THE SANCHEZ FAMILY

Mexican American High School and Collegiate Wrestlers from Cheyenne, Wyoming

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For more about the Sanchez family, visit https://sanchezwrestlinghistory.weebly.com.

Cover photo courtesy of the Sanchez family.

Contents

Introduction

IN LATE APRIL 1965, a boisterous crowd of more than 250 locals gathered at the Cheyenne Regional Airport and awaited the return of a conquering hometown hero. Was it University of Wyoming legend Kenny Sailors, perhaps, arriving in town on his way to his old stomping grounds in Laramie?[1] Was it former Cheyenne High School star and Green Bay receiver Boyd Dowler (the 1959 NFL Rookie of the Year), who, by this time, was already a two-time NFL champion (and would go on to be part of five Packer title teams)?[2] Was it Richard Babka, who earned a silver medal in the discus in the 1960 Olympics?[3] No, it was none of those august names from Wyoming's sporting history. Instead, the locals were there to welcome an unlikely champion who had brought national recognition to his birthplace.

There were two major differences between the subject of this story and the likes of Sailors, Dowler, and Babka. Although hoop legend Sailors was not particularly tall (even by Basketball Association of America and National Basketball Association standards of that time), standing 5′10″

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and weighing around 175 lbs., this title holder was even smaller in stature. Our subject was certainly a lilliputian in comparison to Dowler, who stood 6′5″ and weighed 220 lbs. and Babka, who was as tall as Dowler and carried a frame of 267 lbs. In contrast, this new hero was around 5′5″ and tipped the scales at less than 120 lbs. In what sport could such a diminutive person participate and triumph? That sport was wrestling.

An even more critical distinction was that the new luminary was not part of the majority population of the state. He was, rather, a member of a group that has often endured difficult and discriminatory circumstances: a Mexican American. As this work will detail, this population was often relegated to "the poor side of town" and toiled in menial, manual labor such as working for the railroads or in agriculture for a majority of the state's history. Indeed, it was common to see signs in parts of Wyoming that stated: "No dogs or Mexicans allowed." A recent article on a Mexican American couple in Lovell documents such improprieties, as the interviewee, Milton Ontiveros (who has lived in the state since the 1940s), noted that while his clan followed the beet crop, "We use to stop in towns hungry to go buy something to eat, but we couldn't eat at (the) restaurants. They had signs—no Mexicans or Negroes allowed. Just like a dog, you see."[4]

In April 1965, however, here was someone special, an individual who even merited mention in the "Faces in the Crowd" column of *Sports Illustrated* after claiming his eighty-first consecutive mat triumph, over Wright Fujikawa of Worland.[5] The name of this competitor was Ray Sanchez, and given the positive press to Cheyenne, might this Mexican American be seen differently than his fellow Spanish-surnamed Wyomingites? What impact would that have on his family and, indeed, on persons of Mexican descent living in the state?

The reason for all this revelry was that Ray had returned with a championship title in Freestyle wrestling from Nationals in San Francisco.[6] That was not his only accomplishment, however, as Sanchez eventually completed a legendary, undefeated high school career for the Cheyenne High School (CHS) Indians, finishing with a mark of 98–0 and four state titles (at three different weight classifications: 103, 115, and 120 lbs.). Although he had achieved tremendous success, Ray felt a bit intimidated as he traveled with his coach, Joe Dowler, to the Golden State to participate in a

tournament that not only included the best high school grapplers in the country but also featured collegiate competitors as well. As he recounted to his nephew Jim (a high school and collegiate wrestler himself) many years later, "It was a little scary going to the Nationals while still in high school. . . . Really, I went to the meet just for the experience."[7] Still, Ray proved himself at this elite level of competition, and earned the applause and admiration of fellow Wyomingites.

In addition to his performance as an athlete, Coach Dowler portrayed Ray to the community as a typical "All-American" youth. Even before Ray headed to Nationals, Sanchez's mentor noted that this athlete was "not only a great wrestler, but he exemplifies high school athletics at its best. He trains hard, learns well and fast, and above all possesses the outstanding ability to compete." He also did well in the classroom, carrying a high B average. Would Ray continue his wrestling career at the University of Wyoming and bring further athletic glory to his home state?[8] Such positive acclamations were not a particularly common occurrence for Spanish-surnamed individuals in this state at that time.

Ray was the youngest of a family of wrestlers (brothers Gilbert, David, and Arthur) who made their mark on the mat (and other sports as well) during the late 1950s and into the early 1960s. All of these youths, save one, would go on to have collegiate careers. More important, this particular generation (born between 1938 and 1946) utilized sport as a mechanism to radically alter the Sanchez clan's economic and social standing into the 1960s and beyond. Through the use of athletics, this first generation created opportunities almost unheard of for Mexican Americans in Wyoming: the occasion to go to college and earn middle-class standing and income. Subsequent generations of this family followed their fathers and uncles on to mats at various institutions and earned degrees, entering professional occupations. Indeed, it is not misleading to contend that wrestling became the family's "business"—a mechanism by which it extricated itself from the working class of Cheyenne and moved on to economic progress and improved social standing.

This work will follow the Sanchezes from their arrival in the Equality State in the early decades of the twentieth century through the lives and careers of three generations.[9] What issues did this family confront upon arriving in Wyoming? How were their experiences similar to or different

from those of other Latinos/as in this state? Most significant, how did sport help them change their social/economic trajectory? There are two main goals for this project: First it aims to add to the overall history of Latinos in the state of Wyoming. Second, it seeks to utilize this family's historical experiences to demonstrate that athletic participation (in this case, wrestling) has been (and still is) a valuable tool that Mexican Americans (and other Latinos) have utilized to challenge their current status and how the broader/majority population perceives them. To the surprise of many readers, there is a growing academic literature on this topic, which will also be briefly discussed in this work.

Given these changes, do subsequent generations of this family continue the tradition of wrestling, or did the changes brought about by participating in athletics in earlier decades make it possible to have a broader number of choices (sporting, educational, and occupational), including no longer continuing in what, for many years, was considered to be the "family tradition?" The topic of sporting participation and its impact upon individuals, families, and communities has become an area of research for scholars of the Mexican American (and other Latinos/as as well) experience in recent years.[10]

Before proceeding to an overview of the various chapters that follow, it is necessary to proffer a brief discussion of two key theoretical underpinnings that guided this research. A crucial first line of inquiry was to examine the way that the majority population (in Wyoming and nationwide) perceived Mexican Americans as a specific group. In other words, when a "typical" citizen of the United States in the years before World War II (in a historical and daily life context) envisaged the cultural, physical, and intellectual traits of people from Mexico (or their descendants), what did they visualize? Two works by Natalia Molina, *Fit to Be Citizens? Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879–1939* and *How Race Is Made in America: Immigration, Citizenship, and the Historical Power of Racial Scripts*, provide extensive coverage of this topic.[11]

Next, it was also crucial to envisage what Americans believed about Spanish-surnamed *atletas* (athletes) and their "limitations" (in regard to their intellectual and physical capabilities) during the first few decades of the past century. Given that sport, and acceptance of "American" games, was seen as a key element of how "foreigners" could become acculturated

to life in the United States, how did Latinos (and, specifically, Mexican Americans) fit into the hierarchy of athletic competition?[12] In other words, did this group have the "smarts" and "capacity" to contend in the rugged world of American sport? I will examine this theoretical thread utilizing materials from a work by Jorge Iber, Samuel O. Regalado, José M. Alamillo, and Arnoldo De León entitled *Latinos in U.S. Sports: A History of Isolation, Cultural Identity, and Acceptance*. Therein, these authors scrutinized what academicians (and others) who focused on such topics had to say about Spanish-surnamed athletes.[13]

Molina's 2006 work *Fit to Be Citizens?* provides an overview of how of health officials perceived Mexicans within the diverse population and assumed racial hierarchy of Los Angeles. While, originally, there was a sense that this "race" would simply (like Native Americans) "fade away," starting in the 1910s (with the arrival of more Mexicans to fill manual labor needs) there commenced a shift in the bureaucrats' assessment. By the time of the Great Depression, the notion that this population was indeed inferior seemed clearly to be "indisputable."[14] From there, a plethora of hygiene-related and intellectual "problems" became affixed to them. Molina provides extensive coverage of an overabundance of assorted "maladies" and cultural traits that demonstrate their "backwardness." For example, they were disease carriers,[15] unsanitary and ignorant of proper hygiene,[16] avoided bathing,[17] had crude and primitive parenting skills,[18] were in need of uplift by whites,[19] were genetically flawed,[20] were less able bodied (particularly emphasized during the Great Depression),[21] and were feebleminded (to the point that a number merited sterilization).[22]

Molina's subsequent study *How Race Is Made* builds upon her previous research and examines the idea of "racial scripts" as a mechanism of oppression. Here, the author argues that the process of assigning negative traits, such as those noted above, to certain groups sets the stage for such assumptions to be acted upon by "a range of principals, from institutional actors to ordinary citizens."[23] Thus, if the broader society believes that a certain population is lazy and possesses limited intelligence, it acts accordingly toward them. Why, then, were the Spanish-surnamed people in Cheyenne and the rest of Wyoming overwhelmingly concentrated in menial positions over the years? Simply because society believed those

were the limits of their intellectual/occupational capabilities. Why did they remain mired there in successive generations? Because they simply did not have the determination, motivation, and personal initiative to move up the economic and occupational ladder.

While the acceptance and utilization of racial scripts by whites could pigeonhole ethnic and racial groups, Molina also notes that there exists a tool often marshaled to fight against such assumptions: She designates these apparatuses as "counterscripts." These she describes as "practices of resistance, claims for dignity, and downright refusal to take it anymore," utilized to challenge the "dominant racial scripts." While researchers have focused on a variety of counterscripts, such as "protests or community organizing" (e.g., joining unions, working through religious organizations, joining political movements, and other models), these efforts do not have to be "organized." As Molina argues, they, instead, can be "encompassed in daily expressions of compassion and solidarity."[24] A recent work by George J. Sanchez on the Boyle Heights neighborhood in Los Angeles well articulates the overarching goals of counterscripts. Such tools, he argues, "allow us to understand how those racial and ethnic groups that were seen as disposable . . . would band together to proclaim their worth as Americans who belonged."[25] Until recently, the scholarship on Mexican Americans and Latinos did not include an examination of sport as an implement with which to present counterscripts. Examples of counterscripts are present throughout the lives of the various generations of Sanchezes in this study, both on the mat and in other parts of their lives.

In conjunction with the racial scripts applied to the bodies and intellect of Mexican Americans, there is also research specifically focused on their athletic "limitations," and the work of Iber et al., *Latinos in U.S. Sports* provides a summary of such endeavors. One of the contributors to this study, Arnoldo De León, in his magisterial work *They Called Them Greasers: Anglo Attitudes Toward Mexicans in Texas, 1836–1900*, not only confirms Molina's analysis but moves the time of such assumptions back to the early nineteenth century. Starting with Austin's "Old Three Hundred,"[26] Anglos coming into the territory made their postulations abundantly clear with statements such as that Mexicans were "descendants of a tradition of paganism, depravity, and primitivism . . . [their] habits clashed with American values, such as the work ethic." One of the most extreme

utterances argued that the bodies of Mexicans were so foul that "not even worms or animals would consume their cadavers."[27]

Specifically concerning athletic ability (or, rather, inability) and the use of sport to "control/civilize" Mexican Americans, Iber and his coauthors unearthed a surfeit of material—primarily master's theses and doctoral dissertations from the early 1920s through the mid-1950s. A sampling of such research efforts is recapped in the following paragraphs.

In 1923, David Julian Chavez's master's thesis at the University of Texas, entitled "Civic Education of the Spanish-American," documented how educational leaders wanted/needed to utilize sport as a way to help make youths from this populace into "real" Americans. Learning to play according to "the rules," along with notions of self-control, reliability, and teamwork, would help in the "acquisition of requisite mental attitudes," and "if enough time is given . . . through physical exercise . . . there is every reason to believe that the Spanish-American will become as efficient a citizen as those of other nationalities."[28]

Two years later, at the same institution, Florrie S. Dupre's dissertation, entitled "Play as a Factor in the Education of Children," sought to encourage the government of the city of San Antonio to increase spending on parks and school recreational implements to "counteract negative trends among local youths." Of course, a substantial portion of the project focuses on arguing that the Mexican American youths were particularly in need of such investment, with them being overly (genetically?) prone to "idleness, in loafing, in wandering aimlessly about the streets and other undesirable districts." Hopefully, disbursements in these areas would help to straighten out what Dupre referred to as the "lower classes" or "greasers."[29]

While these first two items focused on how to use sporting activity to "improve" Mexican Americans to make them more "civil" (under the direction of whites, of course), the first series of articles these authors found which provided a direct scientific (supposedly) analysis of the athletic abilities of this group come from the journal *American Physical Education Review* in 1922. The author was Elmer D. Mitchell, who, in addition to an academic career (in the area of physical education), served as field general of the football team at Michigan State Normal School (now Eastern Michigan University) between 1915 and 1916 and as head basketball coach

at that institution between 1915 and 1917, before moving on to Ann Arbor to coach the Wolverines in hoops from 1917–1919.[30] The essays, which appeared in three consecutive issues of the journal, all bore the same title—"Racial Traits in Athletics"—and sought to describe the physical characteristics and sporting temperament of various racial and ethnic groups (a total of fifteen). The clans were organized in what Mitchell considered to be descending order; thus, the first tier consisted of the most gifted, followed by those less endowed. In the first level, we find the American, English, Irish and German "races." These were depicted as the most vigorous, talented, and intellectually capable of participating in American sport.[31]

The second essay is where we discern the first discussion that bears upon Mexican Americans. Here, Mitchell listed the next-highest level of humanity in regard to athletics. This group included Scandinavians, Latins, Dutch, Poles, and "Negro." In regard to the "Latins," the author combined what he called the "Southern races" (the French, Italian and Spanish). He summarized the whole group by stating that sports were a problem because this group's "emotions, being more on the surface, make the Latin more lighthearted . . . and at the same time, more quickly aroused to temper and fickle in his ardor." Mitchell then proceeded to further break down the larger unit, with the French being the best of the bunch, since they, "being the northernmost of the Latin kin and having the larger share of Teuton blood, are naturally the most self-controlled." The Spaniard, on the other hand, is much more problematic, for they "tend to an indolent disposition. . . . He has less self-control than either the Frenchman or the Italian . . . [and he] is cruel, as shown by the bullfights in Mexico and Spain." Certainly, given such assumptions, this portion of the Mexican American's genetic makeup can only spell trouble on the field, the court, or the mat.[32]

In the final essay, Mitchell gets down to the bottom of the athletic barrel, and here is where we find the "South American" (along with Jews, "Indians," Greeks, "Orientals," Slavs, and Finns). Those who live below the Rio Grande, it appears, inherited the negative traits of both Spaniards and Native Americans. His quote on this topic is long, but it is worth citing in its entirety in order to make clear how educationalists and those involved in leadership of physical education thought of such individuals:

> The South American has not the physique, environment, or disposition which makes for a champion athlete. . . . In build he is of medium height and weight, and not rugged. The games he has borrowed from foreign countries are not conducive to leisurely play. . . . [He] has inherited an undisciplined nature. The Indian in him chafes at discipline and sustained effort, while the Spanish half is proud to a fault. . . . [His] disposition makes team play difficult. . . . [T]he steady grind and the competition involved in winning a place on the Varsity has no attraction for them. Their sensitiveness makes them rebel against the outspoken manner in which the American coach shouts out criticisms upon the coaching field.

Given these faults and limitations, how could Mexican Americans succeed in American sport? Still, not all was lost and, just as Chavez and Dupre assert earlier, proper training under the right leadership could help bring these folks along, leading them to become "Americanized in American games just as in everything else."[33]

Moving into the next decades, analogous observations continued in academic literature. In a 1936 thesis by Genevieve King, her conclusion was that the Mexican American students she worked with in San Antonio had little interest in exercise. In 1952, Albert Folsom Cobb reached a similar conclusion and summarized his research by stating that the Spanish-surnamed were "not as interested or eager to participate in physical education program[s], particularly in inter-school competition as are Anglo-American boys."[34]

While the consensus remained on the side of arguing that Latinos were poor athletes, there were some subtle changes in the analysis by the 1940s and later. For example, a 1942 study by Merrell E. Thompson and Claude C. Dove, which appeared in *Research Quarterly*, noted that the Mexican American ("Spanish American") youths they studied, when "equated according to age, health, and weight . . . were superior in all events tested and significantly superior in all but the shot-put." To what did Thompson and Dove attest the surprising results? It was due to lifestyle. (Could we take that to mean that these youths often worked in order to help support their families?) The authors summarized their findings by stating that "Spanish American children lead a more vigorous physical life than do the Anglos. This condition seems to produce . . . physical development and thereby superiority in the events . . . tested." Another researcher, Bruce

Walsh-Shaw, came to similar conclusions in his 1951 MA thesis at the University of Texas. More important, however, Walsh-Shaw also stipulated that success in athletic competition "did have a slightly positive impact on how Anglo children perceived their Mexican American counterparts." All told, the racial scripts tended to flow in one conventional direction: that Latinos would not succeed in athletic competition, and thus "whites in the United States were bombarded with negative images of the physical and intellectual capabilities of Spanish-surnamed people in their midst and most ultimately assumed that the sports of the American were too sophisticated, vigorous, and challenging for the feeble minds and bodies of Latinos."[35]

A much more recent example following the trends hinted at by Walsh-Shaw so many decades ago can be found in a 2017 work by Brett Thomas Olmsted entitled "Los Mexicanos de Michigan: Claiming Space and Creating Community Through Leisure and Labor, 1920–1970." Here, the author proffers an effectual instance of how success in athletics moderated the perception of Spanish speakers by the majority population.[36] The counterscripts presented by Olmsted in regard to organizing leagues, teams, and athletic events, while focused on Michigan (and not even mentioning the sport of wrestling), provide clear parallels between his research and aspects of the lives of the Cheyenne-based Sanchezes. For example, he argued that

> sports emphasized hard work and competitiveness that allowed Mexicans to contest their imputed position as weak and passive sojourners. . . . [P]laying fields constituted a vital social area allowing Mexicanos to engage in the civic arena, to defy segregation by claiming first class citizenship access to public space . . . [thus] this took on an important function . . . by providing positive publicity to the . . . population group.[37]

Olmsted also noted the significance of participating in sports to the small number of such athletes in Michigan-area high schools he researched. Success in the realm of the local institution changed the way the majority populace thought about such individuals, thus making "interethnic acceptance" all the more possible.[38] Last, victories on the gridiron, court, diamond, or, as in the case of the early generations of Sanchezes, the mat, generated positive press in newspapers, and that, in

turn, "provided at least tacit acceptance of the Mexicano . . . as social athletic equals."[39]

Having made this argument via Olmsted, this author finds an important question to address at this point is whether success in sports does overcome racial misperceptions and antagonism. A recent article entitled "It's Worth a Shot: Can Sports Combat Racism in the United States?," by University of St. Thomas (MN) law professor David A. Grenardo, addresses this issue and acknowledges that while sports cannot eliminate all elements of racism, the author does contend that it can be a powerful tool to change perceptions and also to provide opportunities to minority individuals.[40]

How do sports accomplish this important task? Among other elements, Grenardo argues that athletic endeavors provide an opportunity for "whites and minorities to interact with each other to break down barriers (both conscious and unconscious)" while pitted as competitors or when participating as teammates. Further, in an interview with author Howard Bryant, Grenardo sheds light on another critical point: the opportunity for athletics to provide a chance to further one's education and get better jobs (not only in the realm of sports, such as coaches and management, but via collegiate degrees in professional fields). "One potential way, then, to confront racism is to provide opportunities and access to jobs for minorities." Next, Grenardo argues that "once minorities have more opportunity, then their lives improve and in turn society improves." Finally, the intellectual side of sport—the planning, the strategizing, and the coaching—helps make it possible for the majority population to see minorities as more than just "bodies meant to 'shut up and dribble,' their minds become more appreciated, and they are valued for all of the abilities and talents they possess."[41]

Another way that sports can combat racism is by presenting stories of athletes of color to a broader audience. In other words, as noted earlier in my discussion on Molina, these stories (told mostly in newspapers for the Sanchez family) are themselves counterscripts, mostly, if not exclusively, written or told by members of the majority population (particularly for the first two generations of Sanchez competitors). Each triumph, especially for a local high school or university, can make people in the majority population see minorities in a different light (even if only for selfish

reasons). "Moreover, telling stories to people of different races can help create bonds and bridges while educating others about their own race and culture."[42] Ultimately, while Grenardo acknowledges that "some people will not change," that does not in his view diminish the power of sport, and the stories told about athletic competition, to challenge the way that a good number of those in the majority population view minorities. In summary, Grenardo concludes (by paraphrasing Wayne Gretzky) that "sports can have a positive impact with respect to combating racism, and thus any attempts that make such an impact are shots worth taking."[43] The story of the Sanchez family from Cheyenne will provide a clear example of these arguments.

Now that the theoretical underpinning of this work is imparted, the rest of this study will proceed over the following chapters. In chapter 1 the focus turns to the arrival of this particular Sanchez clan. Where in Mexico did they come from? What were circumstances like for them in "the old country"? What drew them north, and to Wyoming and Cheyenne in particular? Where their experiences similar or different from those of other Mexican Americans in the state at that moment in time? In order to better frame their story, interviews from the La Cultura Hispanic Heritage Oral History Project from the 1980s are utilized to provide context. These interviews featured adults born in the later years of the 1800s and early 1900s wherein subjects recalled what conditions were like for them in Wyoming during the first decades of the twentieth century. All of the interviewees discussed in this chapter were born prior to 1938, the year that the first Sanchez wrestler (Gilbert) was born.

Another set of oral history interviews vital to this work were conducted over a period of many months with numerous members of the various generations of the Sanchez family. Through their words, we see how wrestling provided opportunities rare to Latinos/as in the first half of twentieth-century Wyoming, such as the chance to travel nationally and internationally and perform at the highest levels of athletic endeavors; it afforded the opportunity to be mentored by, and compete against, legends of the sport of wrestling. As these interviews articulate, these contacts (and the efforts of the Sanchezes) helped move the competitors on the path toward success on the mat and in their subsequent careers. Through this evidence, readers will "hear" the voices of these individuals

as they remember their life experiences recounting their athletic and academic agency that ultimately led to the family's improved circumstances. The words of the family members, along with the positive newspaper stories on their athletic feats, provide powerful counterscripts to the negative perception of the Spanish-surnamed that had existed for so long in the state.

In chapter 2, it is necessary to convey a summary of some of the relevant academic literature that details the role of sports in the lives of Latinos/as; specifically, how has this populace, now spread out over much of the nation and over an extended period of time, utilized athletic challenges (and successes therein) as a way to impugn negative perceptions about them. Participation in sport has not just been about simply "playing," "blowing off steam," or the enjoyment of competition, as Olmsted argued in his work. These scholarly materials detail how such endeavors have played a role in community, ethnic, and labor organizing. There already exists a fairly extensive narrative that encapsulates the efforts at "counterscripting" via athletic success, and the story of the Sanchezes will add to that literature.

Chapter 3 will spotlight how Gilbert, David, and Arthur, the majority of the first generation of Sanchezes to take to the mat (and other sports as well), exploited their sporting successes as a way to not only graduate from high school but to do something quite uncommon for Latinos of the generation born during the 1930s and 1940s: go on to college, graduate, and then move on to professional careers. Their many successes, as noted in Wyoming papers, provided early counterscripts to the negative narrative associated with Mexican Americans in the state, and made it possible for each of them to attend college and subsequently begin the family's upward social and economic trajectory.

Chapter 4 follows the career of Ray Sanchez, the fourth member of this first generation who won four state titles in Wyoming and completed his high school career with an unblemished record. The reaction by the crowd after his final match for Cheyenne High School presents a vivid counterscript to the way that most Latinos were perceived in this state in the first half of the twentieth century. Further, he then went on to don the colors of his state's leading collegiate institution, offering the possibility of bringing even more recognition to Wyoming. Ray's success on the

mat presented him as a model "All-American boy" and made him a hero to wrestling fans all over the state. Given the more positive perception of Ray Sanchez by locals in the 1960s, how were circumstances changing for other members of this ethnic group by this decade? Once again, the La Cultura interviews provide a glimpse of a changing (albeit slowly) context for the Spanish-surnamed in Wyoming. The group of interviewees discussed in this chapter all were born at around the same time as the first generation of Sanchez wrestlers (from 1940 through the mid-1950s).

Chapter 5 examines the second generation of this family's competitors and brings the chronicle up to the present time. Here, the movement away from an emphasis on the mat but a continued focus on education provides different counterscripts from those available to the very first generation.

Finally, the conclusion examines (briefly) the third generation. Additionally, it mentions other Latino wrestlers from Wyoming who made their mark in this sport and also offered other examples of a minority group's athletic prowess. The conclusion also ties the story of the Sanchezes to academic literature in other fields (such as economics and education) as well as summarizing the significance of this family's history to the broader narrative of Latinos/as in sport.