WE
THE
PEOPLE
An Atlas of America's Ethnic Diversity

James Paul Allen
Eugene James Turner
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List of Maps

It would be ideal if all the maps of ethnic populations could be made comparable, using the same cartographic design and scaling. However, the great range of ethnic group sizes, from many millions to fewer than twenty thousand, makes this impractical. Because the largest groups represented significant proportions of county populations, they have been mapped in terms of their percentages in total county populations. Maps of smaller groups show absolute numbers within counties by means of graduated symbols—a more appropriate technique where percentage values are very low. However, except for the special map of Jews, the percentage categories or symbol size scaling for all 1980 maps has been consistent within each of three series of maps, making possible easy comparisons between most of the maps. The absolute population of each ethnic group in every county can be found in appendix 2.

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Preface

The majority of Americans are descendants of people who came from across the seas, hoping for freer lives or for the chance to grow rich with the bounty of this land. Most of these immigrants were Europeans, who proceeded to conquer the new country and destroy most of the native Indian people that were in their way. In the process the Europeans changed old ways of life and redefined themselves as Americans. Other people were brought here as slaves from Africa, and still others were incorporated as more territory was added. Opportunities in America have drawn people, especially in recent decades, from Asia and Pacific islands, Latin America and the Caribbean islands, Canada, and the Middle East, as well as from the older source regions of Europe and Africa. Because so many came here from so many different places and because Native Americans have persisted, our people represent—in their ancestries and races—an unusually diverse lot.

When, two hundred years ago, the Preamble to the Constitution of the United States was written, no one anticipated the rich and unprecedented range of origins of those who would later be included in its beginning words, "We the People of the United States."

The attempt to incorporate so many different peoples into one society has required continual adjustment. It has given our society and economy great periodic bursts of energy. But it has also brought much conflict, injustice, and pain.

Ethnicity in America

Nearly all of us consider ourselves thoroughly American. Most also have some identity based on an ethnic heritage—a sense of peoplehood, a feeling of being part of a group that shares a common race, language, or religion, or a distant place of personal or ancestral origin. Ethnicity has been one of the basic building blocks of American society even though the social networks that are based on family and ethnic links have often been invisible to those who are not a part of them. Ethnicity has helped shape our varied life-styles, occupations, friends, and neighborhoods, as well as our religions, politics, and laws. Many people's ethnic identity remains highly important to them in one way or another, varying among ethnic groups, places, ages and social classes, and individuals.

In many cases people have had an ethnic identity thrust upon them by others, often as a prelude to derogatory remarks or discrimination. In the past some Americans have abused those who did not speak English or who seemed strange, dark, or foreign, and to some extent this attitude persists. However, most of us now believe that people can be fully American and at the same time proud of their particular ethnic roots and heritage.

For whites born in the United States an ethnic identity is usually less important than it was a half century ago, but much of its current meaning may be subtle and personal rather than readily visible to strangers. People of European ancestry have frequently developed stronger social ties with members of some ethnic populations than with others. In many cases these ties arise out of their religious organizations, because the membership of some denominations has been predominantly among certain ethnic groups. Ancestry was still in 1980 a significant factor in the choice of spouses by white people, even by those of mixed ancestry (Lieberson and Waters 1985).

The extent of cultural differences remaining between the various ethnic groups of European origin is debated (Greeley 1974; Alba 1985), but, apart from religious adherence, such differences are probably small, at least regarding those characteristics measurable by social science. Occupational and status differences between people of some Eastern European ancestries and other white Americans are still the subject of some concern, but the numerous tensions and conflicts between white groups that characterized the American past are of minor significance today.

What has replaced the ethnically defined ways of life for most American-born whites is an interest in the symbols and feelings of a voluntary ethnic identity (Gans 1979). People still think of their ethnic identity as a sense of peoplehood, but this is more typically based on an abstract collective than on a closely interacting group. This ethnic sense finds expression in periodic ceremonies, festivals, the preparation and eating of special foods, a visit to the "old country," and support of political causes related to the "people" in the area of origin. In these ways, feelings of ethnic identity may persist for several generations beyond the immigrant experience. For example, the recent popularity of Scottish pipe bands and Highland games in America, particularly in the South, attests to a continued sense of ethnic identity among a population whose assimilation was completed long ago (Berghoff 1982).

For people of color and many of Hispanic origin, ethnic identity usually remains salient because their physical appearance makes them distinguishable from whites. In the last half-century the problems of incorporating ethnic populations into the national society have been focused on the relationships between whites and the other racial and Hispanic groups, referred to in this book as minorities. Culturally, many minority individuals find their ethnicity is mostly symbolic, as it is with so many whites, but in socioeconomic status the minorities usually have lower averages than whites. There has been much debate among scholars, politicians, and the public as to the extent of these differences, their causes, and the pace of change. Because some people who are of Hispanic origin or racially not white see their position in society as qualitatively different from that of white ethnic groups, they prefer to describe the primary dimension of society in terms of race rather than ethnicity.

However, in this book we take a much more comprehensive view and acknowledge the fact that ethnicity can be significant for Americans of any color or ancestry, though its particular form may vary. The relationships between ethnic identity and other characteristics of people may be at the core of what constitutes American society; yet those relationships are changing, difficult to measure, and only partially understood.

Purpose of the Atlas

This is a book about places—about a myriad of places in America and about their people. The experiences of people,
both children and adults, vary somewhat according to where they live, and the contrasts between life in different places are sometimes powerful. We have focused on the ethnic dimension of the population in different places in order to illuminate something of the human geography of the country.

Across America, whether in large regions, towns and cities, or small neighborhoods, the differences from place to place in ethnic composition of the population are some of the most significant geographical features of the country. We have taken what we believe is an unusually good source of data—the 1980 U.S. census—and attempted to describe those differences as they appear among the more than 3,100 counties in America. The book shows a cross section of America in 1980, permitting comparisons between places and ethnic groups but not showing changes over time. Although maps of many groups from the 1920 census have been included, these show data not directly comparable with the 1980 census, and this book does not focus on the details of changes between 1920 and 1980.

The atlas is a graphic description of a great many distributions as of 1980. The maps themselves demonstrate major geographical variations in our social fabric. But like most maps, these may be best used as heuristic devices to stimulate curiosity: about the places represented, about how and why the patterns evolved and changed over time, and about how they relate to other aspects of life in different places. Maps used this way can be keys to the pleasures of using the geographical imagination. The text is not an analysis of the map patterns, but rather a historical geographic interpretation of them. It explains the patterns to the extent that it points out the factors and processes that have resulted in the patterns.

The book is intended especially for scholars, such as specialists in geography, history, and sociology, and for the millions of people who have an interest and pride in their own ethnic background, whatever it may be. They will find both confirmations and surprises in these pages. Because the maps are so detailed, many readers will be able to identify their own counties of past or present residence and trace migrations between different ethnic settlement areas. The book may enable some people to make stronger links between their own ethnic identities and the places where they have lived and so enhance their experiences of both.

In a larger sense, the book is really for anyone curious about the social geographic makeup of America. The maps show some of the social context of areas each of us has lived in, and the atlas may help us understand the larger historical and geographic framework that has partially shaped our lives. And because the ethnic populations shown are not static and isolated, the larger centers can be visualized as dynamically interconnected by webs of visits, migrations, letters, and phone conversations.

Within its broad geographical perspective, the atlas examines ethnic population patterns primarily in terms of counties and the major towns and cities of distinctive ethnic settlements. The atlas affirms the importance of those Americans who live outside the major population centers. It does not assume a large nonethnic homogeneous population living in between these centers. Our view incorporates both large and small cities, their suburbs, and the small towns and rural countryside of America.
Acknowledgments

In preparing We the People we have been fortunate to have had the assistance of many individuals—particularly the staff at California State University, Northridge, and colleagues here and at other institutions across the country. When we conceived the idea of linking data tapes from the 1980 census with tapes locating the population centroids of each county in America so as to display the intricate geography of American ethnic patterns, the questionnaire for the 1980 census had not yet been mailed out, but we remember with gratitude the encouragement that William Bowen and William Melinsky gave us at that early stage. Later, we found that Charles Smith, vice president and publisher at Macmillan, shared our vision of this book and its potential significance, and editors Lloyd Chilton and Elyse Dubin guided the project to its completion.

Financial support for producing experimental and prototype maps was provided by the Faculty Research and Grants Committee of California State University, Northridge. Additional money for photographic materials and cartographic assistance in the production of the maps was made available by Ralph Vicero and Warren Bland, the chairman of our Department of Geography during the 7-year life of this project. Their confidence in what could easily have been viewed as a project of unrealistic if not impossible scope was much appreciated. Warren Bland and Dean Aida Takla-O'Reilly also expedited the project by arranging to release each of us from a class teaching assignment during one semester. Sabbatical leaves during the 1985-86 year permitted us to work steadily and intensively on the atlas.

Most of the data for this atlas was obtained from the U.S. Bureau of the Census data tapes, which were processed using the computers of the California State University (CSU) system and California State University, Northridge. Gloria Rummells and Jeffrey Johnson of the Academic Computing Services Group for the CSU system were most helpful in obtaining copies of some of the census tapes and adapting them for use. Additional support on our campus was provided by Kurt Webb, Larry Wake, and David Crawford of the User Services Group. Cail Said Johnson of the User Services Group helped especially in solving problems encountered in word processing the text. In the preparation of appendix 2, Andrew Boffard of the Geography Department developed a program to reformat the census data files for the typesetter. Randall Tucker and Robert Olsen of the CSU-Northridge Graphics Department typeset these and other data for appendices 1 and 2.

The preparation of the maps began in 1979 when Eugene Turner wrote the first of many computer programs to convert county data from the 1970 census to map form. He later developed other programs to plot symbols for all of the full-page and quarter-page maps as well as for the 4 cartograms and choropleth maps. He created numerous other programs and extracted from various data files. These include a matrix of correlations between ancestry populations in counties to another matrix of interstate migration flows, and state-level tables of the relative frequency of selected ancestry responses that had been shown on the basic county-level data tapes only after aggregation into broader categories.

Although all map designs reflect primarily the preferences and joint decisions of the two authors, James Platt helped with the design and drafting of the types of maps during the initial stages of experimentation. We later modified these prototypes after receiving helpful comments from James Carter of the University of Tennessee, Phillip Muehrcke of the University of Wisconsin, and John Sherman of the University of Washington.

The staff of the Department of Geography's Cartography Laboratory did the drafting and photographic work on those maps which involved little or no computer plotting. Robert Provins, the staff cartographer, was especially helpful in solving photographic problems and giving production assistance. He also assisted Gregory Hanzel with the preparation of the maps showing ethnic distributions as of 1920. The sizes of the various squares and rectangles on the cartograms were calculated and plotted by the computer, but Robert Provins did the additional necessary drafting of the American Indian cartogram and produced its composite negatives. The preparation and composing of the remaining cartograms and the four county reference maps were completed by Dennis Coady, and David Fuller drafted and photographed the maps of net interstate migration. Gregory Hanzel, Randall Thomson, and Mira Mahiuddin assisted in composing the 1920 maps and the quarter-page and choropleth maps. All these talented individuals have contributed a great deal to this book, and the authors gratefully acknowledge their assistance.

Some of the data used in this atlas was made available through the generosity of key individuals. Alvin Chenkin of the Council of Jewish Federations in New York City provided unpublished estimates of Jewish populations of fewer than 100 individuals in specific cities and counties. The map of the net interstate migration of Southeast Asian refugees (1981-1984) was developed from data supplied by Linda Gordon, chief statistician for the U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement. Edna Faisano, specialist on American Indian populations at the Bureau of the Census, kindly permitted us to use unpublished data on reported tribal identities that we then displayed as the cartogram of American Indian ethnic groups. Lastly, the decline of Spanish American populations in selected New Mexico counties, despite substantial county boundary changes since 1900, was examined with the use of village-based population counts from the manuscript records of the 1900 census and detailed maps supplied by Richard Norstrand of the University of Oklahoma.

Students and staff of the Department of Geography helped process or analyze certain sets of data, and we thank them for their efforts. Susan Young transformed the estimates of Jewish populations in urban places to county-based data and calculated the state totals of single-ancestry plus one-third multiple-ancestry numbers for the ancestry groups. Patricia Grant analyzed changes in southern counties in their percentages of black population between 1890 and 1980, and Judith Belanger and Diann Peart helped in studying the general relationship between single- and multiple-ancestry numbers for major groups.

A number of other individuals have assisted in the preparation of this book. In the U.S. Bureau of the Census's Population Division, Edward Fernandez, Jeffrey Passel, Edna Faisano, and Nancy Sweet were particularly helpful in understanding the census data.
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answering queries regarding census procedures which affected data quality, but other members of the bureau's staff also gave willingly of their knowledge and experience. Under the supervision of Linda Morris, the staff of the Interlibrary Loan Office of the Oviatt Library at California State University, Northridge, obtained a large number of the sources needed in the writing of the book but not available locally, and Patricia Wade was particularly diligent in locating many obscure items.

The text of We the People was written by James Allen and reviewed by Eugene Turner. We were most fortunate that Frederick Luebke, professor of history at the University of Nebraska, was willing to read a draft version of the text that included nearly the entire manuscript except the interpretations of the smallest groups. His specific suggestions and general critique were much appreciated. Interpretations of some specific ethnic groups were also read by specialists in those groups representing several disciplines. The comments made by Rodolfo Acuña, Lucilia Baskauskas, Béla Biro, Thomas Boswell, Kian Kwan, Bruce La Brack, Elliot McIntire, and Bev Medicine enabled us to refine the text treatment of many groups. In addition to these individuals and others whose help is acknowledged in the form of a reference, sociologists Samir Abraham, Matthew Snipp, and Marta Tienda gave us guidance regarding the census data on particular ethnic groups, and Michael White advised regarding the measurement of ethnic diversity. And in our Department of Geography William Bowen, Robert Hoffpaur, Robert Howard, Julie Laity, Gordon Lewthwaite, Gary Lobb, and I-shou Wang provided useful advice and comments. We thank all the aforementioned scholars for their willing assistance.

Lastly, we recognize that a project of this magnitude could not have been completed without the strong support of our wives, Nancy Allen and Carol Turner. During the approximately 18 months of especially concentrated research and writing, Jim was at work during far too many evenings and weekends, with Nancy left at home to care for children Laura and Stuart. Likewise, Gene spent late nights and weekends writing computer programs to extract, analyze, and plot millions of pieces of data, and in the final months production photography and negative compositing meant even more time away from Carol and son Matt. Thus, we thank Nancy and Carol for their immeasurable contribution of sustaining our lives at home, without which we would not have had the opportunity to create this book.

James Allen
Eugene Turner
Here for the first time in one source is the full story of how and why the ethnic backgrounds of Americans differ so much from one place to the next.

With original maps and a detailed text, WE THE PEOPLE is a remarkable visual guide to the ethnic heritage of America—a comprehensive introduction to the varied origins of "we the people": where we live, how we move, and much more. County by county, state by state.

Drawing on the massive computer-based data files of the 1980 U.S. Census, James Paul Allen and Eugene James Turner map for the first time the geographical patterns of 67 ethnic and racial groups in the United States. They make accessible an unparalleled amount of data about Americans and their ethnic communities.

Covering groups old and new, large and small—from French Canadians in Maine to Vietnamese in California, from the earliest Native Americans, Blacks, and white settlers to today's newest Americans—WE THE PEOPLE is a fascinating and inclusive guide to the varied ethnic landscape of America.

The book features 111 full-color maps—44 of them full-page—showing the ethnic groups' distributions in every county and state in America. Full-page maps of the largest groups show by color the percentage of each group in each county and also identify the largest ethnic settlements.

In addition, there are special maps showing how selected groups have moved from state to state: these interstate migration patterns, so much a part of our mobile society, have never before been mapped in such accurate detail. And for essential background, the authors have included special maps showing the distribution of ethnic groups just after the peak of the earlier immigration in 1920.

The text covers each ethnic and racial group chapter by chapter and includes discussions of many subgroups such as Protestant and Catholic Irish, Swiss Amish, Flemish-speaking Belgians, French Canadians and immigrants from France, ethnic Chinese from Vietnam and Hmong from Laos, Christian and Muslim Arabs, and Sephardic Jews. Written for general readers

(Continued on back flap)
and specialists alike, it provides the historical background needed to understand the patterns of settlement of each group. By themselves, the chapters constitute a rich source of fascinating accounts of the history, culture, distinctive occupations, and social life of all of America's peoples—in all their variety.

The authors also present a comprehensive critical introduction to the quality and uses of the special ethnic data used in the book. There are county reference maps, indexes of places and ethnic groups, books and articles for additional research, appendices, and, for each population, special summary tables that list the counties where the ethnic group has its largest numbers and highest percentages.

With its scope, detail, authority, and visual appeal, WE THE PEOPLE stands alone as a source of information and as a tool for research. This innovative book will intrigue and enlighten general readers and high school students and serve as a much-needed research tool for geographers, sociologists, demographers, population planners, market researchers, and scholars of America's ethnic past, present, and future. It is a valuable addition to all public, school, academic, and research libraries.

About the Authors

JAMES PAUL ALLEN and EUGENE JAMES TURNER are professors of geography at California State University, Northridge. Professor Allen has written extensively on migration and ethnic settlements in America; Professor Turner is a specialist on computer mapping and has won numerous awards in map design.

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