LATINO HERITAGE OF GREATER SEATTLE

Intensive Level Survey Documentation and Illustrated Historic Context Statement

ARTIFACTS CONSULTING, INC.

WASHINGTON TRUST FOR HISTORIC PRESERVATION

WASHINGTON STATE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION

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Cover page: Image of the Somos Aztlan painting by Emilio Aguayo for the Chicano Room at the University of Washington Ethnic Cultural Center in 1971. Aguayo, a MECHA student and commercial artist, painted the first representative cultural mural in the Chicano Room at the UW's former Ethnic Cultural Center (demolished, replaced with new Ethnic Cultural Center). Image courtesy of Erasmo Gamboa.

All current photographs were taken in 2018 by Susan Johnson, Artifacts Consulting, Inc. unless otherwise noted.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This intensive level survey covered properties which fit a thematic focus, Latino Heritage, across the Seattle metropolitan area and into unincorporated King County with the following results.

- 21 intensive-level inventory forms completed and recorded in WISAARD
  - » 7 new intensive-level forms
  - » 14 previously existing forms (mostly reconnaissance level) updated to include Latino association
- The period of focus for the project was initially set at 1967–1987, to address the second phase of Latino heritage studies for Washington State. The first phase, completed in 2016, examined the Yakima Valley and covered the early to mid-20th century. This second phase was originally aimed at documenting the stories of the migration of Yakima Valley families to Seattle. Following the research, the context statement was expanded to start during World War II, to capture the earlier waves of Latino migration to Seattle.
- The properties are all located within the Seattle city limits except for one (1) in the City of Burien and four (4) in White Center, a community in King County just outside of Seattle. (see Maps 1-3 for survey area illustrations, pp.4-6)
- The surveyed properties represent a wide variety of architectural forms and styles. Construction dates range from 1901 (Barron's Barbershop) to 1962 (University District Building), with one recently established park as an outlier (Cesar Chavez Park).
- Property types include churches, schools, commercial buildings, medical clinics, a park, and a single-family house.
- Several properties potentially individually eligible for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) at the local level of significance were identified. One of them, El Centro, already has a nomination in progress. Franklin High School is the only property in this survey which is already listed on the NRHP, as a contributing resource in the Mount Baker Park Historic District (as of 2018). The two nominations put forward as part of this project are:
  - » Chief Sealth International High School, for association with Proyecto Saber. Built in 1958.
  - » Picardo House, for association with renowned Mexican-American artist Alfredo Arreguin. Built in 1944.

PROJECT BACKGROUND

This collaborative project was led by the Washington Trust for Historic Preservation, under contract with the Washington Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation (DAHP). Artifacts Consulting, Inc. served as a consultant. This documentation fulfills stipulations set forth in the RFP from DAHP, which called for the inventory, documentation, evaluation and nomination of historic places in the Puget Sound region associated with Latino heritage. The deliverables were to include one historic context document, 20 to 30 intensive level inventory records, two National Register of Historic Places nominations, and 8 to 10 oral recorded interviews. The completed context adheres to the guidelines in NPS Bulletin 16B. Inventory forms meet DAHP's Standards for Cultural Resource Reporting. The context document must be prepared in both English and Spanish. At least two public meetings - one at the start of the project and one at the end sharing results - were also required.

From the RFP:

> "This project will build upon the results of phase I of this effort to identify and evaluate historic places in Washington State associated with Latino heritage (http://dahp.wa.gov/ethnic-preservation). Whereas phase I focused on sites in the Yakima Valley, phase II shifts the geographic focus to urban areas in western Washington with emphasis on the city of Seattle. The study's temporal focus shifts to the 1960s through the 1980s in order to document the educational, activism, and organizational efforts in the Latino community and document the historic places (buildings, structures, sites, districts, objects, and landscapes) that are associated with those efforts. Examples include organizations such as Sea-Mar community health centers and El Centro de la Raza."

All consultants/sub-consultants exceed the Secretary of the Interior's Professional Qualifications Standards, used by the National Park Service, and published in the Code of Federal Regulations, 36 CFR Part 61. Personnel and tasks performed during the project listed below.

- Julianne Patterson, Washington Trust for Historic Preservation - project oversight and coordination, public outreach
- Susan Johnson, Artifacts Consulting - coordination of survey; research, oral history interviews, text editing, photography, report production, HPI form entry and upload
- Claudia Kiyama, historic preservation consultant - survey field work, research, writing, public outreach, oral history interviews
- Erasmo Gamboa, Professor Emeritus (University of Washington) - research and writing of historic context statement, interviews (not recorded)

Copies of the inventory forms and report reside with DAHP. Inventory forms are publicly accessible online through the Washington Information System for Architectural and Archaeological Records Data (WISAARD) at fortress.wa.gov/dahp/wisaardp3/ under DAHP project 2018-10-07903.

Methodology

Project planning meetings were held early in 2018 to divide up the project tasks and set the schedule. The first public meeting, to kickoff the project, was held at the High Point Seattle public branch library. Professor Erasmo Gamboa took charge of making contacts for potential oral history participants as well as overall research for the historic context. Public outreach was conducted in coordination with Sea Mar Community Health as part of their soon-to-open Museum of Chicano/Latino Heritage. Press releases, flyers, and contact forms were distributed to the media and at the Cinco de Mayo Community Festival at El Centro de la Raza in May 2018. Flyers were also available at the 2018 Northwest Folklife Festival, as part of the panel presentation on Latino heritage.

Field work for the historic property inventory and documentation began in June 2018, conducted by Susan Johnson and Claudia Kiyama. Primary and secondary source materials such as Polk directories, census data, local newspaper articles, and King County Assessor historic property cards were consulted as part of the property research. Repositories visited include the Puget Sound Regional Branch (PSRB) of the Washington State Archives. Online materials were gathered from the Seattle Public Library, Seattle Times database, UW's Pacific Coast Architecture Database (PCAD), the Washington Deparment of Archaeology & Historic Preservation's records database (WISAARD), and the architect biographies from DocoMomo-Wewa.org. King County Assessor historic property cards, archived at the PSRB, were digitally photographed and provided many historic images of the surveyed properties.

Professor Gamboa produced the historic context, which served as the foundation for the inventory significance statements as well as the evaluation of the two NRHP nominated properties.

Oral history interviews were conducted by Professor Gamboa, Susan Johnson and Claudia Kiyama. Interviews were conducted at public libraries, the University of Washington campus, Chief Sealth High School, Sea Mar's South Park campus, and at private residences.

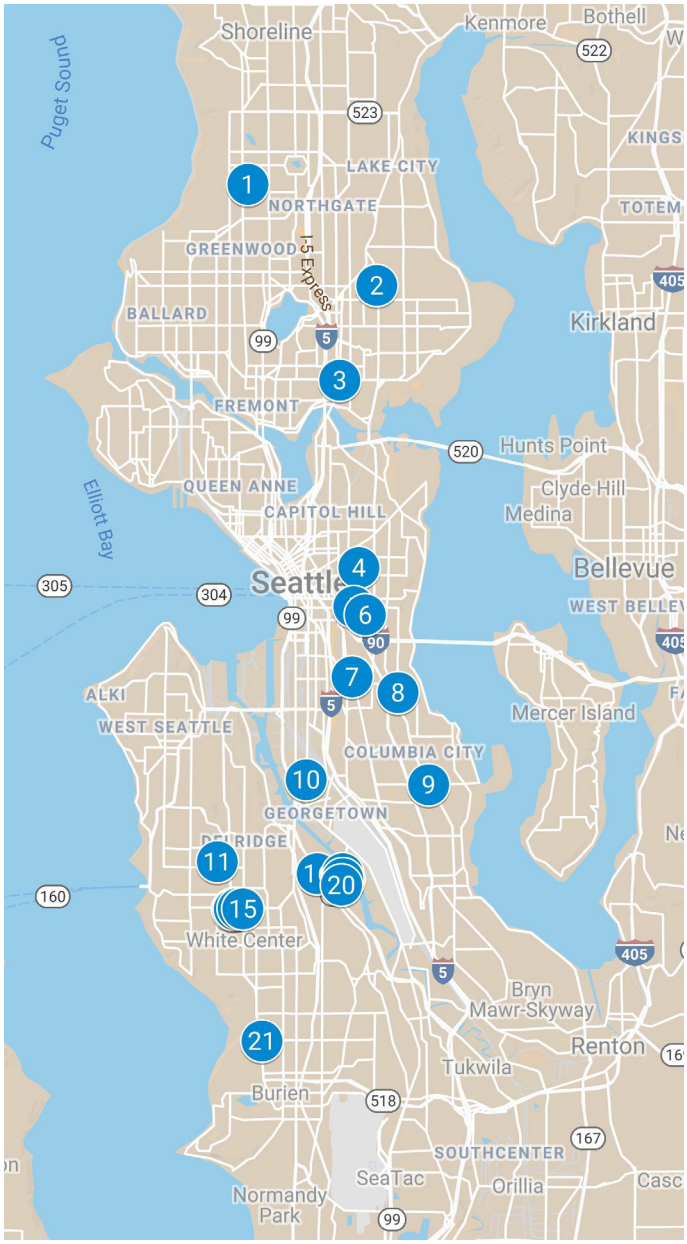
The second and final public meeting was held May 23, 2019 at Casa Latina.

Latino Heritage Survey sites

Surveyed sites, numbered approx. north to south

1. Christ the King Catholic Church
2. Picardo House
3. University District Building
4. Immaculate Conception Church
5. Casa Latina
6. St. Mary's Catholic Church
7. El Centro de la Raza
8. Franklin High School
9. St. Edward's Catholic Church
10. Barron's Barbershop
11. Chief Sealth International Hig School
12. Holy Family Church School
13. Holy Family Catholic Church
14. Salvadorean Bakery
15. Decoraciones Ely
16. Cesar Chavez Park
17. Jalisco Restaurant
18. Sea Mar Community Health Clinic
19. Juan Colorado Mexican Food
20. Pasteleria y Panaderia La Ideal
21. La Canasta

Locations of 21 surveyed sites for 2018 Latino Heritage Survey, Greater Seattle.



Map 1. Survey Area
Overview map for the survey area, with each site documented assigned a pin number. Sites are listed at side. Base map via Google.

Latino Heritage Survey sites (White Center)

Surveyed sites

11 Chief Sealth International High School

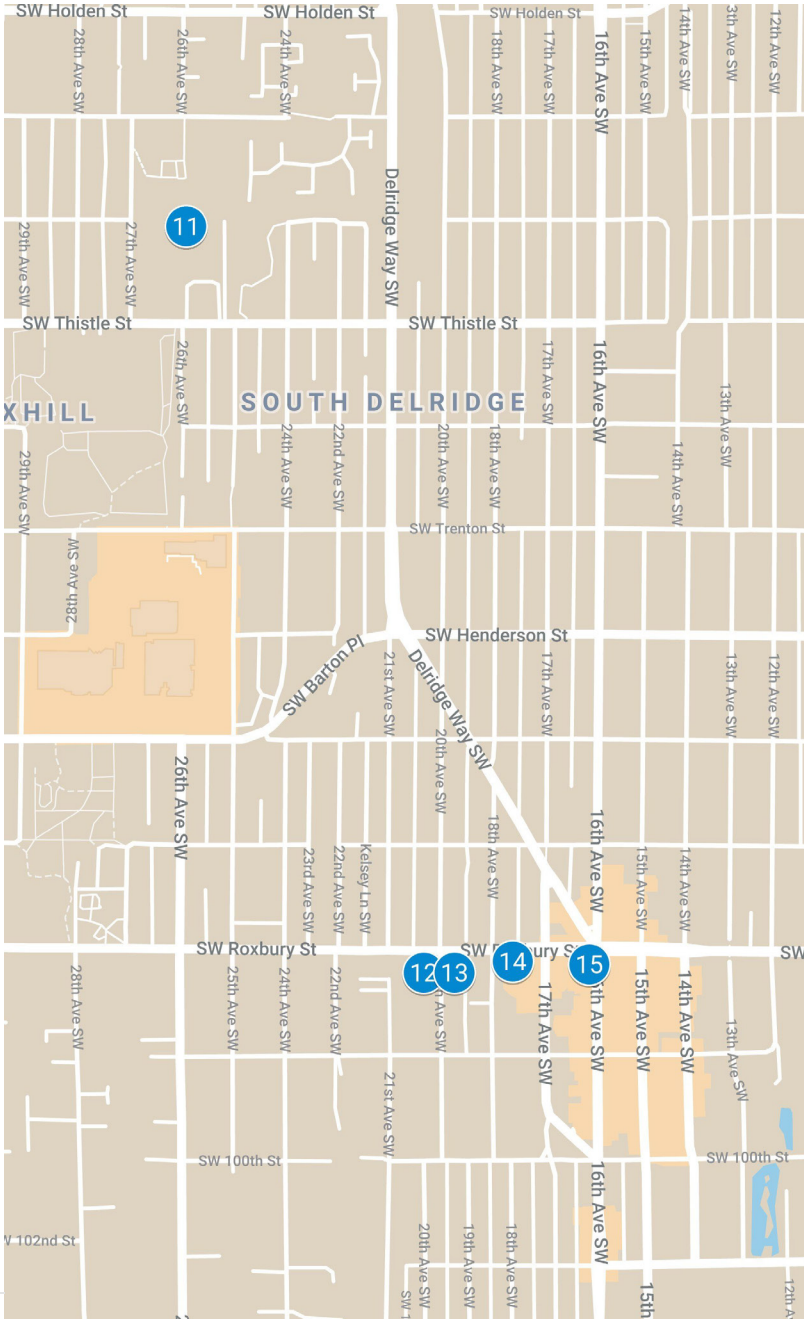
12 Holy Family Church School

13 Holy Family Catholic Church

14 Salvadorean Bakery

15 Decoraciones Ely

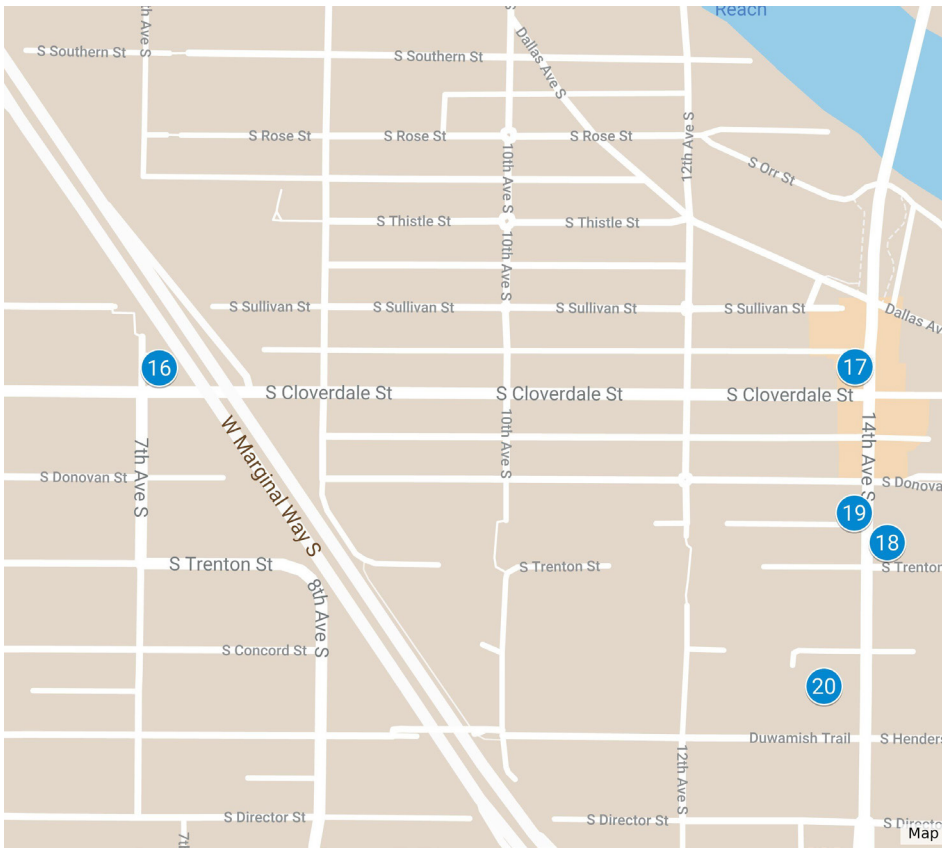
Detailed view of surveyed properties near South Delridge/White Center.



Map 2. Survey Area, White Center detail.
Zoomed in map for the survey in the White Center area, pins 12-15. Base map via Google.

Latino Heritage Survey sites - South Park detail

Surveyed sites



16 Cesar Chavez Park
17 Jalisco Restaurant
18 Sea Mar Community Health Clinic
19 Juan Colorado Mexican Food
20 Pasteleria y Panaderia La Ideal

Locations of surveyed sites for 2018 Latino Heritage Survey, South Park neighbo

Map 3. Survey Area, South Park detail
Zoomed in map for the survey in the South Park neighborhood, pins 16-20. Base map via Google.

HISTORIC CONTEXT

King County Latino Heritage: WWII-1980s

by Dr. Erasmo Gamboa, Professor Emeritus, University of Washington

Introduction

Today, King County has numerous notable budding geographic spaces where Latinos comprise upwards of 30 percent of the resident population. The cities of Sea Tac and Burien have gradually emerging concentrations that forecast the growth of sizable and culturally recognizable Latino neighborhoods. Historically and still true today, Seattle's South Park neighborhood and nearby residential zones such as White Center have long been home to many Latino families and represent established cultural hubs. However, until World War II, King County had not been a prime destination for Latino immigrants or migrants. This report examines the growth of the Seattle King County Latino population between World War II and the 1980s.

Three distinct phases of change have been identified and are addressed in detail in this report. The first generation of Latinos, relocated from the Yakima Valley during and after World War II to take advantage of prosperous times in Seattle, struggled to endure social dislocation but eventually laid the foundation for subsequent arrivals. The 1960s witnessed the second generation or wave of Latinos, referring to themselves as Chicanos. This second phase is generally characterized as the first groups of students coming to the University of Washington from the Yakima Valley and the rise of Chicano student activism in civil rights and social change. This generation was all about persuasion and bringing people together to support their goals and in the process helped to transform Seattle into a far more progressive and inclusive locale. The mid-1970s began the third phase in the developing Latino community. As opposed to the influx of Yakima Valley residents in the prior phases, the third phase brought new immigrants, from outside the United States. They included Central Americans, South Americans, Mexicans, and Caribbean Americans brought cultural diversity, enriching Seattle's previously predominantly Mexican American centered Latino community.

Research Challenges

Although Latinos have an extended historical presence across Washington, only recently has more detailed census data made it possible to more accurately quantify and map the social spaces where Latinos reside. The enhanced census data notwithstanding, the period under study in the King County Latino Heritage Project presents a host of very difficult quantifying and mapping challenges.

It is impossible to quantify the number and location of Latinos in Washington prior to 1970 because the federal census did not enumerate the group as a separate racial or ethnic category. Where the federal census counted Latinos using changing ethnic criteria such as Spanish Speaking, Spanish Surname, or Spanish Mother Tongue in other parts of the United States, Washington State Latinos were put into the amorphous category of "other." Absent quantifiable census data, scholars, sociologists, social geographers, and demographers did not focus their research on the Latino community. As a result, there is a dearth of published materials linked to Latinos prior to 1970. That year, however, the census adopted the term "Hispanic" to compute and localize the Latino population in Washington State and across the nation. Consequently, much of what is understood in this study about the socioeconomic spaces inhabited by Latinos prior to 1970 is based on archival research and oral histories with long-time Seattle residents.

Historical Background

Well into the first quarter of the 20th century, people did not consider King County or Seattle a terminus but rather a temporary stop along the way to another destination. For decades and aside from its maritime industry, small farms, and large scale logging, Seattle and King County did not draw a large number of permanent residents. Other western cities such as Spokane, Portland, San Francisco and Los Angeles overshadowed Seattle for many years. In fact, King County's population actually shrank between the end of the 1930s and the early 1940s.

The turning point in the area's demographic growth began with World War II. The war ushered in a wave of migrants from many places drawn mostly by the booming wartime ship and aircraft construction centered economy. For instance, Todd Ship Yards, a prominent shipbuilding company for the nation with operations in Seattle and Tacoma, employed more than 28,000 workers constructing aircraft carriers and cargo ships for the U. S. Navy and Merchant Marine Service. The Boeing Company also profited from military contracts, building the majority of long-range bomber aircraft flying in the European and Pacific war theaters.

Originally located in South Seattle, Boeing expanded to Renton at the start of the war to manufacture heavy bomber planes. Before the war, the company employed less than 10,000 workers but by 1941 Boeing had a workforce of approximately 29,000 workers. Employment

1930s ad from US Department of Labor, calling Spanish speaking workers to find farm work in the Yakima Valley. Source: Erasmo Gamboa.

"ATENCION"
BETABELERAS

Mexicanos y Filipinos
Fimilares y Solteros
Salidas Gratis en el Tren

Pagamos $13.00 per Acre

Tenemos bastante betabel list ara
desahijares en
El Valle de Yakima
Washington
En El Camino Proveemos

GRATIS Comido Pasaje GRATIS
Opportunidad
Absolutamente No Seran Descantad

$13.00 per acre

DESAHIJE $7.50
Primero Escarda 2.50
Segunda 1.50
Limpia 1.50

Tabien Tenenos Betabel Mas Tarde
el El Territorial de Bellingham, Wash.

Pota Mos information consultan a Muestros Agentes
Russell's Employment Agency
1010½ Second St., Sacramento, California
Agentes de le
Utah Idaho Sugar Compania
Salidas de Sacramento, California, el dia.

Figure 3. (U.S. Dept. of Labor Bull. 836) Spelling and grammatical errors suggest that such handbills were prepared by non-Spanish or semiliterate native speakers.

grew exponentially as the demand for military aircraft increased. At war's end, around 44,000 workers, including many women, held Boeing jobs. The reasons for the growth of Todd Shipyards and the Boeing Company are not hard to find. As mentioned above, World War II ushered in unprecedented industrial employment opportunities in the Seattle area and with it came urban development. In turn, the local economy expanded in response to increasing federal contracts tied to military aircraft and ship construction.

Seattle was not unique in this respect. World War II had a drastic effect on the national economy. Other cities across the nation, particularly along the west coast, experienced similar economic development and urban expansion. Eight million women and men were unemployed in the U.S. in 1940 yet by 1943, joblessness plunged to less than 1 million. By 1944, unemployment had virtually evaporated. Economically, the war years were the antecedents for the growth and development of Seattle, King County, and the rest of the nation.

Each wave of workers arriving to Seattle to take jobs in the shipyards, at Boeing, building homes, or in retail sales during the war and post war years were accompanied by Latinos from out of state as well as small farming communities in eastern Washington. Attracted by enhanced job opportunities, workers from Yakima and Benton counties abandoned employment in the state's farming sectors even as the federal War Food Administration pressed farmers to produce record quantities of food and materials for domestic and military consumption. Consequently and almost overnight, eastern Washington farms suddenly faced critical labor shortages as entire working families relocated to better waged jobs in King and Pierce counties.

In Washington, and across many parts of the nation, the lack of farm workers precipitated a serious farm production crisis prompting the federal government to act. Beginning in 1942 and continuing through 1947, the U.S. government signed the first of 3 formal agreements with Mexico allowing single men to temporarily migrate to help with farm production. Under the terms of the bi-national agreement, U.S. government agents travelled to Mexico to select men, called braceros, to aid labor strapped farms. In all, 20 percent of braceros contracted to U.S. farms came to aid Pacific Northwest agricultural employers. Although this use of Mexican contract labor was designed as a temporary program to ease serious wartime farm labor needs, the broader national dependency on braceros did not end until 1964. The bi-national labor agreement resulted in stagnant and lower wages in Washington's farming communities. The conflation of interstate migration and the contracting of Mexican labor over such an extended period ultimately contributed to an exodus of workers, including resident Latinos from rural to urban areas.

Development of Eastern Washington Latino Communities

When the first contingent of wartime braceros arrived to eastern Washington, they found already emerging Mexican American enclaves in some Yakima area communities like Wapato, Toppenish, Granger, and Sunnyside. A few of these resident families had commenced migrating to the farming areas of the state during the Great Depression alongside the better known migration of white impoverished "Dust Bowlers." In the beginning, the majority of these Depression-era Mexican itinerants originated from other labor saturated agricultural areas in Wyoming, Texas, Montana and California. They travelled freely along the western circuit of seasonal farming areas, although some were directly recruited by sugar beet, hop, and potato producers.

In the 1930s, the federal government and local municipal communities considered Mexicans and Mexican Americans as unwanted residents and managed to deport nearly 1 million residents of Mexican descent from various states. In California, Texas, and Wyoming, white residents vehemently deflected their own desperation against persons of Mexican ancestry. In many instances, the Spanish speaking community was left out of many of the social benefits of the New Deal including being eligible for locally administered state relief and public housing. Across the western states, local communities were openly vindictive towards persons of Mexican descent by urging businesses not to cater to "Mexicans" or segregating them from whites in theaters, schools, and other public places.

Surprisingly, eastern Washington, although not entirely free of racial animosity, provided a welcome escape from the hardened racism facing Mexican Americans in Wyoming, Texas, and other southwestern states. Moreover, by the 1940s, and despite the presence of braceros, work was plentiful in light of the increasing federal demand for farm products, internment of Yakima Valley Japanese Americans, and the migration of whites seeking better job opportunities in Se-

attle, Tacoma, and other industrial sites.

By the time the war wound down, there was a growing presence in eastern Washington of the Spanish speaking community. Residents recognized the growing population of Mexican American farm working families clustered in labor camps and living in dilapidated but affordable houses. The combination of the bracero program, increased farm production, and the departure of white families seeking upward mobility through better employment prospects in King and Pierce counties underscores the development of Mexican Americans in areas such as the Yakima Valley.

Migratory Flow to King County and Seattle

Continual groups of arriving Mexican American farm working migrants pulled by advertising or enticed to come by the department of agriculture to eastern Washington became effectively linked with low paid stoop labor work harvesting hops, asparagus, potatoes, and sugar beets. In point of fact, until the 1960s, a two-tiered, racially defined hierarchy of farm jobs existed in places like the Yakima Valley. White laborers were concentrated doing orchard and fruit packing jobs while Mexican American men and women were relegated to less desirable, low paid stoop labor.

As mentioned above, many whites left the Yakima area enticed by higher waged wartime industrial employment in western Washington. The exodus of young white men and women, sometimes right out of high school, further entrenched Mexican Americans into the area's lowest paid farming wage economy. As a consequence and in a very short period of time, the valley's expanding Mexican American communities became inextricably tied to the terms "farmworker" and "migrant workers" in the minds of many, especially employers.

The Growing Seattle Latino Community

The children of the families that migrated to Yakima during the depression and World War II era grew up in the shadow of extremely difficult times. They were quite familiar with their parents' stories of unforgettable racial acrimony in other states. In their own short lifetimes, these young men and women had already experienced similar incidents of racial disequilibrium in white majority schools, interpersonal relations, and non-farm employment. They recognized the futility of trying to improve their social and economic status if they remained in Yakima's small, ethnically bifurcated farming communities. As their parents before them, they too started to out-migrate from eastern Washington farming towns to take advantage of burgeoning job and educational opportunities in the western side of the state. As happened among the majority white population, Seattle's war and post war industrial boom also drove the Spanish speaking

1965 image of South Park. The Dutch Boy Paint store at center became Jalisco Mexican Restaurant in 1992. Source: Puget Sound Regional Branch Archives.

demographic transition from Yakima to King and Pierce counties and laid the foundation for the urban Latino presence.

As aforementioned, the written record is not clear about Seattle and Tacoma's growing Mexican American community at that time. Until 1970, the federal census and Washington state agencies made little effort to map the Latino presence. Consider that in 1968, the Washington State Planning and Community Affairs Agency, in its study of the state's non-white races critically overlooked the entire Latino population. Perhaps, the study purposefully centered its focus on racial as opposed to ethnic groups, but by this time non-white Mexican American communities were easily discernible in spaces like Yakima, Walla Walla, the Columbia Basin, and to a lesser extent Seattle. Yet, oral narratives and some scant historical materials provide a guide to the development of the Seattle/King County Latino community.

Latinos migrated to the Seattle area until the recession of 1946, when Boeing employment fell from nearly 45,000 workers to slightly over 10,000 and causing many unemployed workers to leave King County. For example, there's the case of Frank Jaime who left Wyoming for Yakima County but during the war secured a job at Todd Pacific Shipyard in Tacoma. By 1946 Frank Jaime was once again doing farm work in Yakima. Of course not everyone left their industrial jobs after the war -- some Latinos made Seattle their home. Victor Elizondo, originally from New Mexico and a highly decorated World War II air corps veteran, went to work at Boeing after the war and remained in Seattle for the rest of his life.

The Latino war workers and military veterans discharged at Fort Lewis or Fort Lawton who remained in the Seattle area were so few in number that an identifiable and concentrated community failed to emerge. Until the federal government began to provide public housing for war workers at sites like Yester Terrace, Latinos and others were dispersed as they took homes where available regardless of location.

A watershed point in the development of Seattle's Latino community came with the midcentury post-war economic boom. If hiring at Boeing was any indicator of this boom, consider that by 1957, employment at its two main aircraft manufacturing plants surpassed the peak number of men and women hired during World War II. Once again Latinos were in the mix of the shipyard and aircraft plant hires. Roberto Gallegos worked as a boilermaker at Todd Shipyards. Boeing recruited Dumas Delgado from Victoria, Texas to work as a carpenter, a job he held until retiring decades later. Both of these men, as was the case for others, liked Seattle enough to settle here permanently, contributing to the growth of the Spanish speaking community.

Drawing from anecdotal and personal testimonies, this second wave of Latinos migrating to King County brought sufficient numbers to allow them to organize Seattle's El Club Latino (Latin Club) in 1958. Some arrived to Seattle from eastern Washington while others like Dumas Delgado were recruited here from out-of-state. Upon reflection and when asked why they migrated here or decided to remain here, many of those interviewed had a similar response -- "it was better here." Their expectations in their new environment went far beyond work opportunities; they also called attention to less overt and forceful anti-Mexican hostility experienced in other states and Yakima itself.

This second cohort of Latinos entering King County found it difficult to develop their own "little Mexico" or "little Latino" neighborhoods because they found it practically impossible to purchase property in close proximity to one another. Most initially moved into public housing in Seattle's High Point or Yester Terrace complexes until they could purchase homes around Georgetown, Roxbury, White Center, and South Park neighborhoods. In time, these sectors became affordable areas when increasingly more affluent white, middle-class families relocated to new established suburban zones north and south of the city. Latinos changed the ethnic diversity of some Seattle neighborhoods and surrounding communities by integrating among Asian American, African American, and Euromerican residential zones. This was particularly true of Seattle's public housing units.

Without reliable census figures, oral testimony has been useful to locate the spaces where many Latinos resided prior to 1970. Consider the case of Manuel Barron, born in Alice, Texas who first came to Seattle in the last years of the Great Depression and remained in Seattle after his army discharge in 1947. For a time, he resided in the Lake City area but later moved to south Seattle because, according to him, that was where most "Mexicanos" lived. In 1954, Manuel Barron opened Barron's Barbershop at 5609 Fourth Avenue South and it became a neighborhood hub of information and news for south Seattle Latinos. At the time, these were areas

where the emerging Latino community could purchase reasonably priced "Boeing box homes" within their means. For instance, Victor Elizondo, the decorated World War II air corps veteran, purchased his home at 8619 20th Avenue Southwest in the Delridge neighborhood of Seattle. Not too far from here, the Airport Way Market located at 6249 Airport Way South catered to the community by stocking Mexican foods such aspan dulce and chorizo, products that came mostly from the restaurant El Ranchito in the Yakima Valley. Other evidence of an emerging Latino space in the south end of the city included El Jacalito Tavern at 833 Rainier Avenue South, the Taco House at 1505 1st Avenue between Pine and Pike Streets, and a growing number of retail and service establishments that advertised in Spanish.

Again, oral narratives and surviving historical documents are instrumental in mapping the evolution of the Seattle Latino community. Beginning in the 1960s Wapato, undoubtedly the oldest permanent Mexican American community in the state, noted the out migration of some of its younger members. In fact the town had substantially grown between 1940 and 1950, but ten years later first and second generation Latinos began to leave. Although some families left Wapato for other states, others moved to Seattle. Of fifteen families who relocated from Wapato to Seattle, almost all of them moved to south Seattle neighborhoods around the 1960s; three of the families moved to Lynnwood, north of Seattle.

Several factors made south Seattle a magnet for eastern Washington Latinos. Historically, industrial employment had centered in the area and housing in the post-war urban environment was within reach. More than any other factor, the "Boeing Boom" of the 1960s had the effect of pulling aspiring Latino workers into neighborhoods adjacent to the Seattle and Renton plants. Latinos also gravitated to south Seattle for reasons other than employment. More so than some north Seattle neighborhoods, areas in the southern parts of the city were made up of clusters of blue collar working class families alongside immigrant and second generation Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, African American, and Italian families. South Seattle's diverse cultural and social matrix of restaurants, bars, and community centers helped soften the transition from rural to urban life. Key to understanding why Latinos gravitated south also had much to do with the location of churches with strong ties to Latino culture (eg, Holy Rosary, Holy Family, and Our Lady of Guadalupe) along with various fraternal orders, such as the Knights of Columbus Hall and Veterans of Foreign War Lodge 3075 in White Center.

By 1967, the growing south Seattle Latino community managed to organize the Club Social Hispano Americano (Hispanic American Social Club). As they remembered from eastern Washington communities, the Club Social Hispano Americano sponsored Raquel Saragoza as "Queen" of the Seattle's Spanish speaking community. The Club also began to sponsor "bailes grandes" a term also borrowed from "El Baile Grande" a popular dance hall in Toppenish, Washington. Evidently, the "dress up" dances held in rented halls were well attended as people were drawn to music of a local Seattle group called the "6 Latinos." On weekends, the burgeoning community also started to arrange picnics in Seattle parks. These picnics went beyond building social relationships and functioned as opportunities for political discussion and strat-

1965 image of Barron's Barbershop, which also served as the headquarters for the Club Social Hispano Americano. 5609 South 4th Ave, Seattle. Source: Puget Sound Branch Regional Archives.

egizing. By 1971, Club Social Hispano Americano morphed into a more politically active "El Club Latino of Seattle" alongside another group called "Equal Opportunity for Spanish Speaking Americans of Seattle." These two upper working class organizations emerged to advocate on behalf of the city's Latinos.

Thus, during and after World War II and continuing into the following decades, Latinos, mostly of Mexican ancestry, began arriving to Seattle and King County. Over the years, they constructed their own ethnic identity in a cultural environment devoid of references to Latinos. This redefined and broadened the meaning of cultural diversity and plurality in Seattle and King County. Ideological identity and political empowerment occurred as well. By 1972, the Seattle chapter of the national SER (Service, Employment, Redevelopment) Jobs for Progress program held its annual convention at the Washington Plaza Hotel on October 7 featuring Mayor Wes Ulhman and Governor Daniel Evans as keynote speakers. One year earlier, Governor Evans responded to increasing pressure from Seattle Latinos and others across the state to establish the Commission on Mexican American Affairs of the State of Washington responsible for addressing the needs of the state's Mexican American citizens.

The University of Washington; a production Site of Social Activism

Historic ephemera from MECHA. Source: Erasmo Gamboa, personal collection.

A dramatic third stage of Latino migration to King County materialized during the start of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. In order to best understand the impetus for this politically charged demographic movement from east of the Cascades to western Washington, it is necessary to look more closely at the push for social change in places like Yakima stemming from the combined impact of the national civil rights movement, federal commitment to social justice, and the broader global social movements in places like Cuba and Mexico.

President Kennedy's spirited vision for a more inclusive and just society captivated the attention of many Latinos in Yakima's conservative communities. His support and admiration grew even more after the President and the Spanish-speaking First Lady travelled to Mexico and took the time to meet with the country's common people. The fact that the Kennedys were Catholic bolstered the support of Yakima Latinos. Finally, the popularity of "Viva Kennedy" clubs organized in the southwest reverberated into eastern Washington, further solidifying Kennedy's following there. After President Kennedy's assassination, President Johnson raised the prospect for social change by establishing the Office of Economic Opportunity, launching his "War on Poverty," and pushing Congress to enact groundbreaking civil rights legislation aimed at ending discrimination in housing, education, voting, and employment. Young Latinos in eastern Washington began to embrace a belief that social change and personal empowerment lay ahead.

Two other events were instrumental in the third phase of Latino migration from the eastern areas of the state to King County and Seattle. In the spring of 1966, a relatively unknown Mexican American theater group arrived to perform in the Lincoln School auditorium in Sunnyside. Broadcast widely on local Spanish language programming, the theater group drew a large audience as live public theatrical performances were rare in Sunnyside. The actors were from the Teatro Campesino, a group in support of the Cesar Chavez-led farmworkers union in Delano, California. Despite low pay, terrible working conditions and the apparent powerless-

ness of Yakima farmworkers, the Teatro Campesino instilled the idea that workers collectively had power to change their circumstances. At the time, and continuing to this day, the quest for social change became known as "Si se puede" (Yes we can). From that day forward, the effort to empower farmworkers in the Yakima Valley took hold and spurred a remarkable worker strike against hop farm owners during Labor Day week in 1970.

Another key event underscoring the third wave of Latino migration to Seattle occurred in the summer of 1968, when a small group of African American students from the University of Washington Black Student Union came to the Yakima Valley hoping to recruit students to the Seattle campus. Given that the African American population is relatively small in the city of Yakima and almost non-existent in the lower valley communities, the recruiters did not enlist very many Black high school graduates. They did recruit approximately 30 students of Mexican descent to begin classes at the University of Washington in the fall of 1968. The following summer, the initial cohort of 30 Latino students themselves returned to their home towns to recruit others.

Unlike the earlier generations of Latinos moving to Seattle and King County, the "Chicano Students of 1968" were not seeking employment. Instead, they were the sons and daughters that had come of age in segregated Yakima farming communities with little opportunities for personal growth. Their coming to the University of Washington was foreshadowed by the civil rights movement inspiring them to seek and cultivate a more inclusive life. Whatever their motivation, the University of Washington prepared these students to rapidly experience upward social mobility by becoming the first of a continuum of young Latino students with successful professional careers in law, medicine, education, business, government, and other fields in and around King County.

More importantly, their education validated their memory of being treated as second class citizens in eastern Washington, thus pushing them to become intensely engaged in the pursuit of social change. In doing so, they openly critiqued the already established King County Latino

"More importantly, their education validated their memory of being treated as second class citizens in eastern Washington, thus pushing them to become intensely engaged in the pursuit of social change. In doing so, they openly critiqued the already established King County Latino organizations as too passive and challenged them to engage in truly transformative social justice efforts."

organizations as too passive and challenged them to engage in truly transformative social justice efforts.

Recruited almost by chance to the University of Washington and in less than a year, Mexican American students established their presence and identity by joining the National Chicano Civil Rights Movement, better known as the Chicano Movement. Shortly after their arrival in the fall of 1968, the initial group of 30 Yakima Valley high school graduates organized the first officially recognized Mexican American and Chicano student group on the University of Washington campus. The group was briefly called the United Mexican American Students and later Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan (MECHA). Just six months after they arrived in the fall of 1968, the initial group of eastern Washington Mexican American students scored their first campus victory. They organized an extraordinary campus-wide coalition of student organizations to force the University to support the California farm workers' grape boycott by ceasing all purchases of non-union grapes.

At the same time, the initial cohort of Chicano students established a separate Chicano Student Division in the newly formed Special Education Opportunity Program. The Chicano Division dedicated itself to creating a space where the newly arriving Mexican American students could receive academic tutoring and personal counseling. Working together with other minority student groups, Chicanos insisted that a separate and identifiable space would become part of the subsequent development of the Ethnic Cultural Center. In the years that followed and despite

Somos Aztlan painting by Emilio Aguayo for the Chicano Room at the University of Washington Ethnic Cultural Center in 1971. Aguayo, a MECHA student and commercial artist, painted the first representative cultural mural in the Chicano Room at the UW's former Ethnic Cultural Center (demolished, replaced with new Ethnic Cultural Center). Image courtesy of Erasmo Gamboa.

objections from the Chicano students, the University of Washington centralized the semi-autonomous minority student programs into the Office of Minority Affairs and Diversity.

Despite being few in number, a relatively unrecognized ethnic group in Seattle and the University of Washington, the first generation of Chicano students accomplished much with little campus or community support. MECHA successfully pushed the College of Arts and Science to fund the first course in Chicano Studies at the University of Washington and search out appropriate ethnic faculty to teach the curriculum. This initial step led to the organization of the Chicano Studies Program and critical curriculum change in other departments in the College. As was the case with student services, the University restructured Chicano Studies Program, and two other ethnic studies programs, as the American Ethnic Studies Department in the College of Arts and Science at the University of Washington.

The University of Washington Chicano students did not limit their activism to campus affairs. They were active if not central to the success of the Seattle grape boycott at Safeway and A & P Food stores as well as brief occupations at various city sites. In order to build public support for the grape boycott, students got airtime from KRAB, a public radio station located near the University in the Roosevelt neighborhood. Working with community leaders, the students persuaded Seattle's Mayor Wes Uhlman to declare Cesar Chavez as "First Citizen" of the city on December 19, 1969. That evening Cesar Chavez asked Chicano students from the University of Washington to serve as escorts as he entered to speak at Garfield High School's gymnasium. The following year, the Chicano students' energy and commitment to social change amplified even more when Latino hop workers went on strike in September 1970. In many respects, the notion of the Yakima hop strikes came directly from the Chicano students at the University of Washington. They were already directly involved with supporting striking grape workers in California. Indeed, a number of students travelled to Yakima to support the strike and subsequent contract negotiations with the hop farmers.

The Chicano student movement at the University of Washington precipitated the establishment of two of the oldest and most important Seattle Latino community organizations committed to social justice, El Centro de la Raza and Sea Mar Community Health Centers. The interplay between the Chicano student movement and the push for racial equity in Seattle's Latino and Black Civil Rights Movement was important. The young Chicano student activists, already influenced by the Black Student Union, viewed the existing Latino organizations as too weak, passive, tempered by outside funding sources, and therefore unable to directly meet the needs of the community. On the other hand, they considered the African American community, especially the Congress for Racial Equality and Seattle Opportunities Industrialization Center as much more active and focused in seeking equal opportunity and ending racial inequities.

Mounting social and political activism in Seattle's Latino community went well beyond the Chicano university students. The confluence of social and political factors in Seattle and across the nation also helped to kindle a new level of community centered Latino social action. In the

late 1960s and in contrast to Seattle's minority African American, Native American, and Asian American communities, Latinos lacked their own easily identifiable cultural environments or spaces in the city. In Seattle, and in other areas of the nation, where ethnic communities had such spaces, the civil rights workers pushed to advance racial equity but also to redefine the significance of these places in their own terms. In some instances, minority communities claimed federal or city property to establish their own culturally focused community centers. In March 1970, for example, Native Americans occupied and asserted a treaty based claim to part of Fort Lawton in Seattle's Magnolia neighborhood. Eventually, the Daybreak Star Cultural Center developed as a permanent focal gathering point for Indians of All Tribes in the Puget Sound area. That same year, the community of Logan Heights seized control of the property surrounding the newly constructed Coronado Bridge in San Diego. In the years that followed, it became "Chicano Park;" an important cultural space for the city's Chicano community. Closer to Seattle, Chicanos in Oregon contemplated taking over Mt Angel College, which had experienced serious financial problems at that time. In 1973, the community took over Mt Angel College and developed it as an accredited institution specifically designed to meet the educational needs of Oregon Chicanos.

On October 12, 1972, just a few months after the Native American occupation at Fort Lawton, the Chicano community took over Seattle's shuttered Beacon Hill School located on 16th Avenue South. In the coming years, the Chicano community achieved the development of El Centro de la Raza; the first genuine space in the city committed to explicitly articulating and addressing the needs of Seattle's and the state's Latino residents.

The seeds for the occupation of the Beacon Hill School developed when South Seattle Community College required an existing English as a Second Language (ESL) program for Spanish speakers to find another site. The ESL instructors and program director held several unsuccessful meetings with Forbes Bottomley, the Seattle School District Superintendent, expecting to find another location in order to continue the program. Failing this, the ESL program mobilized the community and the takeover of the Beacon Hill School ensued.

The takeover grew from the Latino people's want for a culturally responsive and self-directed space dedicated to their community. The conflation and cohesion of Seattle's minority community's pursuit for self-determination and equality greatly aided the occupation of the Beacon Hill School. Other contributing factors came together as well. At the time, support for social change at community, state and federal levels was widespread. Not surprisingly, the University of Washington Chicano student participation in the initial possession of the abandoned school property became critical. As several persons recall, on the day of the occupation, a call went out to MECHA for support and the students responded by entering the school as soon as the doors were forced open. The connection, vision, and presence of the Chicanos from the University of Washington and the event at Beacon Hill School cannot be overstated. Undergraduate and graduate student activists took part in the occupation from the first day and remained constant until the city agreed to lease the school to the community. As a matter of fact, the director

1970 anti-war march in Seattle, showing representatives and a banner from the UW's MECHA group. Source: Seattle Times, November 11, 1970.

Roberto Maestas and every instructor in the original ESL program at South Seattle Community College were all affiliated or graduates of the University and seasoned social activists. Later, when the ESL Program (now called Chicano Manpower and Educational Services) relocated to support El Centro de la Raza, University of Washington Chicano graduates administered all the instructional and program responsibilities.

After 1972, and under the direction of Roberto Maestas El Centro de la Raza evolved into an exemplary, multi-faceted institution reknowned as the epicenter of social change in Seattle's Latino community. Its commitment to help the underserved and make Seattle a better place for all extends to peoples also struggling for freedom and human rights in other countries. El Centro's work both in Seattle and abroad attracted the attention of President George W. Bush who conferred the 1992 "1,000 Points of Light" award to the center.

In 1978, Sea Mar Community Health Centers (Sea Mar), another institutional pillar of Seattle's Latino citizens, came into existence. As in the case of El Centro de la Raza, the convergence of socially engaged Chicano student interest in health sciences at the University of Washington, Northwest Chicano Health, federal funding of health centers through the Community Services Administration in Health Education and Welfare, and the establishment of Latino health centers in eastern Washington as well as other parts of the nation gave impetus to the creation of Sea Mar. Beginning in 1978 with a modest grant to develop a clinic to serve Seattle's Spanish-speaking community in the South Park area of the city, Sea Mar evolved into the largest community based non-profit network of 34 medical, 26 dental, and 36 behavioral health clinics serving various areas of the state.

Much had changed in the ten years since the arrival of the first cohort of students to the University of Washington. Nationally, society and government had shifted politically to the right of center, cutting into the momentum and euphoria of the civil rights movement. In Washington, the 1970 farmworker strikes were beginning to fade from memory. Farmers disarmed union organizing strategies by introducing paternalistic and seemingly benevolent measures in their relationship with the workforce.

In 1970, a no nonsense retired army colonel became Vice President of what became the Office of Minority Affairs at the University of Washington. The administration began to consolidate the previously semi-autonomous ethnic minority divisions into a newly organized Office of Minority Affairs and Diversity (OMAD). MECHA students opposed the consolidation with sit-in protests and for years after were embroiled in a long-running contentious relationship with OMAD. After the Vice President of OMAD fired the director of the Chicano Student Division for insubordination, the entire University of Washington's Latino faculty and staff resigned in protest. In all, 27 Latino employees of the University abruptly submitted their resignations to the President of the University on May 5, 1975. Thereafter, MECHA students were effectively constrained from engaging in political activity. In effect, the University had gutted Chicano student political activism.

In several ways, the Chicano students themselves had changed in the intervening years. It was not that Chicano students disengaged from advocating for social change, instead they became more focused and realized that the old models did not always achieve the best results. Students entered graduate school which left little time for participating in political activity on campus or the larger community. When they did assume leadership roles on campus or in the Seattle community, it was as young professionals and executives. This was certainly true of Rogelio Riojas who almost singlehandedly developed Sea Mar into the foremost Latino health organization in the state.

Changing Demographics and Diversity in the Latino Community

In the beginning, almost all of the Latino students at the University of Washington were Mexican Americans from eastern Washington communities. Starting in the mid-1970s, economic conditions in Mexico stimulated immigration into the United States. Now Mexican immigrants began arriving directly from Mexico to the Yakima Valley. No longer interstate step migrants as before, these new immigrants and their children were largely not acculturated when they moved north to Washington. As such, they did not always share the social or political views held by the earlier generation of Latinos. In fact, a strained relationship sometimes developed between the generations when the newly arrived disdained the term Chicano itself. The passage of the Immigration and Reform Act of 1986 accelerated the "Mexicanization" of eastern Washington communities as immigrants chose Washington over traditional destinations in southwestern states.

Seattle Times, front page article on search for a location for NW Chicano Health's (Sea Mar) first clinic location. September 12, 1977.

REYKJAVIK, Iceland — (UPI) — Two Americans trying to make the first balloon flight across the Atlantic landed today in the North Atlantic Ocean off Iceland today and were rescued uninjured, United States and Icelandic authorities said.

The Icelandic radio said a helicopter from the United States Navy base at Keflavik rescued the two Albuquerque, N.M., balloonists after their black-and-silver Double Eagle landed in the sea 15 miles northwest of Iceland in bad weather.

Headquarters of the United States Military Airlift Command at Scott Air Force base, Ill., said Ben Abruzzo, 47, and Maxie Anderson, 44, landed in the sea about 75 miles north of Reykjavik and were picked up at 1:48 p.m. by a helicopter. A spokesman said the balloonists were not injured but were taken to a hospital for observation.

The two men had reported earlier they were "getting short on fuel" and were trying to reach Iceland after more than 60 hours aloft in their balloon.

The Icelandic radio first said the men made what appeared to be one attempt to come down on land but failed and then glided past at high speed northward.

A later broadcast said the two had landed safely off the coast.

An Icelandic gunboat and a fishing trawler were on their way to pick up the balloon.

The helium balloon took off from Marshfield, Mass., Friday night.

A P-3 Orion search plane from the Navy base at Keflavik spotted the balloonists in the air 280 miles southwest of Iceland, tossed by 38-knot winds in an area where waves ran 14 feet high. The Navy dispatched rescue teams aboard a C-130 Hercules plane and a helicopter.

Court ruling in Kent State shootings upset

CINCINNATI — (AP) — The Sixth United States Circuit Court of Appeals reversed a lower-court ruling today that had cleared Gov. James A. Rhodes, state officials and national guardsmen of damages stemming from the May 4, 1970, shootings at Kent State University in which four students were killed.

The appellate court declared that a new trial must be held because at least one jury member had been "threatened and assaulted during the trial by a person interested in its outcome."

Earlier details, A 5.

Report on Lance kept from Carter by aides

WASHINGTON — (UPI) — Three of President Carter's top aides knew in January that Budget Director Bert Lance and his family had written $850,000 in overdrawn checks, but they did not tell Mr. Carter, Jody Powell, White House press secretary, said today.

Although Lance had been nominated as budget director and was up for Senate confirmation, none of the three thought the President needed to know of the situation, Powell said.

Powell also said Mr. Carter will postpone a Wednesday news conference until after Lance completes his testimony on Capitol Hill. Lance is to appear before a Senate committee Thursday.

POWELL SAID he and Hamilton Jordan, a Carter adviser, and Robert Lipshutz, White House counsel, saw an Federal Bureau of Investigation report citing the $850,000 in overdrafts in 1974 and 1975 by Lance and his in-laws.

Of that amount, Powell said, $34,000 to $35,000 was in Lance's personal overdrafts.

None of the three aides, Powell said, "felt that that F.B.I. report gave rise to a need for further investigation or bringing it to the attention of the President."

Powell quoted an official in the comptroller of the currency's office, whom he refused to identify, as saying what Lance did was a common, small-town banking practice.

Powell said "a dozen people or so" were listed in the F.B.I. report as having written overdrawn checks.

"The judgement we made is, certainly in light of events, open to comment, at least," Powell said. "I certainly wish I had done something, if there was something there to do."

IN OTHER developments in the Lance case:

Senator Charles Percy, Illinois Republican, said there was the "appearance of a coverup" of Lance's problems early this year.

A White House aide, Greg Schneiders, said several administration insiders think Lance must resign.

Robert Bloom, the deputy comptroller of the currency, said he took his own career into account in recommending Lance be confirmed as budget director.

"I happen to be a man who depends on his government job for a living," Bloom said. It's a little easier for a person of independent means to be more heroic in that regard."

Hilda Lopez was examined by Dr. Ramon Sanchez, who will work at a clinic for Spanishspeaking patients. — Staff photo by Kathy Andrisevic.

Clinic for Chicanos sought

* * * * * * * *

Fighting fear, disease, language barrier

By LINDA DANIEL

Pain is always frightening when you don't know what's causing it and the pain won't go away.

It's hard to know what to do or where to go when you don't have a doctor and neither do your friends. It's doubly hard when you have little money and don't know what treatment will cost.

And it's terrifying when no one understands the language you speak. How can you tell them what's wrong? Why are they doing strange things that hurt — and offend your pride and modesty?

MORE THAN 30,000 people in King County are cut off from medical care because they speak Spanish. Few who can help speak Spanish.

That's why the Chicano-Latino people need a health clinic here. Dr. Ramon Sanchez, a Chicano physician on the University of Washington faculty, said.

Dr. Sanchez will work at the clinic. He needs more volunteers — doctors, nurses, technicians and office workers who speak Spanish and understand the community's culture.

Additional staff help has been promised by the federal government.

Also needed is money — $30,000 ($1 for every person the clinic potentially would serve.) With that, the clinic could open in November, said Filemon Martinez, of Northwest Chicano Health, Inc., of Seattle, a nonprofit consumer group behind the clinic.

Backers include all of the region's 25 groups involved with the Spanish-speaking population.

Jose Rodriguez
Successful cruise

Dr. H. Lloyd Schiess
'Their angel'

similar clinics across the nation.

Many of the Spanish-speaking people live in the South Park area, and a fully equipped clinic there is for sale.

Jose A. Rodriguez, executive director of Northwest Chicano Health, says he was "chasing the area, looking for a site," when he saw the "For Sale" sign in the South Park Medical Clinic's window. Inside, he found space and equipment perfect for what they had in mind. He also found Dr. H. Lloyd Schiess, whom the Chicanos now call "our angel."

THE ELDERLY doctor, who has had a private industrial and family practice there for 26 years, has been looking for someone to share the space. He says the Spanish-speaking clinic would be compatible because it would pick up where his work leaves off — extending the same kind of comprehensive health care to prospective patients who live nearby and are not now being served.

Rodriguez is working on the application for a federal grant. Local fund-raising is centered in the Northwest Chicano Health office, 100 N.E. 40th St. Volunteers as well as money are needed, he said.

Cunningham's first bill would abrogate all Indian treaties

Times Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Representative Jack Cunningham of Seattle introduced his first bill in Congress today — a measure to abrogate all Indian treaties.

"This will get the Bureau of Indian Affairs off the Indians' backs and out of the public pocket," Cunningham said. He had promised such a bill when he campaigned to succeed Brock Adams as 7th District congressman. Adams now is transportation secretary.

Cunningham's "Native Americans Equal Opportunity Act" would deny special rights to Indians or any other groups, give all citizens an equal opportunity to fish and hunt and terminate federal supervision over Indians and their properties.

Cunningham said the bill would give all reservations to tribal members who could do anything they want with them.

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Furthermore, the shifting demographics affected MECHA and the Latino student population at the University of Washington. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the students from the recently arrived expatriate Mexican community had little comprehension of the deeply seated social experiences of many Chicanos. Moreover, the federal government's introduction of the generic term "Hispanic" countermanded student personal and class identities that was so effective in unifying the first generation of farm working families. This dramatic change in student identity resulted in less focus on campus political matters and more on cultural activities, membership in Latino fraternities, and sometimes addressing issues surrounding immigrant students.

However, the changing Latino demographics in Washington and King County stemmed beyond the increase in Mexican immigration. Beginning in the 1970s and continuing for decades after, significant numbers of South American and Central American refugees and exiles began arriving, growing the Seattle and King County Latino population. Following the 1973 military coup d'etat and overthrow of Salvador Allende's government, Chilean exiles escaped political persecution at the hands of the newly installed and repressive government by seeking asylum in Seattle. In the 1980s, the combined effect of natural disasters and United States military intervention in Central American countries shaped and sustained Central American immigration to King County and the nation. Thereafter, a record number of persons fled political and personal inse-

Late 1970s image of Proyecto Saber teachers. Taken at the current Proyect Saber classroom at Chief Sealth High School.

curity, economic hardship, and escalating violence from their homes in El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. Although the number of Central Americans coming to Seattle and King County did not compare to locations in California, Texas and other areas of the southwest and southeast, their growing presence produced significant changes in Latino community organizations. Seattle's Mexican ancestry residents no longer comprised the entirety of the Latino community in the city or county.

Outside of some Seattle churches that offered sanctuary to Chilean and Central American exiles, El Centro de la Raza welcomed the newcomers by providing assistance in locating housing, jobs, and ESL classes. El Centro de la Raza, initially born from and dedicated to the Chicano community, openly embraced all arriving dislocated people regardless of circumstance and nationality. Gradually, the first true Chicano community and social service center in Seattle had morphed into El Centro de la Raza in solidarity with other Latinos to become "the center for all people."

Bilingual education became a popular instructional strategy in many school districts in Washington including Seattle after the 1974 case of Lau vs. Nichols, when the United States Supreme Court ruled that public schools were in violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 unless they provided alternative learning strategies for limited proficiency English speaking students. This

interpretation led to major changes in public education concerning limited English proficient students. In 1975, Chicanos in Seattle convinced the Seattle School District to start Proyecto Saber (Project Learn) to assist the growing number of Mexican and Central American limited English learners at Chief Sealth High School. Headquartered in the southwest end of the city, Projecto Saber became an important dedicated educational program within a school offering bilingual instruction, tutoring, and academic counseling to the growing at-risk immigrant student population. Over time, Proyecto Saber's unparalleled success and the achievement of their students and student teachers convinced the district to expand the program to other Seattle schools. The program remains central to the mission of the Seattle School District.

In the same year that Proyecto Saber emerged, Latinos also organized the Concilio for the Spanish Speaking of King County for the purpose of serving as an advocate for other service oriented programs in Seattle and King County. Similar organizations already functioned in other states with large metropolitan Latino populations. At its best, the Concilio for the Spanish Speaking of King County produced data showing the lack of Latinos employed in public government positions and inattention to Spanish speaking students in public education. Particularly noteworthy, the Concilio for the Spanish Speaking of King County created La Voz, a monthly newspaper format publication of articles and essays targeted at Latino community.

Three years later in 1978, Consejo Counseling and Referral Service organized to address and treat behavioral health concerns in the Seattle Latino community. Outside of the trauma associated with leaving their native land, numerous immigrants were witnesses and often victims of the brutal civil wars in Central America. Others, particularly women, had experienced sexual abuse on their perilous journey to Seattle or in their own home land. Single mothers with dependent children often arrived alone and as such became overwhelmed emotionally. Yearning to see their children as well as having to cope in an alien social environment often led to an almost unbearable and hopeless mental condition for these women. Recognizing the growing need, Consejo Counseling and Referral Service emerged as the first organization committed exclusively to extending culturally competent mental health services and referrals to the Seattle Latino community.

In September 1984, KING Television recognized the developing presence and contributions of Latinos in the Seattle metropolitan area when it assigned former Wapato resident Enrique Cerna to co-host "Celebrating the Differences." The opening broadcast of this weekly program dedicated to ethnic issues and entertainment featured Andean music and a discussion of the education of migrant children. Two months later, the Northwest Ethnic News, a publication of the Ethnic Heritage Council of the Pacific Northwest based in Seattle highlighted the essay "The other Northwesterners: 210 years of contributions to regional Mexican and Chicano life." The issue also included a special bilingual insert titled "Fruits of Our Labor: A Pictorial Record of the Contributions of Hispanos in Washington." Clearly the Latino community had become relevant beyond its own membership.

1946 image of the Airport Way Market. Source: Puget Sound Branch Regional Archives.

Historic Sites and Places That Matter

While the land sites important to Seattle's early Latino community persist, few if any of the physical structures are extant. The building that housed the Airport Way Market and provisioned Mexican food items to the growing community remains. The architectural integrity of the south end Catholic churches central to the social and spiritual life of early Latinos have remained largely unaltered but now serve the spiritual needs of recent immigrant parishioners. Although not owned by Latinos, some of the fraternal lodges and community centers still exist. Beyond that, urban renewal and development pressures have annihilated the structures that once served as businesses and homes for the early generation of Latinos in Seattle. In other cases and with time, some post-war families acquired the means to leave the south end of the city and joined the exodus to newly developed neighborhoods in outlying suburban areas in Kent, Auburn, Shoreline and Edmonds.

The passage of time has also altered the spatial tracks left by the Latinos that transformed Seattle and King County during the civil rights years through the 1980s. Today, the University of Washington that produced the ESL instructors at South Seattle Community College, the first director of El Centro de la Raza, the Executive Director of Sea Mar, lawyers, school teachers and principals, University Professors, doctors and dentists, and many other professionals, is a very different campus. The recent demolition of and rebuilding of Lander Hall erased all evidence of the self-segregated 6th floor "Chicano House" that welcomed incoming Yakima students of the 1960s. Likewise room 100 in the University of Washington Student Union building "the HUB" assigned to the Chicano MECHA student organization in the 1960s did not endure 2 renovations of the building. Other than the preservation of the Aztlan mural in the new Ethnic Cultural Center, there is no other space on campus that points to the historical presence of Latinos at the University of Washington campus or in Washington State.

After 100 years, the Beacon Hill School and home of El Centro de la Raza, survives with very few physical alterations. In South Park, the Sea Mar presence has expanded exponentially since the first clinic opened in 1978. Additional existing buildings along the same street have been adaptively reused while a new campus has also been erected uphill to the west.

The original family-owned and managed Mexican restaurants in the city have come and gone but some of the buildings that housed these businesses remain. The Taco House on 1st Avenue gave way as the city center developed. Campos Restaurant on University Way N.E. in the University District closed, as did the chain of Guadalajara Restaurants established by Lucy Lopez in the 1960s. Likewise, La Hacienda restaurant, located on Beacon Hill and started by former Yakima Valley residents Tony and Josie Manjarrez, no longer remains. These early Latino entrepreneurs opened the doors for the now well-established chains of corporate-owned eateries in the area.

Conclusion

Today, the Latino presence that began during World War II is present in every part of Seattle and King County. Latinos are part of city and county government, labor organizations, public schools and higher education, the restaurant industry, major league sports, social organizations, etc. For this, Seattle and King County are better places to live. Many of the antecedents for the growth of the Latino population in the city and the county were imbedded in the years and the history of the people and institutions covered in this report, although there are doubtless more aspects of the story yet to be told. Many times struggling to endure, Seattle/King County Latinos lived social, political, and economic change.

All told, the period from World War II through the mid-1980s are critical years in deciphering the importance and legacy of Seattle's Latino community. Far from gateway cities like Los Angeles, El Paso, and Miami, documenting the narrative and heritage of Seattle's Latino community in many ways also broadens our understanding of the people of this nation. Seattle's Latinos have changed how we see ourselves as citizens of the United States and at the same time locally and profoundly altered the lives of King County residents.

Beginning with the initial migrants from the Yakima Valley that chose to make Seattle home, to Latinos coming from more distant places, much has transpired. Above all and among Latinos, what really changed were their memories of the past and their perspective of a better future.

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