DIGGING THE "RICHEST HOLE ON EARTH": THE HISPANIC MINERS OF UTAH, 1912-1945

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Introduction

Underneath the history of economic segregation lie cultural strategies that helped shape the destiny of Hispanics in the United States. In the course of their daily lives they developed a group identity that, although internally and externally contested, acted as the foundation for community representation. This paper offers a glimpse into the economic subordination, cultural production, identity formation, and community building of Hispanic miners in Utah.[1] The study reveals how the *mineros* advanced cultural and community building in spite of their low socioeconomic status. Culture and identity for these Hispanics often transcended class and racial pressures, and evolved as a conscious act of resistance which helped establish their roots and institutions in the Beehive State.[2] While preserving cultural practices, the various groups, religious organizations, and educational endeavors of Utah Hispanics also challenged the economic practices established by Utah's majority population.

This study assumes that culture and identity are not unidimensional or undifferentiated, but rather, are filled with contradictory and multidimensional beliefs. It emphasizes complexity, elasticity, and contestation that occurred as Hispanics created their community and ethnic identity. The life of Hispanic miners in Utah was shaped by two factors: the state's predominant religion—Mormonism, and the diversity of Hispanic groups that arrived in the state to work in the mines. The daily life of mineros in Utah in turn transformed racial relations. More importantly, they achieved this goal under circumstances that permitted them only minimal economic and social mobility.

In analyzing this history, we begin with an examination of the economic and political forces that attracted the Hispanic miners to Utah, then look at the social conditions that made possible the emergence of a Hispanic *comunidad.* The process of identity-formation is scrutinized by examining relations be-

tween Anglos and Hispanics, as well as intraethnic conflicts that pitted Mexican Americans against Puerto Ricans and New Mexicans. Finally, the impact of Mormon missionary activity on community and identity creation among Spanish-surnamed families is detailed. While the Latter-day Saints (LDS) can rightfully claim the mantle of Utah's pioneers and settlers, Hispanic miners can proudly profess a role in inaugurating a new era in the state's history. Their efforts at maintaining their identity and creating civil and political organizations, as well as the spread of their communities substantially transformed Utah's landscape. Indeed, small groups of "common people" have left indelible imprints on the history of the state.

Spanish-Surnamed in Utah's Mines

Between 1847 and 1896 Mormon policies for self-sufficiency and isolation restricted mining operations and kept Utah from full participation in the U.S. economy. The Mormon agenda of the second half of the 19th century was to build a religious kingdom, not a capitalist enterprise.[3] These intentions, however, drastically contrasted with the laissez-faire tendencies of the nation, which eventually led to the undoing of Mormon economic separatism. Arrington put it succinctly: "The leviathan of American finance capitalism ruled Utah as it had long ruled Montana and other Western states and territories."[4]

The state's incorporation into national and international markets depended upon the development of commercialized farming, the creation of enterprises that transcended regional boundaries, and the complete reorganization of its labor force. At the turn of the century, the mining industry became the principal catalyst for Utah's metamorphosis. In 1904 the mines in Bingham Canyon, southwest of Salt Lake City, were incorporated into the Utah Copper Company. By 1915 Kennecott Copper Corporation absorbed all copper mining in the state, becoming Utah's most important enterprise, producing 90 percent of the state's copper and more than eight percent of world's copper.[5] World War I greatly increased demand for this mineral and lead to further expansion of activities in Bingham. As mining technology improved, the need for skilled miners decreased and drastically changed the ethnic makeup of the canyon's population. Before the 1910s the work force consisted primarily of European immigrants, most from the British Isles. Where Cornish and Irish miners predominated in the 1890s, Greeks, Italians, and Japanese were most numerous by 1912.

The infusion of Guggenheim's capital into Utah fueled development and radically transformed conditions in the mines. Mechanization increased the demand for pick and shovel work and, in turn, this produced an ethnic *padrone* system. Labor contractors recruited and imported unskilled immigrants and provided them with work in the mines or railroads. Three *padrones* dominated this system during the 1910s: Leonida Skliris who imported Greek and Slavic workers, Edward D. Hashimoto contracted Japanese laborers, and Moses Paggi recruited Italian miners.[6] The newly hired miners were assigned low paying, high-risk jobs.[7] A significant challenge to this situation occurred on September 17, 1912, when nearly 5000 mine workers demanded increased pay, the elimination of the padrone system, and the recognition of labor unions. Utah Copper refused these demands and called for negotiations on an individual basis.[8] Miners, with Greek workers at the forefront, walked off their jobs. At the Utah-Apex camp, only twenty-five men out of 200 continued working. The economic, social, and political consequences of the strike were immediately felt in Bingham. To normalize operations, Utah Copper officials recruited hundreds of Mexicans who were brought in as strikebreakers.[9] Newcomers encountered a vigorous resistance because of their status as "scabs," as well as for their drastically different cultural background. The other ethnic and national groups were already firmly established, with some owning stores, saloons, and bakeries. The majority of ethnic groups had already feuded with each other (Greeks, Serbians, Japanese, and Italians), and established important labor connections with union leaders and local politicians. Besides these groups the new immigrants had to interact with the American-born miners who would not align with Mexicans, whom they looked down on as "foreigners."

The decision to bring Mexicans to Bingham, however, was not an easy one. Leaders of the mining operations throughout the West, especially in Arizona, would not hire workers who could not speak English. "Miners who cannot speak the language," advised the *Salt Lake Mining Review*, "do not have a clear or adequate idea of the rights of others, or of the sacredness of the laws of our land."[10] The *Review's* owners believed that to protect the mining industry and the welfare of the miners, jobs should be offered only to those who could speak English fluently. But in the end, Mexican workers were hired. The language barrier could be overcome: it was more important that the Mexicans were not unionized.

The majority of Mexicans who came to work in Utah's mines were driven

out of their country by the violence of the Mexican Revolution of 1910.[11] Along with these Mexican nationals came Mexican Americans from Arizona, Wyoming, and Colorado. An examination of Kennecott Copper Corporation records reveals important information on these miners.

Most of these *mexicanos* were young and single; only 30 percent claimed to be married. The majority did not remain in Bingham long. The physical demands of mine labor led to a great deal of turnover, nearly 67 percent left

Table 1
Hispanic Miners in Kennecott Copper Corporation: 1912-1919

AGE			DAYS EMPLOYED			SALARY/ per hour		
Mean	Youngest	Oldest	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Minimum	Maximum
28	17	65	77	1	2149	$2.61	$1.75	$5.25

Source: Kennecott Copper Corporation records. Marriott Library, University of Utah

after 40 days. Some applicants who were hired never showed up. Many Mexicans left mining because once in Utah they discovered that higher salaries could be earned in other, less strenuous, pursuits (such as agriculture and the railroads). Reflecting on the working conditions at the mines years later, Filomeno Ochoa, a Mexican from Sonora, stated "It didn't take long to get a job but you can't stay very long either . . . because you have to work like a mule."[12] When applying for a job at Kennecott, Juan Flores was told that the company needed people willing to engage in physical labor: "We need a man, no machine man, no nothing. I need men just to dig and dig over there." After few days of digging Mr. Flores left the mines: "I have to dig rocks about that high and put a post and dig and get down on my knees. I work about eight days and I don't like (sic) that job and I quit, I quit."[13]

The Mexicans, as had the Greeks, Japanese, and Italians before them, worked in the lowest paying, least skilled occupations. While whites and some Europeans (primarily the Swedes) secured higher paying jobs and skilled machine positions, Mexicans and Mexican Americans put down tracks, blasted rock and drilled.[14] Table 2 depicts the occupational hierarchy of the Hispanics in Bingham mines.

The overwhelming majority worked in track gangs. Their salaries were minuscule and employers justified this practice by claiming that they "didn't

Table 2
Hispanic Occupations in Bingham Canyon: 1912-1935

OCCUPATION	
Stopper	1
Bankman	1
Tunnelman	1
Lobbier	1
Waterboy	1
Machine Operator	2
Handyman	2
Camp Watchman	2
Car Runner	5
Second Helper	5
Laborer	7
Car Repairer	7
Helper	10
Pitman	36
Mucker	88
Trackman	437

Source: Kennecott Copper Corporation records. Marriott Library, University of Utah

have the education to work in other jobs."[15] Confined to these positions, few achieved higher posts. By the early 1930s more than 5000 mineros had rendered services in Kennecott, but only two had achieved the rank of foreman.

Of the 4000 Mexicans introduced to the mines, most left northern Utah after the resolution of the 1912 labor dispute. However, a small number remained and eventually brought their families to Bingham. The majority of the new immigrants worked diligently, but as a group they were soon characterized as "thieves," "gamblers," "outlaws," and "killers"[16] The foundation of this characterization is rooted in the story of Raphael Lopez. The legend revolves around a man who was wanted for murdering Juan Valdez in Bingham on November 12, 1913. There is no direct evidence as to the reason for the act, but versions of the story cite a dispute over their interpretation of the Mexican Revolution,[17] jealousy over a woman, or revenge for the death of Valdez' brother[18] as

motives. Although authorities launched an intensive manhunt, Lopez was never found.[19] The story's significance lies in its negative identification of Mexicans. This notion, according to Elorreaga, comes mostly from popular Anglo folklore, and strongly influenced the assessment of the Mexican Americans' contributions to the mining community.[20]

Given the lower salaries, and the lack of political and social representation, the mineros were transformed into a colonial labor force, with few possibilities for occupational advancement. They faced discrimination at company stores as well.[21] A 1972 oral history interview with the widow of Richard Córdova helps corroborate this assertion. Córdova recalls that each time her husband picked up his check, it included a payroll deduction for goods bought. "You could go in and sign your name and it'd go right through the payroll office and they'd deduct what you owed them, and there were two prices, [one] for the poor whites and also [one] for the poor Mexicans."[22] This economic deprivation prevented the purchase of houses. Mexicans had no alternative but to rent or live in boarding houses. Such circumstances made it extremely difficult to create a sense of community and to erase widely held misconceptions.

A post-World War I recession devastated Utah's mining industry and, as in other areas of the country, Hispanics were among the first ones fired.[23] Demand for metals decreased during the late 1910s and early 1920s, and the production of gold, silver, lead, and zinc plummeted. By 1920 copper production was 50 percent below 1917 levels.[24] Utah Copper reluctantly closed its mills in 1921, laying off more than 6000 men.[25] Louis Amador, a Bingham Mexican, recalls that on average, 18 Mexican workers per day went back to Mexico. The exodus continued for six months. By 1922 conditions improved and by 1929 Bingham mines experienced a boom. Mines were, once again, operating at near capacity and Mexicans and Mexican Americans were aggressively recruited.[26] However, this prosperity was short lived. By 1930 copper lost its luster; in November the metal's price had dropped below the break-even price of 12 cents per pound. Utah Copper shut down most of its operations by 1932.[27] A disastrous fire on September 8, 1932, compounded the economic crisis. Seventy five homes were destroyed as the fire devastated the Highland Boy section of the canyon.[28] One of these houses belonged to the family of Gavino Aguayo. During the 1930s, they subsisted primarily on tortillas, beans, and chile sauce, but the children felt lucky to be as well off as they were. "You know, we were poor . . . But really at

that time . . . we didn't know it."[29] Conditions were so arduous that most mineros left Utah during the 1930s. Those who remained were either too proud to ask for governmental assistance or were not aware of available programs. Many were forced to change occupations. A good number started working in the railroad; even Mexican women joined the labor force. The case of Juanita Jimenez illustrates this point. In 1930, after her husband died of a disease contracted in the mines, she looked for work and refused to ask for governmental assistance. "We never got help from the government. We never asked for anything."[30]

The start of World War II finally ended the Great Depression in Utah as federal military expenditures, starting in the late 1930s, had a salubrious impact on the economy.[31] Between 1940 and 1945 ten military bases were established, the state received more than $1.1 billion in war-supply contracts, and another $430 million was invested in facility construction.[32] As a result, total personal income, which had languished at around $300 million before 1940, surpassed $700 million by 1943. Per capita income, well below the national average before the war, soared to almost 103 percent of the national average. This economic bonanza reversed the out-migration that had characterized the state's population since 1910, and led to full employment.[33] This revival also produced a strong demand for labor. Spanish speakers, who had fled Utah during the 1930s, returned. In contrast to the immigrants of the 1910s, the new wave of *trabajadores* hailed from rural farming villages of northern New Mexico and southeastern Colorado. Many of these people had been displaced by the capitalist transformation of their region, which began after the U.S. takeover in 1848. Many had been forced to abandon traditional farming and economic practices. Without land to sustain their families, Hispanos wandered throughout the Southwest in search of work.[34] In contrast with earlier arrivals, however, most Hispanos were married and had firmer intentions of remaining in Utah.[35]

The mining and mineral-processing sector in Utah also responded to wartime demands. New plants came on line during the 1940s and facilitated the exploitation of the Utah's mineral wealth. Utah Copper, Kennecott Copper, and American Smelting and Refining poured more than $15 million into plant expansion. This increased activity drew the Spanish-surnamed to Utah's refineries, mines, and smelters. By 1940, many worked in the mines of Carbon County. Many were not enthusiastic about working in coal mines because they offered the lowest salaries in the industry. Rosa Sandoval, who had lived

in Carbon County since she was two years old, observed that the coal miners were "the poorest people on this earth. I don't care what they say. Especially when you're raising a family, all you have money for is groceries."[36] Still, mining during the war years had its advantages. In the 1940s, "if you worked in Salt Lake for $2 an hour, you would have to hold two jobs in order to get what you're getting here (Carbon County); $6 or $7 an hour."[37] Plus, mineros could work as much overtime as they wanted in the mines. Valentin Arámbula moved to Utah in 1943 because "Utah was paying one dollar a day more (than in his home state of Colorado) and they were working more than we were. In fact, we were only working five days a week and here, at Sunnyside, they were working six and seven days a week and overtime during the war."[38]

In Carbon County, Greeks, Italians, and Japanese were better positioned; many owned businesses, restaurants, and grocery stores. The labor discrimination Hispanics experienced in the mines translated into marginalization and created tension and rivalries with other groups. Evidence suggests that Italians and Greeks classified them as "a poor class of people."[39] Italians, Greeks, and Japanese, said José Jesús Palacio, "always seemed to hold better jobs than we did . . . they were always given the better opportunities to make better money, to make a better living. We didn't have the opportunity."[40]

Perceived physical differences also caused tension. According to Rosa Sandoval, the Italians seemed to think that they were better than Spanish-speakers: "I had a personal argument with an Italian. We almost came to blows. She started telling me that my nationality was Mexican; [that we were] darker complexioned people; that we looked more Negro than they did." Rosa fought back by arguing that the Italians from Naples were even darker than the blacks. "I've seen and I've read some of your history (Italian). And they couldn't tell you apart from the Negro, even if they tried."[41] Some Hispanics believed that given the working conditions in the mines it was extremely difficult to distinguish the color of the miners. Therefore, the sources of racial and ethnic tensions were caused primarily by economic differences among groups and individuals. Ellen Córdova, stated that regardless of ethnicity, miners shared some things in common. "Have you ever seen a miner when he comes out of a coal mine? They're all black, every last one of them. You can't tell a white man from a black man. The only discrimination that comes in coal mining is between a boss and being a regular laborer . . . that's the only distinction there is."[42]

Unlike the Mexican miners of the 1910s and early 1920s, some of the mineros of the 1940s were successful and achieved a higher economic status that their predecessors. As an illustration, Louis Amador acquired his own drilling machines and negotiated a contract with Kennecott. He extracted ore, copper, lead, zinc and bismuth; he earned a $5,800 check for three months of work plus a $2,800 bonus from the federal government.[43] Merlin Barela, whose first job in the mines was as a powder man earning $8.88 per day, was eventually promoted to shovel operator, increasing his daily pay to $46.94.[44]

The wartime demand for copper and miners increased the intragroup diversity of Hispanics. In 1943 Bingham mining companies brought in hundreds of laborers from as far away as Puerto Rico and New York City. These workers encountered circumstances similar to earlier waves of Mexicans and Mexican Americans. The *islanderos* (islanders) did not bring their families, were transient, and were assigned to the most strenuous and lowest paying jobs in the mines.[45] Exact statistics on the composition of Bingham's population are not available, but studies have estimated that during World War II Hispanics were at least 65 percent of the canyon's population.[46]

Social Conditions Among Hispanic Miners

From 1912 through the 1930s most Spanish-speaking miners in the canyon lived in Dinkeyville rather than Bingham or Copperfield. Nick Leyba recalled that " . . . there were more Mexicans in Dinkeyville than there were in other places."[47] Dinkeyville was located in the mountains above Highland Boy and Copperfield. Mineros lived in shacks that were old, crowded, and inadequate. Water was a primary concern since there was often only one well for every five families. Those living conditions stood in stark contrast with those of managerial personnel who lived in Copperton, where "Mexicans" were not allowed to reside. Edith Meléndez, a resident of Dinkeyville, believed that segregation was not strictly based on racial divisions, rather it was created to keep "the elite away from the workers."[48] Hispanics also lived in the Highland Boy section, an area that was more ethnically diverse.

Housing patterns changed dramatically after 1940, when the majority of Spanish-speaking people began concentrating in Copperfield.[49] Housing conditions, however, were not much different from those which Mexican miners experienced in Dinkeyville 25 years earlier. The scarcity of housing during

World War II made matters worse. In the mines of Dragerton and Horse Canyon, Hispanics often lived in tent cities since "houses hadn't been built yet at that time so it was either tents or trailers."[50]

Not all Mexicans endured such difficulties. The Meléndez family lived on Main Street in upper Bingham. Their house had two bedrooms, was furnished by Kennecott Copper, and rent was deducted from an employee's paychecks. Mike Meléndez's recalls that during his youth, "We weren't very well-off at the time. Well, I could say that probably we have never been well-off. I remember our chairs . . . were wooden boxes . . . We had a coal stove. And our home was furnished very, very modestly. My main activities at that time were just playing in the mountains and in the hills.[51] By the 1940s, some of the mineros who had worked in Bingham for about two decades began purchasing homes in Dinkeyville, Bingham, Copperton, and Highland Boy. The homes were modest and many needed substantial mending. Highland Boy resident Merlin Barela, recalls that his house "didn't cost too much. We bought the home for $5,250 so that couldn't have been too good of a home, but it was a big house. But I did a lot of repairs on it."[52]

Some Hispanics acquired apartment buildings, which they then rented to bachelors. Although conditions were difficult, many mineros liked living in the ethnically diverse sections of the canyon. Alberto González, who moved from Highland Boy to Bingham, observed: "One thing I liked about Bingham, what I remember, is that there were so many different kinds of people, different nationalities, and I used to really like that."[53] Harold Nielsen considered the mining towns "quite a melting pot," where Italians, Yugoslavians, Greeks, Mexicans, Georgians, and Armenians lived.[54] Not all, however, enjoyed Bingham's ambience. Some considered it lacking in morals, and conducive to deviant behavior. Louis Amador, a Mexican miner, traveled to Salt Lake City every day rather than risk Bingham's pernicious influence. He said, "Bingham was a beautiful town if you want to drink . . . No matter what time of the hour or what day you always find a beer joint open and music here and music there.[55]

The Emergence of a Hispanic Community

The significant influx of Mexican miners, beginning in 1912, was reflected in the 1920 federal Census that reported 1666 people of Mexican descent living in Utah. The 1900 Census had counted only 40. The growth from 1900 to

1920 is explained by the effects of the Mexican Revolution and by the efforts of the Utah Immigration Commissioner to attract workers. In 1910, the Bureau of Immigration described Utah as "a splendid state for the best class of immigrants."[56] The Spanish-speaking population in 1920 consisted primarily of young, single males. Most lived not in urban centers, but in the state's rural areas; for each Mexican living in the urban core, three lived and worked in rural Utah. By 1930, the ratio of men to women was reduced to 2:1 and the rural/urban ratio was down to 2:1. Table 3 depicts the composition of the Hispanic population in Utah in 1930.

The increase in the Mexican-origin population warranted the establishment of a Mexican consulate in Salt Lake City in 1912.[57] Although this entity provided some assistance, Utah's *familias* developed their own aid networks to ameliorate poverty and deprivation. Given Bingham's ethnic composition, it is not surprising that such ties and organizations flourished there.[58] Mutual-aid societies and the Cruz Azul (Blue Cross, the Mexican equivalent of the Red

Table 3
Characteristics of Utah's Hispanic Population: 1930

Gender	Males	2728
	Females	1284
Origin	Foreign Born	2240
	Nationals	1772
Location	Urban	1392
	Rural Farms	148
	Rural Non-Farms	2472
Age Distribution	1-10 years old	1000
	30-44	1200
Marital Status	**MALES**	
	Single	1258
	Married	711
	Widowed/Divorced	69
	FEMALES	
	Single	100
	Married	515
	Widowed/Divorced	53
Illiteracy Rates	Hispanics in U.S.	33%
	Hispanics in Utah	28%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census. XV Census.

Cross) emerged in the early 1920s to provide economic and emotional support. It also sponsored social and cultural events. The Blue Cross was created with aid from the Mexican consul, who hoped to provide legal assistance to persons without proper documentation. These activities were motivated by altruistic intentions and organized on a volunteer basis. Crisoforo Gómez, owner of a boarding house, and one of the founders of the Blue Cross, often allowed Mexican nationals to stay in his house for free.[59]

Another entity based in Bingham, Unión y Patria (Unity and Nation) was created in 1927 by Jesús Avila, and introduced non-Hispanic miners to Mexican and Mexican American festivities and celebrations. In 1927 this society sponsored soirees in Bingham and Copperton to show the rest of the community the positive side of Mexican culture. Jesús Avila, one of the organization's leaders, hoped other ethnic groups would view Mexican Americans not as "a bunch of revolutionaries" or strike breakers, but as heirs to a rich culture and heritage.[60] Unión y Patria also sought to increase the miners' level of education and organized a night school in the basement of the Copper Hotel. The *escuela* offered classes in Spanish, English, and Spanish literature. To advance their political objectives, Mexicans created the Sociedad Honorífica Mexicana, an organization sponsored by the Mexican consulate. Its goal was to protect the civil rights of Mexican nationals. Members met every Sunday, alternating sites between Highland Boy and Copperfield. Leaders of the Honorífica emphasized patriotism and made sure that the Mexican flag was prominently displayed. This theme was repeated in social activities, for example, on the 5th of May and 16th of September. The Honorífica always opened its celebrations with the Mexican national anthem, as a group of children dressed in red, white, and green carried the Mexican flag.[61] One of the Honorífica's principal achievements was the creation of a school, located on Main Street. Agustín Hernández and Salvador González taught Spanish language and literature at the school where Mexican children went in the evening after attending Copperfield schools. Mineros praised the Honorífica for providing their children with a bilingual and bicultural education, and for promoting multiculturalism among the miners.[62]

Mexican celebrations in Copperfield were more than mere merrymaking; they became educational tools. Members hoped their celebrations would unify Mexicans with others in the mining town. Unfortunately, the difficult economic circumstances during the Depression finally vanquished the Honorífica.

By the early 1930s, the group had only six active members, the majority of whom could not afford to pay their dues. Nonetheless, the informal associations and mutual-aid developed by the Mexican miners proved to be powerful instruments in the creation of ethnic ties and identification.

The Intraethnic Struggle for Identity

The influx of Hispanos from New Mexico and Colorado in the 1940s produced racial tension between Mexican miners and the newcomers. This internal ethnic dispute was caused by differences in language, group identification, and cultural practices. Mexicans showed little tolerance toward the newly arrivals because they identified themselves as "Spanish Americans." This term was openly and bitterly contested because many from the "old country" argued that these "Spanish Americans" were really Mexicans.[63] Jesusita Aparicio commented, "I can tell you that all these people are wrong, people from New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, and California. All that territory belonged to Mexico. All people from Mexico, from New Mexico, all people descended from the Spaniards, mainly because it was in Mexico where Cortez arrived."[64] Conversely, for a "Spanish American" to be called a "Mexican" was a grave insult, it was as if someone had used a "four letter word."[65]

New Mexicans used this term in order to reaffirm their perceived racial purity.[66] By calling themselves "Spanish Americans" they "identify themselves with something very Spanish and not Indian at all."[67] This argument made no sense to Jesús and Agapito Castillo. The brothers argued that the Spanish *conquistadores* had acquired their wives in the New World and consequently the offspring produced were of mixed heritage. "People from New Mexico and Texas are all the same blood . . . To me it's a big myth they're trying to carry among themselves that they're of noble blood, whatever that's supposed to mean to them."[68] Regardless of what Hispanos thought, Mexicans did not consider them a people of "pure blood."[69] Although Mexicans tried to create a common bond with their New Mexican neighbors, most spurned the mexicano identity.[70] For their part, Mexican miners knew that through their decades of hard work in Bingham they had won a modicum of respect from others in the mines. In Jesús Palacio's words, "Some of us have proven ourselves just as good or a little better than some of them."[71]

Some Mexicans sought compromise on this issue. Such was the case for the

Castillo family, a Mexican family that lived in Texas prior to coming to Utah. The Castillos looked to establish friendly relationships with other Bingham Hispanos. As a concession, Agapito and Jesús Castillo coined a new identifier for themselves, "Mexican-Spanish." "I speak the language, Spanish, yes, and for that reason (I) often put down on paper 'Spanish.' When one is asked what (one) speaks . . . you realize that you speak Spanish, you are a Mexican but you speak Spanish."[72] Contested identification impacted relations among adults and caused friction among Bingham's Spanish-surnamed *niños.* Emilio Vázquez believed that the relationship between Hispanos and Mexicans would continue to fester. "It goes all the way down to—I mean—like the younger children, younger generation, they always still have this thing that they're better than the other Mexicans from Old Mexico, and then when their kids are born, it's still the same thing, the same thing follows. Cause I mean there's no change."[73] Many Hispano children believed they had little, if anything, in common with Mexicans. "They really didn't want to identify with Mexican, to them Mexican was a dirty word . . . and Spanish is supposed to be something elite.[74]

The friction between these groups resulted in the use of names such as *manitos*, *mateos*, and *surumatos.* Mexicans called the people from New Mexico "manitos." In return, New Mexicans called the Mexicanos "surumato" or "mateo." These names and identifiers often created open warfare.[75] As a fifteen-year-old, Eduviges Garcia learned the meaning of surumato when the copper mines closed and her family returned to Mexico. "We were moving back to Mexico, and they called 'surumatos' to all of us. And the girls would say let's go and see the train of 'surumatos.'[76] Interestingly, the same Hispanos from New Mexico and Colorado were not offended by the use of the term "manito." As far as they were concerned, the term was not derogatory, but instead denoted friendship and affection. As Francis Yañez explained, "We used to say, *'Somos Manitos,'* you know, they're my brothers and sisters, and that's how I remember that word."[77] Jesús and Agapita Castillo believed that the term manito was a very popular expression in New Mexico and it was used to "call each other hermanito (little brother), and from this came the word . . . manito."[78]

Language was another source of tension. Some Mexicans (who could not speak English) claimed to be unable to understand the Spanish of the Hispanos. On the other hand, the New Mexicans often could not speak either English or the dialect of Spanish that the Mexicans could understand. Filomeno Ochoa, a

Mexican native and longtime resident of Bingham, recalled, "when I came from Mexico, I didn't know how to ask for a glass of water in English. But most of these people from New Mexico they don't speak English, nothing!"[79] Mexicans went as far as claiming that the Hispanos had their own dialect and not a proper language. "The majority of them still speak that way since they have always lived in small towns and still use the same dialect that they have developed.[80] Mexican miners were proud of their attempts to learn English. Their desire for incorporation into mining town life motivated them. Francisco Solorio understood that his inability to speak English severely limited the possibilities of associating with other ethnic groups. "You know, I don't speak (English) well at all, although I tried. You know, I've tried. But I thought, as long as I could understand what they were saying, this bothered me, until I did, so I tried to hurry and learn . . . But there's still a lot of them that don't speak the language. So they might be just isolated by themselves or something." He added, "I have not yet met any of those who came from Old Mexico who could not speak English."[81]

A further element of differentiation was the celebrations and festivities of each group. Mexicans commemorated the 5th of May and the 16th of September with traditional dances, and Hispanos attendees often felt out of place. Emilio Vázquez, a Mexican miner, exaggerated this situation by saying Hispanos attended celebrations only to drink and disrupt the festivities. "All they want to do is fight."[82] Competition for jobs added more fuel to intraethnic struggles. Emilio Vázquez said New Mexicans sought to take jobs from Mexicans. "What the people from New Mexico and Colorado wanted were jobs, even if they were paid less than the normal wages."[83] This issue fostered bitter feelings among Mexicans who felt that newcomers accepted jobs for less pay.

Given the cultural and occupational differences, it appeared that Hispanics in Bingham would never unite, but two trends helped surmount differences. First, as the children of these miners reached their teenage years, they began to date each other. Ultimately, intraethnic marriages took place. These unions helped foster acceptance. Jesús Palacio recalled, "You see, I was brought up with the belief from my parents that us type (sic) of Mexicans from over there were so much different from these here, and that our culture and everything was a lot better than theirs. But as I grew up I found out different. There is no difference."[84] The second event that pushed unification was a shared distrust of the latest Spanish-speakers to arrive: Puerto Ricans. The misunderstanding and prejudice

that had created cleavages between Mexicans and Hispanos subsided with the arrival of the islanderos in 1943.[85] The established Spanish-surnamed groups now focused their ill feelings and hostility toward these new immigrants.

Increasing Complexity of Intraethnic Relations

The outbreak of World War II caused a severe labor shortage for Utah's industrial enterprises. One response by Kennecott officials was to go to Puerto Rico and entice workers to replace the mineros who had enlisted in the army.[86] Puerto Ricans were recruited, in part, because Kennecott wanted to hire U.S. citizens. Once candidates passed a physical examination, they were sent to Miami, where the Puerto Ricans boarded a train bound for Bingham. The first group consisted of about 100 recruits. Some took up residence in the Bingham Hotel, others were sent to Highland Boy and Copperfield. Accommodations were Spartan and three individuals often shared one room. When Puerto Ricans arrived, they saw only hills around them. Gerardo Meléndez, one of the first to arrive, exclaimed "What are we going to do here?" This was a logical question since the islanderos did not have any mining experience. As was the case with the Mexicans and Hispanos before them, the islanders found themselves on track gangs, drilling, blasting, and working underground. Within a week, the majority of Puerto Ricans left Kennecott. They abhorred the working conditions and the absence of cultural markers. The turnover rate for a second group of 100 mirrored that of the first—only ten stayed. According to Edith Meléndez, Puerto Ricans stayed just long enough to earn railroad vouchers with which to leave: "They didn't like it here, they hated it."[87] For those who stayed, survival was the primary goal. Without families, and working in an alien environment, many Puerto Ricans gravitated toward beer joints, pool halls, and baseball fields. "There was nothing to do in Bingham," remembered Gerardo Meléndez. The fact that nobody had a car kept them from traveling to Salt Lake City, which in turn, increased their feelings of isolation.[88]

The few Puerto Ricans in Utah seemed to get along with the Japanese, Greeks, Italians, and Native Americans. Initially, they did not notice any differences between Bingham's Hispanos and Mexicans. As far as most islanderos were concerned, all Spanish-speakers shared the same language and professed the Catholic faith.[89] Briefly, it seemed as if intraethnic harmony would prevail. But not all perceived the situation in the same way. Harold Nielsen believed

that tensions among Puerto Ricans and other groups began almost immediately. In addition to their physical appearance, Puerto Ricans spoke Spanish differently and had different cultural practices. Fights occurred regularly at dances when Mexican girls refused to dance with the Puerto Ricans, or when a Mexican teenager danced with a Puerto Rican. Even the clothing worn by Puerto Ricans caused controversy. "Their clothing is mainly of the tropical style, usually all their dresses are white and with pictures of coconut trees embroidered in the cloth . . . their shoes were mainly white," said Gerardo Meléndez.[90]

By the mid 1940s, Mexicans and Hispanos distanced themselves from the islanderos. Socioeconomic status and religious differences also worked to strengthen cleavages. Some Spanish speakers, who had been in Bingham since the 1920s had acquired small amounts of real estate, moved into higher paying positions, and even started small businesses. Higher-paying jobs such as foreman, brakeman and driver were primarily awarded according to length of service. Therefore, a clear occupational hierarchy separated veterans and newcomers. Many residents also viewed islanders as threats to their community and daughters. In spite of shared characteristics, many regarded Puerto Ricans as foreigners and as blacks. Even the Mexican consul, Carlos Grimm, supported this assertion when he stated that, "Spanish blood did not diffuse through Puerto Rico. During the early slave trading days Negro blood was mixed with that of the Puerto Ricans."[91] This "Negro issue" became a key concern among Hispanics because of some theological beliefs of the Mormon religion.

Religious Influences on Minero Life

The theology of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) asserts that Native Americans and *mestizos* are part of a people known as Lamanites. This belief grants mestizos (and therefore Mexicans and Mexican Americans) certain benefits since the Mormons' intention is to redeem this group. Silas Lobato, a miner and convert, asserts that "the LDS religion looks upon the people of Spanish origin or Indian origin, as very . . . you know, even favorably. And they took me under their wing and I was pretty well set with them."[92] Part of the appeal came from LDS texts that explained the origin of the Indian and mestizos. According to Mormon theology, the Lamanites were part of a lost tribe of Israel that came to the Americas in ancient times. The Book of Mormon identifies Lamanites as a group of people that rejected the teachings

of Lehi and were cursed by God with a dark skin.[93] Although they embraced dark-skinned mestizos, Mormons did distinguish between brown and black-skinned individuals before 1978. The descendants of Lamanites could join the church and brown-skinned males were allowed membership in the priesthood. Black persons could join, but males could not perform priestly duties. This drove another wedge between the Spanish speakers of Bingham. Since Puerto Ricans were darker than the rest of the area's Hispanics, LDS converts often discriminated against them.

Before 1920, the influence of the Mormon church on mineros was slight. A Mormon congregation, the *Rama Mexicana* (Mexican branch) commenced operation in Salt Lake City during the early 1920s. The distance between the city and canyon limited proselytizing among the mineros and most Spanish-surnamed persons in Bingham remained at least nominally Catholic.[94] "You could just about count (on) your fingers those who weren't Catholic."[95] Besides Catholics, there were a few Methodists among the mineros, and Mexican children had some contact with Mormons, mainly through their interaction with their school mates and teachers.[96] Some Mexican Catholic miners considered the Mormons to be "nice fellows," and not much different from people of other denominations.[97] Active proselytizing targeting Spanish speakers in Bingham began in 1922, and many of the individuals and families graciously welcomed LDS missionaries to their homes. Still, only a small number were willing to give up their Catholic beliefs. "My parents raised me as a Catholic so every time they came over, I'd treat them nice, yes, but I was a Catholic and didn't want to change . . . I told them right out that I wouldn't change my religion."[98]

During the 1920s several mineros did convert. Perhaps some adopted Mormonism because of the material support provided by the church. In Crisoforo Gómez's case, the LDS church paid for the funerals of his wife and mother. This generosity caused him to declare that: "There is no better church than the Mormon one."[99] One of the demands of his new faith was to convert others. A few months after his conversion, Crisoforo was sent to Ogden (about 50 miles north of Salt Lake City) to proselytize among railroad workers. His loyalty and works earned him the status of elder, which meant he could baptize converts. But his faith was not strongly rooted. Crisoforo eventually abandoned the church because he married Petra Gómez, a young Catholic woman from Mexico. Gómez said that Mormon officials disapproved of his wedding, and he had no

other alternative but to come back to Catholicism. Several years after his conversion to the LDS church, Crisoforo was once again a practicing Catholic, and an active member in the Guadalupe Center in Salt Lake City.

During the 1920s and 1930s the majority of Mexicans lived in Highland Boy and Dinkeyville—towns without Catholic facilities. For recreational activities youths attended the local Methodist Community House, which contained both a library and gymnasium. The Methodist Church in Bingham was better organized and provided more services than the Catholic Church (the Salt Lake Catholic Diocese did not establish a mission to minister specifically to Spanish speakers until 1927). Hispanic Catholics found no discrimination among the Methodists and often attended their services and programs.[100] In spite of the hospitality, they felt pressure to convert. Katherine Chávez, a miner's daughter, commented "Of course, they were trying to get us . . . One of the deaconess wanted to send me to one of their training schools. I didn't realize how serious she was getting until she suggested it . . . she said that I could get into one of the training schools and . . . I told her I couldn't . . . I just couldn't. I didn't feel that I wanted to change my faith."[101]

The first Catholic priest who attended to the spiritual needs of Bingham's Spanish-surnamed population was Father Leahy. He was followed by the Catechists and, finally, Franciscan nuns and priests. Community members seemed to prefer Franciscans because they were more educated and stayed with the community for longer periods of time.[102] Franciscan nuns taught catechism, organized summer schools, worked with the children, and supported the tradition of *compadrazgo* through the celebration of baptism, confirmation, and communion. By the mid-1930s, Hispanics in Bingham enjoyed a broad range of religious and social activities sponsored by the Catholic Church, both in the canyon (at the Church of the Holy Rosary in Bingham) as well as at Our Lady of Guadalupe Mission on the west side of Salt Lake City.

Although there were tensions between Spanish-surnamed Mormons and Catholics, shared economic difficulties in the 1930s helped create some unity. When Cosme Chacón's child died, he requested a Catholic priest to celebrate a funeral mass and to officiate at the burial. When a priest could not attend, a Mormon bishop paid for the funeral and stayed with the family for prayer and support. Based on this action Chacón believed that, in some aspects, Mormons were more charitable and "Christian" than Catholics. For Chacón, the His-

panic people who criticized the LDS Church were ignorant and ungrateful. "People should love people who practice justice, it does not matter if they are Mormons or from other religions."[103] Religious identification and affiliation were not rigid among Bingham's Spanish speakers. Ellen Cordova, for example, was raised Mormon, but married her husband, Alfredo, in a Catholic church. Some Catholic priests approved of these mixed religious marriages. "The priest told us that if we wanted to have it blessed in the Catholic Church you could do so without becoming a Catholic, which we did. But then I became a Catholic. After Mr. Cordova died, I was baptized because of my (six) children; they are all Catholics."[104] After her children grew up, Ellen left the Catholic Church and returned to her childhood faith.

Conclusions

The history of Utah's mineros is intertwined with the state's economic development. In fact, what some termed the "late presence of Chicanos in Utah,"[105] is a reflection of the late incorporation of Utah's economy into national and global markets. Conditions for Hispanics were shaped by many of the same forces that affected their brethren throughout the West and Southwest. Even if the majority of mineros did not greatly improve their economic status as a result of their labor, their contributions to Utah are manifested in the transformation of race relations.

Initially, the identity of Hispanics in Utah was forged by the stereotypes created, in part, through the Rafael López incident. Between 1912 and 1945, however, their identity was externally defined by Salt Lake City newspapers, which portrayed this community mainly through its celebrations and interactions with Mexico. Mineros became visible to the press only on May 5th and September 16th. Particularly during the World War II era, details of Mexican festivities were reported in the *Salt Lake Tribune*; editorials depicted these celebrations in very positive, even glowing terms. Mexico was portrayed as a sister democracy doing her share to aid the United States in its war against fascist foes. But in spite of these positive images, neither the *Salt Lake Tribune* nor the *Deseret News* considered these people citizens. The events were exclusively classified as "Mexican celebrations."[106] Newspaper articles also did not recognize the intraethnic diversity among the Spanish-speaking groups in the mines. The intention was to unify disparate groups for the common war effort. Local newspa-

pers dissolved class and ethnic distinctions in an appeal for equality and homogeneity.

Utah Hispanics, however, hotly contested definitions of identity between 1912 and 1945. At the beginning of this period, most of the mineros in Bingham based ties on nationalistic premises, and Mexico was the center of their culture. They used symbols such as the Mexican flag and relied almost exclusively on the Mexican consul and the honoríficas. But between 1912 and 1945, Mexican miners in Utah learned, negotiated, and assimilated into a new social and political environment. Additionally, they were forced to deal and associate with other Spanish-speaking people. A shared language was not enough to create a single identity among Mexicans, Mexican Americans, Hispanos, and Puerto Ricans. Cultural traits such as dress, language patterns, and eating habits separated one group from the other. During the Second World War, the arrival of large numbers of New Mexicans or Hispanos in Bingham caused much trepidation among the established Mexican miners. Although there were tensions between the two groups, social connections were eventually made.

The issue of identity among Spanish-speaking people in Utah was shaped not only by economic circumstances and the interaction of the various ethnic groups, but religious beliefs as well. The Spanish-surnamed miners who came to Bingham found that the area lacked a well-developed Catholic infrastructure on which to reaffirm their identity. Instead, they found a state heavily influenced by Mormons who perceived Catholicism, in the words of one LDS writer, as "an example of the wrong manner of carrying forward the work of the Lord."[107]

It is noteworthy that Catholic teaching was not part of the activities undertaken by the Cruz Azul or the Honorífica. This situation contrasted with other *juntas patrióticas* (patriotic councils) in the West and Southwest whose main goal was the instruction of "local youth to be loyal Catholics and good citizens."[108] To practice their faith, Catholic miners in Bingham needed to build churches, maintain a clergy, and pay for teachers—things they could not afford. In many ways, Catholicism in Bingham was left to individual expression, and never became a public manifestation of faith.

The contributions of mineros to the development of Utah's economy are undeniable. As important cogs in the state's economic infrastructure, they created a variety of institutions that helped transform race relations and the perception of people of color. These achievements were the result of a process of

community formation even in the face of internal and external pressures. These forces produced a heterogenous Hispanic community which was (and still is) segmented by lines of language, culture, religion, and nationality. While this diversity might be interpreted as a lack of cohesion, it can also be viewed as a reflection of a society that can coexist in spite of significant internal differences. Certainly, Utah changed once mineros left the mines and moved to other communities in the Beehive State. During the last half of the 1900s their sons and daughters became railroad workers, sugar beet planters, and migrant workers. Eventually, many became professionals, teachers, political leaders, and business owners who, during the last decades of the twentieth century, helped provide some of the impetus for a social, racial, and political transformation in the state of Utah.

NOTES

[1] The scholarly literature on Hispanics in Utah is still in the making. The most recent contributions have been provided by Jorge Iber, *Hispanics in the Mormon Zion, 1912-1999.* College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2000. And by Armando Solórzano, "Struggle Over Memory: The Roots of the Mexican Americans in Utah, 1776 through the 1850s." *Aztlán.* Volume 23, Number 2, Fall 1998. pp. 81-117. Previous works on Hispanics in Utah identify Mexicans, Hispanos, Mexican-Americans, and Puerto Ricans under the umbrella term of "Spanish-speaking people." See, Vicente Mayer. "After Escalante: The Spanish-Speaking Peoples of Utah." In Helen Z. Papanikolas, ed., *The Peoples of Utah.* Salt Lake City, Utah. Utah State Historical Society, 1976. Also, Edward H. Mayer. "The Evolution of Culture and Tradition in Utah's Mexican American Community." *Utah Historical Quarterly.* Volume 49, Number 2, Spring 1981, 133-144. Paul Morgan and Vicente Mayer. "The Spanish-Speaking Population of Utah: From 1900 to 1935." In Vicente Mayer, ed. *Working Papers Toward a History of the Spanish-Speaking Population of Utah.* American West Center. Mexican American Documentation Project. University of Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah. 1973. The umbrella term "Spanish-speaking people of Utah," however, blurs the great diversity of these people based on their cultures, nationalities, religious beliefs, immigration patterns, and it assumes homogeneity based on shared language. We designate as Mexicans those individuals who were born in Mexico and immigrated to Utah during the 1910s and 1920s. New Mexicans or Hispanos refers to people from New Mexico or Colorado who claimed ancestral roots to Spaniards. The term Spaniard designates Spanish nationals. Mexican American refers to second-generation Mexicans born in the United States. See, Suzanne Oboler. *Ethnic Labels, Latino Lives: Identity and the Politics of (Re)Presentation in the United States.* University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis, MN. 1995. Also, Martha E. Gimenez. "Latino/Hispanic-Who Needs a Name? The Case Against a Standardized Terminology." In *International Journal of Health Services.* Volume 19, Number 3. 1989. And, Laura Gomez. "The Birth of the 'Hispanic' Generation: Attitudes of Mexican-American Political Elites Toward the Hispanic Label." In *Latin American Perspectives.* Issue 75, Volume 19, Number 4, Fall, 45-48. 1992.

[2] For an analysis of the relevance of culture and identity to Mexican Americans see Juán Gómez-Quiñones. "On Culture." *Revista Chicano-Riqueña.* 5:2. 1997. Also, George J. Sánchez. *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945.* Oxford University Press. New York, NY. 1993.

[3] Leonard J. Arrington. *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900.* Harvard University Press. 1958. p. 130.

[4] Leonard J. Arrington. 1958. Op. cit. p. 386.

[5] William C. Blair. "An Ethnological Survey of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Bingham Canyon, Utah." Master's Degree Thesis. University of Utah. Salt Lake City, UT. 1948. p. 5.

[6] Gunther Peck. "Padrones and Protest: 'Old' Radicals and 'New' Immigrants in Bingham, Utah, 1905-1912," *Western Historical Quarterly.* Volume 24, Number 2, May 1993, 157-178. p. 163. Also, Helen Z. Papanikolas. "Life and Labor Among the Immigrants of Bingham Canyon." *Utah Historical Quarterly.* Volume 33, Number 4, Fall 1965, 283-315. And, Vicente Mayer. Op. cit. 1976.

[7] Helen Papanikolas. Op. cit. 1965.

[8] Salt Lake Mining Review. 1912.

[9] Mexican strikebreakers were not recruited through Mexican officials or *patrones,* but by E.D. Hashimoto, a Japanese contractor who maintained close connections with nonwhite workers in Mexico. Interestingly, after the strike of 1912, the power of Leonidas Skliris, the Greek padrone, was broken, and he traveled to Mexico where he became the owner of several mining enterprises. See, Helen Papanikolas. Op. cit. 1965. p. 306.

[10] Salt Lake Mining Review. October, 1912.

[11] Helen Papanikolas. Op. cit. 1965. p. 305.

[12] Filomeno Ochoa. Spanish Speaking Oral Interviews MS #96. Interview 34-35. Manuscripts Division. University of Utah Marriott Library. Salt Lake City, UT. 1973. p. 8. The interview project was undertaken by the American West Center at the University of Utah. Its primary intention was to create a comprehensive oral history and document collection for the Spanish-speaking community in the state. For more details consult "Toward A History of the Spanish-Speaking People of Utah: A Report of Research of the Mexican-American Documentation Project." American West Center. The University of Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah. 1973.

[13] Juan Flores. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 32. 1972. pp. 11-12.

[14] Kennecott Cooper Corporation Records. Acct. 1440. Marriott Library. Special Collection. The University of Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah.

[15] Edith Meléndez. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 74. 1973, p. 5.

[16] Helen Papanikolas. Op. cit. 1965, p. 307.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] Violet Boyce. *Upstairs to a Mine.* Logan. Utah State University Press. 1926.

[19] Lynn R. Bailey. *The Search for Lopez: Utah's Greatest Manhunt.* Westernlore Press. Tucson, Arizona. 1990.

[20] Katherine Elorreaga; Lisa M Gallegos; and Alberto L. Pulido. "Labor and Community Formation in Utah: The Mexican American Experience in Bingham Canyon." Paper presented at the 20th Annual Conference for the National Association for Chicano Studies. March 26-28, 1992. San Antonio, Texas.

[21] Katherine Elorreaga et al. Op. cit. Also, Mario Barrera. *Race and Class in the Southwest: A Theory of Racial Inequality.* Notre Dame, IN. Notre Dame Press. Barrera 1972.

[22] Clorinda Córdova. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 25. 1972. pp. 13-14.

[23] Vicente Mayer. *Utah: A Hispanic History.* Salt Lake City, Utah. American West Center. University of Utah. 1975. pp. 58-59.

[24] Thomas G. Alexander. "The Economic Consequences of the War: Utah and the Depression of the 1920s." in *A Dependent Commonwealth: Utah's Economy from Statehood to the great Depression.* Dean May (ed.). Provo, UT. Brigham Young University Press. 1974: pp. 61-63.

[25] Dean May. *Utah: a People's History.* Salt Lake City, UT. University of Utah Press. 1987. p. 173.

[26] Francisco E. Balderrama and Rodriguez, Raymond. *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s.* Albuquerque, NM. University of New Mexico Press. 1995. p. 17.

[27] Lynn R. Bailey. *Old Reliable: A History of Bingham Canyon.* Tucson, AZ. Westerlore Press. 1988. pp. 161-163.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 163-164.

[29] Esperanza and Gavino Aguayo. Hispanic Oral Histories. MS # 1369. Interview. Box 1. Folder 2. Manuscript Division. University of Utah Marriott Library. Salt Lake City, UT. 1985.

[30] Juanita Jimenez. Hispanic Oral Histories. MS # 1369. Box 2. Folder 12. 1985.

[31] Leonard J. Arrington. "Utah, the New Deal and the Depression of the 1930s," Dello G. Dayton Memorial Lecture. Weber State College. March 25, 1982.

[32] Richard White. *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A New History of the American West.* Norman, OK. University of Oklahoma Press. 1991. Also, Thomas G. Alexander. "Utah War Industry During World War II: A Human Impact Analysis." *Utah Historical Quarterly.* Volume 5 1, # 1, Winter 1983. pp. 72-92. Salt Lake City. UT. See also, Eugene E. Campbell. "The M-Factors in Tootle's History." *Utah Historical Quarterly.* Volume 5 1. #3, Summer 1983. pp. 272-288. Salt Lake City, UT. Also, Leonard J. Arrington; Thomas G. Alexander; and Eugene S. Jr. Ebb. "Utah's Biggest Business: Ogden Air Material Area at Hill Air Force Base, 1938-1965." *Utah Historical Quarterly.* Volume 33. #1. Winter 1965. pp. 9-33. Salt Lake City, UT. Also, Leonard J. Arrington; and Thomas G. Alexander. "Supply Hub of the West: Defense Depot Ogden, 1941-1964." *Utah Historical Quarterly.* Volume 32. #2, Spring 1964. pp. 99-121. Salt Lake City, UT. Also, Leonard J. Arrington; Thomas G. Alexander; and Eugene S. Jr. Ebb. "Utah's Biggest Business: Ogden Air Material Area at Hill Air Force Base, 1938-1965." *Utah Historical Quarterly.* Volume 33. #1. Winter 1965. pp. 9-33. Salt Lake City, UT. Also, Leonard J. Arrington, and Archer L. Durham. "Anchors Aweigh in Utah: The U.S. Naval Supply Depot at Clearfield, 1942-1962." *Utah Historical Quarterly.* Volume 31, # 2. Spring 1963. pp. 109-126. Salt Lake City, UT. Also, Thomas G. Alexander, and Leonard J. Arrington. "Utah's Small Arms Ammunition Plant During World War II." *Pacific Historical Review.* Volume 34. # 2. May 1965. pp. 185-189. And, James B. Allen. "Crisis on the Home Front: The Federal Government and Utah's Defense Housing in World War II." *Pacific Historical Review.* Volume 38. #4. November 1969. pp. 407-428.

[33] John E. Christiansen. "The Impact of World War II." In Richard D. Poll (ed.) *Utah's History.* Logan, UT. Utah State University Press. pp. 497-514.

[34] Sara Deutsch. *No Separate Refuge: Culture, Class and Gender on an Anglo-Hispanic Frontier in the American Southwest, 1880-1940.* New York City, NY. Oxford University Press. 1988. Also, Laura Pulido. *Environmentalism and Economic Justice: Two Chicano Struggles in the Southwest.* Tucson, AR. The University of Arizona Press. 1996.

[35] Joe Pacheco. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 83. 1973.

[36] Rosa Sandoval. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 46. 1972. p. 46.

[37] José Jesús Palacio. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 59. 1972. p. 14.
[38] Valentine Arámbula. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 31. 1972. p. 2.
[39] José Jesús Palacio. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 59. 1972. p. 5.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[41] Rosa Sandoval. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 46. 1972. p. 8.
[42] Ellen Córdova. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 7. 1972. p. 14.
[43] Louis Amador. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 3. 1971. pp. 1-7.
[44] Merlin Barela. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 51. 1971.
[45] Blair, William C. Blair. "An Ethnological Survey of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Bingham Canyon, Utah." Master's Degree Thesis. University of Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah. 1948.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 30.
[47] Nick Leyba. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 86. 1973. p. 14.
[48] Edith Meléndez. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 74. 1973. p. 22.
[49] Harold Nielsen.Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 98. 1972. p. 9.
[50] Ellen Córdova. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 7. 1972. p. 7.
[51] Mike Meléndez. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 28. 1972. pp. 2-3.
[52] Merlin Barela. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 51. 1971. p. 9.
[53] Alberto González. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 33. 1972. p.8.
[54] Harold Nielsen. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 98. 1972. p. 2.
[55] Louis Amador. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 3. 1970. pp. 26-27.
[56] Utah Bureau of Immigration 1913: 18.
[57] Diplomatic relationships between Mexico and the United States were limited between the period 1910 and 1917. This situation was reflected in the fact that E.D. Hashimoto, a Japanese American, was appointed as the Mexican Consul in 1916. Hashimoto acted more like a labor contractor than a consul. His main activities were hiring Mexicans for the Utah's mines and workers for the Union Pacific Railroad.
[58] By 1925 a stable Mexican community started emerging in Bingham. As in other areas of the Southwest, the Mexicans who decided to remain in Utah continued traveling to Mexico on a yearly basis. One reason for these visitations were to maintain contact with their families and to provide them with financial assistance.
[59] Crisoforo & Petra Gómez. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 104. 1973.
[60] Jesús Avila. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 99. 1973.
[61] Katherine Chávez. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 131. 1973.
[62] Jesse López. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 108. 1973. pp. 5-6.
[63] Francis Yañez. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 5. 1971.
[64] Jesusita Aparicio. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 36. 1972. p. 14.
[65] Francis Yañez. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 5. 1971. p. 71.
[66] For a full discussion of the nomenclature "Spanish Americans," and "Hispano," see Sylvia Rodríquez. "The Hispano Homeland Debate Revisited." In *Perspectives in Mexican American Studies*. Vol. 3, 1992. pp. 95-114. Also, Phillip B. Gonzalez. "The Hispano Homeland Debate: New Lessons." In *Perspectives in Mexican American Studies*. Vol. 6, 1997. pp. 123-141.
[67] Jesús Castillo. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 10. 1971. p. 29.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[69] Emilio J. Vázquez. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 11. 1971. p. 5.

[70] Francisco Solorio. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 9. 1971. p. 55.
[71] José Jesús Palacio. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 59. 1972. p. 11.
[72] Jesús Castillo. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 10. 1971. pp. 30-31.
[73] Emilio J. Vázquez. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 11.1971. pp. 30-32.
[74] Jesús Castillo. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.
[75] Enor Martinez. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 18. 1973. p. 13.
[76] Eduviges S. Garcia. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 24. 1972. p. 17.
[77] Francis Yañez. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 5. 1971. p. 24.
[78] Jesús Castillo. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
[79] Filomeno Ochoa. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 34-35. 1973. p. 13
[80] Jesús Castillo. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.
[81] Francisco Solorio. 1971. p. 57.
[82] Emilio Vázquez. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
[83] *Ibid.*, p. 26.
[84] Jesús Palacio. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[85] Emilio Vázquez. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
[86] Kennecott official recruited Puerto Ricans through radio ads. After filling their application in the employment office, Puerto Ricans were physically examined, and if in good condition, they signed a contract for six months. Puerto Ricans were guaranteed a salary of $4.15 per day and all transportation expenses were covered by Kennecott. See, Gerardo Meléndez. Op. cit. 1973. pp. 4-5.
[87] Edith Meléndez. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 74. 1973. p. 12.
[88] Gerardo Meléndez. Op. cit. 1973. p. 11.
[89] Juán and Margarita Villalobos. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 81. 1973. pp. 19-20. Also, Nick Leyva. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 86. 1973.
[90] Gerardo Meléndez. Op. cit. 1973. pp. 33-34.
[91] This statement and other similar one can be found in Harold Nielsen. Op. cit. p. 89.
[92] Silas Lobato. Hispanic Oral Histories. MS # 1369. Interview. Box 3. Folder 3. 1984.
[93] *The Book of Mormon.* 2 Nephi 5:20-21.
[94] Juán and Margarita Villalobos. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 81. 1973. pp. 16-17.
[95] Enid Meléndez. Op. cit. 1973. p. 12.
[96] Katherine Chávez. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 131. 1973. p. 26.
[97] Mr. & Mrs. Santos Cabrera. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 6. 1971. pp. 7-8.
[98] Alberto González. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 33. 1972. p. 18.
[99] Crisoforo & Petra Gómez. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 104. 1973.
[100] Enid Meléndez. Op. cit. 1973. p. 17.
[101] Katherine Chávez. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 131. 1973. p. 25.
[102] Enid Meléndez. Op. cit. 1973. p. 18.
[103] Cosme Chacón. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 110. 1973. p. 29-31.
[104] Ellen Cordova. Spanish Speaking Oral Interview. MS #96. Interview 7. 1973. p. 19.
[105] Vicente Mayer. Op. cit. 1976.

[106] Salt Lake Tribune 1942. Also, Mauricio Mazon. *The Zoot-Suit Riots: The Psychology of Symbolic Annihilation.* Austin, Texas. University of Texas Press. Austin, TX. 1984.

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