy the restaurant in 1945.

Sonia Marquez’s uncle had a similar experience when he came back from World War II. He went into a bar on Main Street, wearing his uniform, and asked for a beer.¹³⁷ When he was denied service, he refused to leave and they called the police. The police officer said, “This man just got done serving for you, for your freedom, for your country. You serve him a beer!”

The attack on discrimination occasionally assumed more organized form. Romolo Martinez was one of the founders of the Spanish-American Club in Longmont, a veterans’ group evidently similar to the G.I. Forum.¹³⁸ One of the club’s goals was to end exclusion of Latinos, especially from eating places. Its members once paraded as a group down Main Street, stopping at each place that displayed a “White Trade Only” sign. As Martinez later described the event, with some satisfaction, “They told the proprietors it made Spanish-Americans feel like dogs. And the signs

¹³⁵ Escobeda, *From Coveralls to Zoot Suits*, pp. 8-9. Government agencies were now willing to investigate charges of discrimination in defense industries.

¹³⁶ Tafoya, Mary Gonzales, interview, 2009, for this and below. Mary said that Albert was Alex’s brother; but in his own interview Alex said Albert was his oldest son (Gonzales, Alex, c. 1987).

¹³⁷ Marquez, Sonia, interview, 2013.

¹³⁸ *They Came to Stay*, p. 159.

were removed.” Frank Martinez was active in the Spanish-American Club too, helping to enforce accurate record-keeping for Latinas/os who worked in factories and getting equal pay for them.¹³⁹ It is disappointing that we have no further information about the Spanish-American Club.

Although some racist signs in Longmont were removed during the 1940s, certain businesses continued to refuse service to Latinas/os in the following decade, to their increasing resentment. When Secundino Herrera moved to Longmont in 1951,

They had signs on grocery stores, barber shops, and stores like that that said, “White Trade Only.” I don’t know where they got the idea of a white race. They got to be color blind to call themselves white, because we’re all a little bit on the shady side, or pinkish side, or dark. . . . The family tree of the human race, if the Bible doesn’t misinform us, tells us we all came from Adam and Eve. So if we are all brothers, why in the heck don’t they treat us like brothers, I’d like to know. This is disgusting.¹⁴⁰

Hank Blazón had two uncles who fought in the Korean War. When they got back to Longmont, they went into a restaurant but were denied service.¹⁴¹ They insisted and said they would not leave the place until they had been treated like the other customers: “Hey, we went to war, we went for our country, and we’re not leaving here until we’re served.” The police were called, and eventually the veterans were allowed to order their food.

The willingness of the police to support fair treatment for Latino soldiers is unexpected, for some local police officers were racially biased. Mary Gonzales Tafoya remembered an incident that occurred in 1947, when she was about 12 years old and living on the edge of Longmont.

My cousin, Kangy Sanchez, had a new bike. His sister Cleo and I decided to ride it into town to buy some candy. We rode down the path to town to this little store that used to be on Third Avenue. When we came out of the store, a police officer was there, standing by the bike.

“Whose bike is this?” he wanted to know.

We explained that it belonged to Kangy Sanchez and that we had borrowed it to ride to town.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 158.

¹⁴⁰ Herrera, Secundino, interview, c. 1987.

¹⁴¹ Blazón, William (“Hank”), interview, 2013.

“No,” he said. “You stole this bike. Mexicans don’t have nice bikes like this.”

He confiscated the bike. We had to walk home and tell our parents what happened. My dad was furious: at us for taking the bike without permission, and at the policeman for his prejudice, his assumption that we had stolen the bike. . . . It’s a good thing Aunt Trinidad still had the receipt for buying the bike. With that proof of ownership, they went down and got the bike from the police station.¹⁴²

The positive response of policemen to the claims of returning veterans was probably due to the Latinos’ status as former soldiers: the officers may not have intended to enforce the rights of all Latinos to equal treatment. But once the signs had been torn down for some, the doors were opened for others as well. Racist attitudes continued in Longmont, but overt discrimination of this sort was gone by the end of the 1950s.

In Lafayette, inclusion of Latinas/os in local social activities was increasing by around 1955. This pattern was probably affected by the small size of the town (only 2,000-2,600 residents into the early 1960s), its mixed neighborhoods, and its relatively stable population, which meant that many adults had grown up with people from other backgrounds. The Boy Scouts integrated quite early: Louis Cortez became cub master of Cub Scout Pack 79 in 1956.¹⁴³ He was followed the next year by Jim Hutchison, who remained active as a troop leader (of Cubs, Scouts, and Explorers) for 30 years. Jim later recalled that in the mid-1950s, about half of the boys were Latino, with most of the others from Italian backgrounds, but ethnic or national status was never a concern within his troops.¹⁴⁴ Photos of Lafayette’s Bluebird and Campfire Girl troops from 1962 and 1965 include girls with Latino names, though they were in the minority.¹⁴⁵ Among adults too, Latinas/os were moving into the public sphere. Lloyd Martinez was president of the Lafayette Days Association in 1963, and his wife Sally was active in the Parent Teacher Association and the Altar and Rosary Society of their parish church; the Martinezes helped to start the Latin American Education Foundation in 1960.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² Tafoya, Mary Gonzales, interview, 2009.

¹⁴³ *Lafayette, Colorado*, T119.

¹⁴⁴ Conversation with Marjorie McIntosh, Jan. 7, 2014.

¹⁴⁵ *Lafayette, Colorado*, T117.

¹⁴⁶ “Martinez, Lloyd and Sally Salazar, biography.”



Illus. 5.13. Sharon Martinez (Stetson) as "Miss Princess" of the City of Lafayette, 1958

Another sign of growing integration of Latinas/os into the fabric of Lafayette's life was the more frequent mention of their activities in the local paper. By the mid-1950s, the *Lafayette Leader* was reporting on the social engagements of established Latinas/os as it did for Anglos, though it generally identified them ethnically. On June 14, 1956, for example, the society page noted that Jake Espinoza and his wife, a Latino couple, had left for a trip to California.¹⁴⁷ The *Leader* also published short articles about Latino graduates from the high school in the 1950s and 1960s.¹⁴⁸ But even in Lafayette, some degree of prejudice remained. Latinas/os felt that they were treated less well than others when they reached junior and senior high school, and although Sharon Martinez (later Stetson) was chosen as "Miss Lafayette Princess" in 1958, she was soon sidelined from that position.¹⁴⁹

Boulder became a somewhat more diverse and internationally-minded community in these decades. The change was due in part to returning

¹⁴⁷ "Latino couple leaves for visit to California."

¹⁴⁸ E.g., "Latino student graduates High School, 1956," "Latino student graduates High School, 1962," and "Latino students graduate High School, 1964, Pts. 1 and 2."

¹⁴⁹ For education see Vol. II, Ch. 6B; for Sharon, conversation with Marjorie McIntosh, Jan. 15, 2014.

veterans of color who came to study at the University of Colorado under the G.I. Bill. Although the *City Directory* for Boulder in 1946 shows only nine students with Spanish surnames living off-campus, not all of them necessarily veterans, we know that pressure for housing for returning soldiers was mounting.¹⁵⁰ In that year the City of Boulder built 20 quonset huts on land owned by the Boulder Valley School District, each with two apartments, specifically for veterans and their families. The new housing was located at 21st and Water Street (later Canyon Boulevard), adjacent to the existing Latino community along Water + Goss Streets.¹⁵¹

The number of Latino students at the university rose over the following decade. Many of the 56 students listed in the *City Directory* for 1955 were already married and may well have been veterans. In 1965, only 27 Latino students were named in Boulder: soldiers from the Korean War would already have graduated, but the influx of new G.I.s from Vietnam had not yet begun. The growing presence of Latino students between 1940 and 1965—especially of mature veterans who had been all over the world, undergone the challenges of warfare, and were now eager to get an education—broadened the diversity of the community as well as of the university.

The Board of Education of the Boulder Valley School District took a small step in the late 1950s toward what could be called multiculturalism: providing Spanish language instruction for children in the elementary grades. Although this plan may have made the few Latino students feel somewhat more welcome, the measure was intended primarily to help Anglo youngsters become better global citizens. In 1956, a committee of parents and teachers in Boulder began to push for foreign language teaching in elementary schools.¹⁵² Pilot programs in a few schools in the next two years offered Spanish, French, and German, but on an optional basis, not during regular school hours, and only if parents paid extra for the instruction. In 1958 the committee recommended that foreign language instruction be instituted in all third grades in the district, and that only Spanish should be taught, as “the most useful for children of

¹⁵⁰ “Occupations and Employers, Three Towns, 1946.”

¹⁵¹ “Biographical sketch, Emma Gomez Martinez,” Garcia, Ricardo and Anna, interview, 1977, and see Vol. II, Ch. 2B.

¹⁵² Over the next two years, the *Boulder Daily Camera* ran many articles on this topic, including statements by educators about how valuable foreign language instruction was and that young children learned more easily: Feb. 16, March 5, April 23, 25, and 27, May 1, 3, 7, 10, and 11, June 3 and 7, Aug. 30, Sept. 3, 6, 25, and 27, Oct. 2, and Nov. 1 and 22, 1957, and Jan. 2, March 21, and May 13 and 19, 1958.

this region.” The school board accepted that recommendation, agreeing that Spanish classes would be part of the regular curriculum and free.

In fall, 1958, “Specially trained teachers who speak Spanish fluently and with excellent accents” began to teach classes of 20 to 30 minutes per day during school time.¹⁵³ The Back-to-School section of the *Boulder Daily Camera* laid out the benefits of the new plan:

Teaching of a foreign language for younger children was initiated because it is becoming increasingly evident that Americans need to know more languages than they do now, that children at an earlier age learn a foreign language more readily, and the cultural benefits of international understanding resulting from the knowledge of the languages of other peoples.¹⁵⁴

In another form of internationalism, children in some Boulder elementary schools within the next few years were studying Mexico, talking about its geography, economic life, and foods.¹⁵⁵

During the 1950s and early 1960s, at least a few younger members of Boulder County’s second- and third-generation Hispanic families were trying to define themselves in positive terms with respect to both their own and Anglo cultures but finding it difficult to do so. We see the first signs of an emerging identity formulation among established families living in Boulder’s Water + Goss Streets neighborhood and central Lafayette, but in later decades the conception spread more widely within the county. The terms used by young people to describe themselves and their culture in these years (Mexican American, *Mexicano*, Mexican) suggest that the distinction between people from Mexico and New Mexico as present among first-generation immigrants had been subsumed within a shared Hispanic/Latino identity.¹⁵⁶

This definition of what it meant to be from a Spanish-speaking background included ongoing loyalty to many aspects of traditional Hispanic culture. Parents wanted their children to take pride in their heritage and sustain familiar social, cultural, and religious patterns. This was generally not a problem for young people when they were at home or with other Latinos: they enjoyed Mexican American parties and forms

¹⁵³ *Boulder Daily Camera*, Aug. 22, 1958.

¹⁵⁴ Aug. 25, 1958.

¹⁵⁵ “4th grade students prepare Mexican lunch.”

¹⁵⁶ See, for example, “Maestas, Virginia, interview, 1978,” who uses those labels to refer to herself despite the fact that her mother was from the San Luis Valley and had New Mexican roots.

of recreation, and they went to church with their parents or joined in whatever Catholic religious practices their families maintained at home.

But some adults and children were at times embarrassed, perhaps even ashamed, by the differences between their own culture and that of Anglos.¹⁵⁷ Housewives might hide their food when a white visitor came to the door, and Hispanic children often sat away from others during lunch at school so they could speak Spanish and it would not be obvious they were eating tortillas instead of sandwiches.¹⁵⁸ Such reactions raise the possibility that Hispanics had internalized some of the racist views of the society around them. As Gordon Allport pointed out, it is difficult for people of color to resist seeing themselves in negative terms through the eyes of the dominant society, and hard to withstand the pressure to assimilate.¹⁵⁹ In the case of these Boulder County Hispanics, discomfort about their culture was sometimes based upon painful personal experiences: being ridiculed about the kind of work their parents did or the food they ate, punished for speaking Spanish at school, or humiliated because their teachers assumed they were dirty and carried head lice.

At the same time, many parents in these settled urban families recognized and stressed to their children the importance of functioning well in settings dominated by Anglos. Some were making a deliberate effort to help their youngsters succeed within that world, insisting, for example, that they speak only English at home and encouraging them to graduate from high school.¹⁶⁰ A few paid for their children to take music lessons alongside their Anglo peers, they were happy to have youngsters play on sports teams and join clubs at school, and they allowed them to participate in social activities with same-sex Anglo friends.¹⁶¹ These attitudes did indeed help the next generation to do well in the wider community. Many of the young people finished high school, some went on to college, and they were viable candidates for jobs that required them to interact comfortably with Anglos.

Although information about identity issues is limited in quantity and comes largely from retrospective accounts, the sources we have suggest that the inherent contradictions within a self-definition that

¹⁵⁷ Virginia Maestas said explicitly that when she was a young woman, there was no conception of a positive "Chicano" culture (interview, 1978).

¹⁵⁸ See Ch. 4B above and Vol. II, Chs. 3A and 6B.

¹⁵⁹ Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, e.g., pp. 142-162, esp. 150-152.

¹⁶⁰ For example, the Arroyo, Martinez, and Hernandez families in Boulder.

¹⁶¹ See Vol. II, Ch. 4. In Boulder's schools, Latino children formed a tiny minority: only 3% of all K-12 students in 1955 had Spanish surnames (see Vol. II, Ch. 6C).

tried to accommodate participation in two different cultures hampered the efforts of some young people to establish a solid and affirming identity. Virginia Maestas highlighted the complexities when describing the situation of her Latino peers in the 1950s, when they were in their teens and early 20s.¹⁶² Although she and her friends loved Mexican movies, music, and dancing, they did not have regular access to that culture. Instead they lived primarily within “the Boulder Anglo society, and so you became, as much as you could, part of that mainstream.” Pressure to assimilate, to accept a form of Americanization that preached homogeneity, was strong. Many young Mexican Americans, Virginia said, were trying for something “better” than what they saw at home, “in terms of a better education, in terms of speaking without an accent, learning to speak the language, learning to write the language, learning to compete with the [Anglo] people.” In an interview in 1978, Virginia commented at first that her friends had not really been embarrassed about their own background, that they had not consciously hidden their traditions and the *Mexicano* culture being practiced within their own families. But upon reflection, she changed her mind. If you wanted to get ahead, “you left behind that which you thought was not good enough.” When you close the door, “you close the door on the traditions and the cultures also.” The challenges faced by these young people in creating a positive identity were intensified by a generational contrast between them and their parents about how to relate to their Hispanic heritage.

Although Virginia felt personally that giving up one’s own culture was a loss, she said she did not have any

bitter feelings, frustrations as far as my parents were concerned for not bringing us up in a more *Mexicano* community. I guess I’m glad that I had the education that I did in Boulder in terms of learning to live with the Anglos and learning their ways and so forth. I have a choice of the two worlds, and many times I mingle them. . . . It’s kind of neat to know that you can swing either way and know that you’re just as much at home with one as you are with the other.¹⁶³

But in fact she was not fully at home with the dominant culture: she reported that she would never have dated an Anglo boy, and even as a respected teacher in her 40s, she said she automatically mistrusted

¹⁶² Maestas, Virginia, interview, 1978, which refers also to the song, “Chasing the Rainbow.” Her family had settled in Boulder when she was ten, having previously been farmworkers who moved between local employers each year.

¹⁶³ Maestas, Virginia, interview, 1978.

Anglos until she came to know them well as individuals.

Internal tension resulting from the differences between Anglo and Hispanic expectations was articulated also by Eleanor Montour when describing her experiences growing up in Lafayette in the 1950s and early 1960s.¹⁶⁴ She was the daughter of Alicia Sanchez, a powerful woman who founded the *Clinica Campesina* and wanted her children to finish high school. Eleanor said that by junior high she had learned the survival skills that let her manage at school. She could handle discrimination at the hands of her teachers and exclusion from sleepovers and other social activities organized by Anglo students, though such treatment took an emotional toll. But she had an entirely distinct life outside school, going to Mexican dances and listening to Mexican music with her friends, most of whom had already left school to start earning money to help support their families. “So I was like two different people.”

Further, although some degree of assimilation to Anglo society might be seen as desirable by parents and young people, it by no means ensured acceptance by that community. Virginia Maestas, unhappy at Casey Junior High in Boulder for both academic and social reasons, dropped out of school in 1951 at age 16, lied about her age, and went to work full-time: first at Kress’s, a dime store, and later at the Flatirons Theater.¹⁶⁵ Although she performed her duties well, she experienced discrimination from customers in both places. At the theater, the assistant manager once questioned her ethnicity: “You’re from Boulder, you don’t sound like you’re Mexican. You don’t talk like people from Lafayette.” When Dora Bernal, who had moved from Boulder to California in the 1950s, returned from Berkeley in the early 1960s, she found Boulder much less welcoming than its sister university town on the edge of a truly multi-ethnic city.¹⁶⁶

In explaining why these efforts to create an ethnic identity that validated activity in both Hispanic and Anglo socio-cultural worlds began to surface among these particular Boulder County families in the 1950s and early 1960s, we can suggest several probable factors. The emerging self-definition seems to have rested upon a foundation of modest economic and residential security within towns. Most of the male heads of these households had made the transition from labor in the beet fields or coal mines to somewhat better urban employment, such as

¹⁶⁴ Montour, Eleanor, interview, 2013. For her mother and the *Clinica*, see Vol. II, Ch. 3B.

¹⁶⁵ Maestas, Virginia, interview, 2013.

¹⁶⁶ Bernal, Dora, interview, 1978.

carpentry, masonry, being a grounds man on the University campus, or working in a factory. In such jobs they interacted regularly with Anglos and learned their expectations. Their family income had been increased in many cases by women's earnings, and nearly all bought their own houses after they moved into town. They saw a high school or even a college education as a realistic way for their children to advance. Being perceived as respectable also mattered to them.

The need for a self-conception that accepted and even praised one's ability to navigate within two worlds was presumably intensified by growing contact between Hispanics and Anglos, not only at school and work but also in the neighborhood. Unlike the overwhelmingly Mexican-American *barrios* of many large cities, Boulder County's urban Hispanics lived in ethnically mixed though low-income neighborhoods.¹⁶⁷ Within them they dealt regularly with people from Italian or other European backgrounds and, in the case of Boulder's Water + Goss Streets neighborhood, with African Americans too. Women exchanged goods, and children grew up playing with friends from different cultures. (Dating between ethnic groups was, however, frowned upon, and marriage across ethnic lines was rare in this area until the 1970s.)

The identity that was becoming visible among at least a few families in Boulder County during the 1950s and early 1960s differed from what has been described among middle class Mexican Americans in regions with larger Hispanic populations and among people living in urban *barrios* during roughly the same period.¹⁶⁸ The leading Latino adults in Boulder and Lafayette at this time would have been defined as members of the upper working class, not as middle class, and they had not yet expressed a clear oppositional consciousness directed at institutionalized forms of racism. The associations they formed rarely fought for issues important to Latinas/os as a whole.¹⁶⁹ When, for example, Emma Gomez Martinez mobilized her neighbors, they acted on matters of concern to their own immediate racially- and ethnically-mixed sub-community.¹⁷⁰ Nor is there evidence that Boulder County's young people dressed and behaved in deliberately unconventional ways in order to display pride in their Mexican American culture.¹⁷¹ Female

¹⁶⁷ See Vol. II, Ch. 2B.

¹⁶⁸ See Ch. 1B above.

¹⁶⁹ The only exception encountered in this period was Longmont's Spanish-American Club.

¹⁷⁰ See Ch. 6C below.

sexuality remained closely supervised by parents and was largely confined to traditionally acceptable forms. Living successfully within the Anglo-dominated system that surrounded them generally meant fitting in as much as possible in public settings while maintaining their ethnic identity in more private contexts.

By the mid-1960s, some Latinas/os in Boulder County were poised to take active part in the Chicano movement, whose concerns and activities were to dominate the local community for the next 15 years. Due to improved educational and employment opportunities, they were better able to bring their issues into public view. Some Latinos and a few Latinas were gaining experience and confidence through participation in the armed forces. Thanks in large part to veterans, the most overt forms of racism and exclusion had been removed. During the later 1960s and 1970s participation in the Chicano movement would encourage local people to define themselves in more culturally affirming and visible ways and to organize to confront systemic racism.

¹⁷¹ See Ch. 1B above and Vol. II, Ch. 1A.

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.

- 5.1. Emma Suazo thinning beets with a short hoe, Longmont, 1942. Courtesy of Longmont Museum. LM, 2007.024.001.
<http://longmont.pastperfectonline.com/photo/5D625328-852E-4015-B256-242909793392>
- 5.2. Fabricio Martinez with his mail truck, Longmont, 1960s. Courtesy of Longmont Museum. LM, 1995.012.005.
<http://longmont.pastperfectonline.com/photo/8C86A394-E668-42FA-988F-299641743391>
- 5.3. José Esquibel with his dad, Longmont, 1979. In *El Aguila*, p. 24. Courtesy of Margaret Alfonso. [BCLHP-MKM-637](#).
- 5.4. Joe Esquibel, owner of several pharmacies, 1989. Courtesy of Kathy Esquibel. [BCLHP-FP-013](#).
- 5.5. Flavio (Floyd) Martinez in World War II uniform with parents. Courtesy of Longmont Museum. LM, 1995.012.006.
<http://longmont.pastperfectonline.com/photo/4D6A030B-4BF4-4B72-AB77-145035574900>
- 5.6. Terry Aragon as soldier in Berlin, early 1960s. Courtesy of Dixie Lee Aragon. [BCLHP-FP-158](#).
- 5.7. Ronnie Quintana in military uniform. Courtesy of El Comité de Longmont. [BCLHP-LHS-298](#).
- 5.8. Dan Pineda in military uniform. Courtesy of El Comité de Longmont. [BCLHP-LHS-017](#).
- 5.9. Tom Martinez in South Korea, 1970s. Courtesy of Tom Martinez. [BCLHP-FP-058](#).
- 5.10. Archuleta men in the military. Courtesy of Tom Martinez. [BCLHP-FP-055](#).
- 5.11. Ted Aragon with Vietnamese children. Courtesy of El Comité de Longmont. [BCLHP-LHS-321](#).

- 5.12.** Discriminatory sign like the ones in Boulder County, from Lancaster, Ohio, 1938. Ben Shahn, photographer. Courtesy of Library of Congress. Prints and Photographs Division, #20540-4730.
<http://cdn.loc.gov/service/pnp/fsa/8a17000/8a17500/8a17588v.jpg>
- 5.13.** Sharon Martinez (Stetson) as “Miss Princess” of the City of Lafayette, 1958. Courtesy of Sharon Stetson. [BCLHP-FP-192](#).

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:

- Items labelled as FP are family photographs loaned by community members and digitized by the BCLHP. The photographers are unknown unless specified.
- 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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