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Arturo J. Aldama, Elisa Facio, Daryl Maeda, and Reiland Rabaka

Editors' Introduction: Where Is the Color in the Colorado Borderlands?

A rich mosaic of histories and cultures converges within the borderlands of Colorado. Situated on what was the northernmost boundary of Mexico prior to the U.S.-Mexico War of 1846–1848, the state of Colorado forms part of what many scholars call the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands—a zone in which collisions structured by forces of race, nation, class, gender, and sexuality inevitably lead to the transformation of cultures and the emergence of new identities.¹ The impetus for this volume of scholarship arises, first, out of a deep and profound respect for the struggles of communities of color to forge or maintain a cultural and political space in the Colorado portion of the borderlands. Second, it comes from the need to honor scholarship that strives to tell the stories of communities of color in Colorado. These communities consist of the original denizens—Utes, Cheyenne, Arapahoe, Kiowa, and Apaches—displaced and sometimes massacred by the Anglo-American empire and expansionism. (Unfortunately, despite our best efforts, this volume does not address Native communities.)² They also consist of Colorado's Mexican, Hispano, and Chicano families and their complex mestizo (fusion of Spanish and Indian) identities as revealed through ritual, song, architecture, food, and dance. The book is also driven by the need to tell the stories of the arrival of African

American miners, cowboys, and “freedom” seekers in the “free towns” of northern Colorado; the hard work of Chinese miners and businesspeople; the sexual violence Chinese women endured, forced to function as “exotic” spectacles in the businesses of burlesque and prostitution; and the ways Japanese American families resisted their structural criminalization and forced incarceration during World War II.

Despite Colorado’s remarkable ethnic, cultural, and racial diversity, the state’s dominant narrative—expressed in museums, murals, and history tours—often reflects an Anglo-centric perspective that begins with the 1859 Pike’s Peak Gold Rush and the establishment of statehood in 1876.³ For example, the historical museum at the Arvada Center for the Arts and Humanities features the restored 144-year-old Haines log house. The museum extols the history, virtues, and struggles of European wheat farmers but overshadows the history of the original indigenous communities and Mexican families. This exhibit reifies a Eurocentric history that marginalizes the Cheyenne Arapahoe and later Mexican families as insignificant actors in Colorado’s history. Similarly, the heavily trafficked Garden of the Gods visitor center in Colorado Springs focuses on the area’s geology and the “discovery” of what is now called Pikes Peak but relegates the legacies of Colorado’s indigenous and Mexican peoples to a few photos and objects on the lower level. As these examples show, Colorado’s diversity has yet to be fully integrated into public histories of the state.

Enduring Legacies aims to complicate the study of Colorado’s past and present by adopting a borderlands perspective that emphasizes the multiplicity of peoples who have inhabited its territory, the diversity of cultures they have practiced, and the various ways they have contended with racism. In doing so, this volume draws on an extensive corpus of borderlands scholarship that highlights the intersections of race, nation, culture, and power in the contact zone between what is now the United States and Mexico. This literature has impacted studies of states like California, Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico but has yet to be extended to considerations of Colorado.

Borderlands scholarship has affected fields such as American studies, ethnic studies, history, anthropology, literary studies, and Chicana and Chicano studies. Foundational texts include Américo Paredes’s “*With His Pistol In His Hand*”: *A Border Ballad and Its Hero* (1970), which charts unequal power relations in turn-of-the-century Texas through the story of Gregorio Cortez; Hector Calderón, José Saldívar, and Ramón Saldívar’s anthology, *Criticism in the Borderlands: Studies in Chicano Literature, Culture, and Ideology* (1991), which brings post-structural theory to bear on borderlands literary and cultural pro-

ductions; and Gloria Anzaldúa's widely influential *Borderlands/Frontera: The New Mestiza* (2nd edition, 1999), which is grounded in her family's history of dispossession in southern Texas and her struggle for mixed racial, as well as cultural and sexual, identities. Key historical studies include Rodolfo Acuña's *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos* (2009), which spans the borderlands history of the Southwest from before the U.S.-Mexico War to the present; and Vicki L. Ruiz's *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in the 20th Century* (1999), which examines women leaders of Mexican descent in social struggles for equality, labor, and justice.

While the majority of U.S. and Mexico borderland studies have focused primarily on Mexican American histories, struggles for identity, and cultural survival, *Enduring Legacies* not only expands the geographic space of scholarly attention but also provides a comparative venue for examining Asian Americans and African Americans in the U.S. and Mexico borderlands. Their experiences are distinct, yet they overlap with those of Chicanas and Chicanos in terms of immigration, racism, and self-determination—as seen with Chinese miners, Chinese women forced into prostitution in Denver, Japanese American farmers, and African Americans fleeing the violence of slavery and Jim Crow codes. In presenting narratives of experience in a comparative frame that complicates Eurocentric narratives of Colorado history, *Enduring Legacies* continues the comparative analysis Tomás Almaguer pioneered in his highly regarded history of California, *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (2nd edition, 2008). It also dialogues with the New Western History, inaugurated with Patty Limerick's award-winning study *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (1987), which portrays the West as a colonized space characterized by inescapable interracial contact and conflict.

While a growing number of scholarly monographs discuss specific communities of color in Colorado—including Japanese American, Utes, and Chicanos—this volume is the first to bring together comparative scholarship on historical and contemporary issues that span groups including Chicanas and Chicanos, African Americans, and Asian Americans.⁴ The combined essays in this volume examine the histories of struggle, survival, and resistance shared by diverse peoples. Methodologically, the selections in this volume weave a rich interdisciplinary tapestry that draws from historical studies, educational history, literature, ethnographies, archival work, architecture, cultural anthropology, visual studies, legal studies, policy studies, and ethnomusicology.

The history of struggle by communities of color in Colorado includes Hispano families attempting to maintain their land grants after Mexico ceded

much of the state to the United States through the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (1848). More recent highlights include the civil rights struggles of Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzalez and the Crusade for Justice's fight for youth rights, equal access to higher education, and voting rights and against poverty, segregation, and police brutality;⁵ the ongoing work of Colorado's AIM (American Indian Movement) to protest the annual Columbus Day Parade in Denver, which is linked to the struggle for human rights for all indigenous peoples; the battles for political empowerment of African American communities, from the Garvey-influenced "free towns" in northern Colorado to the Black Panthers in Denver; and the movements for equality mounted by Chinese and Japanese Americans in Colorado.

Despite our best efforts to secure essays on the history of American Indian nations and communities in Colorado, we were unable to obtain any chapters on the state's original denizens. It is our strongest hope that in the future, comparative volumes on the Colorado borderlands will include a strong body of interdisciplinary scholarship on Colorado's Ute, Comanche, Apache, Cheyenne-Arapahoe, and Kiowa communities, as well as studies of the urban Indian cultural centers in Denver and the pan-Indian communities throughout the state.

The book comprises three chronologically divided parts: Early Struggles, Pre-1960s Colorado, and Contemporary Issues. These parts show how Colorado's racial, ethnic, and cultural histories changed broadly over time. However, it is also important to understand the uniqueness of Asian American, African American, and Chicana and Chicano experiences. Thus, the subject-area introductions that follow discuss each ethnic/racial group across all the historical periods that divide the book. Each introduction includes a brief overview of the historical legacies, population demographics, and contemporary issues of one ethnic/racial community in the Colorado borderlands and then discusses how each particular chapter fills a scholarly lacuna. Both the chronological and ethnic/racial perspectives are necessary to comprehend the complexity of the tapestry of voices and community histories that make up Colorado's diverse ethno-cultural landscape.

ASIAN AMERICANS IN THE COLORADO BORDERLANDS

Asian Americans have a long and varied history in Colorado, dating to the time before it became the Centennial State. They have played key roles in developing Colorado's industries and agriculture, and an examination of their experiences reveals much about the state and its racial politics. The first Asian arrival in Colorado, recorded in 1869, was an anonymous Chinese

immigrant known only by the generic epithet “John Chinaman.”⁶ As historian William Wei speculates, “John” was likely drawn to the United States as part of the wave of Chinese immigrants who initially sought riches in California’s Gold Rush and later found work constructing the railroads. More Chinese were drawn by dreams of finding gold in Colorado, and by 1880 the state was home to 612, who worked mainly as laborers, placer miners, and laundrymen.⁷ Although the Territorial Legislature initially welcomed the Chinese as a source of cheap labor, White workers in Colorado—as in the rest of the West—displayed virulent racism toward them. Anti-Chinese incidents ranging from threats and expulsions to mob violence occurred throughout the state, fueled by the yellow journalism of *The Rocky Mountain News*. The violence culminated in the Denver Riot of 1880, in which a crowd of 3,000 rampaged through “Hop Alley”—as the city’s Chinatown was pejoratively known by outsiders—leaving businesses ransacked and burned, many Chinese injured, and one dead.⁸

The earliest Japanese arrived in Colorado between 1886 and 1888, but the first large wave of Japanese immigrants from the Pacific Coast states arrived between 1903 and 1908. They worked most commonly as laborers, railroad workers, miners, farmhands, factory workers, and domestics.⁹ The state’s Japanese population increased from a scant 48 in 1900 to around 2,300 in 1910 according to official census figures, which probably represented an undercount.¹⁰ Japanese Coloradoans soon made agriculture a mainstay of their ethnic economy, farming in the Arkansas Valley, in the San Luis Valley, in western Colorado, and on the Front Range in communities such as Brighton, Fort Lupton, and Greeley. In 1909 an estimated 3,000 Japanese Americans worked the fields of Colorado, many as laborers on sugar beet farms north and east of Denver.¹¹ An urban community coalesced in Denver, where “Little Tokyo” featured Japanese restaurants, merchandise stores, small businesses, a laundry, barbershops, and several hotels; the area was home to over 800 residents who lived among Mexicans, African Americans, and assorted immigrants.¹²

Like the Chinese before them, the Japanese in Colorado were scorned as the “yellow peril,” subjected to violence, and excluded from union membership.¹³ *The Rocky Mountain News* and *The Denver Post* ran anti-Japanese stories and editorials beginning in 1901, and by 1908 the Colorado State Federation of Labor had formed a Japanese and Korean Exclusion League.¹⁴ During World War II, Colorado was home to thousands of Japanese Americans expelled from the West Coast. During a brief period in which Japanese Americans could “voluntarily” relocate, a number headed for Colorado. Despite widespread anti-Japanese sentiment, Governor Ralph L. Carr welcomed them, stating, “They

are as loyal to American institutions as you and I.”¹⁵ From 1942 to 1945, a concentration camp located in southeastern Colorado, known as the Granada Relocation Center (nicknamed Camp Amache), imprisoned over 7,500 Japanese Americans behind barbed wires.

After World War II, Colorado's Asian American population increased dramatically and diversified considerably in terms of ethnicity. Filipinos, Koreans, and Asian Indians began arriving in large numbers after 1965 as a result of the federal Immigration Reforms of 1965, which encouraged the entry of professionals into the United States. Vietnamese, Cambodian, Hmong, and other Southeast Asians migrated after the end of the Vietnam War in 1975 and the passage of a series of refugee resettlement acts. By 1980 Colorado's Asian/Pacific Islander population stood at 34,257, which represented 1.2 percent of the state's population.¹⁶ The most recent decennial census (2000) reported that 95,213 Asian Americans lived in Colorado, making up 2.2 percent of the state's population, with major ethnic groups including Asian Indians, Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, Koreans, Vietnamese, and “Others” (see Table I.1). When multiracial Asian Americans were included, the population rose to 120,779 (2.8% of the state's population).¹⁷

Table I.1. Colorado's Asian Population, 2000

<i>Ethnic Group</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Percentage of State's Population</i>
Asian Indian	11,720	0.3
Chinese	15,658	0.4
Filipino	8,941	0.2
Japanese	11,571	0.3
Korean	16,395	0.4
Vietnamese	15,457	0.4
Other Asian 1	15,471	0.4
Total	95,213	2.2

Source: 2000 Census.

Asian Americans in Colorado currently tend to be clustered in the Greater Denver metropolitan area. The vast majority reside in Arapahoe, Denver, Jefferson, Adams, Boulder, and Douglas counties, with substantial populations also in El Paso and Larimer counties. Businesses and ethnic institutions—vital components of flourishing Asian American communities—are concentrated in Sakura Square and the Alameda/Federal area of Denver and in Aurora. The poverty rate among Asians in Colorado was 10.7 percent in 2000, com-

pared with 18.4 percent for Hispanics, 14.7 percent for African Americans, and 7.4 percent for Whites—although it ranged as high as 18.8 percent among Cambodians and 14.0 percent for Hmong.¹⁸ The state's Asian American population continues to grow rapidly, both in terms of raw numbers and proportionate to the state's total population. According to the most recent estimate by the United States Census Bureau (dated July 1, 2006), Asians in Colorado numbered around 156,035, representing approximately 3.3 percent of the state's population and 1 percent of the national Asian American population.¹⁹ As their presence grows, Asian Americans will undoubtedly play an increasing role in Colorado's culture, politics, and economy.

Several chapters in this collection shed new light on Asian Americans in Colorado by focusing on the roles they have played, both in the popular imagination and in building the state. In "Representations of Nineteenth-Century Chinese Prostitutes and Chinese Sexuality in the American West," William Wei explores how mainstream antagonism toward Chinese immigrants was frequently expressed through depictions of aberrant Chinese sexuality, particularly by sensationalizing prostitution. Although Chinese were never numerous in Colorado, they were targets of hatred and violence, including the Denver Riot of 1880, which left Chinatown devastated and one Chinese American dead. Furthermore, they were the subjects of an extensive campaign of yellow journalism that portrayed them as exotic and lawless, representations that Wei shows continue to resonate in current cinema.

While Wei examines the racialization and sexualization of Asian Americans' bodies, Jessica Arntson's chapter, "Journey to Boulder," recounts the lost history of Japanese Americans who made vital contributions to building the state and its institutions. Arntson examines the Japanese American instructors at the Navy Japanese Language School in Boulder, Colorado. During World War II, this remarkable group of individuals, although branded as less than American by their nation, nevertheless provided an invaluable service to the U.S. war effort. They and their families made concerted efforts to demonstrate their loyalty to the United States, and a public relations campaign conducted by university, military, and city officials smoothed initial resistance to their presence in Boulder. As Arntson shows, not only did the Japanese American language instructors aid the war effort by training interpreters, translators, and interrogators, but their efforts were highly influential in building U.S.-Japan understanding in the postwar years.

Arntson's focus on the University of Colorado pairs well with David M. Hays's essay, which shows that the struggle for equality had to be waged even in the putatively liberal college town of Boulder. His narrative of a civil rights

campaign at the University of Colorado and the surrounding community highlights the complex alliance between Black, Japanese American, and Jewish students and their White allies, including students, faculty, and administrators. In examining this grassroots movement, Hays demonstrates that civil rights have long been more than simply a Black and White issue, that the American West was a complicated political terrain, and that movements for equality occurred long before the 1960s.

AFRICAN AMERICANS IN THE AMERICAN WEST

African Americans migrated to the West in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries because, according to historian Quintard Taylor, it represented their “last best hope” to escape racial oppression and economic exploitation in the South, the Northeast, and the Midwest.²⁰ Colorado was second only to California in terms of Black migration to the West during this pivotal period. Perhaps surprisingly, during and after the Civil War, African Americans were welcomed by the early White settlers of the free territory and, ultimately, the state of Colorado in ways Native Americans and Asian immigrants were not.²¹ Our colleague and one of the contributors to this volume, William King, has elsewhere written that during this period “Whites viewed Blacks as superior to the Chinese and Native Americans who were believed to be heathens or savages because of the strange languages and unfamiliar cultures. Blacks were treated less harshly than either the Italian or Chinese populations.”²² Yet what African Americans found in the West was not *their* “American Dream” but rather a dream that was, in the weighted words of Langston Hughes, “deferred.”²³ While none of the western states participated in slavery, each eventually developed its own brand of anti-Black racism.²⁴ As historian Roger Hardaway emphasizes, African Americans’ efforts to integrate were often unwelcome, and they “usually settled together—in parts of existing cities, in all-Black towns, and in agricultural colonies.”²⁵ Colorado proved not to be the “promised land” of freedom, but conditions in the state were still better than those in the East and the South.

According to the census data, no African Americans were residing in the territory of Colorado in 1850. The African American population grew from 46 of a total population of 34,277 in 1860 to 456 of a total population of 39,221 in 1870. Between 1870 and 1900, Colorado’s African American population ballooned from 456 to 8,570.²⁶ Not all African Americans who immigrated to Colorado during the post-Reconstruction period settled in its two top urban areas, Denver and Pueblo. Because many were farmers, ranchers, and miners, they gravitated toward Colorado’s high plains and parched prairies. At the

turn of the twentieth century, 5,236 African Americans lived in cities, while 3,334 resided in rural areas.²⁷

African Americans in Colorado enjoyed better educational and occupational opportunities than their counterparts in other parts of the country. Statistics on African American literacy levels indicate that Black children received an education comparable to that of White children in urban areas of Colorado after the turn of the twentieth century.²⁸ From their humble beginnings as cowboys and buffalo soldiers in the mid-nineteenth century, African Americans went on to engage in occupations ranging from farmers and field hands to entrepreneurs and entertainers, from doctors and lawyers to politicians and police officers. These opportunities led to a nearly twenty-fold increase in the African American population in Colorado, from 8,570 in 1900 to 165,063 in 2000.²⁹ The booming businesses in the Denver metropolitan area and the military bases in Colorado Springs were major draws for African Americans coming to Colorado, who contributed to almost every major episode in African American history: from the Black Women's Club Movement and the Harlem Renaissance to the Civil Rights and Black Power movements.³⁰

The chapters on Black experiences in this volume fill a scholarly void in African American studies, which has tended to focus chiefly on the South and on urban areas on the East and West coasts but rarely on the Rocky Mountain and Southwest regions.³¹ In "Dearfield, Colorado," George Junne and his coauthors reconstruct the lost history of Colorado's premier Black settlement and explain why African Americans found the state attractive despite the presence of white supremacist organizations. Citing the impact of Booker T. Washington and Marcus Garvey on the settlement, Junne and colleagues suggest that Dearfield could potentially serve as a model for contemporary Black liberation, self-determination, and self-reliance. Like Junne and his coauthors, Ronald Stephens argues that Garveyism was an important presence in Colorado. In "The Influence of Marcus Mosiah and Amy Jacques Garvey on the Rise of Garveyism in Colorado," he highlights African Americans' search for a "homeland" in an American West that was also home to groups such as the Ku Klux Klan. Furthermore, he shows how Coloradoans reinvented Garveyism to make it address the particular needs of Blacks in the American West.

William King's "'So They Say': Lieutenant Earl W. Mann's World War II *Colorado Statesman* Columns" examines an underappreciated Black legislator (who served in the Colorado House of Representatives from 1943 to 1954), civic leader, and newspaper columnist. King shows that Mann's advocacy for African

Americans extended to other disenfranchised groups in Colorado, including Japanese Americans, as well as the physically and mentally challenged. While admitting that we may not agree with Mann's stances in every instance, King contends that he deserves wider recognition and critical reappraisal.

In "Toward a Critical Theory of the African American West," Reiland Rabaka provides a broad overview of the history, nature, and tasks of theory in African American (and the emerging Africana) studies. The express intent is to demonstrate that African American studies has matured to the point where it can shift (albeit not completely) from grand or macro-narratives preoccupied with the national African American experience to micro-narratives focused on regional or local African American experiences. Although more and more micro-narratives are being produced in African American studies, many of these works are marred by their often uncritical reliance on Eurocentric and white supremacist perspectives and theories. This chapter puts forward a critical theory of the African American West, which highlights the wide range and wide reach not simply of the African American experience in the West but also of the theories and research methods African American studies (among other) scholars and students employ to critically engage African Americans and their distinct history, culture, and contributions to the American West.

FROM HISPANOS TO CHICANAS AND CHICANOS

People of Mexican ancestry have occupied the Colorado borderlands since the seventeenth century. This chapter uses the terms "Hispano" and "Chicana/Chicano" to refer to people of Mexican ancestry. Families of Mexican origin called themselves Hispanos for hundreds of years; even today, many families in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado who have multi-generational lineages in the same area continue to use that terminology, as do many people who grew up prior to the 1960s. During the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, the term "Chicano" became a cultural and political proclamation used to denote ethnic pride, working-class consciousness, and a reference to the indigenous roots of Mexican ancestry.³² The early Hispano settlers in what was northern New Mexico and is now southern Colorado were subjects first of the Spanish Crown and later of Mexico, after it gained independence in 1821. Between 1833 and 1843, the governor of New Mexico gave immense land grants that covered thousands of miles and are now entire counties in the state of Colorado to encourage families to move north, farm, herd their sheep, and continue the cultural and religious traditions of their ancestors. Some of the largest land grants include the Conejos, Sangre de Cristo, Baca, and Vigil, among others. Many Hispano families moved from the Taos area to the

San Luis area and created an agriculturally and culturally rich communal way of life. Anglo-Americans and even Canadians were also encouraged to settle these land grants, which covered 8 million acres in southern Colorado.³³

A common saying among Chicanos who have multi-generational family histories in southern Colorado, New Mexico, and other parts of the Southwest (Texas, California, and Arizona) is “We did not cross the border. The border crossed us.” Indeed, the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, which formally ended the U.S.-Mexico War of 1846–1848, resulted in Mexico ceding its Northern Territories to the United States in exchange for \$15 million. The treaty guaranteed that land rights, religious and cultural customs, and the Mexicans’ Spanish language were to be respected and that the new Mexican Americans were to be afforded the full rights of U.S. citizenship and the protections of the United States Constitution. However, from the 1850s to the early 1900s, most Mexican-owned land in what is now the Southwest was lost to newly arrived Euro-American businessmen and families through litigation, force, coercion, sale, intermarriage, and squatters rights. Thus, as historian David Gutierrez argues, “[T]he ethnic Mexican population of the region was slowly but surely relegated to an inferior, caste-like status in the region’s evolving social system.”³⁴

The Hispanic population of what is now Colorado is difficult to determine with precision. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, their numbers were small. However, the mid-nineteenth century experienced a huge population growth, particularly in the San Luis Valley. The authors of *Colorado: A History of the Centennial State* argue that “The Spanish-speaking population along the upper Rio Grande experienced a minor population explosion in the early nineteenth century. Perhaps 16,000–20,000 strong in the 1790s, they totaled nearly 60,000 by 1850.”³⁵

Since statehood, Hispanas and Hispanos have been the largest non-Anglo/Euro-American group in Colorado. The decennial U.S. census has proven to be an inconsistent measure of Hispano demographics (or “Hispanics,” to use the U.S. Census Bureau’s terminology), in part because Hispanics were counted as White until the 1940s. The 1940 census counted 92,549 Hispanic-origin residents; by 1970 their numbers had increased to 255,994 and by 1990 to 424,302. In 2000 there were 735,601 Hispanic or Latino residents in Colorado, almost 18 percent of the state’s total population. Around 450,760 of these Latinos were of Mexican origin. In 2007 the Latino portion of Colorado’s population increased to 19.5 percent. Colorado’s demographics reflect the national numbers, as Latinos make up the largest group of residents of the United States after non-Hispanic Whites. The U.S. Census Bureau estimated on July 1, 2006,

that 44.3 million residents of the United States were of Hispanic descent, representing 15 percent of the national population; 65 percent of these Latino residents were of Mexican origin. Colorado currently has the eighth-largest Hispanic population of any U.S. state.

Hispano culture reflects the racial and cultural *mestizaje* (mixture) or hybridity of Spanish colonial cultures, languages, and mores with indigenous (Pueblo, Apache, Navajo, and Ute, among others) customs in food, architecture, religious practices, clothing, and worldviews. Southern Colorado, especially the San Luis Valley, represents a core of the Hispano-Mexicano legacy in its architecture, ethnic makeup, food, language, customs, and rural lifestyle, even though many former residents have left this once thriving agricultural and cultural center for jobs in the cities. Several chapters in this book discuss the Hispano and mestizo legacies of the early period in terms of the visual arts, music, and architecture.

In "Pictorial Narratives of San Luis, Colorado: Legacy, Place and Politics," Suzanne P. MacAulay argues that contemporary visual and material culture reflects the historical legacies of Hispano communities in San Luis by examining how embroidery narratives and murals reflect a communal archive of the Mexican and mestiza/o (mixed race) denizens of San Luis. Her chapter considers how the layering of history, ancestral legacies, and cultural values is reflected in Hispano-Chicano public folk art practices.

Continuing Macaulay's discussion into the foundational myths of miracles in Santiago and San Acacio, folklorist Enrique Lamadrid discusses the history of *mestizaje* and conflict among the Utes, Pueblos, Spanish, and mixed race Hispanos in "Santiago and San Acacio, Foundational Legends of Conquest and Deliverance: New Mexico, 1599, and Colorado, 1853." The chapter "The Music of Colorado and New Mexico's Río Grande" by Lorenzo A. Trujillo, assistant dean of the Law School at the University of Colorado, Boulder, and a member of one of Colorado's best-known Chicano musical families, charts the historical legacy of music as a cultural text and its synchrony of historical identity and cultural survival. Trujillo provides a fascinating description of the historical evolution of Río Grande Chicano/Hispano music and dance in Colorado and New Mexico, dating from the medieval period (1100–1400) to the early 1900s and to contemporary Chicano musical practices of the Colorado borderlands. Architectural scholar Phillip Gallegos continues the discussion of cultural mixing in "Religious Architecture in Colorado's San Luis Valley." He argues that church architecture reveals *mestizaje* and shows how studying the material culture of buildings can provide a sense of the values, cultural legacies, and worldviews of the Mexican settlers who arrived in Colorado during the 1800s.

The next group of chapters addresses racial stratification, criminalization, exploitation, and resistance in rural and urban contexts. David Sandoval documents how Hispano communities struggled against race and class oppression in the early twentieth century, noting that racism toward Colorado's Mexican population and their relegation to harsh working conditions in the agricultural and railroad industries caused many Mexicans to question their racial ethnic heritage and identity. But in response to the psychic trauma of self-doubt or internalized racism, a number of *mutualista* societies (community self-help organizations) arose to protect the civil rights and cultural heritage of Mexican people.

"Latina Education and Life in Rural Southern Colorado, 1920–1945" by Bernadette Garcia Galvez recovers the voices of Hispanas (Chicanas, in more engaged and current nomenclature) in the historically and culturally important but overlooked Huerfano County. Her chapter looks at the ways race, class, and gender intersected to prevent women of Mexican or mestiza descent from taking full advantage of educational opportunities, regardless of their talent or motivation. By examining these women's sense of agency, Garcia provides witness to the testimony of mestiza lives that challenge offensive stereotypes of Mexican indolence and disdain toward education.

To address issues of racialization, urban segregation, police violence, and the pervasiveness of the Ku Klux Klan in Colorado politics and in Denver's daily life, Robert Durán's "Racism, Resistance, and Repression: The Creation of Denver Gangs, 1924–1950" provides a compelling look at the criminalization of Chicana/o youth. While much scholarship and attention has been paid to the 1942–1943 Zootsuit Riots and the criminalization of zootsuiters in California,³⁶ this is the first major chapter that discusses zootsuiters, *pachucos*, and *pachucas* in Colorado.

Helen Girón's autobiographical essay, "When Geronimo Was Asked Who He Was, He Replied, I am an Apache," reflects the confluence of indigenous and Chicana/Chicano peoples in Colorado's urban environs. Her Apache family's removal from the reservation and insertion into an urban assimilation program resulted in Girón growing up among Chicanas and Chicanos and developing a bimodal political consciousness with Chicana/o and urban Indian issues. While the intention of the 1953 Termination Act was to motivate Indian peoples—in her case the Apaches—to leave the reservation, assimilate into a White American culture, and live the "American Dream," Girón assimilated more readily into Chicana/o culture because of her skin color, shared issues of poverty, racism, and geographic proximity. As an Apache woman, she maintains and celebrates her Apache identity and

challenges other Chicana/os to recognize their indigenous identities, which are sometimes subsumed by over-identification with Spanish and Hispano heritages.

Colorado gained national prominence for its central and defining role in the Chicano Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s–1970s. Through the multifaceted struggles of the Crusade for Justice, led by the charismatic Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzalez and his extended family and close friends, programs dedicated to implementing social justice in the educational system, labor, housing, health, and the arts were implemented to contribute to the political and cultural well-being of Chicanos and all oppressed peoples in Colorado.³⁷ For example, the Denver Youth Leadership Conference gathered young Chicanas and Chicanos from all over the United States to affirm their cultural values, histories, languages, and indigenous legacies in ways that mirrored Black Panther and the American Indian Movement’s calls for education, self- and community empowerment, and community self-determination.

The next group of chapters examines histories, cultures, and politics in Colorado from the Civil Rights Era to the present. “(Re)constructing Chicana *Movimiento* Narratives at CU Boulder, 1968–1978” by Elisa Facio seeks to fill an important lacuna on Chicana political organizing by recovering the herstory of activism at CU Boulder. This chapter highlights the crucial and often overlooked roles Chicana students played in political and community leadership, paying particular attention to how Chicanas engaged in community struggles not only at the university but also in urban contexts, including the Crusade for Justice’s Denver Youth Leadership Conference, and in rural contexts such as the land grant struggles in New Mexico and farmworker struggles throughout the Southwest. Similarly, Adriana Nieto’s chapter resuscitates the historical memory of Chicano lawyer Francisco “Kiko” Martínez, who fought against police brutality and hate crimes and for free speech and prisoners’ rights. Labeled an overzealous crusading attorney, he became the subject of racial intimidation and COINTELPRO-style tactics for his defense of the Chicano Movement in Colorado. Nieto argues that this important lawyer should be better recognized as a pioneer of Chicano activism.

Like frontline activists and grassroots organizers, social service agencies also sought to improve the physical and mental well-being of Coloradans of color. Ramon Del Castillo’s chapter considers how Southwest Denver Community Mental Health, a full-service agency directed by certified psychiatrists, decided to hire a prominent *curandera*, Diana Velazquez, to supplement its allopathic regimens with health *remedios* (remedies) grounded in the indigenous legacies of Chicana/o peoples.

Colorado is also a space/place of incredible cultural richness in terms of music, literature, theater, dance, and art. Several chapters in this volume pay tribute to particular musicians and poets and discuss how music can express Hispano-Chicano historical legacies in the state and how literary arts can intertwine with community-based struggles for civil rights and social justice. For example, “Pedagogical Practices of Liberation in Abelardo ‘Lalo’ Delgado’s Movement Poetry” provides a conceptual framework of Chicano Movement Poetry by deploying Paulo Freire’s concept of critical pedagogy. It considers how Lalo Delgado, one of Colorado’s most prominent and beloved cultural workers, created a poetic discourse that exposed the impact of oppressive cultural forces on Chicanas and Chicanos in the Southwest.

Peter Garcia’s “*Ay Que Lindo es Colorado*” is a case study of a popular Chicana singer, Michelle Lobato. Lobato’s music resonates with the Chicana/Chicano cultural renaissance of the 1970s, wherein musicians, dancers, thespians, poets, and other artists committed to reclaiming the Spanish language and relearning and reinventing long-standing cultural traditions and the arts. Garcia looks at the ways Lobato’s performances keep alive the musical legacies of the San Luis area and of Colorado’s Hispano-Chicano community.

Matthew Jenkins’s “Finding Courage: The Story of the Struggle to Retire the Adams State ‘Indian’” looks at how people of all ethnic backgrounds formed a coalition to stop the deeply offensive practice of using an Indian mascot at Adams State College in Alamosa. His analysis considers how stereotyped Indians comprise a part of the meta-history of the West and how he, as a White male ally, appreciated the opportunity to step out of the privilege of apathy and listen to Colorado’s Native and Chicana/Chicano voices. In this spirit, we encourage all members of U.S. society and residents of the state of Colorado—regardless of race, class, sexuality, and gender—to listen to the voices and stories of communities of color whose enduring legacies are intrinsic to the multifaceted character, history, and cultures of the Colorado borderlands.

CONCLUSION

The chapters in this book argue powerfully that any understanding of the borderlands of Colorado must necessarily take into consideration the histories, experiences, racializations, resistances, and cultural productions of African American, Asian American, and Chicana and Chicano communities. Furthermore, they suggest that these histories of race and resistance are ineluctably intertwined. Together, these chapters resuscitate the lost histories of people of color in Colorado, a state often wrongly thought of as

exclusively White. Not only do they show how each group was racialized in particular ways, but they also examine the resistance Chicana/os, African Americans, and Asian Americans mounted against the racial structures they faced. Collectively, these histories and ongoing struggles make up the enduring legacies of Colorado. We thank all the scholars who responded to our call for essays, and we hope this volume will be the first of many to produce knowledge about communities of color in the Colorado borderlands.

NOTES

1. Key texts in U.S. and Mexico borderlands studies include R. Acuña, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*, 7th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 2009); Patricia Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1987); Vicki Ruiz, *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Jose David Saldívar, *Border Matters: Remapping American Cultural Studies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

2. For readings, consider Peter Decker, *"The Utes Must Go!" American Expansion and the Removal of a People* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum, 2007); Virginia McConnell Simmons, *The Ute Indians of Utah, Colorado, and New Mexico* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2001); Stan Hoig, *The Sand Creek Massacre* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974); John Stands, *Cheyenne Memories* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

3. One notable exception is the Colorado Historical Society's important ongoing exhibit, *Tribal Paths: Colorado American Indians, 1500 to Today*.

4. In addition to the studies on American Indians in Colorado cited earlier, see Vincent C. De Baca, ed., *La Gente: Hispano History and Life in Colorado* (Denver: Colorado Historical Society, 1998) for an excellent collection of essays that chronicle Hispano-Chicano life in Colorado from the 1800s to the present. For key references in Asian American studies and African American studies in Colorado, see the remaining notes in this chapter.

5. See Ernesto B. Vigil, *The Crusade for Justice: Chicano Militancy and the Government's War on Dissent* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999).

6. William Wei, "History and Memory: The Story of Denver's Chinatown," *Colorado Heritage* (Autumn 2002): 3.

7. Population figures from United States Census Office, *Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census (July 1, 1880)* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1883), table V, "Population, by Race and by Counties: 1880, 1870, 1860," 382. Available at http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/1880a_v1-13.pdf. Accessed July 5, 2007. Occupations cited in Wei, "History and Memory," 8, and William Wei, "The Anti-Chinese Movement in Colorado: Interethnic Competition and Conflict on the Eve of Exclusion," in *Chinese America: History and Perspectives, 1995*, Marlon K. Hom, Him Mark Lai, et al., eds. (San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1995), 181–182.

8. Wei, "Anti-Chinese Movement," 180–193.
9. Bill Hosokawa, *Colorado's Japanese Americans: From 1886 to the Present* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2005), 22–27; Fumio Ozawa, *Japanese American Who's Who* (Denver: Colorado Times, 1954), quoted in Hosokawa, 28–29.
10. 1940 Census, Colorado, table 4, "Race, by Nativity and Sex, for the State: 1850 to 1940," 694.
11. Russell Endo, "Japanese of Colorado: A Sociohistoric Portrait," *Journal of Social and Behavioral Sciences* 31 (Fall 1985): 102. The discrepancy between the 1909 and 1910 figures can be chalked up to the difficulties of enumerating a non-English-speaking and partially migrant workforce.
12. John deYoung, "A Preliminary Survey of the Adjustment of Japanese Evacuees in Denver," (1943): 2–4, Bancroft Library, MSS 67/19c.
13. Carl Abbot, Stephen J. Leonard, and David McComb, *Colorado: A History of the Centennial State*, 3rd ed. (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1994), 211–213.
14. Endo, "Japanese of Colorado," 103.
15. Hosokawa, *Colorado's Japanese Americans*, 87.
16. United States Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population*. Vol. 1: *Characteristics of the Population* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office), table 194, "Nativity, Place of Birth, and Citizenship by Age, Race, and Spanish Origin: 1980," 7-7. Available at http://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/1980a_coD-01.pdf. Accessed June 27, 2007.
17. American FactFinder. Available at http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/QTTable?_bm=y&-geo_id=04000US08&-qr_name=DEC_2000_SF1_U_DP1&-ds_name=DEC_2000_SF1_U. Accessed June 27, 2007.
18. American FactFinder. Available at http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/SAFFFactsCharliteration?_event=&geo_id=04000US08&-geoContext=01000US%7C04000US08&-street=&-county=&-cityTown=&-state=04000US08&-zip=&-lang=en&-sse=on&ActiveGeoDiv=&-useEV=&pctxt=fph&pgsl=040&-submenuId=factsheet_2&-ds_name=DEC_2000_SAFF&-ci_nbr=029&-qr_name=DEC_2000_SAFF_R1040&-reg=DEC_2000_SAFF_R1040%3A029&-keyword=&-industry=. Accessed July 5, 2007.
19. Table 4, "Estimates of the Population by Race and Hispanic or Latino Origin for the United States and States: July 1, 2006 (SC-EST2006-04)" and table 5, "Estimates of the Population by Race Alone or in Combination and Hispanic or Latino Origin for the United States and States: July 1, 2006 (SC-EST2006-05)." Available at <http://www.census.gov/popest/states/asrh/SC-EST2006-04.html>. Accessed June 27, 2007.
20. Quintard Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the American West, 1528–1990* (New York: Norton, 1998), 17; see also Eugene H. Berwanger, *The West and Reconstruction* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981); Nell Irvin Painter, *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1986).
21. For further discussion, see M. Thomas Bailey, *Reconstruction in Indian Territory: A Study of Avarice, Discrimination, and Opportunism* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat, 1972); James F. Brooks, ed., *Confounding the Color Line: The Indian-Black Experience in North America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002); Arnoldo De León,

Racial Frontiers: Africans, Chinese, and Mexicans in Western America, 1848–1890 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002); Jack D. Forbes, *Black Africans and Native Americans: Color, Race, and Caste in the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Jack D. Forbes, *Africans and Native Americans: The Language of Race and the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993); Hosokawa, *Colorado's Japanese Americans*; Morgan Monceaux, *My Heroes, My People: African Americans and Native Americans in the West* (New York: Frances Foster Books, 1999); Jesse T. Moore Jr., "Seeking a New Life: Blacks in Post-Civil War Colorado," *Journal of Negro History* 78, 3 (1993): 166–187; Kenneth W. Porter, *The Black Seminoles: History of a Freedom-Seeking People* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996); Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1998); Ronald Takaki, *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in 19th-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

22. William King, *Going to Meet the Man: Denver's Last Legal Public Execution, 27 July 1886* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1990), 6.

23. Langston Hughes, "Harlem," in *The Collected Poems of Langston Hughes*, Arnold Rampersad, ed. (New York: Knopf, 1996), 426.

24. For further discussion of anti-Black racism in the American West, see Eugene H. Berwanger, *The Frontier against Slavery: Western Anti-Negro Prejudice and the Slavery Extension Controversy* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967); Michael A. Morrison, *Slavery and the American West: The Eclipse of Manifest Destiny and the Coming of the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); Howard Dodson, *In Motion: The African American Migration Experience* (Washington, DC: National Geographic Publishing, 2004). For the key text on "American apartheid," see Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

25. Roger D. Hardaway, "African American Communities on the Western Frontier," in *Community in the American West*, Stephen Tchudi, ed. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1999), 131.

26. Census data extracted from *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990, and by Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States*, Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, eds. (Washington, DC: Population Division, U.S. Census Bureau, 2002), Working Paper Series 56. Available at <http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0056.html>. Accessed July 19, 2007.

27. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1901), 1, part 1, LIX, cxxii.

28. *Ibid.*, table XCVI, ccvi. For further discussion, see Janet Cornelius, "'We Slipped and Learned to Read': Slave Accounts of the Literacy Process, 1830–1865," *Phylon* 44, 3 (1983): 171–186; Robert F. Engs, "Historical Perspectives on the Problem of Black Literacy," *Educational Horizon* 66, 1 (1987): 13–17; Price V. Fishback and John H. Baskin, "Narrowing the Black-White Gap in Child Literacy in 1910: The Roles of School Inputs and Family Inputs," *Review of Economics and Statistics* 73, 4 (1991): 725–728; Anne R. Gere and Sarah R. Robbins, "Gendered Literacy in Black and White: Turn-of-the-Century African American and European American Club Women's

Printed Texts," *Signs* 21, 3 (1996): 643–678; Carl F. Kaestle, *Literacy in the United States: Readers and Reading Since 1880* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); and Moore, "Seeking a New Life."

29. Census data extracted from *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990*.

30. For example, see Sue Armitage, Theresa Banfield, and Sarah Jacobus, "Black Women and Their Communities in Colorado," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies* 2, 2 (1977): 45–51; Lynda F. Dickson, "The Early Club Movement among Black Women in Denver, 1890–1925" (PhD diss., University of Colorado at Boulder, 1982); Lynda F. Dickson, "Toward a Broader Angle of Vision in Uncovering Women's History: Black Women's Clubs Revisited," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies* 9, 2 (1987): 62–68; Lynda F. Dickson, "Lifting as We Climb: African American Women's Clubs in Denver, 1880–1925," *Essays in Colorado History* 13 (1992): 69–98; Elizabeth Jameson and Susan Armitage, eds., *Writing the Range: Race, Class, and Culture in the Women's West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997); Ira de Augustine Reid, *The Negro Population of Denver, Colorado: A Survey of Its Economic and Social Status* (Denver: Lincoln Press, 1929); James P. Thogmorton, "The Urban League of Denver: A Study in Techniques of Accommodation" (MA thesis, University of Denver, 1951); Matthew C. Whitaker, *Race Work: The Rise of Civil Rights in the Urban West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007); Robert L. Zangrando, *The NAACP Crusade against Lynching, 1909–1950* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980).

31. Furthermore, Black/African American/Africana studies work has been overly focused on men and heterosexuality. For further discussion on the need to expand the foci, see Delores Aldridge, "Women in the Development of Africana Studies," in *The Handbook of Black Studies*, Molefi Asante and Maulana Karenga, eds. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2006), 51–66; Delores Aldridge and Carlene Young, eds., *Out of the Revolution: An Africana Studies Anthology* (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2000); Jacqueline Bobo and Claudine Michel, eds., *Black Studies: Current Issues, Enduring Questions* (Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt, 2000); Jacqueline Bobo, Cynthia Hudley, and Claudine Michel, eds., *The Black Studies Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2004); David Ross Fryer, "African American Queer Studies," in *A Companion to African American Studies*, Lewis Gordon and Jane Anna Gordon, eds. (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 305–329; David Ross Fryer, "On the Possibilities of Posthumanism, or How to Think Queerly in an Antiblack World," in *Not Only the Master's Tools: African American Studies in Theory and Practice*, Lewis Gordon and Jane Anna Gordon, eds. (Boulder: Paradigm, 2006), 227–242; E. Patrick Johnson and Mae G. Henderson, *Black Queer Studies: A Critical Anthology* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Manning Marable, ed., *The New Black Renaissance: The Souls Anthology of Critical African American Studies* (Boulder: Paradigm, 2005); Obioma Nnaemeka, ed., *Sisterhood, Feminisms, and Power: From Africa to the Diaspora* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1998); Reiland Rabaka, "Africana Critical Theory of Contemporary Society: Ruminations on Radical Politics, Social Theory, and Africana Philosophy," in *The Handbook of Black Studies*, Molefi Asante and Maulana Karenga, eds. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2006), 130–151; Reiland Rabaka, "The Souls of Black Radical Folk: W.E.B. Du Bois, Critical Social Theory, and the State of Africana Studies," *Journal of Black Studies* 36, 5 (2006): 732–763.

32. For a discussion of how the term "Chicano" came to be used through historical and social processes, see James Diego Vigil, *From Indians to Chicanos*, 2nd ed. (Long Grove, IL: Waveland, 1998); Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*, 6th ed. (New York: Longman, 2006).

33. For a historical overview of these land grant histories, see Vincent C. De Baca, "Introduction," in De Baca, *La Gente: Hispano History and Life in Colorado* (Denver: Colorado Historical Society, 1998), xi–xvii. Other sources on the land grants include Virginia McConnell Simmons, *The San Luis Valley: Land of the Six Armed Cross* (Boulder: Pruett, 1979), which actually reproduces the land grant maps; Richard L. Norstrand, *The Hispano Homeland* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992).

34. David Gutierrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexicans, Mexican Immigrants and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 13. Other studies that look at the dispossession of Mexican-owned land, the imposition of new cultural styles, and agriculture methods that aid in the attempted erasure of the Hispano way of live include Sarah Deutsch, *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class, and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); John Chavez, *The Lost Land: The Chicano Image of the Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984). Studies that examine the ways Mexicans who are now Mexican Americans became racialized in the Southwest in terms that Mexican culture and even skin color signals them as inferior, backward, immoral, violent, and savage include Arnoldo de Leon, *They Called Them Greasers: Anglo Attitudes towards Mexicans in Texas, 1821–1900* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983); Tomás Almaguer, *Racial Faultlines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994). It is of interest to see whether these same patterns of White supremacy existed in Colorado as well, especially given the historical parallels in terms of the Gold Rush and the Anglos' land grab of Mexican land grants seen in other states.

35. Carl Abbot, Stephen J. Leonard, and Tom Noel, *Colorado: A History of the Centennial State*, 4th ed. (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2005), 35.

36. See Mauricio Mazon, *The Zootsuit Riots: The Psychology of Symbolic Annihilation* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984).

37. For the best and most comprehensive study of the Crusade for Justice, see Vigil, *Crusade for Justice*.