Chapter 11
People of Middle and South American Origin

Middle America is a useful geographical term that includes Mexico, Central America, and the West Indies—all the lands between the U.S. and the continent of South America. The islands in the Caribbean Sea, usually called the West Indies, encompass a variety of cultures, from the Spanish-speaking Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and Dominicans to the English-speaking British West Indians from Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, and many small islands. Although there are also Dutch West Indian and French West Indian islands, those ancestry groups were, except for Haitians, too small to be included in this atlas.

Immigrants from Mexico, Central America, and much of South America typically speak Spanish, but Portuguese speech distinguishes Brazilians from other South Americans. None of the Spanish-speaking (Hispanic origin) groups have identified with the inclusive term "Hispanic." Rather, their social networks and ethnic identity have remained separate and tied to their specific country of origin.

In racial characteristics (physical appearance), people of Middle and South America range from those who have a completely European heritage and look like white Americans to the many who show their predominantly (American) Indian ancestry. There is also a large black population from most Caribbean islands and the Caribbean coast of Central America that reflects the plantation history of those places. For example, among people who immigrated during the 1970s, 3 percent of those from Jamaica were racially Asian and almost 4 percent were white, but nearly all others described their race as black (Census 1984b). Less than 2 percent of recent immigrants from Haiti were white.

Most immigrants from Middle and South America have come here for higher incomes and better jobs, although in some cases the political situation in their homeland has been a factor in the decision to migrate. Many factors, including rapid population growth since the 1940s, have resulted in low incomes, high rates of unemployment, and a widespread perception that opportunities have been much better in the U.S. As a result, recent immigration from Middle and South America has increased substantially.

Although people immigrating during the last 20 years from more distant less-developed countries could generally pay for or borrow the air fare, many poor people from Middle American countries have been able to enter the U.S. because of lower transportation costs and easier access. The 1.6 million people legally immigrating from Middle American countries from 1971 to 1980 made up 34 percent of the total number of immigrants to the U.S. recorded during the same period (U.S. INS. 1983). Since 1959 hundreds of thousands of refugees have left Castro's Cuba, and in the 1970s others have fled political oppression in Haiti and some Central and South American countries.

Also, because of Middle America's accessibility to the U.S., this region has presumably been the source of most people who have settled in the states without proper authorization. No good method exists for determining the size of the undocumented alien population, although most estimates for the mid-1970s were between 3.5 and 5 million (Siegel, Passel, and Robinson 1980) and between 3 and 4 million for 1980 (Passel and Woodrow 1984).

The West Indies have constituted a major source of immigration to the U.S. During the last century, movements between various Caribbean islands in response to job opportunities have reshuffled people frequently, and immigration to the U.S. can be viewed as an extension of such traditional movements. During the 1970s the flow to America became especially large. From 1979 through 1981 no other countries in the world sent a higher proportion of their populations to the U.S. than did the countries of the West Indies (Wolfgang 1985). If the many people remaining in the U.S. beyond the limits of the temporary visitor visas were included, the true scale and significance of the West Indian exodus would be more evident. In addition, one-third of the legal immigrants from the Caribbean islands were Cuban refugees who adjusted their status to that of immigrant.

If those Cuban immigrants are not included, then just over half the legal immigration from Middle America between 1971 and 1980 was made up of people admitted from Mexico. Because an estimated 55 percent of people residing here illegally were born in Mexico (Passel and Woodrow 1984), people of Mexican origin represent by far the largest group of post-1970 settlers in the U.S. Nevertheless, the early large Mexican ethnic settlements meant that 74 percent of the Mexican-origin population in 1980 had been born in the U.S.—a sharp contrast to the less than 40 percent U.S.-born among all the larger Asian populations except the Japanese.

### Mexican Origin

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* County statistics, map, and text interpretation are based on complete-count data.
** Major cities or towns may be indicated in parentheses.

Because the ethnic label "Chicano" has frequently been accepted and used by many people of Mexican background,
including both Mexican-born and U.S.-born, it is used here as a synonym for people of Mexican origin. The term “Mexican American” as used here stresses the U.S.-born portion of the Chicano population, and “Mexican” denotes immigrants from Mexico.

General Changes in the Southwest

Patterns in 1850. Two years after the United States officially took over what had been the northern part of Mexico, there were probably about 80,000 Spanish-speaking people in the area from South Texas to California (Nostrand 1975).

Over two-thirds of these lived in New Mexico. Because of their original settlement during the years before Mexican independence in 1821, descendants of these New Mexicans have generally retained an ethnic identity as Spanish rather than Mexican, and they are covered in the section on Other Spanish origin.

In 1850 the 9,200 Mexicans counted in California (excluding over 5,000 temporary miners from Sonora, Mexico) had been already engulfed by gold seekers from the East and constituted only a tenth of the new state’s population (Nostrand 1975). California had been a somewhat isolated and autonomous section of Mexican territory, with an economy based on cattle ranching. After 1848 the invasion of English-speakers (Anglos) quickly overwhelmed the Mexicans, although in the southern parts of the state—far from the Mother Lode and bustling San Francisco—the Spanish-speakers continued their way of life into the late 1850s.

During the middle decades of the 19th century, people who had been born in California of Spanish-speaking parents often called themselves Californios (Pitt 1970). No more than 3 percent of these had been wealthy ranch owners (Criswold del Castillo 1979), but a romanticized version of their heritage has been much celebrated by later English-speaking Californians. Descendants of Californios must now number several tens of thousands, but intermarriage has been widespread and identities blurred: according to the PUMS (Public Use Microdata Sample) file only an estimated six hundred people in California reported California as a single-ancestry response in 1980.

Within just three decades after Anglo and European settlement in Texas had been first encouraged by the Mexican government, that territory had become a U.S. state. Except along the lower Rio Grande and in San Antonio and El Paso, the Spanish-speaking population of Texas had been far outnumbered by Anglo settlers, so that in 1850 the 14,000 Mexicans in Texas constituted less than 7 percent of the state’s settled (non-Indian) population (Nostrand 1975).

In most of the Southwest the land beyond the towns and farming settlements was dominated by a variety of nomadic Indian groups, most of whom had resisted the Spanish and Mexican intrusions and were trying to prevent their own subjugation by the Americans.

Twentieth-Century Developments. With the late 19th-century expansion of railroads, mining, and farming in the new American Southwest, low-cost laborers were much in demand. At the same time in Mexico, the government-encouraged development of large-scale, export-oriented agriculture was forcing peasants off land they had traditionally worked (Cardoso 1980). By 1890 railroad lines had linked the interior plateaus of Mexico with Texas and the other American states, and thousands of unskilled desperate men, attracted by jobs in America at wages that were low by American standards but four to ten times higher than in Mexico, streamed into the Texas border cities. There they were hired by local farmers or recruited for laboring in distant places. Refugees from the upheavals and violence of the Mexican Revolution (1910–1920) swelled the streams of migrants heading northward. Thus, Texas became the major center of Mexican settlement in the early 20th century, and in Texas Chicanos constituted most of the unskilled workers to the south and west of the major region of black population.
By the 1920s irrigation developments in California and the earlier cutoff of the Asian immigrant labor supply meant that Mexican immigrants were replacing Asian farmworkers in that state. The expansion of California’s cities also led to many jobs for Mexicans. Since the Great Depression of the 1930s, the concentration of manufacturing and general metropolitan growth in California has meant a much larger Mexican-origin population there than in Texas. Whereas in 1970 California contained 41 percent of the people of Mexican origin (Census 1973b), in 1980 some 52 percent of the country’s Mexican-origin population was living in California with but another 21 percent in Texas. Actually, the proportion in California was substantially higher because it contained two-thirds of the country’s Mexican-born undocumented aliens, at least a third of whom had not been counted in the 1980 census (Passe1 and Woodrow 1984).

Although the map of net migrations indicates the large flow in recent decades from Texas to California, the immigration directly from Mexico has been substantially greater. In 1980 the census estimated Mexican-born people in California was six times larger than the Texas-born Mexican-origin population living in California.

### Railroad, Mining, and Manufacturing Settlements

When immigration from Mexico grew in the early 20th century, railroads made for the easy transportation of workers from the border to southwestern and midwestern destinations. The high mobility of many Mexican workers across the country during the early decades was similar to that of many eastern European immigrants.

### Settlements Along Santa Fe and Southern Pacific Routes

In the late 19th century railroad companies in the Southwest found Mexican laborers less troublesome and willing to work for less pay than Japanese, Greeks, or Italians. By 1909 the Santa Fe railroad and the southern line (New Orleans and Houston to Los Angeles) of the Southern Pacific employed nearly all Mexicans on the section gangs that were responsible for track maintenance (Imm. Com. 1911n). On railroads farther north, such as the Union Pacific, Mexicans were but a small minority of such laborers in most divisions, although in the 1920s and 1940s Mexican truckworkers were hired by large trucking companies.

In countless cities and towns Mexican settlements appeared by 1920 near the railroad yards, across the tracks from the Anglo section of town. The barrio associated with railroad work were little noticed by Anglo locals and passersby, though many like Dodge City (Ford County), Kansas, have become home to the large major Mexican-American locals, many of whom were in 1980 the grandchildren of the immigrants (Martinez 1983). Families of Mexican origin have continued to dot Santa Fe and Southern Pacific maintenance depots and division points on both routes: from Kansas City via Albuquerque and from Houston via El Paso to Los Angeles and San Francisco.

### Southwestern Mining Settlements

In the mid-1800s experienced copper miners from Sonora began to move north for better wages. By the early 20th century two-thirds of the workers at Arizona smelters and a quarter of the mine employees were Mexican immigrants (Imm. Com. 1911n). In southwestern New Mexico the gold, silver, and copper in the Santa Rita-Silver City area (Grant County) were mined intensively since the 1870s by workers from Mexico. Further north Mexicans were usually a small proportion of the state’s labor force, but around 1920 people of Mexican origin were settling in Utah, working at the Bingham Canyon copper open cut mine west of Salt Lake City and in construction and coal mining in Carbon County (Mayer 1976). In 1980 places in southern Arizona and New Mexico with major copper-mining or refining operations had higher proportions of Chicanos than surrounding areas. Over half the population in the Clifton-Morenci (Greenlee County) and Douglas-Bisbee areas ( Cochise County) in Arizona was of Mexican origin. In New Mexico the Grant County copper developments, including the Santa Rita mining area and the associated Kennecott smelter at Hurley, were over two-thirds Mexican origin in population.

### Border Cities

El Paso, the end of the railroad line from Mexico’s interior, was served by both the Southern Pacific and the Santa Fe railroads. In the early 20th century Mexicans were sometimes signed up by eager recruiters as they crossed the border into the U.S., and within a day or two were shipped out to farms, mines, or railroad jobs over much of the country. With a high turnover in such jobs, new immigrants had to be brought in each year. 

In the early 20th century Mexican immigrants had small and huge smelter to handle copper and other ores from both south of the border and from the Santa Rita and Arizona mines, El Paso provided both manufacturing and railroad work (Garcia 1981). Most Mexican men were hired by the long established and established trades. Women often worked in garment or cigar factories or in low-level service positions. Cities located on the international border, such as El Paso, have developed special population concentrations and have been intimately tied to their adjacent Mexican neighbors. During economic booms, particularly during the 1930s, many acted as reception and resettlement centers for Mexican immigrants who lost jobs (Martinez 1977). In the 1970s they came to absorb a large daily influx of commuting workers from Mexico, unafflicting in manufacturing jobs. Those “green carders” received legal immigrant status but preferred to live in Mexico. In 1980, several counties associated with border cities had populations that were over 70 percent Mexican American.

### San Antonio and Houston

In 1900 San Antonio was the largest city in Texas and had more people of Mexican origin than any other city in America. The city’s growth was especially rapid during World War I, when the need for labor in the construction of military airfields and other facilities stimulated road building and other developments that together attracted still more people of Mexican origin (Romo 1977). With varied railroad connections to the north, the city was probably the leading Mexican labor recruitment and distribution center for jobs in the eastern half of the U.S.

In the early 20th century there were also Mexican settlements in Houston, where Mexican labor had much of the importance that eastern European labor did in the large cities of the Northeast and Midwest. Many men helped build the Houston ship channel in 1914 and more were doing track and yard work for the Southern Pacific Railroad (Rosales 1981). Mexican women were often employed in factories that made the burlap for wrapping cotton bales. Spurred especially by developments in the oil industry and shipping, Houston had surpassed San Antonio in population by 1930 and became a major port on the Gulf of Mexico. During the decades of expansion since World War II, so many more people arrived that by 1980 it ranked third in Chicano population and several once-separated settlements had coalesced into one large barrio.

### Chicago

The first large influx of Mexicans, occurring about 1910, was the result of railroad track maintenance and yard work. Housing was in makeshift camps, wooden barracks, or sometimes old barns. Jobs were usually seasonal and low-paying, and the immigrants looked for other opportunities in Chicago. Thereafter, World War I and the immigration restrictions of the early 1920s cut off much hiring, and the supply of new southern and eastern European workers; this was the general factor that made possible numerous jobs for blacks and Mexicans in the steel mills and slaughterhouses.

The railroads and steel companies sent agents to Texas to
Anglo Agriculture and Mexican Workers in Texas

In Texas a zone of over 100 miles north of the Rio Grande border with Mexico has long had a population mostly Mexican in origin. Including South Texas and West Texas, it remains one of the most distinctive regions in the country. South of San Antonio (Bexar County) and the rougher plateaus to its west lie the broad plains of South Texas, a region of ranching, irrigation farming, and some oil development (Meining 1969). Its most significant feature, however, has been its predominantly Chicano population. In 1980 all of the 10 American counties with the highest Mexican-origin proportions (all over 75 percent) lay in South Texas.

Uprover from South Texas, the Mexican American border zone becomes sparsely settled desert land in which people of Mexican origin have been numerically dominant since before 1890 (Jordan 1981). Most rural people have been connected in some way with ranching, especially of sheep and goats. People of Mexican origin have worked typically as cowboys and shepherders and have made up the seasonal crews of shearsers (Meining 1969).

Anglo Changes in South Texas. Under the Spanish and Mexican governments the area that became South Texas was a frontier zone of small farming communities along the lower Rio Grande and a few scattered ranches which ran big cattle on what were then fine grazing lands. The villages remained isolated from Anglo invasions and developments to the north until the 1830s.

During the half century after 1848, American (Anglo) troops and civilians established themselves south of the Nueces River. Before 1870, by legal means, fraud, threat, and by marrying into some of the Mexican landowning families, Anglos had taken over most of the ranchland of South Texas (De Leon and Stewart 1983). With the development of larger ranching operations and commercial irrigation farming, aided by a 1904 railroad connection from the lower Rio Grande Valley to markets in midwestern cities, boom times appeared. Land division in the valley and promotion by the large Anglo landowners attracted midwesterners, who had been clearly informed of the available supply of cheap Mexican farm labor.

A series of new farm tracts and towns appeared, stretching from Cameron and Mission Counties to the Gulf of Mexico upriver through Hidalgo and Starr counties. Additional settlements appeared northward toward the Nueces in Duval, Kleberg, and other counties. Such a similar development to the northwest, focused on Crystal City (Zavala County) and Carrizo Springs (Dinmit County), became known as the Winter Garden.

Farm Labor in South Texas. Although there were some Anglo tenant farmers, and although a few elite Mexican families did retain some land and influence, South Texas society became by 1910 stratified: a middle-class and landowning Anglo population controlled the economy and politics. Most Trinjeros—that is, Mexican Americans living in Texas—had become part of a low-wage agricultural labor force. Mexican workers cleared the brush, built canals and ditches for irrigation, and planted the palms and citrus orchards. Many lower Rio Grande farmers came to specialize in cotton, pink-fleshed grapefruits, or early spring vegetables and melons—planted, thinned, weeded, and picked by a work force almost completely Mexican in origin.

Farmers often tried to prevent their workers from leaving for better wages in other states, but recruiters and personal contact spread the word of opportunities among the Trinjeros. The stream of Chicanos working leaving South Texas grew in the 1920s, and again in the 1940s, to a flood. South Texas has continued to act as funnel for new immigrant laborers from Mexico, many of whom have moved immediately on to other parts of the country.

Central Texas. In 1910 the cotton lands just east of San Antonio were the most recently developed part of the old Cotton Belt that stretched eastward to the Carolinas. Although most picking in areas farther east had long been done by blacks, the low cost of migrant Mexican cotton pickers meant that owners could expand cotton acreage and have the work done by the new transient crews rather than by themselves or sharecroppers or tenants (McWilliams [1948] 1968). Later many Mexicans settled down, adding a new population to areas that had previously been nearly all southern black and white or European in ethnicity. Thus, in 1980 the varying ethnic proportions in nonmetropolitan counties between Dallas, Houston, and San Antonio showed the intermingling of the Chicanos and black populations.

West Texas. Wells sunk through the smooth High Plains brought up water that made part of arid West Texas a leading center of cotton production in the 1940s. After the thousands of Mexican migrant laborers picked in South Texas and to the north near San Antonio, they were trucked westward to fields being developed in all directions from Lubbock (MeWilliams [1948] 1968). With continued agricultural and economic expansion during the 1950s and 1960s, former migrant workers and others of Mexican origin have come to settle in that region. Except for Lubbock County itself, where the Anglo population has been especially concentrated, the dozen surrounding counties averaged over 30 percent Chico in 1980.
Seasonal Migration to the Midwest. Soon after the turn of the century, workers of Mexican origin began to find higher wages and more work during the summer on farms in the North—from Wyoming and Kansas through Michigan and New York. Between 1942 and 1964 a formal agreement between the United States and Mexico resulted in the annual importation of hundreds of thousands of seasonal workers (braceros) to ease shortages of low-cost farm and railroad labor, sometimes in the Midwest. After the program ended, men usually entered the U.S. again, often finding employment in the areas they were familiar with.

Since the 1950s the drive to the midwestern fields has been typically made in caravans of old cars. Migrants have broken the trip about halfway at Hope (Hempstead County), Arkansas, where the state has maintained special rest facilities (Dunbar and Kravit 1976). Most families have then moved on to a particular farm or area where they have worked before, usually in Michigan, Indiana, or Ohio—picking cherries, tomatoes, lettuce, cucumbers, or onions. Others have cultivated sugar beets or worked in canneries. Most have lived in small labor camps on back roads.

Through the 1970s perhaps 45,000 farmworkers and their families continued to travel each spring from Texas to midwestern farms (Dunbar and Kravit 1976). Most who were reported in the 1980 census were presumably listed as residing in either South Texas or the West Texas cotton-growing counties, the two major source regions for midwestern farmworkers.

Northern Settlements of Former Migrant Farm Workers

Each year some migrants would line up more permanent farm or industrial jobs or remain in the Midwest, visiting friends or looking for work. Also, in the 1960s increased mechanization of harvesting eliminated some farm jobs, and unskilled jobs in manufacturing paid more than farm work. A “settling out” of the migrant stream has resulted in numerous Chicano colonies in or near towns and small cities. In one Wisconsin town nearly all the Chicanos were former migrant workers who had been recommended by earlier arrivals for work in a local laundry (Wells 1976). Most people of Mexican origin in the farming counties of northwestern Ohio had similarly settled out after working the tomato, cucumber, and sugar-beet fields (Carlson 1975). If the pay has been right, many who stopped migrating continued to harvest local crops or work in processing plants.

Sugar-Beet Areas. Outside the Southwest, Mexican labor has been especially important for sugar-beet production. The beets came to be widely planted around the turn of the century, after Congress in 1907 placed a tariff on imported sugar. The crop has required manual labor over almost half the year in a series of painstaking tasks, many of which required people to crawl along between rows of beets.

Until World War I this tedious work was usually done by recent German-Russian or Japanese immigrants, though Belgians or other Europeans were sometimes signed up. However, Japan had agreed in 1907 to stop the expansion of its labor force, and a few years later, with the onset of World War I, the supply of new workers was eliminated. People of Mexican origin seemed the perfect solution to the labor shortage.

Farmers and the factories that bought the locally produced beets preferred to have a permanent rather than a migrant labor force, and employment during other months of the year was sometimes arranged by the companies in an effort to persuade the workers to remain in the area. The location of many counties containing Chicano communities can be explained by the presence of sugar-beet factories and nearby beet fields.

In 1910 Mexicans were brought to southwestern Kansas. The Garden City Sugar Beet Company (Finney County) hired them to construct their factory, irrigate fields, and then manage the crop through the harvest (Oppenheimer 1985). Permanent communities began to form in a few years, when arrangements were made for jobs during most of the year in railroad maintenance and roadbuilding. About the same time, in western Nebraska’s North Platte Valley, the Great Western Sugar Company was bringing families of workers on special trains from Texas (Smith 1981). Although not many of their descendants worked on farms in the 1970s, the founders of the large Mexican-origin community in Scotts Bluff County were beet workers.

First in 1918 and again in the 1940s, beet growers in northern Wyoming’s Big Horn Basin (Washakie, Big Horn, and Park counties) solved their labor shortages with Mexican recruits brought in by train from El Paso (Hewitt 1982). Also, Chicanos first came to western South Dakota (Butte County), to eastern Oregon’s Malheur County, and to southern Idaho for beet work.

Eastern Washington. Before about 1940 Mexicans in the Pacific Northwest were few, usually transient shepherders, cowboys, or bean and hop pickers in Oregon’s Willamette Valley (Buita 1975). However, with the 1940s movement of many rural people to Seattle for work in shipyards and aircraft factories, few remained in the Yakima Valley (Yakima County) to bring in the large hop and apple harvests (Gamboa 1981). Some midwestern and Mexican workers helped in 1942, but in subsequent years the government’s bracero program enabled growers to import each summer about 14,000 Mexican workers.

The expansion of irrigation during the forties led to large increases in hops, asparagus, sugar beets, and mint crops (Gamboa 1981). With much hand work required by these crops, production seemed limited only by the labor supply. The additional need for workers in West Coast manufacturing plants after 1947 further drained potential harvest workers from the Yakima Valley, and farmers and the state were desperate for a larger and more permanent work force. Braceros were still brought from Mexico, but recruiters were also sent to Texas and to beet areas to persuade people to come and live year-round.

The ads on Spanish-language radio, notices in dance halls and stores, and encouragement and money for the trip lent by the agents were effective. Families settled in the labor camps and in later years were joined by other former migrants. Two still-separate communities of Mexican Americans developed in the valley between Wapato and Grandview on beet farms and the other of former beet workers from Wyoming and other states.

Fifty miles to the northeast, the dry lands of the Columbia Basin were first irrigated in 1952 from waters stored in Grand Coulee Dam. Chicanos moved first to farm jobs in that developing area: Grant and Franklin counties and the western Othello section of Adams County.

Florida. Mexican Americans began to migrate from Texas to Florida after World War II, when they found immigrants from Mexico undercutting South Texas wage rates (Aguiar, Schwirian, and La Greca 1980). In Florida many have continued in farmwork and have settled near the winter vegetable and farm labor centers.

Farm Workers in California

The greatest demand for Mexican migrant labor has been in large valleys and basins of the Southwest that became irrigated in the early 20th century. Workers from Mexico were trucked to the cottonfields of Arizona’s Salt and Gila river valleys (Maricopa and Pinal counties), but California has absorbed by far the most farm laborers.

Mexican labor moved easily into California because there were no restrictions before 1917 and subsequent exemptions and nonenforcement of regulations meant practically an open border. Then, from 1943 to 1964 the bracero program ensured a supply of seasonal Mexican workers for individual growers and established connections that led to jobs after the formal program ended.
The Imperial Valley. Before 1910 an aqueduct was bringing Colorado River water to the newly developed Imperial Valley, just north of the California-Mexico border. Soon cotton, sugar beets, peas, cantaloupes, and alfalfa became major crops, which needed tending and harvesting. Hay had to be baled and sifted cleaned from irrigation ditches. After about 1917 growers decided to solve their labor problems with workers from south of the border (Taylor 1936:1). The Imperial Valley has remained focused almost completely on farming since it was first developed with a few farm-supply towns, and Chicano families made up over half the population in Imperial County in 1980.

The Central Valley. The Central Valley of California, stretching for over 500 miles from the Bakersfield area (Kern County) to the northwest far beyond Sacramento, has become one of the major agricultural production regions of the world. In the southern part (the San Joaquin Valley) the late 19th century saw the employment of Mexicans on railroads and some ranches and wheat farms. When irrigation districts were developed, an additional Mexican labor force moved in—at first arriving in cars and trucks each spring and later remaining all year. The acreage planted to cotton expanded greatly in the 1920s, and midwesterners were buying land and planting other crops that needed hand labor—lettuce, onions, tomatoes, beets, and tree crops like oranges, peaches, and walnuts. The single greatest demand for workers was during the late summer grape harvest in Fresno and Tulare counties. After World War II additional water led to further intensive farming so that still more workers were needed. Chicano workers also worked in the Salinas Valley (Monterey County), the Oxnard Plain (Ventura County), and many smaller areas near the coast, picking a great range of crops, including apples, plums, strawberries, bell peppers, garlic, and beans.

Permanent Settlements. Over the years workers were able to shorten their migratory circuit and later settle most of the year in one place because they found farm or other jobs locally. In addition, in some areas of predominantly family farms where most of the actual operations had been handled by Anglo farmers themselves, the sale or leasing of land to large agribusiness organizations has resulted in the replacement of the owner-operator by hired Mexican-origin labor (Moles 1979). In the 1970s such farm consolidation appeared to be modifying some local communities in the Central Valley, making them somewhat like the stark and ethnically stratified farm labor towns in Kern County such as Arvin, Lamon, and Weed Patch.

Farm mechanization has reduced the labor requirements for many crops, forcing some people into a less migrantary life. Although some workers have been able to expand their community ties, many Mexican-origin farmworkers still do the bulk of manual work in agriculture, seasonal farm jobs have long been accessible to towns and cities. With a greater range of employment possibilities in cities, it is not surprising that most Mexican-origin people lived in urban areas.

Southern California Metropolitan Settlements

After the U.S. government took control of California in 1848, Mexican residents saw their position deteriorate rapidly. The massive Anglo in-migration and the transformation from a ranching to an urban industrial economy, together with Anglo legal maneuvering, ultimately eliminated Mexican (California) economic and political power (Camarillo 1979). By the 1880s the California population was being relegated to second-class status, and new immigrants from Mexico were being clearly assigned the lowest of all laboring wages and positions. Geographically, Mexican people found their communities being reduced to enclaves or barrios within their former domain. Despite this deterioration, the rapid growth of cities in southern California in the 20th century has provided jobs and lives within the comfort of large ethnic communities, drawing both immigrants and Mexican Americans from Texas and other states.

Los Angeles. The broad Mexican American region of the Southwest, so evident on the map between Texas and California, can be considered to have metropolitan anchors at either end. On the east, San Antonio and—increasingly—Houston have played this role. On the west the primacy has always belonged to Los Angeles. The growth in California has been such that in 1980 Los Angeles County contained 19 percent of the entire country’s Chicano population.

Railroad construction and maintenance jobs provided most employment for Mexican immigrants to Los Angeles during the first three decades of this century. Thousands of Mexicans were recruited as they crossed the bridge in El Paso, and Mexican labor built the major railroad yards and the many interurban lines that crossed Los Angeles (Rome 1983). Labor camps of maintenance workers appeared at key junctions and terminals. Those that were located near other industrial jobs, which happened in railroad work, evolved into contemporary Chicano settlements, such as at Pasadena, Santa Monica, and Long Beach.

People of Mexican origin were also employed in manufacturing—especially in beefpacking houses and in tile-, brick-, and cement-works (Romo 1983). They also worked in construction, street paving, and the defense industries that expanded during World War I. A railroad hub and major international port, Los Angeles offered a range of blue-collar employment, and it became the major western center for the distribution of Mexican labor. In 1920 the population of Mexican foreign stock in Los Angeles constituted almost a quarter of that group’s population in the entire state and more than twice the size of the largest foreign-stock population in the city.

In 1980 Los Angeles County had 45 percent of the manufacturing jobs in the state and more such jobs than in the largest five of the other western states combined (Muller and Espenahde 1985). Mexican immigrants—both legal and illegal—have typically been employed as machine operatives or craftsmen in a wide range of factories, where they make furniture, garments, car parts, batteries, and so on. Many others have worked in service jobs in car washes, restaurants, or hotels (Portes and Back 1985). Although some jobs have provided good income, they have too often had few possibilities for advancement.

Around World War I the centrally located residential area near the old Mexican plaza became more valuable for factories, warehouses, and light industry. People forced out of housing there tend to move to suburban settlements recently made accessible by the interurban lines. Most people of Mexican origin moved eastward, and the proximity of meatpacking, auto-assembly, and tire-manufacturing jobs attracted many to the Belvedere part of East Los Angeles. Since 1930, an exodus of Jews from the nearby Boyle Heights section of Los Angeles has opened up those homes. By far the largest single barrio in 1980 lay in the city of East Los Angeles (90 percent Chicano) and the adjacent part of Los Angeles east of the river and downtown. There, those who wish have been able to live most of their lives in a Spanish-language milieu.

Although there have been recent extensions of Chicano settlements eastward, in 1980 people of Mexican origin lived in many parts of Los Angeles and were much less residentially segregated than the black minority.

Puerto Rican Origin

1980 Summary Statistics

Reported Ethnic Population

Complete count
2,013,845
Edited sample
2,004,961
The island of Puerto Rico was taken over by the United States in 1898 when, in the final stages of fighting, it assisted Puerto Ricans in their struggle for independence from Spain. The island has become a predominantly self-governing territory of the United States, with its people given the status of U.S. citizens. Because of this, migration between the island and the mainland U.S. states has not been international and, technically, should not be considered an immigration.

Puerto Ricans have tended to concentrate geographically in older industrial cities in the Northeast. In many such places Puerto Ricans have established a reputation as manageable, low-cost workers willing to accept jobs that many others would refuse. Although some Puerto Ricans have become professional, white-collar, or skilled workers, most who came to the mainland for work have been relegated to menial, low-paying, dead-end work.

Puerto Rican origin who have moved out of the large ethnic communities have represented a selective group of mainland-born migrants more familiar with American culture and the English language. They have usually been able to achieve higher status in places where Puerto Ricans have not been so numerous, so oriented to their own ethnic group, and so readily stereotyped.

**New York City**

Some Puerto Ricans settled in New York City in the early part of the 20th century. Merchant seamen were clustered next to the Brooklyn Navy Yard and cigarmakers and garment workers lived in Manhattan. With a large influx during the 1920s, the largest settlement of Puerto Ricans developed on the upper east side of Manhattan in East Harlem, between the Italians to the east and the blacks to the west (Glazer and Moynihan 1963).

There were few Puerto Rican arrivals during the 1930s and World War II, but in 1945 the advent of direct air service between Puerto Rico and New York made the city easily accessible. A highly mobile Puerto Rican population has circled back and forth between New York and the island, visiting back home and returning there when job conditions on the mainland become less favorable.

Puerto Rican men have typically operated the production machinery in older and often economically marginal factories or been waiters, porters, dishwashers, or attendants in hotels, restaurants, and hospitals. Most of the women born in Puerto Rico have run sewing machines in the garment industry, either at home or in factories, although those born on the mainland, that is, the continental U.S., have been as likely to do clerical or sales work (Fitzpatrick 1971). As a result of several factors, New York City's Puerto Ricans have been the poorest of the city's ethnic groups (Fitzpatrick 1980), and Puerto Ricans there have had lower incomes than those in most other areas of the mainland (Boswell 1985).

### Major Settlements

The Puerto Rican population of East Harlem grew rapidly after 1945 as problems of unemployment and low wages on the island attracted hundreds of thousands to the U.S. As the area (Spanish Harlem, or El Barrio) became more crowded, people who could afford to move out to areas of the South Bronx that were tied by railway to Manhattan (Glazer and Moynihan 1963), Puerto Rican settlement has since expanded in Manhattan and in Brooklyn and the Bronx, but around 1970 El Barrio was still the major focus of Puerto Rican life in the city (Fitzpatrick 1971). In these predominantly low-rent areas, the tenement buildings were usually not maintained, and crowded slums developed. Some areas came to have only the burned-out shells of former apartment buildings, a situation forcing residents to move elsewhere.

The darker-skinned Puerto Ricans have found additional difficulties. In 1970 those who were black were more apt to be living in black sections of New York than in Puerto Rican section (Jackson 1981). This residential shift based on color differences is not well understood but may have been a reflection of the potency of the black-white dichotomy in America, since even black Puerto Ricans would have been unlikely to move on their own toward closer association with American blacks.

### Dispersal

For those who could afford it, moving away from Spanish Harlem or the South Bronx usually meant a better environment. Also, from 1960 to 1976 New York City lost 670,000 manufacturing jobs, a development that hit Puerto Rican men especially hard. In addition, many jobs have been shifted to the suburban Long Island parts of the city. With little government work or other opportunities available for this ethnic group, unemployment in Manhattan has been an especially severe problem (Rodriguez 1980). Presumably many of the tens of thousands of Puerto Ricans who moved into Queens in the 1970s were pursuing suburbanized jobs.

Since 1940, when 88 percent of Puerto Ricans in the U.S. lived in New York City, there has been a dispersal to other cities. They have frequently moved to New Jersey, primarily to old industrial cities like Newark, Paterson, Jersey City, and Hoboken. Others have settled in Philadelphia and the larger cities of southern New England. There was an especially large out-migration during the 1970s. At the beginning of the decade New York City contained just 64 percent of U.S. Puerto Ricans, but by 1980 the figure had dropped to 49 percent. Many of those who had been born in Puerto Rico have returned there, but those born in New York—even called "Nuyorican"—stayed in the states (Rosenberg 1974). The mainland-born generation constituted just half of the Puerto Rican-origin population in 1980, but those who arrived here before their teenage years have also been much more acculturated to American ways. Those whose life has been essentially molded by the mainland experience have been the most likely to move to Florida or to California, joining the flow of other Americans.

### Settlements Originating with Agricultural Laborers

#### Western States

Puerto Rican communities in these states date from 1900, when workers were first recruited to be cane cutters on Hawaiian sugar plantations. After the long train trip from New Orleans to California, more than half the first group of 114 workers had second thoughts about moving to Hawaii, abandoned the train, and remained in California (Souza 1984). Most other recruits did arrive in Hawaii, resulting in a total labor migration of 5,200 Puerto Ricans by the end of 1901. Puerto Ricans were assigned to many different plantations in Hawaii, resulting in substantial dispersal of what was a small minority.

However, after their contracts were over, many moved to California—to Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oakland (Alameda County), or farming areas (Maldonado 1979). By 1970 the long-established Puerto Rican communities in San Francisco and Los Angeles were exceptionally high in socioeco-
nomic status compared to Puerto Ricans in New York and northeastern industrial cities (Fitzpatrick 1980).

However, many of the early Puerto Ricans who arrived in Hawaii remained there for many years afterward, resulting in an increasing population but one which has commonly intermarried with other ethnic populations (Lind 1980). In addition, some of the Puerto Ricans in Honolulu in 1980 were stationed there with the U.S. military.

Puerto Ricans first came to Arizona in 1926. They were contract laborers recruited to pick cotton, but because they were not provided with adequate and agreed-upon living conditions, the experiment was not successful (Maldonado 1979). Nevertheless, many remained in the area to provide the nucleus for a Puerto Rican community though others moved on to California.

The Midwest and East. In 1944 through 1948 there were a series of contract labor arrangements that brought in farm-workers. Most men preferred the higher wages and steadier work of industry. After a season or so on the farms, they frequently took jobs in nearby cities, thus beginning numerous Puerto Rican settlements (Maldonado 1979).

The earliest Puerto Ricans in the parts of Long Island outside New York city had been hired to pick vegetables and potatoes (Fitzpatrick 1971). Many Puerto Rican farmworkers who had initially come under contract with New Jersey growers have returned to that state on their own, and others who used to migrate seasonally via Florida have found New Jersey a good place in which to settle down (Dunbar and Krawitz 1976). By 1970, Puerto Rican migrant workers had also settled more permanently in small New England towns close to farm work (Piore 1976).

Puerto Ricans were recruited to pick crops in western New York State in the late 1940s and early 1950s (Wagenheim 1975). Some found steady jobs with the railroads or mills in the Buffalo (Erie County) area, and when there was a shortage of industrial labor in 1951 and 1952, workers from the nearby farm labor camp were recruited (Maldonado 1979). Similarly, the first Puerto Ricans in industrial jobs in Allentown (Lehigh County) and Bethlehem (Northampton County), Pennsylvania, had originally come to eastern Pennsylvania as farm laborers.

In Connecticut, years of picking tobacco and vegetables led to jobs for Puerto Ricans in the expanding defense industries in the 1960s, especially in Bridgeport (Fairfield County) and Hartford, though many Puerto Ricans came from New York City for such jobs, too (Wagenheim 1975). Smaller numbers have found jobs in many Connecticut manufacturing cities, such as New Haven, Meriden, and Waterbury (New Haven County). Puerto Ricans in Milwaukee's factories had originally been hired as farmworkers in Michigan (Maldonado 1979). Afterward they moved into industrial jobs in Chicago and from there to tannery and foundry work in Milwaukee. Chain migration and often additional recruitment led to the growth of many such Puerto Rican communities.

Settlements Originating with Industrial Laborers

Labor shortages during World War II led the federal government to expedite recruitment of Puerto Ricans in industry. In 1944 over 600 workers were brought in for work at various locations on the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, and 500 were employed by the Campbell Soup Company in Camden, New Jersey (Maldonado 1979). The experience in Camden opened the door to employment in Philadelphia. Puerto Ricans recruited for the Bingham Canyon copper mine and smelter of northern Utah initiated the Puerto Rican presence in the greater Salt Lake City area (Maye 1976).

Puerto Rican settlement in Chicago began just after World War II, but by 1980 that city was the second largest center for Puerto Ricans on the mainland. Initial recruitment by employment agencies was of several hundred people, with women to work as domestics and men in several foundries (Orfield and Tostado 1985; Maldonado 1979). A large in migration has occurred since that time, with most men
Many of the larger ethnic settlements that are not near cities have been military installations. This has been particularly the case in the South, aside from Florida. Fort Bragg (Cumberland County) in North Carolina and Fort Hood (Bell and Coryell counties) in Texas were the largest in 1980. Some of the highest-percentage Puerto Rican counties were Chattanooga in Georgia and Geary in Kansas, where Fort Benning and Riley are located.

The Miami (Dade County) concentration so evident in 1980 developed only after 1959. At that time Fidel Castro's overthrow of the right-wing Cuban government prompted those members of the old elite to flee as the revolutionaries. The Communist policies and practices later instituted by Castro, including fear of imprisonment and persecution, motivated hundreds of thousands of others to move to America (Boswell and Curtis 1984). Middle-class business families and people not sympathetic to Castro's cause have usually been able to emigrate during one of the periods during which Castro has permitted emigration. With a low birthrate, the Cuban-origin population had in 1980 a much higher median age (38) than that of Mexican origin (22), Puerto Rican origin (22), or the total U.S. population (30). Although a quarter of Cuba's population is black, those who have come to U.S. have been 95 percent white—a factor that has eased the adjustment for many. White Americans have viewed the black Cubans simply as blacks, thus denying their national identity, yet the Cubans have been culturally distinct from most American blacks (Perez 1980).

Most black Cubans have settled in New York and New Jersey, partly because the Cubans and other whites in the Miami area have been less than accepting. Another 2 percent of Cubans in this country are of Chinese background.

The Miami area.
The few Cubans living in Miami before 1959 tended to live in several different parts of the city, but the exiles from Castro's revolution typically settled together in an area they came to call La Seguresa (Little Havana). Just west of Miami's downtown, this section had been declining for years, with vacant shops and low-rent homes and apartments (Boswell and Curtis 1984). For the Cubans it has provided ample housing and areas for expansion as more refugees appeared. Those Cubans who have prospered economically have been able to move to suburban sections of Dade County, usually westward, or northward to the city of Hialeah (Boswell and Curtis 1984). Further to the west, near Lake Okeechobee (Hendry and western Palm Beach counties), the sugarcane industry that developed after 1959 has attracted Cubans to some of the higher-paying farmerwork jobs (Dunbar and Kravitz 1976).

Little Havana. Part of Little Havana has been transformed into a bustling, thriving center of Cuban restaurants, baker-
ies, coffeehouses, theaters, banks, pharmacies, groceries and other stores, and business offices that serve the large Cuban community. There are also numerous small Cuban-owned factories, which produce a variety of articles, including clothes, leather goods, furniture, and cigars. The area is the obvious geographical focus of Cuban life in America. The sheer size of the Spanish-speaking (mostly Cuban) population in the Miami area has made it possible for businesses to succeed and people to hold good jobs with little need to speak English (Portes and Bach 1985). The many Spanish-speaking and Caribbean-oriented investors and businessmen have also stimulated trade between Miami and countries to the south.

With episodic influxes of Cubans, 42 percent of the city of Miami’s population was of Cuban origin in 1980. Hialeah, second largest city in Dade County, was 60 percent Cuban. In addition, many people of Mexican and Puerto Rican origin have settled in those cities, and in the nine months just after the 1980 census was taken an estimated 100,000 more Cubans moved to Miami (Boswell and Curtis 1984). These were most of the people who had arrived on small boats from the Cuban port of Mariel. By 1981 Dade County probably contained over half the Cuban population in America.

Cuban Refugee Program: Partial Dispersal

The American government under President Kennedy wanted to show its support for those who fled Communist Cuba and at the same time ease South Florida’s burden of supporting the refugees (Boswell and Curtis 1984). It embarked on a program to disperse Cubans outside Florida whereby many families were offered jobs in distant places but would lose government assistance if they did not accept such positions. Between 1961 and 1963 at least 300,000 Cubans were resettled outside Florida through this program (Boswell and Curtis 1984). Because the number resettled in various states was highly correlated in the early 1970s with the 1970 Cuban population, it would appear that the Cuban Refugee Program was responsible for most of the geographic dispersal (Prohias and Casal 1973).

However, other studies have found that over a third of the Cubans outside Florida settled without government assistance. Professionals and other high-status people were especially apt to rely on friends and family ties rather than government agencies to get them their jobs (Prohias and Casal 1973; Rogg 1974). Despite the recentness of their arrival, Cubans who have settled outside the major Cuban enclaves have often become English-speakers and otherwise moved rapidly into the American middle class (Nelson and Tienda 1985).

Return to Miami During the 1970s. Nevertheless, there has been a strong return migration to South Florida. The proportion of the U.S. Cuban population living in Florida increased from 46 percent in 1970 to 59 percent in 1980. Moreover, in 1978 a survey of Cubans in Dade County found that 40 percent had previously been living in other parts of the U.S. (Boswell and Curtis 1984). Most returnees preferred Florida’s climate and wanted to be near relatives and friends in Florida, but they had become sufficiently successful and well-adjusted to America that they had been able to buy homes in suburban Miami as opposed to Little Havana.

New Jersey

About 47 percent of the people resettle under the Cuban Refugee Program moved to New York or New Jersey (Boswell and Curtis 1984) and rather narrow focus for what had been conceived of as greater geographical dispersal.

Although New York City was an earlier Cuban settlement, the concentration in the town of West New York and adjacent Union City (Hudson County), New Jersey, arose from a small pre-1959 settlement. Chain migrations developed, with 84 percent of Cuban residents reporting in the late 1960s that they moved there because of friends or family (Rogg 1974). Newcomers could take advantage of a range of manufacturing, warehousing, and trucking jobs in the area, and local economies have been substantially revived (Boswell and Curtis 1984).

A few earlier (pre-1959) immigrants moved to the enclave from Manhattan, and some newcomers settled in adjacent cities and counties where Puerto Ricans or Dominicans had large populations. People of varied Hispanic origins also have moved into the predominantly Cuban centers. In 1980 both Union City and West New York had populations that were almost two-thirds Spanish origin and about one-third Cuban.

Other Spanish Origin

1980 Summary Statistics*

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<th>Reported Ethnic Population</th>
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<tr>
<td>Complete count</td>
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<td>Edited sample</td>
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<tr>
<th>Counties with Largest Other Spanish-Origin Population**</th>
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<tr>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
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<tr>
<td>Los Angeles, CA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dade (Miami), FL</td>
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<td>Bernalillo (Albuquerque), NM</td>
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<td>Cook (Chicago), IL</td>
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<tr>
<th>Counties with Highest Percentage of Other Spanish Origin in Population**</th>
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<tr>
<td>Mora, NM</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rio Arriba (Espanola), NM</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taos, NM</td>
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<tr>
<td>San Miguel (Las Vegas), NM</td>
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<td>Guadalupe (Santa Rosa), NM</td>
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* County statistics, map, and test interpretation are based on complete-count data.
** Alot cities or towns may be excluded in parentheses.

The ethnic populations that are included in this Hispanic group are not clearly identifiable. This is primarily because 18 percent of the population choosing the category Other Spanish in 1980 reported an ancestry not normally thought of as Spanish, and 29 percent listed only a general Spanish response (Fernandez and Cresce 1986). The relative inconsistency of individuals’ responses to this question over time (Mckeeney, Fernandez, and Masumura 1984) and the 7 percent of Other Spanish origin who reported Mexican ancestry add to the difficulties in interpreting these data.

However, the ancestry responses of the Other Spanish population can often be used to identify a specific national origin. Less than 1 percent indicated a Spaniard ancestry, but about twice that number reported Filipino, Portuguese, or American ancestries (Fernandez and Cresce 1986). Included also as Other Spanish were smaller numbers of people with American Indian, Brazilian, Spanish Basque, and Guamanian ancestries.

This interpretation focuses on the two largest groups not covered elsewhere in the atlas. First, a large proportion of people who reported a general Spanish ancestry probably had ethnic roots in New Spain in the period from 1599 to 1821. Although this text treats only the New Mexico settlements, enclaves of Spaniards in Louisiana’s Saint Bernard and Ascension parishes reflect Canary Island settlements during the same period (Spitzen 1985). Also, along the Texas-Louisiana border in Sabine Parish the Other Spanish population has descended from settlers in the 18th and early 19th centuries who, mixed with local Indians, preserved a Spanish identity partly as staunch Catholics surrounded by a predom-
inantly Protesstian population (Gregory 1987). The second major group covered in the atlas are people of Central and South American and Dominican ancestries, who constituted 16 percent of the Other Spanish population.

Spanish Americans in New Mexico

There has been no consensus as to the best English-language label for this ethnic population. However, because the PUMS file shows that the number of people in New Mexico who described their ancestry as Spanish American was more than six times greater than those reporting the alternative term, Hispano, the former is used in this interpretation.

Spanish Settlements.

The Spanish first entered the upper Rio Grande Valley in 1598. They attempted to convert local Indians to Christianity and assimilate them to Spanish ways. In general, they were successful despite periodic strong resistance. Those who did assimilate lived in hundreds of small villages along the Rio Grande and in nearby valleys to the west and the east (Meining 1971). In this area, named Rio Arriba (north of what is now Bernalillo County), most land was owned by local villages rather than individuals, and livelihood was based on subsistence irrigation farming and sheep ranching (Kutsche and Van Ness 1981). The surrounding mountains provided some protection from marauding Navajos, Apaches, and other Indians. Downriver to Socorro the region called Rio Abo was involved fewer people but larger sheep ranches based on earlier land grants to individuals. In 1580 the 56,000 Spanish in northern New Mexico constituted virtually all the inhabitants of settled areas apart from the Indian pueblos and larger trading towns (Nostrand 1975).

Between 1850 and 1900 the Spanish grew in numbers and expanded the territory within which they were dominant. In the 1850s families moved northward to the adjacent San Juan Valley of Colorado (Costilla and Conejos counties). Later others moved onto the plains of eastern New Mexico (Union to Lincoln counties), typically working as cowboys and shepherders on the large commercial ranches that developed there (Kutsche and Van Ness 1981). Some herders and ranch hands had moved into southeastern Utah (San Juan County and settled near Monticello and Mavin 1976), but the contiguous Spanish settlements stretched from south central Colorado, south along the Rio Grande into the area, and from the Arizona to the Texas borders (Nostrand 1980).

American and Mexican Settlement.

When Mexican independence occurred in 1821, Mexico opened the area to trade with the U.S., and a Santa Fe Trail was opened almost imme-

diately to provide a trading connection with the American Midwest. A few American merchants and cattle ranchers settled in that frontier section of northern Mexico, but after 1846, when the U.S. absorbed the area by defeating Mexico in war, many more Americans came in. In 1879 the Santa Fe Railroad entered this region, stimulating increased immigration of English-speaking Americans, mostly fortune seekers and ranchers. Americans slowly got control of almost all of the Spanish Americans’ grazing lands because the villagers often had to sell the land to pay their taxes or because they could not prove their ownership to the land claims court (Knowlton 1969). The Spanish system of ownership had been based on rights earned through long-term use rather than written deeds. The villagers were forced to rely as they could on their small irrigated farms and laboring jobs where they could be found.

Most of the American newcomers (usually called “Anglos”) lived in the cities and larger towns and, in Colorado, in the mining area around Trinidad (Las Animas County). The areas in and near Colorado and in the Spanish villages (Meining 1971). Immigrants from Mexico arrived in New Mexico too, but they were more likely to be working on the farms and in the mines and refineries in the southern part of the state.

Spanish American Out-Migration from Villages.

The coming of railroads, large-scale ranching, and coal mining in a few places brought work opportunities for those forced out of their villages by overcrowding or loss of land (Meining 1971). There were some jobs nearby, as shepherders or in section gangs for the Santa Fe Railroad. In the 20th century most villagers who remained in New Mexico moved to towns on main highways, to Spanish “old towns” in Anglo cities where there were jobs, or to nearby Pueblo, Colorado, for work in the steel mills. But there were usually higher wages farther afield, and men moved to other places in Colorado, Wyoming, and Utah for railroad, mining, sugar-beet, sawmill, or other industrial work (Mead 1953).

By 1909 a thousand Spanish Americans were working sugar beets in northeastern Colorado, mostly in Weld County (Taylor 1930:1), and others were moving into Colorado’s Ar- kansas River Valley (Otero and Bent counties) for similar work. Early seasonal migrations led to permanent settle-
ments.

Several Spanish Americans had first been hired in the 1880s to man the gold and silver smelters in the mining town of Lead-
ville (Lake County), high in the middle of Colorado’s Rocky Mountains (Writers’ Program 1941). There were subsequent busts and booms, but after the 1940s the large molybdenum mine at nearby Climax operated with increasing success, so that by 1980 mining and other opportunities had attracted a total of over nine hundred Spanish Americans to that unusual county.

In the 1940s the war effort led to jobs in airplane facto-
ries, construction, agriculture, and mining, and in the loss of over half the working-age male population of some New Mexico villages (Loomis 1942). Spanish Americans were recruited to work in Utah: on railroads and farms, in the copper operations of Bingham Canyon (Tooele County), in the coal mines of Carbon County (Mayer 1976). As a result of chain migrations following initial opportunities, men from some villages moved primarily to Arizona mines and Colorado farms while those from other villages went to Wyoming to herd sheep (Loomis 1942). Despite jobs in distant places, some Spanish Americans held on to their family property in their small villages.

The major 20th-century migration from these villages can be seen in an examination of the 1900 and 1980 Spanish American populations in the different counties. The figures for village and dispersal areas for the 1980 census are reported by the census enumerators (Nostrand 1980) and reaggregated in terms of the 1980 county boundaries for appropriate comparison to the 1980 Other-Spanish count. The less urban and less developed counties—Mora, Union, San Miguel, Guadalupe, Catron, and Socorro in New Mexico and Conejos, Costilla, and Huerfano in Colorado—had in 1980 populations of Other Spanish origin that averaged only two-thirds the count of the Spanish in 1900.

The movement of the Spanish American population to Albuquerque (Bernalillo County) and Santa Fe (Santa Fe County) is indicated by the fact that 49 percent of all the Other Spanish in New Mexico in 1980 lived in those two counties. Also, 42 percent of Colorado’s Other Spanish were in Pueblo County, where construction, steelmaking, and other industrial jobs have long drawn the Spanish. Migration to California and other states has been common, but has been hard to measure because outside the New Mexico area the Other Spanish, Hispano, and Spanish American labels have been given much less precise and more inclusive meanings.

Despite these migrations, the percentages of Other Spanish in the rural, traditionally Spanish counties have re-
mained fairly high (because the lack of jobs in those counties has deterred most potential in-migrants except those wishing a simpler, slower lifestyle. The areas of greatest proportionate strength on the 1980 map are very similar to those found in 1900 (Nostrand 1980). Because people of Mexican origin have also settled in some northern New Mexican counties, the percentage of the population with some Spanish or Mexi-
can origin was over 80 percent in Mora and San Miguel counties and 74 percent in Rio Arriba County. Some of the lowest
percentages of Other Spanish origin in New Mexico have been in the southeast corner, an area sometimes called "Little Texas," where farming and later oil developments represented a strong westward expansion of Anglo Texans (Meining 1971).

Recent Changes. Many Spanish Americans who left the New Mexico homeland have felt a strong identity with that area and many would come back if they were able to find work there. Some have returned, often with mobile homes, after having found that improved roads have put city jobs within commuting distance. At the same time, the outsiders who have come to Albuquerque, Santa Fe, and Los Alamos for work or to mountain areas for recreation and retirement have already partially transformed some nearby Spanish villages into their own bedroom or resort communities.

Central and South Americans

Specific nationality ancestries of most people from Central and South America and the Dominican Republic are indicated at the state level on the cartogram. Nearly all resided in metropolitan areas, especially New York and Los Angeles, as well as other cities that have been closer or more accessible—Miami and New Orleans. These populations also make up a substantial proportion of the populations represented by the graduated square symbols on the map of Other Spanish origin. This is particularly the case in New York City.

Central American Nationalities. Most people of Central American ancestry have come to America since about 1960 or were born here in recent years. This portion of the Spanish-speaking population of America has grown especially rapidly since about 1978 and has come to include more poor people than in the past and the full range of political ideologies. Central Americans have been more likely to form their communities based on similarities of social class, race, politics, or religion than their specific national origin (Peñalosa 1984).

Both immigrants and refugees were included in the 1980 numbers, as well as others not accepted by the U.S. government. Although Nicaragua and Costa Rica are often lumped together, Costa Ricans and Hondurans have come mostly for better job opportunities. For example, some people from the Atlantic coast of Honduras have developed chain migrations leading to New Orleans, where they often have found work on the docks (Gugliotta 1982). Before about 1980 many people from El Salvador had come for similar reasons and were living in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Washington, DC.

However, since about 1978 war and chaos have increasingly accompanied political struggles in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala—prompting many more to seek refuge in the United States. There have been both Guatemalan Indian peasants and rich Nicaraguan exiles. Relatively few of these escapes were here at the time of the 1980 census, but the destinations chosen by earlier arrivals probably represent the same places whose populations have swelled with refugees since 1980. These arrivals have probably had some economic motivation for migration, but this has often been overshadowed by the simple fear of being killed or hurt if they remained in their own country. However, most people in this predicament have been unable to demonstrate that they qualify for refugee status under our laws and have remained here illegally.

Perhaps three-quarters of those who have thought of themselves as refugees have been Salvadorans (Gugliotta 1982). In the largest metropolitan areas they have often become factory workers or maids and been able to escape detection by passing as Puerto Ricans or Mexicans. In Los Angeles a large Central American area (predominantly Salvadoran) has appeared for the first time—located between major black, Mexican, and Korean settlements (Peñalosa 1984). Newly arriving refugees and immigrants have often found apartment housing in what had been an ethnically mixed zone in the Pico-Union area, west of the Harbor and north of the Santa Monica freeways. However, other Central Americans live far from this new concentration.

South American Nationalities. There was some immigration from South America in the 19th century, and during most of the 20th century those immigrating from South America have far outnumbered those from Central America. This has resulted in a large number of Spanish-ancestry people some generations removed from the immigration experience and probably with non-specific ethnic identities (Orlov and Ueda 1980).

During the 1960s immigration increased. Compared to people from other Spanish-language areas in the Americas, those from South America have had especially high levels of education and income (Orlov and Ueda 1980). Immigration of professionals continued during the 1970s, though there was also a massive out-movement of emigrants. The most common occupation prior to immigration involved blue-collar labor (Maisey and Schnabel 1983). Very few immigrants had been employed as laborers or farmworkers in their home country.

Some immigrants have been medical and scientific professionals who had been frustrated in studying or practicing their specialty by the insufficient training available or the lack of technologically advanced equipment in their country (McKee 1983). Many of these have been women, who had found that their status as independent professionals had been barely tolerated by the Latin society of their home country. Females have predominated among recent immigrants. In 1980 there were only 82 males for every 100 females of Central or South American ancestry (Sullivan 1985). Self-reliant, career-oriented women may well have constituted most of the 11 percent of Colombian women who migrated to New York but had no relative in that city (Gurak and Kritz 1982).

South Americans have settled almost completely in metropolitan areas, especially the largest ones, where they have tried to find work commensurate with their skill. There they have often established themselves in the middle class, socializing especially with people from their same country. Those of middle- and upper-class origin have made special efforts to distinguish themselves from lower-status Hispanic groups—usually Puerto Rican or Mexican immigrants. In the San Jose and San Francisco Bay areas of California and in some other cities, small colonies of former political prisoners have appeared; most of these have been Argentinians or Chileans who had been freed during the 1970s (Guendelman 1981).

Especially large settlements have developed in the borough of Queens in New York City. The Colombian settlement in the Jackson Heights area was begun after World War II, when many professionals found the area attractive and convenient to jobs. The area has remained the focus of the expanding Colombian population. Ecuadorian, Peruvians, and Dominican communities have appeared in other parts of Jackson Heights and Elmhurst and Corona, with varied South American shops, restaurants, and other businesses focused on Roosevelt Avenue. The older Irish, Jewish, and Italian residents who had moved to Queens from Manhattan decades ago have been leaving, making room for the new Spanish-speaking arrivals (Cowan and Cowan 1975).

The largest South American nationality reported in the 1980 census was Colombians. In the last two decades many Colombians have not been able to find jobs appropriate to their training, and more have arrived with relatively few skills. Especially in the 1970s men have often taken jobs here as taxi drivers or restaurant dishwashers with women typically working as domestic servants, maids in hotels, or sewing machine operators (Castañeda 1982; Giraldes 1982). Some immigrants later moved into clerical or supervisory jobs or pursued their professions. Others have become building and office cleaners, factory operatives, and electrical-appliance and auto-repair workers.

In Chicago the Colombians have included a large group whose origins were along the Caribbean coast of that country, where there was much racial mixing with blacks.
(Orlov and Ueda 1980). Predominantly middle-class professionals with their families, these newcomers to Chicago have mixed little with either the Spanish-looking Colombians from the interior cities or with American blacks.

**Dominicans.** Immigration from the Dominican Republic was small until restrictions on emigration were lifted after the 1961 murder of the dictator Trujillo (Hendricks 1980). Although many Dominicans have immigrated legally to the U.S., there are also many who have entered as visitors and overstayed their visa limits. The majority have entered by obtaining a tourist visa for Puerto Rico and taking the short boat trip to that island (Dominguez 1975). Then, if they could pass as Puerto Ricans at the airport, they have not needed to show any immigration documents to board a flight to New York from the U.S. territory of Puerto Rico.

Dominican immigrants have typically worked as dishwashers in restaurants or as laborers, factory workers, and janitors. In New York about 40 percent of employed Dominican women have run sewing machines in the garment industry (Gurak and Kritz 1982). Those who arrived with better training or who have learned American ways have sometimes established businesses or become white-collar workers or professionals. Although there has been disagreement as to the characteristics of the average Dominican immigrant that could relate to their occupational adjustment here (Hendricks 1980; Ugalde, Bean, and Cardenas 1979), it is clear that most of the upper- and middle-class immigrants have had to take lower-status jobs than they had back home. These people have been much more likely to return to the island than have the lower-class arrivals. Also, Dominicans who in their own country were categorized as racially mixed (mulatto) have found that in America they have been identified as blacks, which has hindered their acceptance by most white Americans.

Since the early 1960s New York City has had by far the largest concentration of Dominicans. In 1980 that city and its four suburban counties contained over 99 percent of the state’s Dominican population, as indicated by country of birth data (Census 1983e). Dominicans have settled among other Hispanic peoples in a variety of neighborhoods, especially on Manhattan’s Upper West Side and in Queens. Others have moved across the Hudson to Jersey City or other cities in Hudson and Passaic counties. Often their settlements have been near the edges of black ghettos, from which they have found movement difficult, partly because of their color (Dominguez 1975).

Some Dominicans have moved to other northeastern

---

### Brazilian Ancestry

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1980 Summary Statistics*</th>
<th>Reported Ethnic Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single ancestry</td>
<td>18,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple ancestry</td>
<td>8,890</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* County statistics, map, and text interpretation are based on single-ancestry data only.
** Major cities or towns may be indicated in parentheses.
Although Brazil contains half the population of South America, relatively few of its people have emigrated to the United States. During some years of the 1960s over 2,300 immigrants were accepted, but after the Brazilian generals imposed restrictions on departure the flow of immigrants has averaged 1,500 per year.

Because Brazilian settlement in the U.S. has hardly been studied, it is presumed that most people of Brazilian ancestry share characteristics with immigrants from the Spanish-speaking countries of South America, who have tended until the late 1970s to represent a relatively educated and skilled or professional group. Certainly the large deposit required before departure has meant that immigrants from Brazil have been almost completely from the middle and upper classes. Many have arrived in this country as tourists or, less frequently, as students but have become immigrants when they married a U.S. citizen (U.S. INS, 1983).

Brazilians have settled especially in the larger metropolitan areas where the range of employment and business opportunities has been greatest. Their widespread may be related to the relative ease of their adjustment here in that they may have felt less need to concentrate geographically in what for many immigrants has been a strange and threatening country.

In 1980 people of Brazilian ancestry could also be found in counties where major universities are located. Over 2,500 students were here from Brazil plus occasional Brazilian professors and staff and their families (Boyam 1981). Probably most of the Brazilians in Yolo County, California, and Tippecanoe County, Indiana, were connected with the University of California at Davis and with Purdue University. Similarly, the state universities of Florida, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Kansas each apparently attracted between 50 and 100 Brazilians.

### Haitian Ancestry

#### 1980 Summary Statistics*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reported Ethnic Population</th>
<th>Single ancestry</th>
<th>81,500</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Multiple ancestry</td>
<td>8,714</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Counties with Largest Haitian-Ancestry Population**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dade (Miami), FL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffolk (Boston), MA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Counties with Highest Percentage of Haitian Ancestry in Population**

- Rockland (New City), NY | 2218 |
- Cook (Chicago), IL | 2095 |
- Dade (Miami), FL | .85 |
- New York City, NY | .82 |
- Suffolk (Boston), MA | .61 |
- Union (Elizabeth), NJ | .47 |
- * County statistics, map, and text interpretations are based on single-ancestry data only.
- ** Major cities or towns may be indicated in parentheses.

At the time of the late-18th-century Haitian revolution, perhaps 50,000 Haitians — white sugar planters, free blacks, and slaves — settled in the United States: in New Orleans, New York, and other cities, but particularly Philadelphia (Lagueur 1980). More recently, the U.S. military occupation of Haiti from 1915 to 1934 prompted the exodus of several hundred educated Haitians who resisted U.S. intervention. Over 90 percent of these Haitians were blacks or mulattos, many of whom settled in the Harlem section of Manhattan. There they worked in the garment industry or became importers or retailers. Like more recent arrivals, their everyday language was a creole based partly on French.

After World War II Haitian women were recruited for work as maids in Los Angeles, Washington, and other places (Lagueur 1980). Others migrated to the Bahamas to replace upwardly mobile Bahamas in farm labor and menial service jobs (Stepick 1982). However, most Haitian immigrants to the U.S. have come since 1957, the beginning of the Duvalier dictatorships (Lagueur 1980). During the 1960s and 1970s a great many professionals, students, and politicians opposed Duvalier’s policies and came to America, later joined by spouses and other family members. Presumably such middle-class migrants constituted most of the Haitian population outside Florida and the largest metropolitan areas in 1980.

However, as political and economic conditions in Haiti worsened in the 1970s, relatively fewer well-educated people immigrated, especially to Florida. Because so many Haitians have settled illegally in the U.S. and have wished to avoid contact with the government officials, the population of Haitian ancestry may have been substantially undercounted in the 1980 census.

#### New York and Other Northern Cities

The importance of New York City for Haitians is indicated by the fact that in 1980 over half the people of Haitian ancestry in the entire country lived in that city. Many Haitians have become taxi drivers, and those who had been in business on the island have often done the same here, serving a predominantly Haitian clientele (Lagueur 1980). A Haitian neighborhood has appeared on Manhattan’s Upper West Side, where many new arrivals settle for a few years. Amid the brownstone and high-rise apartments and hotel rooms have been Haitian, Dominican, and Puerto Rican stores, restaurants, and clubs (Lagueur 1979). Although Haitians have tended to congregate socially among themselves, they have been able to buy familiar foods in shops run by English- or Spanish-speaking West Indians.

The largest settlement has been in Brooklyn, where the residents of some apartment houses supervised by Haitians are almost all Haitian (Lagueur 1980). For those who could afford to move from Brooklyn or Manhattan, the most prestigious housing in the city has been in parts of Queens. That borough has been the center of Haitian night life in New York City and home to the lighter-skinned elite.

In New York and other cities Haitians have generally settled in black residential areas. They have kept to themselves socially and often used Creole to accentuate their distinctiveness from most American blacks while remaining almost invisible to whites in the surrounding areas. After some Haitians moved from New York to Boston in the 1960s (hoping for a quieter life, better jobs, and cheaper housing), others came directly from Haiti. The community has been centered in some of the city’s large black neighborhoods but also has become dispersed into nearby cities (Fontaine 1976). In Evanston (Cook County), Illinois, many in the community of several hundred have worked in factories, hospitals, or nursing homes, and others are maids in private homes (Lawless 1986).

### South Florida

Direct migration to South Florida began in late 1972, when the arrival of a boatload of refugees proved that it was possible to sail in a primitive craft from Haiti across the Gulf Stream to Florida’s southeast coast (Boswell 1982). People increasingly took the risk of hazardous voyages in small ships in order to be smuggled to the coast of Florida (Stepick 1982). The flow increased in 1977, as the Bahamas and the Dominican Republic — destinations of earlier Haitian labor migrations — began persecuting and expelling Haitians (Lawless 1986). At the same time, conditions in Haiti worsened, and the United States and Canada assigned fewer visas for Haitians.

For several years boats landed frequently on the coast of
Perhaps 80 to 90 percent of black immigrants from the West Indies have come from former and current British territories in the Caribbean Sea area (Ueda 1980). Because Jamaica has about half the total population of islands in the British West Indies, Jamaicans have played a predominant role in immigration from the West Indies. In most research on blacks from the Caribbean, the various island populations have been combined into a West Indian category. For this reason, some of this interpretation is general and not focused solely on people of Jamaican ancestry. Whites make up such small proportions of most West Indian island populations that they are not discussed here. The even fewer Asians are covered only in the section on Trinidadians and Guyanese.

As on the other islands, Jamaica’s black population represents the descendants of slaves brought centuries earlier from Africa as laborers, especially on sugar plantations. British West Indians have spoken English or a creole with an English-language foundation. In their religion many have been Anglicans or, in America, Episcopalians. Although their speech accent usually has made it possible to identify black immigrants, most whites in America have not distinguished these from blacks whose American heritage goes back many generations.

Among American blacks, however, the distinction of West Indian birth or foreign ancestry has been very significant. In the U.S., West Indians have generally remained socially separate from blacks of old American heritage, partly because of the socioeconomic status differences between the two black groups (Sowell 1978). West Indian immigrants and their children have been generally better educated and more occupationally skilled than blacks of American heritage.

**Immigration Before 1965**

Although some West Indians settled in the U.S. in the 19th century, immigration became much larger about the turn of the century. Some people left the islands to work for American employers in Cuba, Panama, or Central America, but between 1900 and 1930 about 85,000 British West Indians
came to the U.S. (Ueda 1980). An estimated 60 percent of British West Indians in the states about 1980 were descendants of these early immigrants.

In contrast to the relatively unskilled southern and eastern Europeans arriving at the same time, West Indian immigrants were more apt to have been from the middle class and literate. Men who could afford the trip were typically skilled artisans, white-collar workers, tradesmen, or professionals. People of higher occupational status constituted over half of employed West Indian immigrants, and they were much less likely to return to the island than those who had been laborers or servants (Reid 1939; Richardson 1983). An especially heavy immigration occurred just before low quotas for West Indians became effective in July, 1924.

By 1930, 73 percent of the West Indians were living in New York City, primarily in the black section of Harlem (Reid 1939). Miami, Boston, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Chicago were the three largest cities in the United States. Between 1939 and 1942, Miami, Boston, and New York City were the homes of over 25 percent of the local black populations. Steamship lines connected Jamaica to those East Coast ports, and some people moved to the interior cities to take jobs in industry (Ueda 1980).

During World War II Jamaicans were brought under contract to pick fruit and vegetables in various eastern and midwestern states, and many of these and later contract laborers stayed on as immigrants. After 1952, however, immigration to America was more difficult because Jamaicans and others were no longer able to enter under the large quota for the United Kingdom. West Indian emigration was then substantially redirected toward England. However, it again increased over the U.S. when in 1962 the British Parliament restricted emigration from former colonies and in 1965 the U.S. permitted many more immigrants from Caribbean countries that had not previously been major sources.

Jamaicans and other West Indians arriving in America have been apt to stress academic achievement or small-business enterprise as the avenues to success. Many have turned their push carts and small fruit and vegetable stands into grocery stores, and some later opened larger stores and real-estate offices or bought apartment buildings (Hellwig 1978).

Post-1965 Immigration and Settlement
Between 1967 and 1979 legal immigration from Jamaica increased substantially. Family immigration has become more common (Ueda 1980). However, a large number arrived as temporary visitors and have overstayed the limits of their visas (Foner 1984). The percent of less-educated factory workers among immigrants has increased with the passage of the century, as has the proportion of Jamaican females working as domestics. However, during the late 1970s the proportion of professionals, managers, technical, and business people increased to over a quarter of the immigrants who had previously been employed (Cooper 1976).

Jamaicans and most black West Indians have settled in parts of the larger black sections of American cities to avoid the prejudice and discrimination they would likely encounter in white areas (Foner 1984). Some markets and restaurants have come to specialize in the goods of West Indian nationalities, and the sounds, styles, and values of Caribbean life have added a new dimension to local black communities.

New York City. For Jamaicans, the move to New York City has been prompted not only by a search for jobs and higher incomes; migration has become a widely accepted, almost fashionable social trend (Foner 1984). Women have often found employment in the lower ranks of the nursing profession, and some men work in health-care units or in hospital maintenance. Brooklyn hospitals employed nearly two thousand Jamaicans in the early 1980s. Women also have had clerical and sales jobs or been domestic servants, baby sitters, or companions for elderly people, and men have often been cleaning, janitors, or bus drivers.

In New York, the various English-speaking West Indian immigrants have retained the social networks developed on the islands. Communities from different islands have been typically clustered in somewhat separate sections of the city, most of which are distinct from the major Spanish-speaking areas (Conway and Bigby 1983). In contrast to 1930, relatively few Jamaicans lived in Harlem. The largest Jamaican neighborhoods and centers of social life have been in Flatbush and Crown Heights in Brooklyn, though Jamaican communities have also appeared in the Bronx and parts of southeastern Queens.

Other Places. The many Jamaicans who have settled in Florida's Gold Coast (Dade through Palm Beach County) and southern California are evident in the 1980 census data, but a large group of seasonal farmworkers in Florida were not residents and thus not included.

In America during the 1970s the largest group of farm workers imported seasonally as temporary workers (H-2 visa program) have been the 8,000 to 10,000 West Indians (over 80 percent Jamaicans) under contract to sugar growers in southern Florida (Wood and McCoy 1985). Florida's sugar production had quadrupled in the early 1960s, especially after the Cuban quota was eliminated, and these men cut sugar cane by hand. The men were present for about half of each year (the October–April cane-harvest period) during the 1970s, living in small and isolated labor camps on the many large plantations near Lake Okeechobee (Shabecoff 1973). Their low pay and deplorable working and living conditions seem to have insured that no Americans would accept such work.

The highest percentage of Jamaican ancestry in the U.S. was in the western part of Virginia, in the wooded ridge and valley country. In Bath County for the past 25 years or so, approximately 125 to 150 Jamaicans have been hired as skilled workers by the renowned Homestead Resort Hotel (Coor 1986). Most were recruited originally in Jamaica. Each year they have entered under the temporary worker program for the April–November season, but over the years some have married Americans or remained in the U.S. through other means.

The large Jamaican community in the North End of Hartford, Connecticut, originated after Jamaicans were brought to Connecticut in 1943 to harvest vegetables, tomatoes, and apples (Smetanka 1983). After the contract, many stayed, and over the intervening decades they have been joined by Jamaican friends and relatives, people from Guyana and several islands, and West Indian students from New York City enrolled in Connecticut colleges.

In Los Angeles Jamaicans and other West Indians have often been professionally and technically trained. They include people who migrated from New York and other East Coast cities as well as university students and others who immigrated directly to Los Angeles (Jurstz 1976).

Black West Indians have made great efforts to preserve their island identities—a fact that is still sometimes an irritant to black Americans. Although the family remains the most important social unit, Jamaican adults in Los Angeles often become affiliated with some organization, the most important of which have been cricket clubs. Annual cricket tours to Jamaica have reinforced the strong national identities of immigrants. For most, Jamaica has remained home, and many plan to return there for retirement.

GUYANESE, TRINIDADIAN, AND TOBAGONIAN ANCESTRY

1980 Summary Statistics*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Single ancestry</th>
<th>Reported Ethnic Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guyanese</td>
<td>66,062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidadian</td>
<td>9,603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tobagonian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Counties with Largest
Gymanese, Trinidadian, and Tobagonian Ancestries**
New York City, NY
Washington, DC
Essex (Newark), NJ
Suffolk (Boston), MA
Los Angeles, CA
42,288
1,457
1,417
1,988
1,189

Counties with Highest Percentage of
Gymanese, Trinidadian, and Tobagonian Ancestries**
New York City, NY
Washington, DC
Suffolk (Boston), MA
Prince George’s (Oxon Hill), MD
Essex (Newark), NJ
.60
.23
.22
.17
.17

* County statistics, map, and text interpretation are based on single-ancestry data only.
** Major cities or towns may be indicated in parentheses.

The West Indian islands of Trinidad and nearby Tobago became one country at the time of their independence from Great Britain in 1962. Although Gurjaya is in South America, its Caribbean orientation, large black population, and history make it also British West Indian. These countries can be distinguished from both Jamaica and the smaller formerly British islands because only Trinidad and Guyana contain large proportions of East (Asian) Indians in their populations. Moreover, it is appropriate geographically to aggregate ancestry data from these two countries because in the U.S. their distributions by counties were highly correlated (Pearson coefficient r = .99).

In the 19th century Asian Indians were imported to several of the West Indies to work as laborers on plantations and various projects, but they generally formed less than 4 percent of the total populations (Lowenthal 1972). However, Asian Indians have constituted over 40 percent of Trinidad’s population and over half of Guyana’s. Because they have retained a racial and cultural identity and a society clearly separate from that of blacks, they constitute a distinct group within the populations of Trinidadian and Guyanan ancestry.

However, 1980 census data from the Public-Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) file indicate that relatively few Asian Indians from Trinidad and Guyana have settled in America. In the 6 states with the largest Trinidadian and Guyanese populations, 95 percent of people reporting Trinidadian ancestry and 82 percent of the Guyanese were blacks. These percentages varied little between states. The largest numbers of Asian Indians are the estimated 2,000 from Guyana and the 480 from Trinidad living in New York State.

The high percentage of blacks in these populations suggests that these ancestries can be interpreted much like those of other British West Indian countries. The general discussions of Jamaican and other British West Indian ancestries thus become applicable. Geographically this also seems appropriate; there was a very high correlation at the county level of both Guyanese and Trinidadian and Tobagonian ancestries with the British West Indian populations from both Jamaica and the smaller islands (r = .97).

**British West Indian Ancestries—Smaller Islands**

1980 Summary Statistics*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single ancestry</td>
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<tr>
<td>Multiple ancestry</td>
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Counties with Largest
British West Indian-Ancestry Population**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td>20,221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dade (Miami), FL</td>
<td>4,687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffolk (Boston), MA</td>
<td>1,344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broward (Fort Lauderdale), FL</td>
<td>849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palm Beach (West Palm Beach), FL</td>
<td>686</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Counties with Highest Percentage of
British West Indian Ancestry in Population**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monroe (Key West), FL</td>
<td>.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dade (Miami), FL</td>
<td>.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York City, NY</td>
<td>.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin (Stuart), FL</td>
<td>.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffolk (Boston), MA</td>
<td>.21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* County statistics, map, and text interpretation are based on single-ancestry data only. The ancestries included in the aggregation are Bahamian, Barbadian, Dominican Islander, Dominican, Saint Kitts, and Saint Vincent, as well as smaller former or current British territories in the West Indies. Bermudian and Belkenan ancestries are not included. The U.S. totals include Bahamian, Barbadian, Dominican Islander, and unspecified British West Indian ancestry only; they omit other specific ancestries that are included in the data for countries.
** Major cities or towns may be indicated in parentheses.
BECAUSE OF THE SIMILARITY IN THE EXPERIENCE AND BACKGROUND OF IMMIGRANTS FROM THE FORMER BRITISH ISLANDS IN THE CARIBBEAN AND BECAUSE JAMAICA IS THE LARGEST BRITISH WEST INDIAN ISLAND, SOME GENERAL ASPECTS OF THIS MAP INTERPRETATION HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED IN THE SECTION ON JAMAICAN ANCESTRY. HOWEVER, MOST WEST INDIANS HAVE PREFERRED TO IDENTIFY THEMSELVES SOCIAL TIES BASED ON THEIR NATIONALITY. IN 1972, 87 PERCENT OF MARRIAGES INVOLVING IMMIGRANTS FROM BARBADOS WERE BETWEEN TWO BARBADIANS (SOWELL 1978). BUT IN 1980 IMMIGRANTS FROM BARBADOS WERE ONLY SLIGHTLY LESS LIKELY THAN OTHER WEST INDIANS TO LIVE IN NEIGHBORHOODS WITH PEOPLE ORIGINATING ON OTHER ISLANDS (CONWAY AND BIGBY 1983).

DURING WORLD WAR I, THE 1920S, AND AGAIN IN THE 1940S, men from smaller West Indian islands were sometimes brought in to fill specific labor needs in the U.S. Many came from Barbados in 1919, and over three thousand Bahamians worked in the vegetable fields on Florida’s East Coast and in construction in Charleston, South Carolina (Reid 1939). During World War II men from Saint Kitts and Nevis were hired as farm laborers in Florida, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Connecticut, and others did factory work (Richardson 1983).

However, probably most West Indians came here without being recruited for specific jobs. Hundreds of men from Saint Kitts, Nevis, and other islands came to New York around 1905 after completing construction of dock facilities in Bermuda (Richardson 1983). Steamship connections to New York, Miami, and Boston helped make especially large concentrations of immigrants in those places in the 1920s (Reid 1939). Details of the distribution are best explained in terms of job opportunities found in America and the networks of personal contacts that resulted in chain migrations. For example, most people from Saint Kitts stayed in New York, but some Nevis islanders settled in Boston and New Haven, Connecticut (Richardson 1983).

WASHINGTON, DC
The nation’s capital has become much more international in composition since the late 1960s. Part of the cosmopolitan transformation of the city has been due to the arrival in the 1970s of numerous wealthy people from a range of countries and the effect of their financial transactions and local investments (Dickey and Nunes 1980). But also, the West Indian and Puerto Rican populations that have grown so rapidly have elaborated what had been a simpler black-white racial structure.

The West Indian waiters, waitresses, hostesses, and maintenance workers in hotels and restaurants have been especially visible. Others have started by working as security guards or in gas stations and car washes, but there have also been accountants, realtors, plumbers, and lawyers of West Indian ancestry (Milloy 1982). Ethnic festivals have appeared in Washington. Georgia Avenue, NW, has become the focus of West Indian record stores, restaurants, and other businesses. At the same time, local American-born blacks have been clearly aware that they have lost many low-level service jobs to West Indians and Puerto Ricans.