NEIGHBORHOODS
SOUTHEAST SEATTLE
COMMUNITY HISTORY PROJECT

Latino Heritage in Southeast Seattle

Narrative Report & Annotated Bibliography

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Narrative Report: Latino Heritage in Southeast Seattle

I. Introduction

The history of Latino presence in Southeast Seattle doesn't begin or end with the founding of El Centro de la Raza in 1972. However, much of what has been documented concerning Latino presence in Seattle as a whole has not captured the full picture of the community and there is still much work to be done. The Chicano/Latino community had long been ignored in Seattle until October 11, 1972, as a group of activists and community members started their occupation of the Beacon Hill School House. What followed the beginning of El Centro de la Raza that day is seen in a series of publications, documents and organizations that were starting to take notice of a community of people that had been ignored long enough.

On a national level there were many movements in the 1960s and 1970s where Chicano and Latino people were rising up and demanding change. Many of the organizations that formed during that time did not survive. What is amazing though is that tucked away in the Pacific Northwest, Seattle Washington, on top of Beacon Hill, there is an organization that has not only survived, but continues to fight for the people and stay true to the spirit of social justice. El Centro de la Raza lives and it is important that the history of El Centro de la Raza, which is also a history of a community, continues to be documented and preserved for generations to come.

The purpose of this narrative report is to provide missing pieces of the history of a community that has not been respected enough to be documented on a wider scale. This report will not fill in all the missing pieces, but this document is a starting point. Due to lack of documentation specific to Latinos in Seattle, this Project became a difficult task. Nonetheless, it is my hope that more work will be done and support provided to organizations like El Centro de la Raza, to document an important history of our community before we lose valuable sources of information as more time passes.

II. History

Pre-1940

Prior to the 1940s there were Mexicans in the Pacific Northwest, but there numbers were few. Jerry Garcia writes that "Although the presence of Mexicans in the Pacific Northwest can be documented as far back as the 1800s, permanent Mexican communities did not emerge until the 20th century" (Garcia 2005, 88). The presence of Mexicans during this time was a result of development of Mexico's Northern Region and a result of the 1910 Mexican Revolution. [1]

The first Bracero Program was implemented by the U.S. government during World War II and this program became what mainly influenced Mexican migration.[2] As Erasmo Gamboa states, the reason for migration to the Pacific Northwest for Mexicans were not different from those who migrated to the Southwest. "The spatial distribution of Mexican immigrants to the northwesternmost corner of the United States was conditioned by the same factors operating in the Southwest: an open immigration policy toward Mexico and economic expansion with a corresponding labor economy" (Gamboa 1990, xiii).

At first Mexicans were recruited to labor in exploitative conditions in agriculture and canneries. With the onset of World War II, new industries demanded new labor. Gamboa argues, "In general the region's economy expanded it was called upon to produce more. Portland, Vancouver, and the Seattle area were seemingly transformed overnight by new major shipyards and aircraft plants as well as supporting defense industries" (Gamboa 1990, 22). By the summer of 1941, the war industries were demanding more laborers in the Seattle area and those who came to work in those jobs were agricultural laborers from Eastern Washington, Yakima in particular. [3] New opportunities for labor then becomes the pull factor that leads to the migration of Mexicanos from the rural area to the urban areas, particularly to Seattle.

1940 to 1970

Recruitment of Mexicans for agricultural work continued throughout the 1940s as incentives were provided during World War II. As Johansen and Maestas write "World War II's manpower demands worsened the labor shortage and in 1942, President Franklin D. Roosevelt

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[1] Garcia, Jerry, *Memory, Community, and Activism,* ed. Jerry Garcia and Gilberto Garcia (East Lansing, Michigan: Julian Samora Research Institute Michigan State University, 2005), 88.
[2] Gamboa, Erasmo, *Mexican Labor and World War II (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), xii.*
[3] Gamboa, Erasmo, *Mexican Labor and World War II (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 23.*

authorized $1 million in federal money to help Yakima Valley growers recruit labor" (Johansen and Maestas 1981, 3). The first Braceros then arrived in the Yakima Valley in 1943. [4]

Migration continued and increased through the 1960s and 1970s to the Yakima Valley, but families who migrated faced dire economic conditions, especially when there was no work in the off season. One family in particular whose experience illustrates this is the family of Roberto Gallegos. The Gallegos family was one of the first to arrive in Seattle leaving behind the fields of Yakima in hopes to provide a better life. [5]

Economic opportunities or lack thereof are one of the central causes of migration. In the Seattle, a study was conducted interviewing Spanish Speaking Migrants in 1973 on the reasons that they came to Seattle. The authors of the report, Sepulveda and Loomis argue that "Migrants are attracted to areas where employment opportunities are abundant and where they can expect to receive higher pay for their work" (Sepulveda and Loomis 1973, 4). Before migrating to Seattle 45% of the respondents surveyed had worked in agriculture. [6]

Prior to coming to Seattle, Andy Garcia labored in the fields of Yakima during World War II, settled in Wapato and then resettled in Seattle in 1954. Garcia was interviewed for a news article titled, "Invisible Minority: Looking for Seattle's Latin Culture" by Joe Quintana published in the Seattle Times/Seattle Post-Intelligencer Magazine titled *Pacific* on June 23, 1985. As he tells Quintana, "I was making 85 cents an hour driving a tractor in Wapato. They were paying $1.65 in the city for roofers" (Quintana 1985). In the 1950s there was an estimate of 150 Latino families living in Seattle and more accurate numbers can not be found. Quintana also states that during that time the Barron family was present in Seattle. World War II also brought the family to Seattle as one of its members served in the army. When he got out, he stayed in Seattle and other family members followed. Ismael Barron was interviewed in the article at a tavern the family owned called La Esquina which was located on Rainier Avenue South. "On weekends, La Esquina jumps to the fast paced rhythms of Latino bands" (Quintana 1985).[7]

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[4] Johansen, Bruce and, Roberto Maestas, *The Creation of Washington's Latino Community: 1935-1980* (Seattle, WA: El Centro de la Raza, 1981), 3.
[5] Johansen, Bruce, and Roberto Maestas, *The Creation of Washington's Latino Community: 1935-1980* (Seattle, WA: El Centro de la Raza, 1981), 7.
[6] Sepulveda, Sergio, and Ralph A. Loomis, "Spanish-Speaking Migrants in Seattle, Washington" (Washington Agricultural Experiment Station College of Agriculture, Washington State University, March 1973), 4.
[7] Joe Quintana, "Invisible Minority: Looking for Seattle's Latin Culture" *The Seattle Times/Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, June 23, 1985, Pacific.

Although the number of Latinos present in Seattle have increased since World War II, the title of Quintana's article indicates that even through the 1980s Latinos were still seen as invisible in many aspects in the city of Seattle and is seen with the lack of documentation of the Latino community during the period following World War II up until the 1970s.

During the 1960s there were movements beginning throughout the country and particularly the Southwest demanding justice in urban neighborhoods, education, regarding the war in Vietnam and those who labored in the fields. The Chicano Movement did not occur in isolation, but within a larger movement of many people struggling for civil rights and social justice. As Johansen and Maestas state, "Out of the civil rights movement, out of opposition to an unjustifiable and cruel war, accentuated by the massive migration to cities and access to tools of education and organized expression, grew a genuine popular movement to narrow the gap between American ideals and possibilities" (Johansen and Maestas 1983, 118). Roberto Gallegos and his family, now living in West Seattle, caught word of the United Farm Workers movement fighting for labor rights and better conditions. The war in Vietnam gave notice to another reality in that many Chicano families were losing their loved ones as they were recruited for the war. Johansen and Maestas write, "Roberto Gallegos met a relative of Anthony Vigil, the first Mexican-American from Seattle to be killed in Vietnam. They attended the funeral on a cold rainy November day, then returned home to discuss the pain of the loss, the insanity of war, and the rising tide against it" (Johansen and Maestas 1983, 119). [8] It is the context of a time period where new possibilities were being imagined during a time of social uprising and where a group of people in Seattle decided that the needs of the Chicano/Latino community had been ignored long enough. It is the context of change during this time period that El Centro de la Raza began.

1970's

The Creation of El Centro de la Raza

"This would be home to the Chicano community, the occupants hoped" (Johansen 1972).

In an article titled, "Take-over on Beacon Hill" Bruce Johansen writes that the occupants who took over the old Beacon Hill School were seeking a home for the Chicano community.[9] The fall of 1972 in Seattle was difficult as the city was experiencing the worst recession since the

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[8] Johansen, Bruce, and Roberto Maestas, *El Pueblo The Gallegos Family's American Journey 1530-1980* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), 118-119.
[9] Bruce Johansen, "Take-over on Beacon Hill", *Seattle Times*, October 15, 1972

1930s. The Vietnam war was raging. A billboard in Seattle made national news as it read, "Will the last person leaving Seattle, please turn off the lights?" [10]According to the website of El Centro de La Raza, the event that sparked the need for a home for the Latino community, was a result of funding cut from an Adult Basic Education Program at the Duwamish branch of South Seattle Community College that left seventy students and ten staff without a place to continue their education.

> "A regressive governmental decision demonstrated how the lines between international, national and local issues could easily become one. A "War on Poverty" centerpiece program, barely after the highly touted "WAR" had begun, was abruptly defunded, sparking an issue that led to the creation of "El Centro de la Raza" (El Centro de la Raza).

On October 11, 1972, three people met with the facilities manager of the Seattle School District to see the decaying three story elementary school building. The three people were thought to be representing an organization that was interested in renting or buying the facility. When the facilities manager opened the lock, was the day the Chicano community in Seattle had found the home they were searching for. [11] "At that moment Beacon Hill School ceased to exist and El Centro de la Raza was born" (El Centro de la Raza).

During the time of the occupation it was estimated that the population of Chicanos in Seattle was around 27,000 and the State's largest minority group. There were no official figures and other estimates put the Chicano population at about 12,000 in 1972. Nonetheless the need for El Centro de la Raza was there. "As envisioned by the groups, a Chicano service center could be central location for a variety of services, including language training, legal counseling and medical care" (Seattle Times 1972).[12]

Those who participated in the occupation came from diverse backgrounds. As Johansen and Maestas write, "Several dozen community residents, a cross-section of an ethnically diverse

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[10] El Centro de la Raza, "About Us: History & Evolution" http://www.elcentrodelaraza.com/AboutUs/history.htm
[11] El Centro de la Raza, "About Us: History & Evolution" http://www.elcentrodelaraza.com/AboutUs/history.htm
[12] Seattle Times, "Chicano school take-over, spurs city into action" *Seattle Times*, October 12, 1972

community, joined the occupation" (Johansen and Maestas 1981, 9). During the time of the occupation, Seattle had one of the coldest winters on record.[13] Having to deal with harsh conditions, the occupation continued. Johansen states, "While they attempted to move the cumbersome legal machinery of the schools and the city, the Chicanos and non-Chicano supporters attempted to make a home of the school, which is without heat or plumbing" (Johansen 1972). The occupiers were seeking city council to accept a resolution to sub-lease the building for $1-a-year so that the building could be used to house a community center, housing, legal aid, medical clinic, child care services as well as other essential services that were needed by the Chicano community. Another challenge arose though. Even if demands were met to keep the building, the people occupying the school building faced the challenge of coming up with the funding to renovate the building.[14]

On October 16, 1972, the Seattle City Council agreed to lease the Beacon Hill School for $1 to be used as a multi-service center for Seattle's Chicanos. "About 100 Chicanos, including parents with babies, produced a roar of clapping when the Council passed the lease resolution prepared by Councilman John Miller" (Sperry 1972).[15] After only six days in the school, the occupants had already begun cleaning up the building. "On the school's main floor, rooms have been divided into a dining room (comedor, a Spanish translation was printed on the sign); classroom (sala de clase); dormitory (dormitorio) and Chicano clinic" (Johansen 1972). With the little resources the occupants of the Beacon Hill School were creating a home for the Latino community of Seattle. [16]

Finding the funding for El Centro de la Raza proved to be a challenge. The organizers of the occupation applied for funding through Model Cities. The amount they requested was $144,650 for renovation and staffing to operate the community center for a year. On October 28, 1972, the organizers met with John Ybarra who was manager of the city's Model City's southeast branch and fought for their proposal to be considered seriously. They were told to keep the option of where the center should be open, but the organizer's insisted that it needed to be the

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[13] Johansen, Bruce, and Roberto Maestas, *The Creation of Washington's Latino Community: 1935-1980* (Seattle, WA: El Centro de la Raza, 1981), 9.
[14] Bruce Johansen, "Chicanos vow holdout, seek lease, renovation" *Seattle TImes*, October 14, 1972.
[15] Sam R. Sperry, "City to lease school to Chicanos" *Seattle Times,* October 17, 1972.
[16] Bruce Johansen, "Chicanos begin renovating school" *Seattle Times*, October 17, 1972.

school house in Beacon Hill. On October 29, 1972, a rally was held in Beacon Hill to discuss plans to keep the building. [17]

The need for a multi-service center for Chicano and Spanish speaking people in Seattle was recognized and Seattle Model City Program Funding was awarded to El Centro de la Raza in December 1972 after a battle with the city council. "The migration to Seattle of Spanish-speaking person is largely accounted for by farmworkers and their families who come to the city in quest for a better life" (Seattle Model City Program 1972). A big reason Seattle Model City Program supported El Centro de la Raza was to bring the community together and begin addressing the gap of services available to Chicanos and Spanish speaking people in Seattle. The coordination of funding took place on a local, state and federal/national levels. [18] A victory photo published in the Seattle Post Intelligencer on December 27, 1972 shows Roberto Maestas, Larry Gossett and Estela Ortega at La Hacienda Restaurant in Beacon Hill on December 26, 1972, the day that the City Council awarded the funding to fix up the building of El Centro de la Raza (Seattle Post Intelligencer 1972). [19]

Throughout the years to come El Centro de la Raza was built a piece at a time and grew. More battles were fought to keep El Centro de la Raza in its home on Beacon Hill. Several social service programs in the beginning including the Jose Marti Child Development Center continue to thrive. Jose Marti CDC was the only bilingual child care center in Seattle at the time. Also housed in El Centro de la Raza during its existence include, a food and nutrition program, community restaurant, bookstore, print shop and many more programs. [20] Many of those programs El Centro de la Raza began in the 1970s still exist today.

Documentation of Seattle's Latino Population

Following the creation of El Centro de la Raza in 1972, more articles and publications can be found that mention Chicano/Latino presence in Seattle. In the mid-1970s, the Seattle Human Rights Department which was located on Rainier Avenue South, published a pamphlet titled, "Chicano Experience in America". The pamphlet explains the history of Chicanos in

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[17] Bruce Johansen, "Chicano bid for school hits snag" *Seattle Times,* October 29, 1972.
[18] Primo Valenzuela and Bernard Salazar "Centro de la Raza" *Seattle Model City Program*, Project Work Program, December 1972.
[19] El Centro de la Raza Victory Photo, *Seattle Post Intelligencer*, December 27, 1972.
[20] Johansen, Bruce, and Roberto Maestas, *The Creation of Washington's Latino Community: 1935-1980* (Seattle, WA: El Centro de la Raza, 1981), 10.

America and migration. The pamphlet only mentions one thing specific to Seattle and that is that many jobs had specified height requirements based on the average height of Whites. A union magazine in Seattle then published an article and with humor tried to downplay the racism and discrimination that was taking place against Chicanos. The Human Rights Department called for acknowledgement of patterns of racism that have excluded people of color from many opportunities in society. "With increased frequency and determination Chicanos are calling upon America to eliminate discriminatory racial barriers and to fulfill its promise of liberty and justice" (Seattle Human Rights Department). [21]Although the Human Rights Department published this pamphlet and was located on Rainier Avenue South it would've been ideal to know why at this point in time did the City of Seattle feel the need to publish such a document? When they speak of the increased demands of the Chicano community, one can only wonder which groups or people in Seattle were demanding change?

In 1979, Concilio for the Spanish Speaking published a Hispanic Planning Services Task Force Report. The Hispanic Task Force was formed in 1979 and included eighteen Latinos from Seattle, funding was provided by the City of Seattle. The purpose of the Hispanic Task Force was to review existing resources and service for Latinos, determine access to information and services by Latinos as well as develop recommendations to meet the needs of the Latino community. It was discussed in the introduction and formation of the report that although support was promised by the City to produce the report, the committee members found themselves without adequate support as was promised. Different areas were addressed in the report and one was around the issue of child care. El Centro de la Raza was in need of funding to remodel the day care and denied. "The Centro was kept from badly needed remodeling by the City of Seattle who purposely withheld block grant funds for three years. Some of this had been targeted for remodeling of the day care, but nothing has been done because of lack of funds" (Hispanic Task Force 1979, p. 8). It was then recommended by the Hispanic Task Force that the funds be provided to the Jose Marti Child Development Center.[22] It is unknown if many of the recommendations that the Hispanic Task Force gave were met. From these documents though, we can see that years after the founding of El Centro de la Raza in the 1972, that at least two

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[21] Seattle Human Rights Department, "Chicano Experience in America". City of Seattle Human Rights Commission, 1975.
[22] Hispanic Task Force, "Hispanic Planning Services Task Force Report" *Concilio for the Spanish Speaking,* October 1979.

groups that were associated with the City of Seattle attempted to address the needs of the growing Latino population.

1980s

An important aspect of the presence of Latinos in Seattle that needs to be recognized is the displacement of many people from Latin America that fled their countries because of political turmoil and disturbance due to the U.S. government intervention in the region. The diversity of Seattle's Latino population can be traced back to political turmoil in the home countries of many people who are here and related to the time period in which the majority of the people from certain countries migrated to the area. When these refugees came, many found a home at El Centro de la Raza.

In 1980 though politics of migration could not be ignored. An article from the Seattle Times in 1980 highlights a controversy at El Centro de la Raza over the enrollment of Cubans in the English programs and charges of discrimination against Cubans. Roberto Maestas was quoted as saying no one tried to keep the Cubans out of El Centro de la Raza, but that he would continue to question the fact that the U.S. government has a federal policy that welcomes Cubans while Mexicans were rejected. One person argued that El Centro got what it wanted, to discourage Cubans, but it was countered with a quote by Felipe Vila, "If they weren't afraid of Fidel Castro, they're not going to be afraid of Maestas". [23]

Many other immigrant groups arrived in Seattle including Chileans in the 1970s fleeing a dictator. From Argentina, Nicaragua and Mexico, many groups came to Seattle. People from Central American came to the United States in the 1980s because there was no other choice. In the 1980s there was an attorney, Santiago Juarez, whose office was on Beacon Hill. He represented 30 Salvadorans, but estimated that during 1982 there were several thousand living on the streets and many more in Spokane and Yakima. Many people from El Salvador would refuse to sign deportation waivers to return to El Salvador at the risk of facing death or torture. [24]

AMPARO "Refuge" was another organization on Beacon Hill during the 1980s. From a brochure, the causes of forced immigration are apparent, "El Salvador is a nation torn by a war in which 32,000 civilians have been killed in the last 3 years, also where atrocities and mutilations have become common place". (AMPARO). Estimates put the numbers of Salvadorans at over

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[23] Gelernter, Carey, "Cuban, Chicano problems continue at El Centro" *Seattle Times, August 10, 1980.*
[24] Duncan, Don, "Salvadorans' plight: Stay and live, return to die", *Seattle TImes,* February 20, 1982

1,000 refugees during the early 80s. What happened in El Salvador is an example of what happened in many other countries in Latin America during the period of war that forced many to leave their homeland. [25]

In 1982 El Centro de la Raza celebrated 10 years. It was estimated that 4,200 people came to the Center every month and many who volunteer end up working there. As Sheila Anne Feeney writes "Many stay to volunteer their time and contribute to the blurring of El Centro's fuzzy division between workers and clients. Elia Rodriguez is typical of the people who have consulted the center and ended up making El Centro a part of their lives". Elia's parents forbid their daughter to go to El Centro de la Raza when she was younger because of politics, but Elia stated that she found herself in need and no where else to go for help. El Centro de la Raza staff not only helped her with her immediate needs of being a single mother without a job, but also helped her emotionally.

At ten years old El Centro de la Raza received a $250,000 renovation of the building and had 46 staff members. During the late 1970s the Centro employees had switched to collective leadership to ensure staff members were paid equitably. Construction began on Santos Rodriguez Children's Park which became Washington's State first public park named after a Chicano. [26] The flier from the dedication of Santos Rodriguez Mini Park describes the death of a young Chicano of only 12 years who died after being shot by a white police officer in Dallas, Texas. "The workers of El Centro have named our children's park Santos Rodriguez, not only in memory of this young victim of racism, but in defiance of the society that caused his death, and confident that we will win in our efforts to do away with racism".[27] The memory of Santos Rodriguez is one of many things that lives on at El Centro de la Raza.

III. Conclusion

The history of the Latino community in Seattle and in the Rainier Valley is deeply rooted with the founding of El Centro de la Raza. Before El Centro's existence Seattle's Latino Community was invisible. 37 years after the occupation, there still remains a battle for voices to

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[25] AMPARO "AMPARO "Refuge" One for One" Undated Brochure
[26] Feeney, Sheila Anne, "El Centro: The Chicano center celebrates 10 years of battles, victories" *Seattle Times,* October 8, 1982.
[27] El Centro de la Raza "Santos Rodriguez Mini Park" Dedication Brochure. Undated.

be heard. Although this report attempts to fill some gaps in history, there is still much work to be done.

There are family legacies that are deeply tied to El Centro and the example of Enrique Gonzalez's family is one of them. Gonzalez was profiled in 2008 in the South Seattle Residents Guide. He is currently the Executive Assistant at El Centro de la Raza. In the article he speaks of his parents' arrival to Seattle from Mexico. Gonzalez's grandmother and father were present at the occupation of El Centro. He was enrolled at Jose Marti Child Development Center as well as involved in El Centro's Youth programs until he graduated high school. He then went on to the University of Washington, graduated and immediately returned to El Centro de la Raza to work as a youth case manager before taking on his current role. "I never really feel like I leave home....We always try to leave people more empowered than when we first met them, and that's what we try to do at the center. Our tragedies are our motivation; our inspiration to work for a better world, and, ironically where we find the courage to keep moving." [28]

Prior to coming to live in Seattle in 2008, I recall sitting in a community college politics course in California in 2003 watching a documentary on a Chicano Community Center in Seattle. I remember the footage of the children of Jose Marti singing and being amazed of how an organization from that time period could still exist. I wondered how many Chicana/os had made their way to the Pacific Northwest. I thought how great it would be to see a place like El Centro de la Raza in person. I never imagined that one day I would be here. The first thing I did when I knew I would be moving to Seattle was to find out of El Centro de la Raza was still in Seattle. Although I did not grow up here, I recognize the history of a community here is also a part of me which is why I sought the Centro when I moved here and I was welcomed home.

If the history of El Centro de la Raza is not preserved then we lose history that does not only belong to El Centro, but to the Latino community of Seattle, a history that needs to be shared with many others. Future generations need to know what role El Centro de la Raza had in shaping the lives of Latinos in Seattle. That is why El Centro de la Raza is still here, fighting and inspiring future generations to help create what Martin Luther King Jr. calls our "beloved community".

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[28] Hansen, Erik, "Growing from a legacy of struggle to forge a future of hope" *South Seattle Residents Guide 2008-Beacon Hill* News *& South District Journal.*

Annotated Bibliography: Latino Heritage in Southeast Seattle

Books

Gamboa, Erasmo. Mexican Labor and World War II: Braceros in the Pacific Northwest, 1942-1947. University of Texas Press, 1990.

Gamboa's book offers a history of Braceros and Mexican Labor. In order to trace the history of Latinos in Seattle it becomes important to first see the migration to the Northwest as early Mexican migration to Seattle was mainly because of farmworkers leaving jobs in the fields to work for better opportunities in the city.

Garcia, Jerry, Gilberto Garcia, Eds. Memory Community, and Activism: Mexican Migration and Labor in the Pacific Northwest. Michigan State University Press, 2005.

Much like Gamboa's work, this piece helps inform the history of Mexican migration. The essay by Jerry Garcia on Japanese and Mexican Labor is very informative.

Johansen, Bruce, Roberto Maestas. El Pueblo: The Gallegos Family's American Journey 1503-1980. Monthly Review Press, 1983.

If El Centro had an early history book, this would be it. Roberto Gallego's was a founding member of El Centro, but he was also an early migrant to Seattle from the fields of Yakima. This book was necessary to gain insight on the history of Latinos in Seattle before El Centro was founded.

Merrell, Fredrica, Mira Latoszek. Seattle's Beacon Hill. Arcadia Publishing, 2003.

This book offers a general history of El Centro de la Raza in the last chapter. The photos in the book state they are property of El Centro and give a good range of history through photographs of important events at El Centro.

News Articles

Duncan, Don, "Salvadoran's plight: Stay and live, return to die" *Seattle Times*, February 20 1982.

Background on the situation in El Salvador and the refugees who came to Seattle. Also mentions the immigration attorney on Beacon Hill who provided many people with assistance during this time.

Feeney, Sheila Anne, "El Centro: The Chicano Center Celebrates 10 years of battles, victories" *Seattle Times*, October 8, 1982, Sec. C.

Article on the 10th anniversary of El Centro de la Raza.

Gelernter, Carey, “Cuban, Chicano problems continue at El Centro” *Seattle Times*, August 10, 1980.

Highlights the differences between Cuban migrants and those fleeing from civil war in Latin America and the differences in the way the two groups are treated or either welcomed as immigrants while others are not.

Hansen, Erik, “Growing from a legacy of struggle to forge a future of hope” *South Seattle Residents Guide*, 2008.

The story of Enrique Gonzalez and how he came to work at El Centro is part of a history of his family’s migration to Seattle from Mexico.

Johansen, Bruce, “Chicanos vow holdout, seek lease, renovation” *Seattle Times*, October 14, 1972.

Describes the battle with the city to get a lease and funds for the renovation of El Centro de la Raza.

Johansen, Bruce, “Take-over on Beacon Hill” *Seattle Times*, October 15, 1972.

Describes the occupation of El Centro de la Raza.

Johansen, Bruce, “Chicano bid for school hits snag” *Seattle Times*, October 29, 1972.

The continued battle with the school board to secure the Centro.

Quintana, Joe, “Invisible Minority: Looking for Seattle’s Latin Culture” *Seattle Times*, June 23, 1985, Pacific Magazine

This article was one of the most useful because the reporter interviewed older Latinos about their experiences in Seattle and got their first hand accounts of what life was like in Seattle.

Seattle Times “Chicano school take-over spurs city into action” *Seattle Times*, October 12, 1972

This article didn’t have the author’s name listed. Only article I found that was published the day after the occupation.

Sperry, Sam, “City to lease school to Chicanos” *Seattle Times*, October 17, 1972.

The city council had agreed to lease El Centro for one dollar as long as the leadership of El Centro decide to use it to serve the people.

Organizational Publications

“Amparo “Refugee” One for One” Undated Brochure.

Brochure from an organization on Beacon Hill in the 1980s that assisted Salvadoran refugees fleeing the civil war.

"Chicano Experience in America." Department of Human Rights, City of Seattle, 1975.

This pamphlet was not specific to Seattle, however it proves that the city or people that worked in the city in 1975 may have felt a need to publish such a document. There are poems from Chicano movement leaders as well as descriptions of farmworker struggles. A few pages talks about the discrimination that Chicanos face and what that means in "Anglo America".

"El Centro de la Raza 3348028 Seattle Model City Program." Primo Valenzuela and Bernard Salazar. Seattle Model City Program, December 1972.

This is the original grant that was written so that El Centro de la Raza could get money for it's intial renovation in order to meet codes to keep the building. El Centro de la Raza, "Santos Rodriguez Mini Park" Dedication Brochure, Undated

History of the name behind the Children's Park at El Centro de la Raza.

"Hispanic Planning Services Task Force Report." Concilio for the Spanish Speaking, 1979.

The report by the Hispanic Task Force was useful in seeing where Latinos were at in terms of services being met by the City at this particular time. The Task Force seemed to represent a wide range of people/interests and they criticized the city for it's lack of support even to the committee as they attempted to put together this report.

Johansen, Bruce, Roberto Maestas. "The Creation of Washington's Latino Community: 1935-1980." El Centro de la Raza, 1981.

A brochure put out by El Centro de la Raza that uses excerpts from a book by the same authors. The brochure addresses important questions as to why immigrants came to Washington and Seattle. There is a good section on the history of El Centro that also provides an estimate of the population of Latinos at the time.

Sepulveda, Sergio, Ralph A. Loomis. "Spanish Speaking Migrants in Seattle, Washington." Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, Washington State University, March 1973.

This document is one of the earliest ones attempting to gain data and insight on Latinos in Seattle, broadly defined as Spanish Speaking migrants. Useful for background information, but lacks specifics as to the population of Seattle at the time. (Seattle Room - Seattle Public Library)

Websites

El Centro de la Raza. http://www.elcentrodelaraza.com/index.htm

Latinos and Seattle Civil Rights History. http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/Latinos.htm